

Yea-and-nay votes may occur on that bill. It is possible, if consent is given, that the measure would be temporarily laid aside from time to time and other items on the Calendar could be taken up tomorrow and Friday—but only if unanimous consent is gotten.

With respect to the bill to amend the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act, I do not believe that that bill will be taken up tomorrow. The distinguished author of the bill (Mr. PELL) has requested that the bill be taken up not tomorrow, but either Friday or Monday.

As I say, there may be yea-and-nay votes tomorrow.

The Senate will be in session on Friday.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT FROM TOMORROW UNTIL ON FRIDAY

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, so that Senators will be appropriately alerted, that when the Senate completes its business tomorrow it stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock meridian on Friday.

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

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ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 9:30 A.M.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 9:30 a.m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and at 5:53 p.m. the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, April 12, 1973, at 9:30 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 11, 1973:

ADMINISTRATION ON AGING

Arthur S. Flemming, of Virginia, to be Commissioner on Aging, vice John B. Martin, Jr., resigned.

NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION SAFETY BOARD

Timothy J. Murphy, of Massachusetts, to be a member of the National Transportation Safety Board for the term expiring December 31, 1977, vice Francis H. McAdams, term expired.

IN THE COAST GUARD

Harold James Barneson, Jr., of the U.S. Coast Guard Reserve, for promotion to the grade of rear admiral.

TOASTMASTERS INTERNATIONAL—SERIOUS SPEECH CONTEST

HON. DAVID TOWELL

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. TOWELL of Nevada. Mr. Speaker, recently I had the pleasure of addressing members of Area III, District 36, Toastmasters International, who were assembled in Washington for their annual Serious Speech Contest. I suggested to them that their work toward bettering human communication strengthens their community, their country, and, ultimately, the rapidly shrinking world we live in. As a past governor of Toastmasters International, District 59 in Nevada, I know first-hand of the contribution these men and women are making toward the Toastmaster's goal of "Better Listening, Thinking, and Speaking."

The winning speech of the evening was delivered by Mr. Williamson Day, past president of Capitol Hill Club, Toastmasters International and 1972 Outstanding Toastmaster for District 36. Mr. Day, whose speech was titled "Five Faces of War," brings to his remarks a heritage of service to his country. He is a veteran of Korea, and his forebears have served in every major American war since the Revolution, when Col. Oliver Spencer fought with General Washington. As we look toward the Bicentennial celebration of our country's birth, I am pleased to share with my colleagues Mr. Day's thoughtful comments about his country and his deep commitment to its freedom:

FIVE FACES OF WAR (By Williamson Day)

Five faces of War . . . five faces to remember.

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THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS, 1754

A 22-year old colonel of provincial militia stands in a makeshift fort somewhere near the twisting Monongahela. He stands in torrential rain, the end of an ill-conceived and disastrous expedition to attack French-held Fort Duquesne. After seven years, Colonel George Washington's men are rebelling. Without food or ammunition, they break into the last of the supplies: the rum. Washington fits together the words he will use to surrender to the French.

You kneel by the Colonel, holding a wounded soldier. What passes for a surgeon is amputating his leg. You hand the soldier his anesthetic: a wooden block to clench between his teeth. You know he will die, but not quickly or pleasantly.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, 1777

The wind howls down the Schuylkill and across the Valley Forge plateau. It is sub-zero weather. In weeks past it has snowed, but tonight it is too cold to snow. You are huddled with remnants of the 11th Virginia, Varnum's brigade, and Lee's Dragoons. You sit, swathed in rags, tucking bits of straw and grass into your boots to keep warm.

Near you sits a sentry, a Marylander hoping to be home by spring. He is numb with cold, too weak to stand. An officer limps by, and the sentry, grasping his rifle, stiffens in salute. The next morning, as dawn colors the sky, you find him—frozen in salute.

WORLD WAR I, ARDENNES, FRANCE, 1918

Verdun is to the South, Chateau-Thierry behind, the Meuse-Argonne line ahead. It is Christmas Day. The snow has frozen with mud. Trenches zig-zag across the breast of the earth, scarring the French countryside. You see Americans and Englishmen leave their trenches and meet Germans in no-man's land to exchange chocolates and cigarettes: American Lucky Strikes for German Ecksteins. The soldiers sing, first in German, *Stille Nacht; Heilige Nacht*, then in English, *Silent Night, Holy Night*. They shake hands and thread their way back through the coils of barbed wire to their trenches. Hours later, they meet again, eviscerated, lying lifeless on the wire. In the pockets of the Germans,

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IN THE ARMY

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

To be lieutenant general

Lt. Gen. Julian Johnson Ewell, [REDACTED] Army of the United States (major general, U.S. Army).

Lt. Gen. William Raymond Peers, [REDACTED] Army of the United States (major general, U.S. Army).

Lt. Gen. Willard Pearson, [REDACTED] Army of the United States (major general, U.S. Army).

Lt. Gen. Richard Thomas Cassidy, [REDACTED] Army of the United States (major general, U.S. Army).

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

To be lieutenant general

Maj. Gen. William Robertson Desobry, [REDACTED] Army of the United States (major general, U.S. Army).

Maj. Gen. Richard Joe Seitz, [REDACTED] Army of the United States (major general, U.S. Army).

Maj. Gen. Raymond Leroy Shoemaker, [REDACTED] Army of the United States (major general, U.S. Army).

saved for later, Lucky Strikes; in the tunics of the English, Ecksteins.

WORLD WAR II, 1943

The Marianas, Southwest Pacific. The United States has been at war for two years. You are an American marine, bare to the waist, short on water, testing your condition. You press your tongue to the roof of your mouth and your gums bleed. Now your squad is moving up. Someone's flame-thrower explodes, covering him with jellied gasoline. He crawls grotesquely, screaming, until, charred and burned, he is immolated.

THE VIETNAM WAR, 1972

The United States has been in Indochina for 12 years. Before that, the French had been at war for 10. You are stationed in a military hospital in Denver—in the Burn Ward. You see a lieutenant, 22 years old, the point of his patrol, with second- and third-degree burns on 80 percent of his body. He has turned sour.

"You've got a girl," says a doctor. "Try to think about replying to her letters. She knows you're burned." The lieutenant stares with hollow eyes. "You'll be out of here in no time," the doctor lies. The lieutenant is smarter; for all intents and purposes, he was dead the moment he was hit.

Five faces of war. Five faces that gave us the freedom we enjoy tonight. Five faces that gave us a legacy of peace. Those faces are looking at us tonight, looking into our eyes.

If we fail to keep that peace, dare we look back?

PETER SNOWE, MAINE STATE REPRESENTATIVE, KILLED

HON. WILLIAM S. COHEN

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. COHEN. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday the people of Maine lost one of their most promising young legislators. State Repre-

sentative Peter Snowe was killed in an auto crash when his car went out of control on the Maine Turnpike. The 30-year-old lawmaker was returning to his home in Auburn after the house session that day.

A young and brilliant legislator, Peter had already begun to make his mark on the legislative process in Maine. A concerned and hardworking party activist, he brought to our political system a vitality and level of integrity rarely seen in politics. He served the people of Maine with honor and distinction and we will long remember his concern for and contributions to our general welfare.

But beyond his professional duties, Peter Snowe was a friend. He could always be counted on for advice, compassion, encouragement, or simply for that warm smile that won the hearts of all of us.

Our sympathy goes out to his young wife, Olympia, and to the rest of his family.

ENERGY SUMMARY—A PRIMER ON ENERGY

HON. PETE V. DOMENICI

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, like every new Member of this body, I feel the need for as much professional advice and expertise as I can muster to my support in this post.

For that reason, I have asked an outstanding group of scientific and technical people, of which my State has an extraordinary number, to serve as a scientific advisory committee to their junior Senator.

They have taken to the task with a vigor and willingness which is outstanding.

One example of their work is an extremely comprehensive summary of the present status of energy resources which they prepared at my request.

I found their summary so helpful to any positions I may take in respect to this complex problem, which must take a high priority in all our minds, that I am moved to share it with all Members of this Congress by asking permission to insert it in the RECORD.

As an American, I feel a sense of urgency about our energy situation; it is not mere journalism to refer to it as a crisis, which, if it is not upon us already, will soon be here. As a representative of a State which offers a maximum number of potential solutions to the problem, I am doubly interested in it.

It is with gratitude to the scientists and technical people who prepared this report, under the chairmanship of R. A. Bice, vice president of Sandia Corp. in Albuquerque, that I urge my fellow Members of Congress to add it to their own background material on energy and to expand their knowledge, as I have mine, by a careful study of it.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the entire report be entered in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report

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was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ENERGY SUMMARY—MARCH 1973

INTRODUCTION

Primitive man needed about 2000 calories of food energy a day to exist reasonably well, with the added energy of a wood fire about 4000 calories all together. In contrast, every citizen of the United States now has the use of 230,000 calories each day. This is the energy equivalent of enough food to support 115 chilly primitives or 71 pounds of coal or 7.4 gallons of gasoline or 270 kilowatt-hours of electricity or a 15 horsepower motor running continuously.

We may be blasé enough to see these figures without a small sense of shock. After all, an eightfold doubling of energy used per person over a million year period (a doubling every 125,000 years) seems no more than what is due an increasingly civilized people. But a number of factors make the situation more disturbing:

1. It is not the average doubling time over eons that counts; what matters more is the time between now and the next doubling, and that is now variously estimated between 16 and 30 years. (Use of electrical energy is expected to double in 10 years.) In addition, a doubling process sneaks up on you. For example, suppose the water in a pond doubles in quantity every day in such a way as to completely fill the pond in 30 days. On the 29th day, the pond is only half full. Any exponential growth is intrinsically unstable as soon as it begins to press on capital resources.

2. The pressure on capital resources is now very real. The table below detailing the sources of the energy used by the U.S. in 1970 helps illustrate how real.

	Percent of total
Nuclear Power	0.3
Hydropower	4.2
Natural Gas and Liquid Natural Gas	37.6
Petroleum	37.0
Coal	20.9
Total	100.0

Note that almost 96% of our energy is derived from fossil fuels and that the proportion of power from falling water, the only exception, has probably peaked. Already almost a third of the petroleum we use is imported. As our reserves are used up, that proportion will certainly increase as will its price on the world market. But how long will the world supply last? Good guess: about fifty years, subject to several variables. Coal is apt to last a minimum of six times longer. (See next section for longer estimates.)*

3. Of late, energy is being used in the U.S. less efficiently than ever before and more is going into personal consumption. The proportion of fuels going to personal automobiles and into electrical power for air conditioning and home heating, both relatively inefficient users of energy as well as areas of end consumption, is increasing. Thus the ratio of energy consumption to G.N.P. has risen very rapidly since 1965. The flow chart on the following page nicely summarizes the flow of energy from source to end use in the U.S. in 1970, with relative efficiencies of each major use.

4. As energy usage increases, so does pollution—carbon, sulphur, and nitrogen oxides, heat, etc. The problems are well-publicized

* Estimating how long a given resource will last is a very tricky process. As prices vary, use may shift from one resource to another or one competing use, say plastics from petroleum, may force another out. One method, for example, assumes that an energy source is depleted when the price has doubled. Another estimates reserves in terms of present usage per year only, and so on. Do not expect, therefore, that the literature (nor this summary) will be consistent.

and need little discussion here. What is important for this paper is that solving pollution problems which arise from energy production also requires energy. We pay for the solutions in reduced efficiency.

5. An ethical or political problem arises from the fact that the U.S., with 6% of the world's population, is now using 35% of its energy. As other countries, wishing to gather for their peoples the benefits of industrialization, also press for an increasing proportion of limited resources, conflict seems inevitable. The specter of the U.S. fighting a war to protect its right to air conditioning seems a distant but still real possibility unless a fairly rapid shift from fossil fuels to other sources of energy occurs, or we voluntarily choose to restrict our growth.

What follows, then, is a brief discussion of several alternative energy sources, either nonfossil-fuel or more efficient, cleaner, or more flexible uses of fossil fuels. First, however, we discuss fossil fuel reserves and use rates.

FOSSIL FUELS

Coal

Coal is the most abundant fossil fuel energy reserve. Using a coal reserve estimate of 1.6×10^{12} short tons or 42×10^{12} BTU and consumption at the predicted 1985 rate of 25×10^{12} BTU/year there is nearly a 1700 year supply in the country. Some sources, which predicate a heavier than 1985 use-rate, estimate our reserves at 600 years. Presently, 510 million tons are mined for domestic use and 71 million tons for export. In 1985, it is estimated 1000 million tons will be mined for domestic use and 140 million tons for export.

Many people feel, however, that without new technology we cannot use all our reserves without destroying our natural environment (strip mining) or overwhelmingly polluting the air and water. The biggest technological problem is the elimination of sulphur dioxide emissions. The problem is presently under intensive investigation and it appears the solution will be easier for large users than for small users. However, some experts—such as the President's ex-science advisor, Edward David—are gloomy about removal of SO_2 from coal and foresee a constraint on our use of this resource.

At the present time many large energy users are given reduced rates for oil and gas if used on an availability basis only. As the price of and demand for oil and gas increases, priority should be given to small convenience users who need a clean fuel, thereby increasing the demand for coal or other cheap energy sources by the large users, who can more efficiently handle the pollution problem from such fuels.

Natural gas

From the testimony before the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, April 1972, and from Figure 1, three conclusions can be made about the natural gas situation in the United States. These conclusions are summarized below and discussed in more detail later.

1. By 1985, the domestic production will account for less than $\frac{1}{2}$ the demand even accounting for potential reserves.

2. There will be a large unsatisfied demand for gas.

3. The United States will rely heavily on foreign sources for natural gas.

Expert testimony indicates that the price for natural gas must be increased to make production from the potential reserves feasible. Until recently, natural gas has been a byproduct of oil exploration and production.

The unsatisfied demand for gas will serve to make it a fuel for clean convenience uses rather than industrial uses.

After 1985 we will rely heavily on foreign gas or synthetic gas. The technology for both is presently available but requires an enormous capital investment. Liquid Natural Gas imports, Alaskan or Canadian pipeline gas, gas from coal or other chemicals are all estimated to cost about \$1.00 per million BTU's

at the source or port of entry, about four times today's average wellhead price.

Oil

Dr. McKetta, Chairman of the National Energy Policy Committee, lists the world's recoverable oil reserves as 36.6 billion barrels, a supply for seven years at the 1970 usage rate. The undiscovered world oil potential, not including oil sands or shale reserves, is estimated at 104 billion barrels or a 19.8 years supply based on 1970 use rate. There is some difference of opinion on the reserves with some oilmen estimating much greater supplies if the price is large enough to justify development.

At the present time 21% of our liquid hydrocarbons are imported. It is estimated that 50% of the U.S. oil supply will be imported by 1985, assuming it is available. The U.S. demand for oil will increase about 25% by 1985.

The oil shale reserves of the United States are estimated at 1800 billion barrels and the oil sands reserves at 3 billion barrels. At the present time little progress has been made toward the establishment of an oil shale industry. Problems remain to be solved relating to both the technological and lease development aspect of the situation.

The Bureau of Mines and others have characterized shale oil as being nearly economically competitive with crude oil. Recent changes in the depletion allowance applicable to oil shale additionally enhance the economics of oil shale.

NUCLEAR REACTORS

There is no question that nuclear power is a saving technical development occurring at the right moment to give us a chance to bridge the time-gap between decreasing stores of fossil fuels and the development of new energy sources. But, of course, nuclear fission fuels can also be depleted, and, if present reactor designs are not improved, quite rapidly. Fortunately, breeder reactors are already in the design stage and can extend the amount of power from uranium and thorium reserves by a factor of more than a hundred.

Breeder reactors depend upon the fact that of the three fissile isotopes, uranium-235, uranium-233, and plutonium-239, the latter two can be created artificially by adding, inside the reactor, a neutron to thorium-232 or uranium-238. Th²³² and U²³⁸ (making up

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more than 99% of natural uranium) are therefore called fertile isotopes.

Each fission event in a reactor produces several neutrons, one of which is used to create another fission while the remainder are either lost in nonproductive processes or perhaps absorbed in a fertile atom to convert that atom to a fissile species. In relation to energy needs and available resources, the basic distinction between reactor types is their conversion ratio (CR) which is defined as the number of new fissile atoms produced per fission. Clearly if a CR > 1 is possible, all fertile material resources are potentially available for energy production after conversion to fissile species. A breeder reactor is by definition a reactor whose conversion ratio is > 1. The CR of a given reactor type is detailed by the neutron economics of that type. Light Water Reactors (LWR) are limited to a CR of ≈ 0.6 whereas the CR of High Temperature Gas Cooled Reactors (HTGR) is limited to ≈ 0.8. A Light Water Breeder Reactor (LWBR) based on the thorium cycle is under study but its theoretical maximum CR of 1.06 makes it unattractive compared to Liquid Metal Fast Breeder Reactors (LMFBR) or Gas Cooled Fast Breeder Reactors (GCFBR), whose CR's are respectively 1.27 and 1.48 based on oxide fuels and 1.50 and 1.60 when based on carbide fuels. A Molten Salt Breeder Reactor (MSBR) concept under study has a CR of 1.06.

Although many problems exist with LWR's in relation to safety and public acceptance, their development is essentially complete and of the energy needs until ≈ 1990. In addition to having a higher CR (0.8 vs 0.6), HTGR's operate much higher temperatures than do LWR's and hence are more efficient in transformation of fission energy to electrical energy. However, the HTGR development, while more advanced than that of the breeder concepts, is considerably behind that of LWR. HTGR's are projected to supply a significant portion of the energy needs by 1990, but they will not have much impact until the early 80's.

Based on a comparison of the potential problems and merits of various breeder concepts, the AEC's Division of Reactor Development (Milton Shaw) has selected the LMFBR as the principal candidate to solve the long term energy needs. The President has endorsed this selection by declaring the LMFBR to be a national goal.

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The conversion ratio possible with LWR (a nonbreeder, CR=0.6) HTGR (a nonbreeder, CR=0.8) systems would still permit respectively energy utilization of approximately 2.5 and 5 times the natural fissile material available. But the GCFBR or the LMFBR systems (both breeder with CR's >1) would permit energy utilization of essentially all available fertile and fissile fuel.

Tables I and II taken from *Scientific American* (September 1971) show the relative prospects of various sources in meeting cumulative and energy needs between now and the year 2000 and the energy requirements in the year 2000.

SYNTHETIC FUELS

As a means of easing the energy crisis—and ultimately surmounting it—synthetic fuels offer considerable merit and hope. Although several alternative types of synthetic fuels—such as gas and liquid hydrocarbons derived from coal and synthetic natural gas derived from petroleum (SNG)—are being given careful attention, some of the more popular current thinking suggests that replacement of fossil fuels by synthetic fuels can take place in roughly two steps: first, by transforming our most abundant fossil fuel, coal, from a solid to an easily transportable, high heat content gas; and second, by passing on to a fuel economy based on hydrogen.

TABLE I

Depletable supply (10 ¹² watt-years)	World	United States
Coal.....	670-1,000	160-230
Petroleum.....	100-200	20-35
Gas.....	70-170	20-35
Subtotal.....	840-1,370	200-300
Nuclear (ordinary reactor).....	~3,000	~300
Nuclear (breeder reactor).....	~300,000	~30,000
Cumulative demand 1960 to year 2000 (10 ¹² watt-years).....	350-700	100-140

Note: Economically recoverable fuel supply is an estimate of the quantities available at no more than twice present costs. U.S. reserves of all fossil fuels are slightly less than a 4th of the world total and its reserves of nuclear fuels are only a 10th of the world totals. Fossil-fuel reserves are barely equivalent to twice the cumulative demand for energy between 1960 and 2000. Even nuclear fuel is none too plentiful if one were to use only the ordinary light-water reactors. By employing breeder reactors, however, the nuclear supply can be amplified roughly a hundredfold. (10¹² watt-years equals 29.9 × 10¹² Btu.)

TABLE II

World		United States		World		United States		
Continuous supply (10 ¹² watts)	Maximum	Possible by 2000						
Solar radiation.....	28,000	1.3 ¹	1,600	0.05				
Fuel wood.....	3	1.3	.1	.05				
Farm waste.....	2	.6	.2	.00				
Photosynthesis fuel.....	8	.01	.5	.001				
Hydropower.....	3	1	.3	.1				
Wind power.....	.1	.01	.01	.001				
Direct conversion.....	(0)	.01	(0)	.001				
Space heating.....	.6	.006	.01	.001				
Nonsolar:								
Tidal.....			1	0.06	0.1	0.06		
Geothermal.....			.06	.006	.01	.006		
Total.....			18+	3	1.2	.2		
Annual demand year 2000 (10 ¹² watts).....			~15			~5-6		

¹ Unknown.

Note: Continuous, or renewable, energy supply can be divided into 2 categories: solar and non-solar. 2 sets of estimates are again presented, 1 for the world and one for the United States alone. The figure for total solar radiation includes only the fraction (about 30 percent) falling on land areas.

Coal gasification

The aim of coal gasification is to treat the raw material, being over 75% elemental carbon (C), with water (H₂O) to produce a gas of about 95% methane (CH₄)—natural gas contains the same amount of CH₄—in a manner which uses the coal more efficiently than if the coal were used instead to produce electric power directly. The process is a very complicated one, made even more complex by environmental considerations which strictly limit emission to the atmosphere of solid particulate material and noxious vapors originating from impurities (principally sulfur) in the coal. Several methods of coal

gasification have been proposed and are in the development stage, e.g., the Steam-Oxygen Hy-Gas process of the Institute of Gas Technology, the Synthane process of the U.S. Bureau of Mines, the Bi-Gas process of Bituminous Coal Research, Inc., etc.; but only one, the Lurgi process originated in Germany several decades ago, is now being planned for commercial application. This involves the reaction of the coal with water at high temperature and pressure, producing a gas low in methane and heat. In order to upgrade both of these qualities—to more nearly approach those of natural gas—four more steps

are required. The following table gives the gas composition and heat value after each step (the last four steps have not been proven in full scale operation; but only step 4 produces some misgivings, and the process could be stopped after step 3 to yield a low grade but usable fuel).

At present there are plans to install seven similar large coal gasification units in the Four Corners region of New Mexico. The first of these, to be built and operated by El Paso Natural Gas, will use the Lurgi process and other steps outlined on page 11. Scheduled to go on-stream in 1976, it will be situated

near a coal field of approximately 100 square miles in an area which will be stripmined to provide the 24,000 tons of coal per day necessary to produce the scheduled output of

250,000,000 standard cubic feet of gas per day. Water used in the methane production is not recoverable (except when the gas is burned). When all seven plants are in operation it is

estimated that they will require 70,000 acre-feet of water per year, which represents the entire presently uncommitted portion of the San Juan River flow.

COMPOSITION OF GAS AND HEAT VALUE AFTER THE VARIOUS STAGES OF COAL GASIFICATION AND UPGRADING

[Percent by volume]

Gas species	After Lurgi process	After step 2, H ₂ enrichment	After step 3, scrubbing ¹	After step 4, methanation	After step 5, CO ₂ removal
CO ₂	28.9	38.2	6.0	8.7	2.0
H ₂ S	.3	.3			
CO	19.6	3.9	16.6	1	.1
H ₂	38.8	46.8	61.2	.7	.8
CH ₄	11.1	9.6	15.0	89.4	95.9
Misc.	1.2	1.1	.8	1.1	1.2
Heat value (BTU/SCF) ²	320.0	278.0	415.0	905.0	972.0

¹ This is approximately the composition of town gas, used extensively before natural gas became widely distributed in the 1940's.

² British thermal units per standard cubic foot, the heating value of natural gas is approximately 1,000 BTU/SCF.

As an indication of the economical use of coal in this system as compared with that of the present five coal-fired electric power plants in the same area, the following table is instructive.

The output of the coal gasification plants is scheduled to be piped to California. Traditionally, one-half of the gas used in that state is for purposes of generating electric power. In this regard, it is important to point out that in conversion of gas to electricity two-thirds of the energy content of the gas is wasted.

	Capital cost (millions of B.t.u. per hour)	Energy output (millions of B.t.u. per hour)	Cost to consumer (per million B.t.u.)
5 coal-fired plants	\$250	7,116	532
1 gas plant	\$350	10,128	941

¹ At 2¢ per kilowatt-hour.

Finally, it is of interest to compare the cost of the heat measured in dollars per 1,000,000 BTU for fuel gas from various sources:

Source	Dollars per 1,000,000 Btu
Domestic natural gas	0.40-0.60 (current).
Import liquefied natural gas	0.90-1.10 (projected, 1976).
Coal gasification	1.20 (projected, 1976).

It is expected that by the time coal gasification plants come on-stream costs of domestic natural gas will have risen to the point that gas from all three sources will be competitive.

Hydrogen

Clearly coal gasification, relying as it does upon a finite supply of raw material, offers only an incomplete and interim solution to the transportable fuel problem. Any long-range solution must be divorced from a dependency upon fossil fuels and must instead be based on a conveniently usable fuel derived from a nondepletable source of supply. Such a fuel is hydrogen (H₂), and such a source is water. Moreover, as the product of its combustion with oxygen is water, H₂ carries with it the attractive advantages of being nonpolluting and recyclable. On the other hand, because H₂ must be produced from H₂O with the expenditure of more energy than the burning of H₂ supplies, it cannot be considered a primary fuel; rather it is a carrier of energy, which when compared with natural gas has one-third the heat value on a volume basis but more than three times the heat value on a weight basis.

Currently H₂ is produced by reacting water with natural gas. In 1968 over two trillion cubic feet of H₂ were produced by this method at an approximate cost of \$0.25 per thousand cubic feet (m.c.f.). Most of this H₂ is used for industrial processes. In the future

water must be used as a raw material and here rests the main problem in the technology of H₂: to obtain H₂ cheaply from H₂O. Electrolysis of water, whereby H₂O is separated by an electric current into H₂ and O₂, costs at present about \$0.37 per m.c.f.; although the cost of electricity will certainly rise in the future this may still prove to be the best method. However, other means of H₂ production are being considered, most notably processes involving chemical reaction using proper catalysts and decomposition of H₂O at the very high temperatures furnished by nuclear reactors.

The storage and transportation of H₂ can be accomplished with the fuel either as a gas or as a liquid, the choice depending upon the economics and convenience for a particular use. For liquid H₂, cryogenic (low temperature) techniques are necessary, but experience has already been gained at several installations for storing and handling of the order of millions of gallons of liquid H₂. Gaseous H₂ can be transported through pipelines currently used for natural gas provided some extra care is taken to insure that the lines contain no leaks. Once the H₂ is produced, the cost of transmitting it through pipelines is considerably cheaper than transmitting the equivalent power as electricity in overhead transmission lines. A recent estimate of the costs for transporting natural gas, gaseous H₂, and overhead electricity in dollars per million BTU per 100 miles gives respectively \$0.01, \$0.02-0.04, and greater than \$0.06.

Although several schemes have been proposed for a total energy system involving H₂ as an energy carrier, one of the more realistic involves the following general steps: 1) production of H₂ by electrolysis of desalinated sea water with an offshore sited nuclear reactor providing the electricity for electrolysis and heat for desalination; 2) collection and pipeline transport of by-product oxygen to storage at load areas for industrial and municipal use (for example, pure O₂ is desirable for burning H₂ for use in fuel cells—see below—and for purifying polluted water, etc.); 3) collection and pipeline transport of H₂ to storage at load areas for industrial, commercial, residential and transport uses and for electrical generation.

The choice of nuclear reactor type is important. Use of conventional reactors (i.e., those now in operation) are ruled out, as by this method our reserves of uranium would be depleted in 30-40 years; hence this offers no long-range solution to the energy problem. On the other hand, although the breeder reactor would be an appropriate choice, it has not yet been developed to a stage of commercial reliability. Finally, a fusion reactor would be ideal, since in the electrolysis process it would generate some of its own fuel (deuterium); but this development is still more uncertain and farther in the future than the breeder reactor.

Storage of liquid O₂ and H₂ is most convenient; but since considerable energy is re-

quired to liquefy the gases, this storage method cannot be universally used. High pressure gas tanks, caves, and empty natural gas wells offer alternatives. Another potentially attractive scheme involves the storage of H₂ as solid metal hydrides—metals such as magnesium, titanium, iron-titanium alloys, etc. react with H₂ under pressure to the extent that the H₂ can be at a density several times the liquid density; release of the pressure releases the H₂.

As a fuel for transport vehicles—air, land, and sea; private and commercial—H₂ burned with pure O₂ is ideal. For example, for use in private automobiles the burning of H₂ in present internal combustion engine models has been accomplished with only slight alteration of carburetion; furthermore, the exhaust emission can easily be made to meet any federal standards likely to be imposed. For supersonic aircraft, liquid H₂ is again ideal, as it can be easily stored and can be used to cool the aircraft skin, thereby allowing lighter and less exotic metals to be used.

As a fuel for space heating and domestic use, H₂ is an altogether suitable substitute for natural gas. When the changeover was made in many locations during the 1940's from "town gas" (about 60% H₂) to natural gas, the only change needed was a slight modification (increase in opening size) of the burner jets; the transition back to H₂ would require merely reducing jet openings to previous size.

As a fuel for electric power generation H₂ could be used again as a substitute for natural gas to run steam turbine systems. However, a far more efficient system for this purpose is the fuel cell. In the H₂-O₂ fuel cell the two gases are catalytically combined to form water and generate electricity—essentially the reverse of the electrolysis process to form H₂ and O₂ from H₂O (other chemicals can also be used in fuel cells). Small H₂-O₂ fuel cells have been effectively used on space-flight missions, and many uses for similar small and medium size plants come readily to mind. Although as yet no large scale fuel cell power plants have been built, it is estimated that with current technology such plants would convert fuel to electricity with nearly a 50% efficiency, as compared with the 33% maximum efficiency for a steam turbine system. The largest effort in fuel cell development presently resides in Pratt & Whitney's TARGET program using natural gas as a source of H₂ for a H₂-O₂ fuel cell.

As a result of the Hindenburg disaster, H₂ has been unjustly stigmatized as a material unsafe for public use. In fact, H₂ is in many ways much safer to use than gasoline; and in addition, safe handling methods have been developed which reduce the risks by a large factor. The public did not balk when "town gas" was used—and this contained the added hazard of about 15% carbon monoxide, a well known deadly poison. With

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the proper approach and proper educational program the public can learn to respect the potential dangers of H_2 while enjoying the tremendous benefits of a fuel economy based on H_2 .

SOLAR ENERGY

Solar energy shares with tidal and wind energy the ultimate advantage of not increasing the heat load on the earth.

The amount of energy available from the sun is large, that falling on an average American roof top during the year being about five times the total amount used in that home. Although the amount of energy is large, it is in too dilute a form to be easily used. It must be collected and somehow concentrated until high temperatures are reached if it is to turn a shaft and do useful work. Devices to collect and concentrate the energy are not cost effective, as yet, and need additional development.

The sun shines brightly only the four hours before and after noon, if no clouds block its rays. Man uses energy at all times of the day and year, so some type of heat storage is also needed, if solar energy systems are to supply energy when man wants it.

Since solar energy is more easily collected and stored at low temperatures than high, special solar compatible equipment is needed. Lower temperature turbines, for generating electricity, and air conditioning equipment, are two examples of this special equipment.

Solar energy systems have been under development for centuries, but by small groups of people with limited funding. The Israelis began a government-sponsored program for solar energy development in the late 1950's. They stopped their sponsorship after the Six-Day War, when cheaper petroleum was available. Until the past few years solar energy development in the United States has been sponsored in the universities, or by private foundations. Federal support has come from the National Science Foundation under its "research applied to national needs" program, or NSF-RANN; totals are FY 71 1.2 million, FY 72 1.6 million, and FY 73 3.8 million. The FY 74 funding will probably increase. Programs sponsored under this program are funded annually, based on proposals submitted to NSF-RANN. NASA Marshall and Lewis Laboratories have started programs, estimated at one to two million dollars in Fiscal 1974.

Solar energy development has been directed toward two areas. At the University of Arizona, the concept of a solar electric power plant on inexpensive land, has been suggested.

A University of Minnesota-Honeywell team is also investigating the central power plant. NASA programs are directed at solar heating and air conditioning for homes, and a prototype electric power plant for a laboratory building. At Sandia Laboratories, systems studies have been directed toward a new approach to use of solar energy, called the "Solar Community" concept. In this concept, a small community of homes and associated service industries would receive their energy from a common solar energy collecting area. This energy would be stored underground, and when used would be converted first to electricity, then the cooled fluid from the turbogenerator would be used to heat or air condition. This "cascading" is an effort to make maximum use of collected energy rather than discard the major portion in the fashion of central power plants. These studies have progressed to the point where a proposal has been drafted for building test hardware.

GEOTHERMAL ENERGY

Natural geothermal steam energy

As long ago as 1904, Italian engineers near Lardarello in Tuscany, Italy, happened on a means of manufacturing cheap electric power which remains a promising reserve of energy for the future. The source of the energy

is steam created deep underground by earth heat. Geothermal reservoirs consist of permeable and porous rock in which, by circulation of steam or hot water, a convection system can develop. Ground water, which can percolate down to depths of several miles, is heated directly or indirectly by the underlying magmas, expands, and ascends toward the surface. For this water to form a heat reservoir, a cap or cover of some sort is required, otherwise the heat dissipates. Often this capping is provided by a layer of impervious rock overlying the permeable reservoir rock, as in Wairakei, New Zealand, and Lardarello, Italy. Temperatures in the geothermal reservoirs vary from around 400° to 700°F. Such reservoirs provide sufficient concentrated thermal energy to be suitable for the production of electric power; they are most satisfactory for this purpose when the heat can be tapped within depths of 2000 to 8000 feet. This steam gushes from specially drilled wells and is directed to drive turbine generators. From there it is routed to condensing towers where commercially usable chemicals are recovered.

There is another type of reservoir containing large amounts of water at temperatures ranging from 150° to 200°F at relatively shallow depths. Because of their large areas these basins represent tremendous stores of heat. They are found in the southern part of Russia, in Australia, and along the U.S. Gulf Coast, in addition to several other countries. While not satisfactory for electric power production by current technology, this lower quality heat can be utilized for space heating and other applications.

Throughout the world, the geothermal power capacity has increased steadily since 1904; although it is still, and seems likely to remain, small in comparison with other electrical energy sources. Today generators being driven by steam pressure developed from geothermal heat account for 700,000 kW. Italy has an installed capacity of 400,000 kW, New Zealand has 192,000 kW, and the United States 82,000 kW. In addition, the U.S. has a capacity of 330,000 kW under construction, all in one steam field at the Geysers, California. The ultimate capacity of this steam field has been estimated at from 2 to 5 million kW; it is the largest known dry-steam field in the world. Dry steam has recently been reported from a well drilled in Valles Caldera, Sandoval County, New Mexico, and this may represent the beginning of a second United States dry steam field.

Hot brine with temperatures up to 650°F has been produced at the Salton Sea area in the Imperial Valley of Southern California but technical problems in handling the hot corrosive solution have prevented its use. Mexico is installing a 75,000 kW plant at Cerro Prieto in the southern extension of the Imperial Valley where the mineral concentration in the very hot waters is much less than in the Salton Sea field.

Four hundred residences, several schools, and a number of businesses are using natural hot water at Klamath Falls, Oregon. A large commercial tomato greenhouse is heated this way at Lakeview, Oregon, and at least 200 residences in Boise, Idaho, receive this type of heat.

The construction cost of a geothermal plant is two-thirds to three-fourths of the cost of a comparable fossil fuel plant and less than half that of a nuclear plant. The Geysers plant in California normally operates unattended (but protected by automatic equipment) for 16 hours out of 24, with maintenance personnel on hand only during the day. Only hydropower plants can produce power at lower cost. Geothermal plants require large expenditure for exploration but the reward for success can be substantial. The obvious success of the Geysers field and the improvements in high voltage transmission have greatly increased the attractiveness of geothermal power within the last few years.

Natural steam power plants have very little impact on the environment. Natural steam

from the earth is remarkably low in atmospheric pollutants. There are no fly-ash, no nitrogen or sulphur oxides, and no radiation hazard. The only significant environmental hazard in geothermal power production is the effect on water quality of improper control of excess steam condensate.

Donald E. White of the United States Geological Survey has estimated that the stored thermal energy in the world's geothermal areas amounts to about 4×10^{20} joules. With a 25% conversion factor, the production of electrical energy would be about 10^{20} joules, or 3 million megawatt years, or enough to supply U.S. energy needs at the 1970 rate for three years.

It is generally conceded that the Russian Tokamak experiment has come closest to meeting the Lawson criterion for a D-T reaction, with ion density of $2.5 \times 10^{15}/cm^3$ and confinement time of 0.02 second, giving a product of 5×10^{11} ions/sec/cm³ or a factor of 200 lower than the critical value. In addition, the plasma temperatures were much too low to sustain the reaction. However, several fusion devices, including the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory's (LASL) Scylla IV experiment, have exceeded fusion ignition temperatures but are farther below the Lawson criterion. Hence feasibility of fusion power has yet to be demonstrated.

Besides the very difficult physical problem of plasma confinement there are some extremely formidable engineering and materials problems associated primarily with the development of cryogenic magnets to achieve confinement, shielding against the extremely high radiation fields produced by the fusion reaction, and conversion of the heat generated by the nuclear reaction into usable energy. Based on past achievements in understanding plasma instabilities and recent experimental progress, confidence in the feasibility of fusion power has increased greatly during the past 5 years. In this country, where all the large-scale fusion experiments are being done under the auspices of the USAEC Division of Controlled Thermonuclear Research (DCTR), feasibility experiments are planned for 1980-1982. Once feasibility is established, several decades may be required to overcome the engineering difficulties standing in the way of commercial power production.

Primary contenders in the U.S. race to demonstrate feasibility are: Oak Ridge National Laboratory and Princeton Plasma Physics Laboratory with Tokamak-type machines, Lawrence Livermore Laboratory (LLL) with magnetic mirror machine, and LASL with a pulsed θ -pinch machine. These three types of devices represent three different concepts for containment and operation. A late-starter in the race is the laser-fusion concept, whereby a series of small pellets of, say, solid D-T are burned in a thermonuclear reaction by focusing a high energy laser beam successively on the pellets. Work in this area is being carried out at LASL, LLL, and Sandia Laboratories.

The ample supply of deuterium fuel for a fusion reactor will likely come from sea water of which D is a relatively abundant constituent. Furthermore natural lithium (Li) as a mixture of Li_6 and Li_7 is ideal as a breeder of T when used as a molten liquid shield to absorb the neutron energy from the D-T reaction—the liquid Li can then be circulated to a heat exchanger to make steam and the T removed for future injection into the reactor. Such a closed cycle loop could be made fully safe from a radiation hazard point of view and in general entirely nondestructive to the environment.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

This summary, design, is incomplete; many issues could only be hinted at. We would recommend for further reading the following:

1. *Scientific American, Energy and Power Issue, September 1971.*
2. *Briefings before the Task Force on Energy of the Subcommittee on Science Re-*

search and Development of the Committee on Science and Astronautics, U.S. House of Representatives, Ninety Second Congress, Volumes I and II, 1971, Volume III, 1972.

3. *New Energy Technology, Some Facts and Assessments*, H. C. Hottel and J. B. Howard, MIT Press, 1971.

4. *The Limits to Growth*, Dennis L. Meadows and others, New American Library, Inc., 1972.

THE POWER OVER THE PURSE

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, the Constitution carefully separates the powers of the three branches of Government. The interpretation of the Constitution 186 years later draws different meanings from the same basic clauses by a Republican President and a Democratic Congress.

The Constitution seems clear enough. It says that Congress "shall have power to lay and collect taxes and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States."

The power of Congress to appropriate money and ultimately to control how that money is to be spent is the foundation of all legislative power. Congressional supremacy on fiscal matters is clearly set forth in the Constitution and in the Federal Papers.

In the controversy over the refusal of the executive branch to spend money in the amounts and for the purpose written into law by Congress, the President has made a bold bid for Executive supremacy. In support of this doctrine, the President exploits ambiguous precedents and pretends that what is cloudy is actually well defined.

Previous Presidents, going back to the days of Thomas Jefferson, exercised the power to impound funds only in isolated or temporary circumstances. Former Chief Executives were just as jealous of their prerogatives, however, they recognized also that they shared fiscal power with Congress and that comity between two equal branches of Government is furthered only when the responsibilities are shared. Obviously, if a President finds he can administer a program with fewer employees or in a more efficient manner than Congress has contemplated when it approves an appropriation, it would then be absurd of him to spend more money than is needed. However, efficient management is quite different from a decision to kill a program by not spending any money at all.

The President's usurpation of a legislative function by arbitrary veto on virtually any action of Congress by withholding the necessary funds to implement such legislation is dangerous and should be repudiated by those who believe in balance of power. Many years ago former President Rutherford B. Hayes had this to say on the economy of the Nation:

To withhold the means necessary for the performance of a promise is always false economy, and is apt to prove disastrous in its consequences.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

A SPECIAL TRIBUTE TO A GRAND LADY, HARRIET NEWHALL

HON. ELLA T. GRASSO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mrs. GRASSO. Mr. Speaker, it is with a deeply saddened heart that I rise to pay tribute to the passing of Harriet Newhall, one of the finest and most beloved deans of the college admissions' world.

For nearly two decades, from 1939 until her retirement in 1958, Miss Newhall was director of admission at Mount Holyoke College in South Hadley, Mass. A 1914 graduate of Mount Holyoke, Harriet Newhall brought to her position a profound respect for the potential of young students, professional expertise, and a devotion to the traditions and academic excellence for which her alma mater is internationally recognized.

Conscientious dedication to her duties, hard work, and resourcefulness earned Harriet Newhall the praise and gratitude, the respect and affection of students, faculty, administrators, and trustees alike.

Many young women who studied at Mount Holyoke College during the years when Miss Newhall was director of admissions came to know this kind, gentle and resourceful woman whose accomplishments gained for her the admiration and respect of all her associates. I am proud to have been among those who knew her in her official role as dean of admissions, and having passed that scrutiny hailed her as friend and counselor.

Harriet Newhall earned high marks for an outstanding performance in establishing and maintaining admission standards of academic superiority, strong personal integrity, and a diverse student body which have made Mount Holyoke a college of superb quality. Her tenure spanned generations of undergraduates and changing administrations. A person for all seasons, her vitality and enthusiasm kindled new accomplishments and achievements in a college in transition.

Harriet Newhall held many positions of prominence during her lifetime. She served as a trustee for the College Entrance Examination Board, assistant director of admissions for Wellesley College, and was a member of the New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, and the League of Women Voters.

Perhaps the greatest memorial to Harriet Newhall will be paid posthumously. In 1972, Mount Holyoke announced the establishment of a Harriet Newhall tuition grant to outstanding graduates of the Holyoke Community College. The first award will be given in September.

I know that all of us who knew Miss Newhall at Mount Holyoke will miss her. We are indebted to Harriet Newhall for the superb qualities which she brought to the decisions governing admission to Mount Holyoke College. Many of us will remember with poignant delight that she possessed the distinctive capacity to recognize and remember every returning alumna and that her greeting was one

more special reason for a sentimental journey to South Hadley.

I extend my sincere condolences to the family of Harriet Newhall.

WELFARE SCANDAL—XI

HON. VERNON W. THOMSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, we in the Congress who are charged with the responsibility for spending billions of dollars every year for programs of public welfare would do well to remind ourselves that gross mismanagement often frustrates our attempts to provide real assistance to the truly needy. A newspaper series recently run in the Milwaukee Sentinel describes the waste in the Milwaukee County welfare department. I am inserting the 11th segment of this series today. If the frauds and mismanagement found in Milwaukee are repeated in other cities, the Congress cannot continue to ignore the problems implicit in our present welfare system. Action is needed—now.

The article follows:

BILL ERROR BARES INFLATED AID

(By Gene Cunningham and Stuart Wilk)

This is the story of welfare department error, client fraud and a \$905 gas bill.

It started with a telephone call to The Milwaukee Sentinel Monday morning from a woman welfare recipient who complained that her gas bill was too high.

She said she was being overbilled.

Indeed she was. The Sentinel learned that the Wisconsin Gas Co.—through computer error—had overbilled the woman by about \$645.

The Sentinel then learned that the woman and her family are getting multiple grants under various names from the Milwaukee County Welfare Department.

The department is paying about \$130 a month for members of the family already covered under other grants.

The welfare department was not aware of the multiple grants until notified by The Sentinel on Tuesday, although the woman's case records indicate the existence of multiple grants.

"I have no knowledge of this except that we are presently investigating whether it is so," said Arthur Silverman, welfare director.

"There will have to be an investigation. If there is indication of fraud, there will be followup and prosecution for fraud," Silverman said.

All of the grants in this case are being mailed by the department to the same address.

Silverman said that the department does a computer run "from time to time" to cross check grants going to the same address. He said that for the past six months there has been a request at the Department of Administration to program the computer to run off this information "constantly."

The request is "now under consideration," Silverman said.

Monday the woman called The Sentinel complaining that her gas bill had jumped \$665 in three months, although she uses gas only for cooking and for a hot water heater.

The Wisconsin Gas Co. told reporters that because a "wrong factor" had been punched into the computer, "the error kept compounding itself."

"It's our fault on the bill," a company spokesman said.

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The spokesman said that the woman actually was using only about \$12 a month in gas. He said the company would send her a revised bill.

The woman had not paid her gas bill since November, 1971, according to the company.

The welfare department has told reporters repeatedly that a recipient is put on vouchers if he hasn't paid a bill for two months. This woman had not paid her gas bill for more than a year.

[Under the voucher system, the department sends payments direct to the creditor, instead of to the welfare recipient.]

A spokesman for the welfare department said the woman had not been put on voucher because the department was not aware of the arrearage "until she called on Monday."

In the process of checking the case, The Sentinel learned that the welfare department is paying duplicate grants for the woman's daughter and duplicate grants for the woman's grandchild.

The grants are going out under different names.

The Sheriff's Department Fraud Squad had told The Sentinel that "nine out of ten" persons who try to get aid under more than one name could probably get away with it.

One grant—for \$410—is sent to the woman each month under Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC). The grant covers the woman and her six children, according to department records.

Records show that another AFDC grant is being sent for one of the daughters covered in the \$410 grant and for the woman's grandchild. That grant is \$132 a month.

A third grant is being sent for the same grandchild covered in the second grant. That grant is \$60 a month.

Different names are being used for children and the grandchild in the second and third grants.

The daughter is listed under one last name on one grant and another last name on another grant. The first name is the same and so is the birthdate—Aug. 8, 1957.

The grandchild is listed under different first and last names on the two grants that apply to her. On both grants, however, she is listed as having a birthdate of Feb. 28, 1972.

When The Sentinel informed the woman that her gas bill was being corrected she said she was appreciative.

"I take my hat off to you," the woman said.

Asked about the duplicate grants, the woman first said she had no knowledge of duplicate grants and then said:

"I just wanted to get my gas bill checked and the thing backfired."

She declined to comment further and referred all questions to her caseworker.

COMMUNIST NORTH VIETNAMESE TORTURED MICHIGAN FLYER

HON. ROBERT J. HUBER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Speaker, the stories of our returning POWs and how they fared with the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong have shocked and saddened many Americans. How many Americans were duped by the performances, staged in collaboration with the professional groups of anti-Vietnam war people who visited Hanoi, will probably never be known. What should be realized, however, is that what we Americans heard is all part and parcel of the usual Communist behavior in such circumstances.

Communist countries care little or nothing about what happens to their own men who are taken prisoner and they view any prisoners they take as political pawns. The history of the statements our men had to sign dates clear back to the patterns of the "forced confessions" extracted from Stalin's enemies in the purge trials of the 1930's. In the conflict in Korea, we had the so-called "germ warfare confessions" and later on with the case of the *Pueblo*, we saw that the Communist rulers of North Korea had not changed. Truth is not important to a Communist nation, only the signature on an official document to give it an air of respectability is the important thing to them, whether it is to prove the *Pueblo* was in North Korean territorial waters or that a captured American flyer can be tortured into speaking against his President. Therefore, I commend the story of Capt. Robert A. Abbott of Deckerville, Mich., as it appeared in the Detroit Sunday News of April 1, 1973, to the attention of my colleagues. The story follows:

STATE POW BLAMES TORTURE ON VISITS BY PEACE GROUPS

(By Edwin G. Pipp)

DECKERVILLE, MICH.—How American prisoners in Hanoi were tortured and beaten into submitting to propaganda pictures and interviews with anti-war groups was described Saturday by a former Vietnam prisoner.

"The stuff that came back with those anti-war people was absolutely staged," said Capt. Robert A. Abbott, a POW for nearly six years.

"Propaganda was 80 percent more important to Hanoi than military information," he said. "They wanted propaganda and would go to any ends to get it. Those anti-war people who came to North Vietnam caused Americans to be tortured."

Abbott, a fighter pilot who was shot down April 30, 1967, was the center of a welcome home celebration Saturday in Deckerville, a thumb area community in Sanilac County, 100 miles north of Detroit.

"It isn't important that I tell you how I was beaten . . . because most of the guys got that," he said.

"I just want to convey to the American people that we resisted to the best of our ability, but if they wanted propaganda—they got it."

Abbott said higher-ranking officers received most of the abuse but he also described how he endured 15 days of torture that prepared him for interviews with a group of correspondents from East Germany.

He said films showing prisoners playing table tennis, basketball and trimming flowers were "one time things."

"They'd open your cell door, you'd bow, and they'd say, 'You come and play Ping-Pong,'" he said. "If you didn't go you knew you'd be beaten. They'd break a man down until he would say yes to anything."

"We resisted to the best of our abilities, but when it came to a point that we might die for something we didn't think absolutely necessary, we gave in. It wasn't brainwashing; it was a physical breakdown."

"It's easy to face up to a guy who says, 'I'm goin' to shoot you if you don't do this.' You stand there and he shoots you and it's all over. But if he puts you in chains for a week or 14 days, it is a different story and you do what he wants."

"It's just so important to get the American people to realize that the propaganda they received was staged and the men beaten severely for that propaganda. Those anti-war people who came over there helped the en-

emy—the Communists—extract this propaganda because that's what they wanted to hear."

"They wanted to hear an American . . . stand up in front of them, or sit down in a chair, all smiles and drink beer while they're condemning the United States and the President."

"This is why we have such animosity against those people. They should have known that if they came over and said they wanted to see a prisoner of war the Communists were going to get a man out there one way or another to tell them what they wanted to hear . . .

"The fear of being beaten again is so bad that you'll go there and smile and give them the party line. That's what they want to hear and that's what the gooks want you to do. And that's the way it came about."

Abbott said his captors began preparing him for an interview shortly after he was captured with 15 days of torture—his captors seeking military information, his biography and a signature on a "confession to criminal acts."

The torture began when he was denied treatment for burns on his wrists and head which he had suffered when his plane was shot down and he refused to answer military questions, he said.

The fighter pilot's voice dropped almost to a whisper as he described how the Communists put irons around his ankles, handcuffed his hands behind him and then ran a rope attached to the handcuffs over his shoulders down to the leg irons and "tightened me down."

"Then they just left you in this contortionist position alone in a cell until you told them what they wanted," he said. "I went through this pressure position four hours the first time for military information."

"They would check about every 15 minutes and pick and bounce me around."

"I refused again on the biography deal and got the same treatment. I didn't last so long then because I didn't think it was too important. It was between my conscience and how long I could resist."

He said his third experience with the irons came when he refused to sign the "confession" and that he had decided to resist as long as possible.

"I was in the irons for six hours and then they took me out of the irons and put me in the solo room," he said.

This was a small cell containing a concrete slab with leg manacles.

"They put my ankles in the manacles and then handcuffs on my wrists and fastened the handcuffs to the manacles," he said. "I stayed in that position for 36 hours. After 36 hours they had me broke down and that's what they wanted."

"After that they could get anything they wanted."

He said after he signed the "confession" he was put back on the slab for seven days as punishment for not signing earlier.

During this time he was out of the restraints for only five minutes twice-a-day for food, he said, and there was no protection from mosquitoes that swarmed into the room.

At the end of 15 days of torture he was told that he was going to meet with a delegation, and rehearsals started on what he would tell them. This lasted two to three weeks before he met with a group from East Germany.

"I was in a state of shock and broken-down and they told me I would go back into irons if I didn't meet the delegation," Abbott said.

"I met them and answered their questions as I had been coached to do."

At this meeting, which was filmed, there was beer on the table. But Abbott said he didn't drink any.

"I didn't want to appear like I was happy. They wanted you to appear natural but it was a put-up job."

"I've had contacts with the other guys who have been through this and it was a typical procedure all the way along," Abbott said.

His experience with an interview happened early in his six-year captivity, Abbott said, and he does not have first-hand knowledge about how interviews were handled during recent years.

"Ramsey Clark and Jane Fonda talked to people but they talked to the same people," he said. "It was the same eight or ten people and I have my ideas on how that was staged, but won't talk about it because I don't have first-hand knowledge."

After Clark, former U.S. attorney general, visited Hanoi last August for two weeks, he said he talked with 10 prisoners for two hours "on any subject," and reported he found the health of the POW's "better than mine and I am a healthy man."

Miss Fonda visited Hanoi for two weeks last July, talked with about 10 POW's and condemned North Vietnam's enemies over Radio Hanoi.

Despite his experience as a POW, Abbott appeared well and healthy as he described the Communist ways of obtaining propaganda statements.

"It was 13th century torture . . . they had no understanding of anything but brute force . . . they had all the time in the world because there was nobody there who cared," Abbott said.

"We figured that 95 percent of the people there were tortured one time or another through this procedure. Some guys would sit on stools for four or five days and the guards wouldn't let them sleep."

"In Vietnam everybody was beaten and tortured. We expected that for military information. But for propaganda we couldn't understand it. We just couldn't understand why the American people would allow those anti-war people to come to North Vietnam and then believe what they brought back."

FUNDING OF OEO PROGRAMS

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, I think it is important and necessary for Congress to understand exactly how much money the President is proposing to cut or shift from programs authorized under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 as amended. The following table presents a comparison of funding levels for EOA programs for the fiscal years 1972, 1973, and 1974. Funding levels for fiscal year 1972 are actual outlays or obligations; fiscal year 1973 figures are estimated outlays or obligations; fiscal year 1974 figures are from the President's budget request and other sources as indicated.

It is important to read the notes for explanations of the figures. For example, proposed rescissions are not deducted from the fiscal year 1973 estimated funding outlays and obligations but are included in the notes because Congress has not yet acted on the rescissions.

With the exception of manpower programs, fiscal year 1974 figures do not necessarily represent the actual outlays that would be experienced during fiscal year 1974 because some funds will be expended to meet obligations made in prior years:

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

FUNDING INFORMATION ON PROGRAMS AUTHORIZED UNDER THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964, AS AMENDED: FISCAL YEARS 1972-74

[Dollar amounts in millions]

	Outlays (fiscal year)		
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (re- quested)
1. Neighborhood Youth Corps: In-school and summer programs.	\$376	\$304	Subsumed under MRS. ¹
Out-of-school program	125	103	Do.

¹ The administration has proposed a rescission (formal reduction) of approximately \$246,000,000 for the in-school and summer programs in fiscal year 1973. This would discontinue the summer program beginning in the summer of 1973. The \$304,000,000 figure given above does not take the proposed rescission into account.

² MRS abbreviates Manpower Revenue Sharing. The summer program of NYC is proposed to be discontinued. It is not proposed to be subsumed under MRS.

³ The administration has proposed a rescission of approximately \$10,100,000 for the out-of-school program in fiscal year 1973. The \$103,000,000 figure given above does not take the proposed rescission into account.

Note: The specific amounts of funding (during fiscal year 1974) for the in-school and out-of-school portions of NYC, if MRS is carried through, are not known.

Sources: Special Analysis I of the fiscal 1974 budget; 1973 Proposed Rescission, U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Manpower Training Services.

	Outlays (fiscal year)		
	1972 (actual)	1973 (estimate)	1974 (re- quested)
2. Operation Mainstream	\$75	\$82	Subsumed under MRS.

¹ The administration has proposed a rescission of approximately \$4,300,000 for Operation Mainstream in fiscal year 1973. The \$82,000,000 figure given above does not take the proposed rescission into account.

Source: Special Analysis I of the fiscal year 1974 budget.

Note: The specific amounts of funding (in fiscal year 1974) for the various programs to be subsumed under MRS, if carried through, are not known.

	Outlays (fiscal year)		
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (re- quested)
3. Job Corps	\$188	\$177	\$111

¹ The administration has proposed a rescission of approximately \$10,000,000 for the Job Corps in fiscal year 1973. The \$177,000,000 figure given above does not take the proposed rescission into account.

Sources: Same as those for the Neighborhood Youth Corps figures.

	Outlays (fiscal year)		
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (requested)
4. Concentrated employment program	\$123	\$100	Subsumed under MRS.

¹ The administration has proposed a rescission of approximately \$9,900,000 for the CEP in fiscal year 1973. The \$100,000,000 figure given above does not take the proposed rescission into account.

Source: Same as those noted for the Neighborhood Youth Corps figures.

Note: See note under Operation Mainstream.

	Outlays (fiscal year)		
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (re- quested)
5. Job opportunities in the business sector (JOBS) Basic program only	\$127	\$92	\$96

Sources: Same as those noted for the Neighborhood Youth Corps figures.

	Outlays (fiscal year)		
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (re- quested)
6. Public service careers	\$117	\$180	Subsumed under MRS.

¹ The administration has proposed a rescission of approximately \$3,600,000 for the public service careers program in fiscal year 1973. The \$80,000,000 figure given above does not take the proposed rescission into account.

Source: Same as those noted for the Neighborhood Youth Corps figures.

Note: See note under Operation Mainstream.

	Obligations (fiscal year)		
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (re- quested)
7. Headstart	\$369	\$393	\$407

¹ Appears to include \$15,700,000 to defray administrative costs (previously funded through OEO's CAAS) for operation of Headstart programs.

Sources: Fiscal year 1974 Budget Appendix; "HEW Program Related Items" supplied by the HEW Budget Office.

	Fiscal year			
	1972 (compara- ble appropri- ation)	1973 (revised request)	1974 (re- quested)	
8. Follow Through	\$61.7	\$57.7	\$41.0	

¹ This program is proposed to be phased out beginning in fiscal year 1974 and ending in 1978.

Sources: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Budget Division, "Fiscal 1974 Budget Request" and "History of 1973 2d Vetoed Bill and October Supplemental"; Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of the Secretary, "HEW Budget Request for fiscal year 1974."

	Obligations (fiscal year)		
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (re- quested)
9. Legal services program	\$67.7	\$73.8	\$71.5

¹ The \$71,500,000 for fiscal year 1974 is requested in the budget for HEW for subsequent assignment to the legal services program as a corporation, if legislation for a corporation is enacted. (As of Apr. 10, the Administration's bill has not been sent over.)

Sources: Fiscal year 1974 Budget Appendix; "Office of Economic Opportunity Programs in fiscal year 1974," Office of Economic Opportunity, Office of the Director, Jan. 29, 1973.

	Obligations (fiscal year)		
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (re- quested)
Community economic development	\$26.8	\$30.7	\$39.3

¹ According to the administration's fiscal year 1974 budget request, no new OEO funding for community economic development activities will be made after fiscal year 1973. However, the Office of Minority Business Enterprise has, included in its fiscal year 1974 request, \$39,300,000 to support community development corporations as demonstration projects. New legislation is proposed to be submitted to authorize the OMBE to continue funding of community development corporations (the local grantees of the OEO community economic development program). As of Apr. 10 the administration's bill has not been sent over.

Sources: Same as those noted for the legal services program figures.

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Obligations (fiscal year)—			
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (requested)
11. Community Action Agency Assistance (sec. 221).....	\$298.2	\$238.3	(1)

¹ According to the administration's Fiscal Year 1974 budget request, no new funding for Community Action Agency Assistance under sec. 221 of the EOA will be made after Fiscal Year 1973—except in the case of Indian programs, as discussed below. The Fiscal Year 1972 and Fiscal Year 1973 figures include approximately \$18,000,000 for program administration.

Sources: Fiscal year 1974 Budget Appendix; Office of the Comptroller, Office of Economic Opportunity.

Note: An additional \$3,000,000 (in Fiscal Year 1972 and Fiscal Year 1973) was transferred to the Department of HEW for the national summer youth sports program. Under a delegation agreement with HEW, support for this program will be continued in the summer of 1973. No funds are requested for this activity in Fiscal Year 1974.

Obligations (fiscal year)—			
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (requested)
12. Training and technical assistance (Sec. 230).....	\$11.4	\$6	(1)

¹ According to the administration's fiscal year 1974 budget request, no new funding for training and technical assistance under sec. 230 of the EOA will be made after fiscal year 1973.

Sources: Same as those noted for Community Action Agency assistance figures.

Obligations (fiscal year)—			
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (requested)
13. Senior opportunities and services.....	\$8.1	\$8.0	(1)

¹ According to the administration's fiscal year 1974 budget request, no new funding for senior opportunities and services will be made after fiscal year 1973. However, the administration on aging is anticipated (based on the fiscal year 1974 budget request) to receive a large increase in funding for both its service and nutrition programs for the elderly. This large increase, if enacted, could enable AOA and State agencies, if they so chose, to refund many of the SOS programs formerly funded by OEO.

Sources: Same as those noted for Community Action Agency assistance figures.

Obligations (fiscal year)—			
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (re- quested)
14. State Economic Opportunity Office assistance.....	\$12.1	\$12	(2)

¹ Included in the \$12,000,000 figure is State Economic Opportunity Office assistance that will extend longer than Dec. 31, 1973 (the general cutoff date for most OEO refunding during fiscal year 1973).

² According to the administration's fiscal year 1974 budget request, no new funding for State Economic Opportunity Offices will be made after fiscal year 1973.

Sources: Same as those noted for Community Action Agency assistance figures.

Obligations (fiscal year)—			
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (re- quested)
15. Special Indian programs ¹	\$22.2	\$22.4	\$32.1

¹ The funding listed under this category is also included under other categories. It should not be added to the other categories when computing totals for Fiscal Year 1972 and Fiscal Year 1973. However, it may be added for Fiscal Year 1974.

² This figure includes: \$17,500,000 in Community Action Agency assistance; \$1,500,000 in emergency food and medical services funding; \$1,900,000 in alcoholic counseling and recovery funding; \$1,000,000 in research and demonstration funding; and \$1,000,000 in family planning funding.

³ This figure includes: \$19,000,000 in Community Action Agency assistance; \$2,300,000 in emergency food and medical services funding; and \$1,100,000 in training and technical assistance funding.

⁴ According to the administration's Fiscal Year 1974 budget request, no new OEO funding for special Indian programs will be made after Fiscal Year 1973. However, OEO programs serving Indians will be continued by HEW in Fiscal Year 1974 and converted to a pilot effort funded directly to Indian tribal councils. The \$32,100,000 for Fiscal 1974 Year is requested in the HEW budget request for the Office of the Secretary. It includes a portion of funding attributable to program administration. This funding figure is additive.

Sources: Same as those noted for Community Action Agency Assistance figures.

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Obligations (fiscal year)—			
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (re- quested)
16. Migrant and seasonal farm-worker programs.....	\$36.5	\$36.3	\$40.0

¹ Includes slightly over \$1,000,000 (in each fiscal year) for program administration.

² According to the administration's fiscal year 1974 budget request, no new OEO funding for migrant and seasonal farm-worker programs will be made after fiscal year 1973. The \$40,000,000 for fiscal year 1974 is requested by the Department of Labor. Migrant and seasonal farmworker programs previously funded by OEO will be eligible for continuation under the direction of the Department of Labor after fiscal year 1973. The \$40,000,000 requested by the Department of Labor for fiscal year 1974 includes funding attributable to program administration and emergency food and medical services activities. The relationship between the \$40,000,000 in former OEO funds and the Department of Labor's own funding for migrant programs in fiscal year 1974 (about \$10,000,000 in fiscal year 1973) is uncertain. The Department of Labor has indicated that, tentatively, it plans to spend at least the \$40,000,000 but has not reached a decision on: (a) how much of its own funds will be expended on migrant programs in fiscal year 1974; (b) whether its own programs will be lumped together with the former OEO programs and funded at \$40,000,000 or some other level; and (c) how much migrant funding might be expended under manpower revenue sharing.

Sources: "Office of Economic Opportunity Programs in fiscal year 1974," Office of Economic Opportunity, Office of the Director, Jan. 29, 1973. Letter dated Feb. 26, 1973; from Paul J. Fasser, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Manpower and Manpower Administration, to Mr. Daniels, Chairman of the Select Subcommittee on Labor, Committee on Education and Labor, Department of Labor, Manpower Budget Office.

Obligations (fiscal year)—			
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (re- quested)
17. Rural Loan Program.....	\$3.1	\$1.8	\$2.5

¹ The rural loan program under the Farmers Home Administration was terminated in 1971. The figures shown for fiscal year 1972 through fiscal year 1974 include administrative costs for outstanding loan service and collection only. Beginning in fiscal year 1974, this funding will be directly appropriated to the Department of Agriculture, Farmers Home Administration, according to the fiscal year 1974 Budget Request.

Sources: (a) "Office of Economic Opportunity Programs in fiscal year 1974," Office of Economic Opportunity, Office of the Director, Jan. 29, 1973; (b) Fiscal Year 1974 Budget Appendix.

Obligations (fiscal year)—			
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (re- quested)
18. Economic opportunity loans ¹	\$71.4	\$66.2	\$63.0

¹ The figures set forth under this category include obligations for economic opportunity management assistance and costs and obligations for economic opportunity business loans. Appropriations are to the Small Business Administration.

Source: Fiscal year 1974 Budget Appendix.

Obligations (fiscal year)—			
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (re- quested)
Research and demonstration activities.....	\$45.0	\$66.7	\$77.9

Note: The fiscal year 1974 funding will be requested by the Department of HEW, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development: HEW—\$59,200,000 to the National Institute of Education, the Office of Child Development, and the Office of the Secretary to carry on specific OEO-initiated projects; DOL—\$5,300,000 to continue OEO research in the fields of manpower training and labor force participation; HUD—\$13,400,000 to continue efforts to test ways to provide adequate housing for disadvantaged persons.

Sources: (a) Fiscal year 1974 Budget Appendix; (b) "Office of Economic Opportunity Programs in fiscal year 1974," Office of Economic Opportunity, Office of the Director, Jan. 29, 1973.

Obligations (fiscal year)—			
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (re- quested)
20. Comprehensive Health Services.....	\$152.7	\$151.5	\$168

¹ This figure includes about \$106,700,000 obligated by OEO and about \$46,000,000 obligated by HEW for transferred projects.

² This figure includes about \$85,500,000 obligated by OEO and about \$66,000,000 obligated by HEW for transferred projects.

³ This figure includes about \$101,000,000 for newly transferred OEO projects and about \$66,000,000 for formerly transferred OEO projects. It also includes about \$1,000,000 for former OEO Health Manpower activities. It should be noted in all figures for transferred projects are tentative estimates since some former OEO projects have been merged with existing HEW projects.

Note: The fiscal year 1974 funding will be requested by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to continue OEO activities (\$101,000,000 specifically for the activities transferred as of the end of fiscal year 1973—approximately 60 projects). However, it should be remembered that these figures are tentative estimates and that the conditions for refunding former OEO projects out of HEW's Health Services and Mental Health Administration appear to be uncertain. In addition, it appears that about \$1,000,000 (over and above the \$101,000,000 estimate for transferred Comprehensive Health Services projects) will go for NIH Health Manpower activities. OEO estimates \$102,500,000 for 1974 transfers to HEW for CHS and Health Manpower. Other estimates indicate \$102,000,000 (\$101,000,000 plus \$1,000,000).

Sources: Fiscal Year 1974 Budget Appendix, "Office of Economic Opportunity Programs in fiscal year 1974," Office of Economic Opportunity, Office of the Director, Jan. 29, 1973. Office of Economic Opportunity, Office of the Comptroller, "HEW-OEO Program Related Items" supplied by the HEW Budget Office, Budget Offices for HEW, HSMHA and NIH.

Obligations (fiscal year)—			
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (re- quested)
21. Family planning.....	\$33.9	\$33.5	\$35.5

¹ This figure includes about \$23,900,000 obligated by OEO and about \$10,000,000 obligated by HEW for transferred projects.

² This figure includes about \$15,500,000 obligated by OEO and about \$20,000,000 obligated by HEW for transferred projects.

³ This figure includes all funding obligated by HEW for former OEO projects. It, and the earlier figures, are estimates. In addition, it is expected that many OEO transfers will be consolidated with HEW family planning grants. Conditions for refunding former OEO projects appear to be uncertain. Furthermore, there seems to be a question as to whether the fiscal year 1974 figure should be \$35,500,000 or \$35,600,000.

Source: Same as those noted for Comprehensive Health Services figures.

Obligations (fiscal year)—			
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (re- quested)
22. Drug rehabilitation.....	\$18.1	\$23.0	\$29.3

¹ The fiscal year 1974 funding will be requested by the Department of HEW. For fiscal year 1974, \$29,300,000 is included in the National Institute of Mental Health budget request for continuation of drug rehabilitation activities previously funded by OEO. It does not appear that the fiscal year 1972 to fiscal year 1974 figures given above include any funding for OEO projects transferred earlier than fiscal year 1973. It should be noted that funding for drug abuse community program project grants (to which the majority of OEO funding is being transferred) is proposed to be increased by about \$8,000,000, while OEO project funding (as part of the total community grants) is proposed to be increased \$5,300,000 from fiscal year 1973 to fiscal year 1974. As a result, it would appear that OEO projects are to receive increased funding while HEW-oriented projects are to receive funding decreased by about \$4,500,000 in fiscal year 1974. HEW notes that the funding levels for community grants represent amounts necessary to continue existing projects at their current funding levels.

Source: Same as those noted for Comprehensive Health Service figures.

Obligations (fiscal year)—			
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (re- quested)
23. Alcoholic counseling and recovery programs.....	1 \$1.9	2 \$14.4	3 NA

¹ Does not include funding within HEW for alcoholism projects transferred at an earlier date, and as a result is not a strictly comparable figure.

² Does not appear to include funding within HEW alcoholism projects transferred at an earlier date. During fiscal year 1973, OEO will transfer \$14,400,000 to the HEW National Institute for Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse, to sustain projects serving low-income persons.

³ Funds for fiscal year 1974 are requested as part of the HEW budget for NIAA. However, no specific figure is available for funding, under NIAAA's community program project grants, comparable to the fiscal year 1973 estimate of \$14,400,000. Overall, NIAAA's community project grant funding is proposed to be reduced by about \$4,000,000 in fiscal year 1974. In addition, it is proposed that NIAAA alcoholism project grants be phased out in fiscal year 1974.

Sources: Same as those noted for Comprehensive Health Services figures.

Obligations (fiscal year)—			
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (re- quested)
24. Emergency food and medical services.....	\$3.5	\$24	1)

¹ Fiscal Year 1973 funding is from funds made available during Fiscal Year 1972 (and available for Fiscal Year 1973 utilization). No funds are requested for this program in Fiscal Year 1974—except that projects serving Indians and migrants are proposed to be continued from funds requested for those sets of programs in HEW and the Department of Labor.

Sources: (a) Office of Economic Opportunity Programs in Fiscal Year 1974, Office of Economic Opportunity, Office of the Director, Jan. 29, 1973; (b) Office of Economic Opportunity, Office of the Comptroller.

Obligations (fiscal year)—			
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (re- quested)
25. VISTA.....	1 \$22.9	2 \$25.2	2 \$22.3

¹ Funds for VISTA fiscal year 1972 through fiscal year 1974 are requested by ACTION. The figures given include funds for training costs but do not include administration costs or funds for the university year for ACTION.

² It should be noted that, in fiscal year 1973, OEO transferred about \$38,100,000 to ACTION for VISTA operations.

Sources: Fiscal year 1974 Budget, Domestic Programs—Submission to the Congress. ACTION, March 1973.

Obligations (fiscal year)—			
	1972 (actual)	1973 (est.)	1974 (re- quested)
26. General administrative support.....	1 \$18.2	2 \$18.5	2 \$33.0

¹ These figures include funding for general support only. They do not include funding for administrative support that could be specifically attributed to a program area.

² This \$33,000,000 is requested by GSA for liquidation of former OEO activities (mainly, Community Action operations). It is generally comparable to the fiscal year 1972 and fiscal year 1973 figures, plus administrative obligations under CAA assistance—about \$18,000,000.

Source: Same as those noted for Community Action Agency figures.

WPHS CELEBRATES NINTH BIRTHDAY

HON. ROBERT J. HUBER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Speaker, Michigan's fourth largest city, Warren, has the distinction of being served by Michigan's only vocationally approved high school

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radio station on the public airways, WPHS.

My constituents in the 18th district and I are proud of the success of this station, and on the occasion of its ninth birthday wish to congratulate those participating in its operation.

Members of the House may find this brief item about WPHS of interest. It appeared in the March 20, 1973, issue of the Macomb Daily:

WARREN SCHOOL'S RADIO STATION IS 9
YEARS OLD

WPHS, the only media radio station in the state's fourth largest city, celebrates nine years of broadcasting today. A number of celebrities from Detroit and area stations are expected to, in person, be here visiting this small, but growing student operated radio outlet.

An open house will also be held from 2 to 7 p.m. today for the public.

The station is currently operating 15½ hours a day and has this year, been vocationally certified by the state of Michigan to teach radio broadcasting and is believed to be the only one in the nation so licensed. The station's format of music and news from 8 a.m. to 11:30 p.m. has given a great opportunity for media people to get established in many stations in many localities.

Students who have graduated from WPHS are now working, or have worked in the following radio stations or TV stations:

Detroit: WDET-FM; WWWW-FM; WJ-AM & FM; WRIF-FM; WDRQ-FM: Columbus, Ohio: WBUK, Birmingham: WHFI—Four working there currently; Ann Arbor: WPAG; Pontiac: WPON-AM; Mount Clemens: WBRB-AM & FM; Dearborn: WKNR-AM & FM.

The Voice of University of Michigan Basketball . . . WTRX, Flint; KRLD—Dallas, Texas—Now play by play football with Dallas Cowboys; KMND AM & FM, Tempe, Arizona; KDKB, Mesa, Arizona; KTAR-TV in Phoenix, Arizona; Channel 56 & Wayne State University TV.

About 100 students are currently learning the inside and outside of the kind of operation normally carried on by a commercial station. Students from five area high schools are enrolled in the program; the station broadcasts, as a community service, entire proceedings of the Warren City Council Meetings and the Warren Consolidated School Board Meetings in their entirety every other week.

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE HAROLD V. FROEHLICH BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON PUB- LIC WORKS

HON. HAROLD V. FROEHLICH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. FROEHLICH. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the record a statement I gave earlier today at hearings on the high water levels in the Great Lakes conducted by the House Committee on Public Works:

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE HAROLD V. FROEHLICH BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS

Mr. Chairman, on Monday of this week the flood waters of Green Bay lashed northeastern Wisconsin's shoreline and wreaked millions of dollars worth of property damage to the area's homes and businesses. In the City of Green Bay alone six square miles of the city lie under water.

This flooding is a direct result of the un-

usually high water levels that have prevailed in Green Bay and Lake Michigan for well over a year. The water level is so high that a recurrence of major flooding is but another spring storm away.

Until the water level recedes, thousands of residents of Brown, Oconto, Marinette, Door and Kewaunee Counties in the Eighth Congressional District of Wisconsin face the constant threat of flooding.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to share with you and this committee the background on this problem of high water levels that plagues northeastern Wisconsin and the entire Great Lakes region.

The high water levels are due to unpreceded high precipitation which has occurred over the Great Lakes Basin during the past few years. Green Bay and Lake Michigan levels were higher last year than any year since 1952.

This year the Lake is close to 582 feet above sea level, the all time high it reached back in the 1880's; rainfall was very heavy last summer and we have continued to experience unusual precipitation this winter.

Lake Superior was the first of the Great Lakes to experience the high water levels. At the present time Lake Superior has crested, and earlier this year was only four inches above its long term average, whereas Lake Michigan was at the same time over two feet above its average.

The Army Corps of Engineers informed me last February that Lake Michigan would soon crest and that Lake Erie and Lake Ontario would be the next to experience high water levels. We can see by this week's flooding that Lake Erie and Ontario have in fact been tormented by these high water levels. Lake Michigan has still to crest and suffers a similar plight.

Investigation has shown that there are three steps which, if taken, could significantly lower the water levels in the Great Lakes. I would like to discuss these steps with this committee.

First, the amount of water flowing into the Great Lakes System from the Canadian Hudson Bay watershed must be decreased. Water that otherwise would have flowed into Hudson Bay has for years been diverted into Lake Superior for navigation and power purposes. This practice must be curtailed.

Second, the Lake Superior Board of Control should continue to impound water in Lake Superior. By reducing the flow of water out of Lake Superior, the levels of the other Great Lakes are lowered. In February the U.S.-Canadian International Joint Commission reduced the outflow from Lake Superior by 25 percent. This ordered cutback reduced the present flow from Lake Superior from 71,000 to 55,000 cubic feet per second. This reduction is achieved by reducing the flow for power generation on the U.S. side of the international boundary at Sault St. Marie. This reduction will result in storing one and one-half inches of additional water in Lake Superior. This has a commensurate lowering effect on Lake Michigan.

The reduced rate of flow is due to expire on April 30. I am fearful that the Joint Commission will restore the increased flow of water into the lower lakes on May 1, causing an additional 16,000 cubic feet of water per second to pour out of Lake Superior into Lake Michigan and Lake Huron. This will mean that conditions are going to get much worse in the next few months rather than better.

The third step involves the amount of water which the Chicago Sanitary District can divert from Lake Michigan. This should be increased. A court ruling has restricted the water diversion through the Chicago Ship Canal. I am cosponsoring legislation, H.R. 6673, which would increase the diversion of Lake Michigan water into the Chicago Canal and down the Illinois Waterway. This legislation would authorize an additional diversion of water from the lake by 6,800 feet per second. The Corps of Engineers will insure

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that there would be no excess of water flowing into the canal through the waterway. This additional diversion would be authorized for a five year period and would have to be approved by both the United States and Canada.

These three steps, taken in concert, could lower the water level in Lake Michigan by eight inches in a year's time.

Clearly, the problem requires the establishment of a range of minimum and maximum water levels on the Great Lakes.

Just nine years ago in 1964, Lake Michigan was experiencing all time low water levels which was the reason for the state of Wisconsin, at that time, to seek a court ruling restricting the diversion of Lake Michigan water down the Chicago Sanitary Canal.

We have to even out these extreme fluctuations. But we must remember that water diversion techniques take years to implement. They are indeed the answer, but this provides us little comfort at the present time.

The problem we have today is immediate remedial action that can be taken to reduce the amount of property damage and threat to life resulting from the high water levels.

The Army Corps of Engineers is authorized under P.L. 84-99 to undertake a program of advanced flood emergency measures known as "Operation Foresight." This will provide temporary protection to those areas where high lake levels pose a flooding threat to life and property. It is a joint federal-state-local program with federal know-how and some cash being matched by state coordination through the Division of Emergency Government and knowledge of the terrain and local cooperation in obtaining rights of way, common labor and materials.

Unfortunately, the flood waters hit before the dikes were constructed. In Green Bay, bids will not be opened until April 17, 1973, seven days after the floods swept the city. Completion of the dikes is not expected until June 30. This leaves the area at the mercy of the weather until that time.

Operation Foresight, Great Lakes, is not intended to cope with the immense erosion problems around the lakes.

It is for these reasons that I have co-sponsored four pieces of legislation to provide immediate relief to those areas that are most seriously affected by high water.

The four basic goals of the erosion legislation can be summarized as follows:

1. H.R. 6670, to give the Army Corps of Engineers legal authority to use its experience, expertise and considerable resources in this emergency.

2. H.R. 6671, to allow citizens who have suffered financial loss from this rapid erosion to qualify for disaster relief now only available for other specified 'natural' disasters.

3. H.R. 6672, to allow for reimbursement under the Rivers and Harbors Act for prevention or repair of shore damage caused by erosion attributable to federal navigation structures.

4. H.R. 6674, to authorize a comprehensive study under the Coastal Zone Management Act to determine best ways to combat future erosion on the Lakes.

This legislation will allow the Army Corps of Engineers to use its experience, expertise and considerable resources to combat the present crisis. The Corps is prepared to help if only it is given the authority.

Qualification for low-cost disaster loans and the possibility of eventual reimbursement of expenses are two more aspects of this legislative package that give lakeshore residents hope for the future.

Finally, the study authorized in the fourth piece of legislation will hopefully provide us with the long-range answers as to which method of flood control or water diversion will be in the best interest of all those who share Lake Michigan as their neighbor.

ADMINISTRATIVE OBSTACLES TO VOTING

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, the League of Women Voters is an organization that we are all familiar with. In communities all across the country, the league is active in voter education and registration. I am sure we all hold the league in highest regard.

In 1972, the elections system project of the League of Women Voters published an informative booklet entitled "Administrative Obstacles to Voting." In clear and explicit terms, the booklet analyzes the disenfranchisement of citizens caused by our system of voter registration. I highly recommend this booklet to all of my colleagues. I now submit relevant excerpts:

A LOOK AT THE PRESENT SYSTEM

During the next six months, much public attention will focus on the principal candidates and issues of the November presidential election. It is doubtful, however, that very much concern will be given to the electoral process itself—that system of registration and voting procedures Americans must use in order to express their choice on the candidates.

Most citizens show little interest in the process not because they dismiss its importance but simply because they do not recognize the extent to which the current election system impairs the right of all Americans to engage in self-government. The public generally believes that the system has worked well for them in the past and that it will work well for the 140 million Americans of voting age in 1972.

Regrettably, the present election system has not worked well. It still bears the mark of forces which originally gave it birth at the turn of the century: fear of the then-widespread corruption and fraud at the polls and a desire to control the voting participation of millions of European immigrants who threatened the political status quo. Although these particular forces have largely ceased to exist, the system remains saddled with many unnecessarily restrictive laws and exclusionary procedures. It has become an administrative maze in which many of the abuses it was designed to prevent can, in fact, be more easily hidden and through which the average citizen must painstakingly grope in order to exercise his fundamental right to the franchise.

Fear of fraud is often advanced in opposition to proposed reforms of the present election system. It could be argued, however, that such abuses are a function of community mores and will exist in some communities no matter what election procedures are established. More noteworthy, it would seem, is the fraud perpetuated on the American people by a system which excludes millions of eligible voters from the electoral process in the name of preventing a few dishonestly cast votes.

Indeed, the system works poorly for all Americans. In the case of minorities, the poor, the uneducated and the aged, who are unable to meet its complicated requirements easily, the system naturally imposes more heavily than it does on the average mainstream American. These groups can be even further excluded from the electoral process by the arbitrary and uneven application of administrative procedures which, while legal,

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can be manipulated to serve the political advantage or philosophy of those who control them.

Such misuse of administrative practices is not new to the institutional life of our society. What is notable about the established election system is the extent to which, barring misuse of any kind, it denies the rights and infringes on the convenience of hundreds of thousands of Americans regardless of their racial or economic background.

In the presidential election of 1968, 73 million Americans or approximately 60% of the total population of voting age actually voted for a candidate of their choice; 47 million or approximately 40% did not cast a ballot. Compared with other democratic countries, this voting rate of American citizens is embarrassingly low. For example, the rate at which voters in Italy have participated in elections in the last 10 years has regularly approached 90%. Canada records a voting rate of approximately 75% to 80%, and in the last 25 years, West German citizens have voted at rates which range between 78% and 87%.

It is the contention of this report that millions of American citizens fail to vote not because they are disinterested but because they are disenfranchised by the present election system. Ironically moreover, many of them lose their right to vote not because they are poor, black, uneducated or uninterested, but because they are part of the mainstream of American society. Moving to a better neighborhood, accepting a company transfer, going to college, getting married, serving their country and exercising other rights, freedoms and obligations to their country too often has had the effect of denying citizens their right to vote.

Undoubtedly, the present election system will continue to disenfranchise millions of Americans of every economic and social background unless improvements are made at both the administrative and legislative levels.

SEEKING TO REGISTER AND VOTE: EXPERIENCES OF THE VOTER

Under the system of voter enrollment and participation currently used in the United States, the individual citizen must take the initiative in order to qualify himself as a voter. The preceding discussion has indicated that the law does not require local election officials to take the initiative and that many are unwilling to employ their numerous powers or fully utilize the efforts of citizen volunteers to reach potential voters.

In this context, the experiences of the individual citizen as he seeks to register and vote are extremely important. If the cost in terms of time, energy, inconvenience or personal pride is too high, the individual may choose not to vote. Considering the all too frequent occurrence of complex forms, unhelpful and poorly trained staff, machine breakdowns, and inconveniently located registration and polling places, it is surprising that so many citizens do vote. That the system functions at all is a tribute to the sheer determination of citizens to overcome these inconveniences and obstacles.

Registration is the first step in the voting process and the most crucial. When people register, they usually vote. In the presidential election of 1968, 89% of those persons who were registered actually voted. Observations of registration places and examination of formally stated registration practices provide some dramatic examples of the problems citizens encounter in trying to register.

The first problem that the citizen is likely to encounter will be finding the registration office. He may well have to travel a considerable distance from his home to a central registration office (except perhaps during the

last month of registration for a particular election when he is more likely to find facilities in his neighborhood). In 40% of the communities studied, however, no additional

registration places were opened even during these rush months. Since 54% of the registration places were not accessible by convenient public transportation, 24% lacked

convenient parking, and 52% were not clearly identified as a registration or elections office, the prospective registrant may well be frustrated before he arrives.

TABLE E.—DISTRIBUTION OF REGISTRATION STAFF BEHAVIOR ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF REGISTRANTS

Variables	Total samples observed		Registration staff behavior		Registration staff behavior			
	N equals—	Percent	Helpful	Not helpful	Percent	Courteous	Discourteous	Percent
Social class ¹	209	100	48	52	100	62	38	100
Middle	125	60	54	46	100	68	32	100
Working	53	25	42	58	100	58	42	100
Composite	31	15	33	67	100	44	56	100
Race ¹	213	100	49	51	100	63	37	100
White	147	69	52	48	100	67	33	100
Primarily white	46	22	52	48	100	61	39	100
Composite	13	6	17	83	100	50	50	100
Primarily nonwhite	7	3	2 (1)	(6)	100	12	88	100

¹ These classifications are based upon the judgment of registration observers.

² Refers to actual number rather than percentages.

Once he has located the registration office, the prospective registrant may find that it is not open for registration. In 29% of the communities, registration closes more than 30 days prior to an election. Even if he arrives before the registration deadline, the office may be closed since 77% of the communities studied had no Saturday registration and 75% of the communities had no evening registration during non-election months. While 62% of the communities did have additional registration hours during election months, 30% of these still had no additional Saturday hours and 17% had no additional evening hours.

The persistent citizen who anticipates and copes with the numerous obstacles already mentioned will next find himself confronted with a registration form. If the form is confusing or questions arise concerning his eligibility, he may not find the staff very helpful. Fifty-two percent (52%) of the observers at registration places classified staff as not helpful. Furthermore, in 30% of the places where bilingual staff was needed, it was not found.

There is no way to measure the number of citizens who are discouraged from registering even before they get to the registration office, but observations of 5,750 people attempting to register at approximately 300 registration places showed that 3 out of every 100 qualified people who made the effort and found the registration place still left without being registered.

Casting a ballot at a polling place is the ultimate event in the electoral process for the citizen. Although he has been successfully registered, the potential voter may be frustrated in his attempts to vote. Polling places, though usually located in his precinct, may be poorly marked (as were 38% of the polling place observed) and public transportation and convenient parking may be lacking. Fifty-eight percent (58%) of the places observed lacked convenient public transportation and 11% lacked convenient parking. Since polling places are not opened in the evenings in many states, the potential voter may need to take time from work or rush to the polling place before or after work. If he goes early he may not be able to vote because many polls open later than the hour prescribed by law as happened in 7% of the 484 polls observed. If he goes to the polls following work, he may find that he is refused the right to vote even though he is standing in line at closing time. Such refusals occurred at 19 of the polls observed.

The prospective voter who gets into the polling place will probably confront a poorly trained staff usually selected on the basis of their partisanship. If there are voting machines at his polling place, he may well be delayed in casting a ballot by a machine breakdown since this occurred in one out of every ten places having voting machines. His right to vote may be challenged as were the rights of 419 persons at the observed polls. In the event that he successfully casts a ballot, it must be attributed at least partially to his perseverance.

BUSINESS DEALINGS WITH SOVIETS IS HAIR-PULLING EXPERIENCE

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, lest too many well intended, but innocent, U.S. businessmen have ideas of lucrative trade with the Soviet Union, I direct special attention to an article in the Daily Journal, Wheaton, Ill., of March 22, by the distinguished international correspondent of the Copley Press, Dumitru Danielopol, which relates the experiences of the Italians in dealings with the Soviet Union.

The article follows:

WORK WITH SOVIETS IS HAIR-PULLING EPISODE
(By Dumitru Danielopol)

WASHINGTON.—Can the west salvage a bankrupt Soviet economy?

The USSR is shopping for food, modern technology, manufactured goods and money to pay for it. The enthusiasm of American businessmen is almost shocking. It may cool off when they hear what happened to the joint Soviet-Italian venture at the Bolga Togliatti plant built by Fiat.

The \$800 million project built by the Italians was supposed to produce 600,000 vehicles a year. Three assembly lines were to produce 2,400 models a day of the Fiat 124. Cheap labor was supposed to result in a car able to compete on world markets.

It didn't work out that way.

The Russians were in a hurry to get the "people's car" on the road and insisted that the entire project be ready within three years from the breaking of ground in January 1967.

The Italians quickly ran into trouble. Because of Russia's bumpy, rutted roads the chassis had to be redesigned to ride 1½ inches higher. In order to survive the Soviet winter, the engine had to be altered to start at 13 degrees below zero.

Then came an endless series of interruptions in the supply of raw materials and parts from the 250 Russian subcontractors.

One month 8 per cent of the total engine output had to be returned because of defective gaskets. The factory had to return over a million unusable gaskets. One Italian estimated that fully half of the parts furnished by the Soviet suppliers had to be refused.

Tires from a factory at Jaroslav wore out after ten miles of testing.

Soviet workers also were nothing to write home about, the Italians say. Commuting by bus from 7 miles away—a trip which took 1½ hours—they never arrived at their work before 10 a.m. In order to be sure to catch their bus home, some left the benches half an hour early.

Maintenance of machinery also was a sore spot with the Italians. One machine that was leaking 40 pounds of oil per day was just left leaking for more than two weeks.

The Togliatti works are now scheduled to reach full capacity in 1975, rather than 1972. The 1971 production was 172,000 cars, instead of the planned 600,000 and 1972 figures are still being juggled.

The cars are reported to be far below standard. Quality is not likely to improve now that the 10,000 Italians who worked on the plant have gone home.

Fiat chairman Giovanni Agnelli has conceded that his company barely broke even on the contract. He said Fiat encountered some \$100 million in unexpected expenses during construction.

Fiat's experience will undoubtedly benefit both the Russians and other would-be Western manufacturers. But one point stands out:

It is totally unrealistic to expect a sudden improvement in the Soviet economic system. The sins of 50 years of communism and centuries of illiteracy are not easily washed away. It will take decades before western efficiency is part of Russian life—and it won't come that soon if the commissars continue in power.

JUVENILE JUSTICE: FAILURES IN THE SYSTEM OF DETENTION

HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, I include the following, which is the third in a series of excellent publications by the New York Times. I am certain it will be of interest to my colleagues.

JUVENILE JUSTICES FAILURES IN THE SYSTEM OF DETENTION
(By Lesley Oelsner)

In the basement of the jail, in a large if airless gym, 20 boys are lined up for a relay race.

"Run like a cop was chasing you," Frank Sawchuk, director of night services, whispers to one of the youths. The youth, already crouched for the start, turns in surprise.

"Come on," Mr. Sawchuk goes on, grinning now. "Run like a cop is chasing you."

The boy winces. The whistle blows. The boy lopes off, shaking his head.

Upstairs, on the seventh floor, 13 girls are being processed for the night. Several are already dressed for bed in green cotton pajamas; three of these, including one whose pajama top is partly open show her pregnant belly, sit in a corner of the dimly lit dayroom, playing jacks.

A fourth girl, 12 years old and plump, and affectionate as a puppy, perches on the

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

corner of the counselor's desk. "Get off my desk," barks the counselor, Mrs. Lottie Cromartie.

A fifth girl lies on her bed, weeping.

A few floors down, in B-1, the dayroom is already darkened; the miniature chairs are pushed neatly into the equally miniature nursery school tables. In an adjacent row of 6-by-9-foot rooms sleep the institution's 14 tiniest inmates, four of them accused of murder.

SYMBOL OF THE NETWORK

This is Spofford, New York City's main maximum security detention center for children, and symbol of the condition of the city's network of supposedly temporary institutions for children.

A five-week study of the juvenile justice system here by The New York Times found that this network—of two jails and several so-called nonsecure shelters—is characterized by high recidivism, homosexuality, inadequate treatment, poorly trained staff and numerous other signs of failure.

The conditions in some of the institutions are so poor that even the city officials in charge—Barbara Blum, the Human Resources Administration's Assistant Administrator/Commissioner of Special Services for Children, and her subordinate, Wayne Mucci, director of the department's institutions—say that the institutions can harm the children who enter them.

"The system is really a very damaging one for most kids who get involved in it," Mr. Mucci concedes. Mrs. Blum, who was put in charge of the institutions (and other services for children) a year and a half ago, says: "We don't have a system that adapts to people in trouble."

Spofford, large and relatively modern, is basically the boys' jail; girls spend only a night or two of "orientation" there before going to a smaller, decrepit institution called Manida, next door to Spofford in the Bronx. Spofford looks the way jails and prisons generally do, solid and austere and replete with thick locked doors, except that there are no uniformed guards, and no obvious bars.

On a recent day, 130 boys and 19 girls were at Spofford and 35 more girls at Manida in the ravaged Hunts Point section of the Bronx. In the course of a year, hundreds more come through, some of them charged with juvenile delinquency (actions which, if committed by adults, would be classified as crimes) and some simply accused of being PINS—"persons in need of supervision" (truants, runaways and children whose parents say they can't control them).

These youngsters—under the age of 16—are held there pending trial in the Family Court of placement in a more appropriate program or home.

THE OTHER SHELTERS

The city's nonsecure shelters, on the other hand, are scattered through the city: Callagy Hall for girls on 12th Street on Manhattan's Lower East Side; Callagy Hall Annex in Far Rockaway, Queens; Jennings Hall for boys in Brooklyn; Children's Center in the Bronx.

The children in the shelters are either PINS cases or youngsters who were taken from their families because of neglect or abuse. Here, as in Spofford and Manida, they are supposed to be held temporarily, pending more appropriate long-term placement elsewhere.

There have been some improvements in the system lately, partly because of Mrs. Blum's administration—the creation of some non-secure homes in which children charged with juvenile delinquency can be held pending trial, for instance; a marked decrease in the number of children in jails, and a better staff-inmate ratio. Also, a third jail, Zerega, has been closed.

The disciplinary excesses of the past—such as locking an unruly child into a room by

himself—have also been curtailed. (Staff members now complain, though, that they have no effective way of disciplining children; they can send a child to Family Court, but, they say, the court will simply send the child back.)

A lawsuit now pending before Federal District Judge Morris E. Lasker is expected to force more change. In the suit, the Legal Aid Society charged that detention of PINS children in jail was unconstitutional.

Judge Lasker didn't go as far as the society wished, but he did rule, last October, that conditions at Manida violated the Eighth Amendment's ban on cruel and unusual punishment, and that the programs at both jails were insufficient for long-term inmates. He is currently working on the final disposition of the case, and is expected to order that Manida be closed eventually.

NEEDLESS DETENTIONS

Yet compared with the problems that remain, the recent changes seem minimal.

Many children are still being detained needlessly. The police bring children to Spofford when Family Court is closed and when they do not think it appropriate to send the child home; as the court has no night or weekend sessions, children are often brought to Spofford late Friday afternoon, and kept through the weekend, only to have their cases thrown out in Family Court on Monday.

Sometimes children are jailed even after the charges against them are dismissed. Jessica, a 13-year-old girl, was delivered by Brooklyn Family Court to Spofford a few nights ago; the following morning in Spofford's girl's dormitory, a counselor reading over the court reports found that the case against Jessica—a PINS charge—had been thrown out the day before.

"Jessica, come here," the counselor demanded. The girl hurried over, her face strained and nervous-looking.

"Jessica, why are you here?" the counselor asked.

"My mother wouldn't take me home," came the answer. The court, it seemed, not knowing what else to do with Jessica, sent her back to jail.

When the court retains jurisdiction, on the other hand, it often takes the child out of detention and sends him or her home, pending disposition of the case—sometimes because the statutory time limit on detention has passed, sometimes because the judge has heard such bad things about the jails.

"If they can go home," Mr. Mucci asks of these children, "why were they put in at all?"

At the same time, though, the jails' lists of inmates are filled with repeaters. One recent night at Spofford, the police brought in a little boy they had just picked up on a delinquency charge; he was wearing blue jeans and an orange T-shirt emblazoned with Spofford's insignia, the clothes he had been issued during his last visit.

A FAMILIAR PLACE

Another youngster, an hour or so later, was signed in by Spofford's admission officer and then directed down a hallway to the next stage of his orientation.

"I know this place by heart," the boy said, his small voice tough and scornful.

"They go out, they come back in, they go out, they come back in," shrugs Dewey Brown, an administrator at Spofford.

The jails also have problems of violence, of children fighting one another or their counselors and throughout the institutions are "panic buttons" to be pressed when more staff members are needed. A growing contributor to the violence—or "tension," as the staff calls it—is the rebirth of gangs in the city.

"You belong to a clique?" Jerry McCarty, an admissions officer, asks two boys who have just been brought to Spofford on charges of possessing knives and a gun.

"Yeh," nods one of the boys, a small but

tough-talking 15-year-old sporting a gold earring and a black leather jacket.

"What's its name?" Mr. McCarty asks.

"Dynamite Brothers."

"For your own well being," says Mr. McCarty, "keep your identity to yourself."

"Why?" the youth shoots back. "There Black Spades here? I'll knock them in!"

A CHANGE TO MINORITY

The race issue also creates tension. Most of the children in the jails are either black or Puerto Rican; so are many of the staff members. When white children are brought in, says Marion Miller, a night supervisor at Spofford, they are often "very apprehensive."

"For the first time in their lives, they're in the minority," he says. "They have to be assured that if they're attacked by blacks, they will be protected."

Then too, for many of the children the stays in shelters or jails are far more than temporary—23 days is now the average stay at Spofford, and some children have been there much longer.

One such child is Willy, aged 13, who has been waiting trial in a murder case for four months. Willy is lodged in B-1, the section for very young or undersized boys; he spends his time going to classes, playing games or riding one of B-1's two tiny bicycles through the dormitory. (He can't ride it outside in Spofford's prison-like yards, because, like the other boys, he has no warm clothes.) Notorious of the shelters in that it has been plagued by lesbianism, stealing and girls' sneaking off to work as prostitutes—no one is supposed to stay more than 90 days. But about half the girls now there have already been at Callagy longer than that; some have been there longer than 18 months.

The overlong stays are in themselves illegal, as many judges readily admit. But beyond that, the institutions simply aren't designed or equipped to provide long-term care. Educational programs are inadequate; as Mrs. Blum puts it: "These are street-wise kids, and here they are with primers." Psychiatric services are also inadequate.

"We have psychiatric staff to do evaluations, but not to do treatment," Joseph Morre, Callagy's director of social services, complains. Of the girls who stay long periods, he says, "We don't have facilities for them."

Nor are there treatment programs for the problem of homosexuality, according to Mrs. Blum. So what staff members do is simply try to watch the children as much as possible—locking the dayrooms in Manida while the bedrooms are in use, for example, so that the counselors can watch the girls more easily. At Spofford, bathrooms have large glass windows looking out to the dayrooms through which counselors can look.

The long stays are sometimes due to delays in court action. More often, it is the failure of the Family Court and of Mrs. Blum's department to find any place else for the child—a failure often attributed to selective admission practices of the private (though partly government-financed) child-care agencies, which tend to reject the most difficult children.

Yet as Mrs. Blum concedes, the blame for the situation lies with both public and private sectors—the city administration, for instance, having failed in the past to provide adequate guidelines for or cooperation with the private agencies.

THE DAILY ROUTINE

Whatever the cause of these failures, there is the grim reality of daily life in the institutions.

Wake-up time is 6 A.M.; for some groups, breakfast isn't until 8 A.M. At Spofford, boys on the way to gym or supper or school are ordered to "line up, single file." At Callagy, girls keep toy animals and dolls on their beds; in their bureau drawers, they hide photographs of their babies.

At Manida, the girls go once each week to the basement chamber officially desig-

nated the recreation room. They don't call it that, however. It is a large dingy room furnished with washing machines, hair dryers and irons; its nickname is "Spic and Span."

Manida, built in 1904 as a monastery, was recently repainted. But as Judge Lasker noted last fall, Federal authorities determined 10 years ago that it was "unsuitable for the detention care of children, [and] that no remodeling or repair could make it suitable."

There are some classrooms on Manida's first floor. In the home economics class one recent day, four children were listening to the teacher with varying degrees of attentiveness; a fifth child slept with her head on the table. Next door in sewing class, another girl lay sleeping.

MESH ON THE WINDOWS

Upstairs, empty and locked, were the four dormitories—each with a sparsely furnished clubroom, an antiquated bathroom, and a large square room with 10 or 11 beds, some filing cabinets and, in the corner, a desk and chairs for the counselors.

At Manida as at Spofford, windows are covered with what Mrs. Olye Lloyd of Manida's staff terms "psychiatric mesh"—tough and tightly woven screens, locked to the window frames. At Manida as at Spofford, a thick, high wall encloses the institution.

Scheduling is strict in the jails—when the counselors announce bedtime at 9:50 or 10 P.M., bedtime it is. So too with getting up.

At 6:10 A.M. in the girls' section of Spofford, Janie Grey, a counselor, takes a brisk walk down the hallway, opening each bedroom door with the message "Good morning, time to get up," or "Time to get up, wake up." At 6:15 a few girls are still abed; Miss Grey takes another walk.

"Come on, get up," she is saying, tougher now, to each of the lagging youngsters.

At 6:15 a nurse comes in to take urine samples.

At 6:45 another counselor, Mrs. Helena Lyons, calls out: "O.K., girls, get the brooms and sweep."

Shortly after 7, most of the girls are dressed. The counselors on the 7 A.M.-to-3 P.M. shift have arrived. The chores are finished. But breakfast isn't until 8; there are no books about, no magazines even. So the girls sit in the plastic chairs in the dayroom, watching television.

At least they have had their eight hours in bed. At Callagy, things are different.

At 11:50 at night on the third floor, where the "new girls" stay, someone has just put "Step into My World" on the phonograph in the dayroom. Two girls sit at a table playing Monopoly. A 13-year-old named Susan, with a baby's pacifier hung on a cord around her neck, sits in a corner by herself.

At 12:12 A.M. a uniformed guard walks in asking, "How's everything?" of no one in particular. No one answers.

A girl in a pink terry cloth robe begins dancing by herself. Another girl, also in pink terry cloth, joins her. Then another.

LIGHTS OUT AT 2:20

At 12:30 A.M., a counselor calls out "Everyone inside," waving her hand toward the three rooms, each with several beds, where the eight girls assigned to the floor are to sleep.

Two more girls begin dancing.

There is more commotion. Is it because a visitor is present? No, a counselor says, usually it is "worse."

By 2:20, the lights are finally off—until 6:10 A.M., that is, when the girls are awakened. Then, a little girl stumbles out of a bedroom; she is wearing the pacifier that Susan wore a few hours before, given as a tentative offer of friendship by one lonely girl to another.

On her way to the bathroom, she goes by, but does not look at, a brightly lettered poster that reads thus: "A child is innocence meeting the world with a trusting, outstretched

hand. . . . A child is Love uplifting the world to a happier higher place."

OUR SIDETRACKED RAILROADS

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I include my April 11, 1973, Washington report entitled "Our Sidetracked Railroads."

The report follows:

OUR SIDETRACKED RAILROADS

(By Congressman LEE HAMILTON)

The major railroads in the northeastern United States are running out of steam.

Six of the eleven major railroads with more than 50 percent of the region's trackage in that section of the country are in bankruptcy. A federal judge has threatened one of the lines, Penn Central, with liquidation, and his warning gives new urgency to the Congress and the Administration to find a solution for the ailing railroads.

The difficulties of the railroads should not be exaggerated. Private rail systems are neither dead nor dying, and many rail systems are doing well. Nonetheless, the nation does face at least a short-term crisis in the Northeast.

Some of the problems facing our rail system, especially in the Northeast, but also across the country, are:

1. Bad Management: After WW II, management failed to meet the challenge of superhighways and jets for passengers, or to utilize equipment (boxcars are used more for warehouses than freight movers), or to maintain their tracks and equipment. The average freight car covers only 20,000 miles in revenue service per year, one-third that of a truck.

2. Labor Problems: Unions have fought to maintain job security in the face of the switch to diesel power. The issues of "featherbedding," extra brakemen or firemen, and work rules have plagued the industry for years.

3. Competition: In 1930, railroads carried 75 percent of all intercity freight. Today they carry only 40 percent with buses, trucks, and pipelines muscling in on the business. On short hauls (as in the Northeast), trucking has been especially harmful to the railroad's business.

4. Over-regulation: Government regulations have choked off innovation, and, by one estimate, have cost \$5 billion each year.

Although everyone agrees that the nation requires an efficient rail network since railroads move at low cost major portions of raw materials to supply industry and manufactured goods to consumers and are an essential component of the national defense system, there is no agreement as to what should be done. Most everyone wants to avoid outright nationalization of the railroads, but they acknowledge the necessity for decisive action.

The Administration wants to turn the problem over to the "private sector" by establishing a semi-public Federal National Rail Association ("Fannie Rae"), which would oversee reorganization of the rail system in the Northeast, and is empowered to slim down service into a "core" system until a profit begins to show.

This plan counts on government to make changes in the regulations framework of the railroad industry, but rejects any form of direct financial assistance. Profitable lines will be kept, unprofitable lines abandoned, and fewer companies would operate the reduced system.

Another approach would use large amounts of federal subsidies to underwrite losses, assure continuation of services while a reorganization takes place, and upgrade lines, facilities, and equipment.

These approaches suggest the difficult decisions that must be made on what constitutes essential rail service, what kind of structural changes are needed in the industry, what federal assistance, if any, is necessary, what form it should take, what kind of supervision of the railroads is appropriate, and how to best handle the several interests of employees, creditors, and shippers.

I do not support, and I do not believe the Congress will accept, the prospect of endless millions of dollars to bail out the rail system, although some assistance may be necessary. I want to be assured that assistance is being effectively used toward a long-range solution and along these lines:

Maintain essential services but allow abandonment of little-used lines;

Utilize fully rolling stock;

Accelerate research, modernize equipment and apply the techniques of modern management and technology;

Improve railroad safety;

De-regulate the system, including rate-making procedures;

Assure fair treatment of railroad employees.

METHODS OF HANDLING TERRORISM

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, we face a growing threat to both our internal and international security in the rapid rise of terrorist violence. The perpetrator of terrorism exploits the vulnerability of the modern state and its constituents: He does not attack those who are equipped and ready to defend themselves, but rather uses hapless victims as political hostages to his irresponsible demands.

While we cannot make ourselves completely invulnerable terrorist violence, there are a number of precautionary steps which we can take unilaterally to counteract the terrorist threat.

Dr. Stefan Possony, in a followup article, "Terrorism: A Global Concern," appearing in the February 1973 issue of *Defense: Foreign Affairs Digest* analyzes methods of handling terrorism. As you will recall, Dr. Possony's first article on terrorism in the January issue of *Defense* dealt with the structure of modern terrorism and its effects on societies and governments.

I commend to my colleagues Dr. Possony's suggestions to deal with terrorism which read as follows:

TERRORISM: A GLOBAL CONCERN

(By Stefan T. Possony, Ph. D.)

As an increasing number of citizens feel menaced by terrorism, they will sooner or later adopt measures of self-defense. This could have most undesirable consequences. But self-defense is a proper strategy. Not so long ago, Americans and Europeans were going around fully armed, houses were fenced in, and cities had walls and municipal defense forces. The alternative has always been: either the government is willing to protect its citizens, or the citizens protect themselves.

If the government fails in its primary function, which is that of providing safety, the government is in eclipse; and it will be

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replaced by a new structure which will recreate the security the citizens want and need.

True, democracy is incompatible with vigilantism and police despotism. But it is equally incompatible with terrorism. Accordingly, unless one assumes democracy is capable only of solving easy problems, the task is to find safety methods which fit the rules of constitutional government.

A switch in policy would necessitate modifications in foreign policy, military strategy and legal practices. These subjects will be ignored here, as will the multiple interdependence of drug addiction and psychological warfare with terrorism. Instead, I wish to zero in on security problems posed by *private terrorism* and suggest a few remedies that would be feasible without turning the country upside down.

1. It is out of the question to protect everything and everybody. Yet, increased caution is feasible and won't violate any human rights. For example, it is easy to produce better locks and lock more doors. If the New Orleans terrorist was able to get to the top of the Howard Johnson Motel, the question might be asked, why the roof doors were not locked?

2. Significant targets can be provided reasonable protection. We decided that the safety of automobile traffic depends on cops, and there is now one traffic cop for every 100-200 cars (in the United States). At long last the thought is being accepted that if an airport can afford dozens of cops to prevent parking at the entrances, the cost of police protection against hijacking is a legitimate expenditure, too.

Banks always recognize the need for safes and armored cars, yet American banks have yet to learn from European firms that bullet-proof glass can protect tellers and that the number of windows from which cash is paid out, can be reduced without delaying business. Banks introduced TV, photographic safety devices, and alert systems. They could strengthen the arrangement by installing metal detectors of the type which ferrets out the weapons hijackers try to smuggle onto planes.

New York has shown that taxi drivers can be mechanically protected against holdups and many American towns found it advisable to change ticketing procedures to prevent hold-ups of bus drivers. Automobile safety could be enhanced by putting on license plates which can be read at high speed and during darkness. Far more automobiles could be equipped with telephones. Drivers with car phones could act as police volunteers and report to traffic control centers.

The number of emergency telephones and alarm boxes along roads and highways could be increased from virtually nil to many millions, and the equipment could be protected against vandalism.

3. House safety can be vastly improved through better doors, windows, locks, and alert systems—yet even the elementary idea of an easily memorized emergency number that can be dialed in darkness (or on a properly lighted telephone) has yet to be adopted by most telephone companies and police departments in the United States. (How dense can bureaucrats be? Department stores and hospitals usually have memorable telephone numbers.) In Europe, walls with glass on top—and sometimes with self activating firearms—have been quite effective in guarding residences against penetrations, but the solution is hardly applicable in the US. Still, electronic walls are feasible and can be operated in such a way that only an undesired penetrator would trigger alert signals.

4. The protection of pedestrians, especially of the elderly, seems to be infeasible through armed self-defense. But SOS signals could be developed, street lighting improved, volunteer patrols organized, and police patrolling

intensified. For decades, residential and industrial areas in Germany have been successfully patrolled by a large private firm.

Safety in the streets could be strengthened if there were less firearms in the wrong hands. It may be impossible to recall rifles and pistols, but sensible controls over new sales are needed in the U.S. Furthermore, there could be tight controls over the fabrication and sale of ammunition; the ammunition could be marked for identification, and its lethality be reduced. Fairly foolproof controls over stored explosives are feasible and should be instituted.

5. Given an alert, how could a speedy reaction be achieved? For example, an attack would activate sensors and SOS signals around the critical location; neighbours, passers-by, and nearby automobile drivers would receive signals and transmit those to an operational center; and police in patrol cars and helicopters would converge to the point of the suspected crime. The alert could also mobilize volunteer policemen.

Self-defense should not be conceived just as the defense by the assaulted victim. Instead, self-defense should involve the victim who conveys distress, *ad hoc* friends who promptly inform police, and trained and armed volunteer crime fighters who in their immediate neighbourhood work under police orders.

6. The enhancement of police effectiveness and efficiency is the most urgent task. During the Howard Johnson Hotel incident in New Orleans in January this year, the police probably wounded three of their own men, it took six hours to get a helicopter into action, and a wounded victim spent three hours in the swimming pool before he was rescued. A 50-block area was sealed off, yet if there were three gunmen—the police don't know the exact figure—two managed to escape. How much training in anti-terrorist tactics was offered in the New Orleans police department?

The number of terroristic crimes and other crimes remains far too high, the percentage of crime solutions is far too low, and the number of convictions has sunk to the level of national scandal in the US. It is true that the courts have unduly restricted police freedom in collecting evidence, but the police often fails to prepare its cases properly. Police command positions seem to be poorly staffed, and prosecuting attorneys appear to be less skillful and motivated than defense attorneys.

The basic fact is that US police forces are poorly organized. There are, for example, too many "independent" police departments but too few policemen. Most police work is geared to local problems, hence local departments are needed. But these departments have common needs for efficient co-ordination mechanisms and for recruitment, intelligence work, technology, equipment, etc. Moreover, the departments need flows of information from parole officers, psychiatrists, immigration, passport offices, telephone companies, the postal service, and the like. American police forces, as set up today, lack the capability to fight terrorism effectively.

However, this deficiency is not primarily the fault of the police departments. Pressures for constructive approaches must yet be generated by the police departments, but the citizens who feel their taxes, though heavy, do not buy enough safety, must also bestir themselves. The recent growth of private police firms suggests that free enterprise has a major role to play, but demand is largely for spot and special security.

Police modernization must be instituted by political executives on the federal and state levels, in particular the US Department of Justice; and such modernization needs careful intellectual preparations.

Unfortunately, leadership has failed to appear.

REMARKS OF ROBERT W. MESERVE,
PRESIDENT OF AMERICAN BAR
ASSOCIATION

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts, Mr. Speaker, this afternoon, the Capitol Hill Chapter of the Federal Bar Association was fortunate enough to have as its speaker the president of the American Bar Association, Mr. Robert W. Meserve.

Mr. Meserve, a Boston attorney, has had an outstanding tenure as president of the ABA. He has promoted a commitment to social action within the association and has also continued to work to insure that the ABA is dedicated to those principles upon which it was originally founded.

Mr. Meserve gave a most informative review of the history of the ABA, especially as the founding precepts of the organization relate to its work today. I commend his remarks to the attention of my colleagues, whether or not they happen to enjoy the privilege of being members of the legal profession:

REMARKS OF ROBERT W. MESERVE, PRESIDENT,
AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

Ladies and gentlemen, it is a great pleasure to have the opportunity of sharing this luncheon with you. I bring you the greetings and best wishes of the more than 160,000 members of the American Bar Association, many of whom, of course, are you. I am especially honored by the gracious introduction given me by Senator Kennedy. Although I am an enthusiastic constituent, I think his preference here is far more as a tribute to you than to avail himself of the wisdom which I shall impart.

A few weeks ago I spoke to the District of Columbia Bar. I remarked that in the contemporary idiom, Washington is "where the action is." I should, perhaps, have saved that observation for this occasion. In a city whose whole existence is bent to the demanding task of making and administering policy for the greatest democracy on the face of the earth, there is no place closer to the reality of that process than our immediate surroundings. You as lawyers, who are so intimately involved with the machinery which transforms the aspirations of the people into the law of the land, best typify the role played by our profession in the public life of this country.

You are not without experience with ABA presidents. My predecessors have appeared before you as I am now, and many of you have seen us before legislative and administrative bodies, seeking support for the programs of the Association. I think it is appropriate, therefore, to speak not so much about the substance of the immediate concerns which have brought me to Washington on the average of once a week during my term of office, but rather about the nature of the Association itself and why this representation seems to me to be a logical consequence of that nature.

Law, as is well known, is an ancient phenomenon. It is one of the great themes of society and can be traced backward far beyond the point where the custodianship of what we know of civilizations which have preceded ours, passes from the historian to the anthropologist. Our specific legal tradition is easily linked with almost a thousand years of the development of the English

Common law, a development which produced not only much of the substance of our law, but many of the elements which make up the concept "lawyer" as we know it.

The American Bar Association, by contrast, is relatively young, less than 100 years. No institution can survive without changing. War and depression have made enormous and very basic changes in society as a whole in the past one hundred years, and the legal profession and the American Bar Association have changed as well.

The genesis of the Association was with a meeting of one hundred lawyers from twenty-one states which took place in an upstairs courtroom at Saratoga, New York, on August 21, 1878.

The meeting was held in response to a circular letter issued by a committee of the Connecticut Bar Association. A constitution was adopted by the first Saratoga meeting and the purpose of the Association as given was "to advance the science of jurisprudence, promote the administration of justice and uniformity of legislation throughout the union, uphold the honor of the profession of law, and encourage cordial intercourse among members of the American Bar." It may be noted that although subsequent Constitutions have added language to elaborate on these purposes, none of the original language has been deleted.

The decade of the 1870's was an exciting and adventuresome one for many in this country, and for lawyers not least of all. As historians have pointed out, the frontier and westward expansion were major factors throughout the history of 19th century America. After the Civil War, however, a new expansion, a new movement rose to dominate historical processes. The relatively stable pattern of agriculture and small town life came to be uprooted by large scale industrial and commercial growth.

Lawyers were called upon to assist this development. In some respects, the practice of law in the creative sense has been akin to what we now refer to with the rather grandiose term "social engineering." The demand for political and economic independence and a society reflecting a liberal or enlightened philosophical outlook, brought forth a generation of lawyers, including Jefferson, Hamilton and the Adamses.

The Revolution had a profound effect on lawyers themselves and the practice of law. While the substance of English law could be easily transported, as indeed Blackstone's Commentaries were, lawyers in the newly independent states were cut off from the institutions which gave organization and definition to the profession and which provided the means of selection and education of new members. The very clear differences between the profession in the United States and in Great Britain today are the result.

Similarly, a hundred years later, lawyers in providing the concepts and the forms for so extensive an economic change as began in the 1870's inevitably were subjected to change themselves. The lawyer practicing along in a small town, whose principal professional concern was with conveying real property, has never completely faded from the scene, but from the point of view of a lawyer in 1878, that kind of life and practice lay behind; in front were giant corporate law firms and a professional life dominated by such initials as I.C.C., I.R.C., N.L.R.B., S.E.C., and eventually E.P.A.

At this time, lawyers, especially in urban centers, began to rediscover a sense of professional pride. A long period of very lax or, in some cases, virtually non-existent standards of admission had produced a bar which was far from uniform in either learning or professional conduct. In many cases, the formation of bar associations during this period was in response to the need of lawyers who wished to be known by their academic accomplishments and their, admittedly self-

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certified, standard of conduct from the rest of their fellows. In the largest cities, there was also a spirit of civic reform which often figured in the creation of new bar groups.

Early bar associations, including the American Bar Association, had an elitist character. In contrast to today, when membership in the Association is open to all who have been admitted in any jurisdiction, new members are actively solicited, and the 160,000 members constitute roughly half of the profession; membership in the early days was highly selective and restrictive. Twenty-five years after its founding, the Association's members equalled barely 3 percent of the profession; by the outbreak of World War II, the percentage had grown to only 17.

Today, we would have no difficulty in characterizing the founders of the Associations as conservatives, very much linked with big business. The fact that they may have sincerely regarded themselves as progressives or even liberals embarking on an exciting and revolutionary era of economic expansion, can only be regarded as ironic, although perhaps it may teach us humility. Once again what society demands has changed. We seriously question the desirability of unbounded industrial expansion; we may even be in transition, in the words of the economist Kenneth Boulding, from the cowboy economy to the spaceship economy. Growth, development, increase, all of which a few years ago could have found few detractors, now must share their status and priority with conservation, reuse, and recycling. We have come to recognize that the concentration of economic and material power on the scale which a hundred years ago sent railroads to every corners of the country and today sends rockets to the moon, is not without social consequences which may be highly undesirable. We have come to appreciate that the distribution of the nation's wealth may be as important as its size. The forward looking law students of my generation studied labor law. Today they study, and in some cases make, consumer law and environmental law.

Lawyers in providing both the technical skills and the leadership in bringing about these changes are inevitably changing themselves and what it is to practice law. The public interest law firm is an obvious example of this change, but it can be detected throughout the profession.

What, then, is the American Bar Association today? Like any bar association, it is, in part, a trade association. We are all in one way or another, engaged in earning a living. It is natural that we should share common concerns in that respect. Part of the American Bar Association's total program is directed toward concerns.

As members of the legal profession, however, we have chosen to earn our living in a unique way. In making this choice, we have committed ourselves to unique obligations. Law is a public profession. Those who practice it have unavoidable public responsibilities. The individual lawyer is first obligated to the honest, competent and full representation of his client's cause. This is true whether the lawyer represents a derelict individual wasted by drink or drugs or the full majesty of the United States Government. Beyond that, however, we see now that lawyers, particularly taken collectively, have a responsibility for participating in the public life of our society. Lawyers, collectively, are possessed of talents and knowledge which others may not have. As I have already said, lawyers are often not only the designers, but the builders of social and political reform. The combination of capacity and position establish the collective responsibility which lawyers have, not only with respect to their client's problems, but with respect to those of their town; their State and their country.

I believe without reservation, that the primary goal of the American Bar Association

today is to be a vehicle for the discharge of this collective responsibility. In this regard, the Association is fortunate in that among its members are not only very influential men and women, but experts in every conceivable area of the law and legally related problems. We call upon these individuals, and with great regularity they freely (in all senses of that word) assist us in studies and the formation of policy.

The American Bar Association, nor any other bar association, is the final arbiter of what is good for the public in general. That responsibility must rest with our elected governmental officials. But when the Association has, through official action of its governing bodies, adopted a policy position on the grounds that position is supportive of the public interest, the Association brings those positions and the arguments supporting them, to the arena in which public policy is formed. In many instances, of course, that means to Washington, to you. Sometimes we are successful and sometimes we are not. In many struggles, a definitive resolution has not been, and maybe never will be, reached.

Had I not already promised you I wouldn't and if my time were not almost up, I would be tempted to tell you of our struggles to promote a truly independent legal services program for the poor or to secure funding for the CLEO program for the recruitment and financial and academic support of minority group law students. I am proud of these efforts and spend a good part of each day involved in them.

Rather than trespass on your hospitality, let me close by extending an invitation to you. There is often the unfortunate and inaccurate assumption that the American Bar Association is an organization of and for the lawyer in private practice. One often hears this among law professors and judges. You may feel the same way. The American Bar Association is and ought to be the national professional association for all lawyers. At the beginning of my term, I made appointments to the ABA's Special Committee on Lawyers in Government, which I believe will ultimately bring new vitality to that area of the Association's program. What is more important is the contribution which you can make by becoming actively involved in the Association's activities. Your knowledge and experience can immeasurably advance not only a special interest, even our own special interest, but the public interest.

This August, the ABA will hold its Annual meeting here in Washington. I invite you and urge you to attend those sessions which are of special interest to you. More than anything I can say, I think that experience will demonstrate that the Association's efforts are both broad and contemporary.

LEGISLATIVE GOALS—RETIRED FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I introduced yesterday several bills to provide improved benefits for more than 1 million Federal retirees and survivors who often have their particular needs overlooked when the Congress is considering legislation to provide for our elderly population.

Despite some far-reaching legislative advances benefiting the elderly which have been enacted since the 1971 White House Conference on the Aging, too many millions of senior citizens still are

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victims of stresses and fears caused by inflation and their diminishing energy, strength, and health. They are by circumstance solely dependent upon the competence and dedication of the Congress, the administration, and the more fortunate senior citizens themselves for the achievement of their legislative goals that will provide a better way of life in our society.

The bills I am introducing are identical to those which have been introduced by several of my very able colleagues in the House, and they would help to carry out the priorities of the legislative program that has been established by the National Association of Retired Federal Employees.

My bill H.R. 6803 would provide for a graduated annuity increase and would establish a minimum annuity level coinciding with the minimum benefit granted under social security; H.R. 6802 would increase the contribution of the Federal Government to the costs of health benefits premiums under the Federal employees health benefits program; H.R. 6806 would permit an exemption of the first \$5,000 of retirement income received by a taxpayer under a public retirement system or any other system if the taxpayer is at least 65 years of age; H.R. 6801 would eliminate the survivorship reduction during periods of nonmarriage of certain annuitants, thereby correcting one of the grossest inequities in the present Civil Service retirement law. H.R. 6804 to provide for continual application of current basic pay scales to Federal civil service annuities, was first introduced by my able colleague, Congressman BILL CHAPPELL, Jr., of Florida. I am pleased to join Congressman CHAPPELL in the sponsorship of this legislation which would implement a paramount legislative goal of NARFE.

Mr. Speaker, when we have in the past considered legislation to provide for the needs of senior citizens, I have often recalled an observation of human behavior made by Voltaire in his dialogs. He said:

Men use thought only as authority for their injustice, and employ speech only to conceal their thoughts.

The recent record in the Congress with respect to the passage of my bill, the Nutrition Program for the Elderly, title VII of the Older Americans Act; the enactment of the recent social security 20-percent increases; and the most recent passage of the Older Americans Comprehensive Services Amendments of 1973, indicates we are overcrowding this frailty. I am hopeful that we may continue in our determination to act on behalf of the older American and that we may give particular and immediate attention to the legislative goals of the retired Federal employees.

JUVENILE DIABETES WEEK IN FLORIDA

HON. WILLIAM LEHMAN

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. Speaker, Governor Askew of Florida has declared May 14 through 20 as Juvenile Diabetes Week in

Florida to call attention to the excellent program of the Juvenile Diabetes Foundation of Florida in alleviating the distress of young diabetics and their families.

Diabetes is the fifth leading cause of death by disease, reducing life expectancy by approximately 30 percent, and 40,000 Americans die each year from the disease.

Diabetes is also the second leading cause of blindness, and often causes heart attacks, strokes, and kidney failures.

It is significant that new estimates indicate that one child out of every 587 has diabetes, which is a far less conservative estimate than the traditional one out of 2,500. These children confront greater chances of developing blindness, blood vessel or nervous disorders.

I would like to commend the attention of my colleagues to the Governor's Proclamation of May 14 to 20 as Juvenile Diabetes Week, and to this worthwhile and deserving battle against this debilitating disease:

PROCLAMATION

Whereas, diabetes is the fifth leading cause of death, the leading cause of blindness and the third largest major chronic childhood disease among the citizens of the United States, and

Whereas, medical science possesses the knowledge for early detection and establishment of individual regimens to enable young victims of diabetes to lead active and gainful lives, and

Whereas, the dissemination of this knowledge can save many lives and make many more lives productive and satisfying, and

Whereas, the young diabetic and his family need enlightened encouragement and counseling to adjust to the mechanics of maintaining a daily regimen of exercise, diet and treatment, and

Whereas, the Juvenile Diabetes Foundation was formed in Florida in 1971 to educate and inform the public, to provide family counseling and to fund research in treatment and for an eventual cure, and

Whereas, this Florida organization will join with its counterparts in other states to assault diabetes with coordinated and concerted efforts;

Now, therefore, I, Reuben O'D. Askew, by virtue of the authority vested in me as Governor of the State of Florida, do hereby proclaim the period May 14-20, 1973, as Juvenile Diabetes Week in Florida, and call upon all citizens to support this worthwhile program to alleviate the distress of young diabetics and their families.

THE FUTURE OF NYC-SUMMER

HON. FORTNEY H. (PETE) STARK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, one of the many fine programs that has been eliminated in Mr. Nixon's economizing drive is the Neighborhood Youth Corps summer project. This program had an established history of success, nevertheless, it was abolished.

NYC-summer attacked the sources of many of the problems of our cities while many other programs merely attacked the results. NYC-summer offered jobs and opportunities to thousands of young

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people who might otherwise have turned to the streets for their amusement.

It is impossible to calculate the number of youths who have stayed out of trouble because of NYC-summer programs. But it is not impossible to see part of the tremendous impact this program has had on our communities. In Alameda County, Calif., alone over 6,500 youths were involved in the program last summer.

I recently received a letter from the chairman of the Youth Opportunities Board of Alameda County which succinctly and forcefully illustrates the impact of one NYC-summer program and the incredible loss and void that will remain if we do not restore its funding. I submit that this letter illustrates the false economy we are sanctioning if we do not force the funding of this program I would like to place it in the RECORD.

FREE ENTERPRISE CANNOT HIDE ITS LIGHT UNDER A BUSHEL

HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, in his now-famous memorandum to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Lewis F. Powell, Jr., Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, said:

The day is long past when the chief executive officer of a major corporation discharges his responsibility by maintaining a satisfactory growth of profits, with due regard to the corporation's public and social responsibilities. If our system is to survive, top management must be equally concerned with protecting and preserving the system itself . . . (It) is essential that spokesmen for the enterprise system—at all levels and at every opportunity—be far more aggressive than in the past . . . There should not be the slightest hesitation to press vigorously in all political arenas for support of the enterprise system. Nor should there be reluctance to penalize politically those who oppose it.

One corporation which has provided invaluable leadership in defense of the free-enterprise system has been the Warner & Swasey Co. of Cleveland, Ohio. Through its weekly advertisements in leading news and business magazines, Warner & Swasey has effectively placed before the American people the message that the free-enterprise system is good for our country and for all of its people, investors and consumers alike.

I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues the excellent Warner and Swasey advertisement which appeared in the March 12, 1973 issue of U.S. News & World Report as it is an example of the kind of effort which business should be willing to put forth in defense of the free-enterprise system.

The advertisement follow:

IF BUSINESS "HIDES ITS LIGHT UNDER A BUSHEL" IT CAN GO OUT

In almost any newspaper or TV broadcast there will be one too many cracks at "greedy" business, but never a reply. Yet it is business whose taxes pay a great bulk of the cost of maintaining our government, paying for relief of the poor, supporting hospitals and schools, building our roads. And it is out of business profits that come the pensions to retired workers, the research to fight disease. And even in the recent so-called poor

times, business provided 82 million good jobs and is creating one million more jobs every year.

And it is business in its search for profit that has brought us up and out of the drudgery of our forefathers . . . Anybody want to go back?

A SUMMARY OF MAJOR ENVIRONMENTAL AND NATURAL RESOURCES LEGISLATION OF THE 93D CONGRESS

HON. SAM GIBBONS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to have printed in the RECORD a summary of major environmental and natural resources legislation of the 93d Congress. The summary was prepared by Mr. Steve Hughes, analyst of the Environmental Policy Division of the Library of Congress, and is dated April 4, 1973. The summary follows:

MAJOR ENVIRONMENTAL AND NATURAL RESOURCES LEGISLATION OF THE 93D CONGRESS

(By Steve Hughes)

LEGISLATIVE ISSUES AND POLICY REPORTS

Legislative activity in the 93d Congress dealing with the environment and natural resources has been concerned with a variety of issues—many of them interrelated. One set of issues includes the "energy crisis", land use planning, deep water ports, the Trans-Alaska oil pipeline, and powerplant siting. Another set of issues relates the impoundment of funds appropriated for water pollution and agricultural programs to the fiscal 1974 budget and its allocations for such programs as solid waste management, air pollution, environmental education, ocean dumping, and coastal zone management. Other issues that are reflected in new legislation include environmental committees in the Congress, predator control, toxic substances, endangered species, interstate environmental protection (regarding citizen suits and commerce), and water resources development. Some of these issues were addressed in the President's Message on Resources and the Environment of February 15, 1973 (S. Doc. No. 93-5). Generally, the message emphasized the accomplishments toward solving environmental problems and the need for the passage of legislation considered in the previous Congress¹—including measures for land use planning (with sanctions tied to Federal aid), power plant siting, strip mining, and toxic substances control. Among the new initiatives proposed by the Administration are safe drinking water standards, expanded Federal management of coastal fisheries, and increased wilderness areas in the eastern States.

Several major policy reports were released, or reached the public, since the 93d Congress convened. The issues analyzed, and for which recommendations have been made, range from tax incentives for recycling solid wastes, to the need to consider the indoor effects of air pollution; as well as to the environmental consequences of commercial SST aircraft. In a report to the Congress and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), pursuant to provisions in the Clean Air Amendments of 1970, the National Academy of Sciences evaluated exhaust emissions control tech-

¹ For background information, see the committee print, *Congress and the Nation's Environment: Environmental and National Resources Affairs of the 92d Congress*, by the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

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nology for automobiles. This analysis indicates that "achievement of the 1975 standards may be technologically feasible and that achievement of the 1976 standards is likely but may not be attainable on the established schedule."² The EPA is now conducting hearings to determine if a requested one-year delay in meeting those standards should be granted to automobile manufacturers. Congressional hearings, as well as several policy reports, have addressed the issues regarding deep water ports. The discussion has focused on the environmental (e.g., oil pollution), economic and regulatory implications of such facilities. The related question of oil imports and energy supplies was the subject of hearings early in the 93d Congress, as fuel shortages were being felt across the country.

LEGISLATIVE ACTIONS

Air Pollution. New authorizing legislation has been introduced for clean air programs which expire this year. H.R. 5445, which provides for a one-year extension of the Clean Air Act, has been passed by both Houses (H. Report No. 93-77), and sent to the President for approval.

Energy and Fuels. A considerable amount of legislation has been introduced on energy and fuel resources. The recent shortages of petroleum fuels has prompted a variety of proposals not only to alleviate present shortages, but to ensure adequate supplies of energy resources in the future. The latter problem is being considered in terms of developing a national energy policy, which would be a function of the proposal (S. 70, for example) to create a Council on Energy Policy.

Long term supplies of fuels would be a function, as well, of the numerous proposals to stimulate research and development activities for new sources of energy. Other measures to deal with the short run "energy crisis" include the deregulation of natural gas (to allow price increases as a greater incentive for the exploration of the gas), and change in the Oil Import Quota System (to increase the supply of oil from foreign sources). The expanded effort in energy research and development is also reflected in legislation which would establish a corporation to develop new energy sources. Additional efforts have been proposed for coal gasification projects as well as for producing petroleum from oil shale; both of which would increase the supply of oil without increasing the Nation's dependence on foreign sources—thus avoiding the balance-of-payments implications. At least one measure (H.R. 5750) would allow congressional approval for constructing the Trans-Alaska pipeline following a one-year study by the new Office of Technology Assessment concerning alternate routes for the pipeline.³

Environmental/Natural Resources Appropriations (Impoundment of Funds). Over 75 bills have been introduced in connection with the Administration's impoundment of funds for agricultural and water pollution activities. These programs include the Rural Environmental Assistance Program, the Rural Electrification Administration, and the Farmers Home Administration. In general, the legislation would direct reinstatement of funding for these activities; although there has been some legislative support of the impoundment of funds. The House and Senate have passed a bill, H.R. 2107 (House Conference Report 93-101), which would continue the programs related to agriculture and rural development. The Senate version, however,

² National Academy of Sciences report on motor vehicle emissions. In remarks of Edmund S. Muskie. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 119, Feb. 28, 1973, pp. 5830-5853.

³ For background information on energy, see the committee print, "A Review of Energy Policy Activities of the 92d Congress," by the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

was amended to include water bank funding. In addition, the Senate has passed S. 394 (S. Report 93-20) to direct that REA funds be made available for loans in the fiscal year for which they were appropriated. Another proposal, H. Res. 154, would give standing to Congressmen to sue for programs in their districts which were affected by the impoundment.

Environmental Education and Manpower. Although the current program of environmental education in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is scheduled to expire in June 1973, there has been legislation introduced to continue that program (H.R. 3927). However, the budget submitted by the President for fiscal year 1974 shows no funds allocated for environmental education, but indicates that the program will be phased out.

Land Use Planning and Coastal Zone Management. Bills have been introduced to establish a National Land Use Planning policy (S. 268, S. 792, and H.R. 91, for example). One such measure passed the Senate in 1972. A policy on land use would encourage and assist the individual States in planning their conservation and/or development of land areas; some States already have begun these programs. S. 792 would amend the water pollution statutes in order to tie sanctions and grants for land use planning to the State's water pollution funding.

A related issue is surface mining. Both Houses of Congress now have bills pending (hearings have been held on S. 425 and S. 923) which would regulate this activity. Powerplant siting legislation is also expected to receive action during the 93d Congress (cf. H.R. 180 or S. 935). The Federal Lands Protection Act (S. 424) would provide protection for 450 million acres of Federal lands under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Land Management.

Organization for Environmental Affairs. Numerous bills have been introduced to set up a Joint Committee on the Environment (See H.J. Res. 14) and also a Standing Committee on the Environment (See H. Res. 105). Previous measures to establish a Joint Committee have passed both Houses but have not received final action. Additional re-organizational measures would create a new Department of Natural Resources and Environment (S. 27).

Recycling and Solid Wastes. The Solid Waste Disposal Act, which expires this year, has provided for research and demonstration activities in the fields of recycling and solid waste management programs. The House and Senate have passed and sent to the President a bill, H.R. 5446 (H. Report No. 93-78) to extend the Act for one year. In general, congressional bills would authorize several hundred million dollars for these programs, as compared with the Administration's budget request for FY 1974 expenditures of approximately 5.7 million dollars.

Toxic Chemicals in the Environment. A bill to regulate toxic substances is expected to pass this Congress. Those measures introduced include S. 426 and S. 888, by Senator Magnuson and the Administration, respectively.

Water Resources. The Senate has passed an omnibus bill (S. 606) this session which is identical to the water resources development measure which was vetoed by the President in 1972. Hearings on this subject have been scheduled in the House.

Wildlife and Fisheries, and Predator Control. Legislation is before the 93d Congress to protect endangered species (H.R. 37), and for predator control (H.R. 38); and both issues are expected to receive much attention during the Congress, with hearings already begun on the latter issue.

AGRICULTURE (GENERAL)

The major agricultural issues facing the 93d Congress revolve around the Agricultural Act of 1970 which expires in December of this year. Congress may extend the 1970

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Act, revise it, or allow it to expire. If the latter occurs, continuing price support and acreage adjustment legislation for major commodities would again become operative.

The Administration has not submitted a draft bill to Congress. The President stated his goal, however, in his message to Congress on February 15. The Administration wants to allow farmers more freedom in planting, and thus to phase out government income-supplement programs.

Senate hearings on agricultural issues, are concerned with a bill, S. 517 (introduced by Mr. Young), to extend Titles I-VII of the 1970 Act for five years. Three similar bills have been introduced in the House.

S. 517—to extend Titles I-VII of the Agricultural Act of 1970. (H.R. 2643, H.R. 3866, H.R. 5161.)

January 23—introduced.

February 27—amended to cover indemnity payments to beekeepers.

February 27, 28—hearings by Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

March 1, 2, 8, 9, 13, 14—hearings by Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

March 29—scheduled hearing for presentation of Administration's recommendations.

Related Bills:

S. 639—to limit subsidy payments (Bayh). S. 1180—to discontinue farm subsidies beginning with 1974 crop (Ribicoff).

H.R. 4809—to limit subsidy payments (Kemp).

MAJOR ENVIRONMENTAL BILLS (LISTED LEFT TO RIGHT IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE)

1. Agricultural (General)—See pp. 7-8 of Report.

2. Agricultural Conservation—H.R. 1975.

3. Agricultural Pollution.

4. Air Pollution—H.R. 5445.

5. Energy and Fuels—S. 70, S. 1283, H.R. 5750, H.R. 2043, H.R. 2554.

6. Environment (General).

7. Environmental/Natural Resources Appropriations—H.R. 2107, S. 394.

8. Environmental Economics—H.R. 1508, H.R. 635.

9. Environmental Education and Manpower—H.R. 3927.

10. Environmental Enforcement—H. Res. 154.

11. Environmental Impacts—Population—H.R. 1723, S. 1286.

12. Environmental Impacts—Transportation—S. 502, H.R. 1475.

13. Environmental Information Systems—H.R. 36, H.R. 35.

14. Environmental Research and Development—H.R. 1496.

15. Forestry—H.R. 8, H.R. 5744, S. 1033.

16. International Environmental Affairs—H.R. 9, H.R. 5696.

17. Land Use and Coastal Zone Management—S. 268, S. 792, S. 80, H.R. 180, H.R. 91, S. 935, S. 924.

18. Mines and Minerals—S. 425, S. 923, H.R. 1000, H.R. 3.

19. Natural Disasters—S. 269.

20. Natural Resources (General).

21. Organization for Environmental Affairs—S. 27, H.J. Res. 14, H. Res. 105.

22. Parks, Recreation and Wilderness—S. 938, S. 316.

23. Pesticides.

24. Predator Control—H.R. 38, H.R. 4759.

25. Public Domain—S. 424.

26. Radiation Hazards.

27. Recycling and Solid Waste—H.R. 5446, S. 498, H.R. 485, S. 409.

28. Rural Development.

29. Toxic Chemicals in the Environment—S. 426, S. 888, H.R. 5087.

30. Urban Conservation—S. 12.

31. Water Pollution—H.R. 1059, H.R. 5368, H.R. 2011.

32. Water Resources and Waterways—S. 606.

33. Wildlife and Fisheries Conservation—H.R. 37.

FOOD PRICE HEARING

HON. ELLA T. GRASSO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mrs. GRASSO. Mr. Speaker, on March 31, I sponsored a public hearing on food prices in New Britain, Conn. This hearing gave citizens an opportunity to express their views on the crisis in food prices.

Spokesmen included representatives of civic clubs and consumer groups, farmers and poultry breeders, food wholesalers and retailers, the fish and meat packing industries.

The recommendations and observations of the participants were made available to members of the Banking and Currency Committee as they drafted legislation in this area.

For the benefit of all my colleagues, I am inserting in the RECORD today the statements of Edward Ostrowski, president of the Ayo Packing Co.; George Wilbur, president of the Litchfield Farm Bureau; Fred Caracciolo, chairman of the New Britain-Bristol Area UAW CAP Council; Anne-Marie Russo of the Southington Junior Women's Club; Len Dube, president of the Connecticut State UAW CAP Council; and Mary Halloran of the Plainville Junior Women's Council:

STATEMENT BY EDWARD OSTROWSKI, PRESIDENT OF THE AYO PACKING CO., NEW BRITAIN, CONN.

The sausage and ready-to-eat meat products segment of the food industry, of which I am a part, is not a high list wide discount industry. Our segment depends on daily sales of our products at low markups for profit.

Our industry does not react on a daily basis to price fluctuations as does the fresh meat segment. We wait for plateaus at which raw materials stabilize and at that point we adjust our price structure to reflect either the rise or drop in the cost of raw materials. This has been the basis of our problems: we have been chasing raw material costs and have not at this date adjusted our price structure to reflect raw material costs to the extent required to put us in a breakeven position.

Our industry is, indeed, in a sad state of affairs when one considers the voluntary closings of many old fine line manufacturers as well as those who have failed or are under reorganization. If you seek the advice of a stock broker as to investment in the meat industry, he will advise you to stay away from it and will point out the long term poor earnings of this industry.

Freezes or ceilings may stabilize prices, but they will not assure a supply of meat. In fact, they will create shortages in areas where a product cannot be processed or manufactured at a profit no matter how small. We have had examples of this in the past two weeks without ceilings. For example, processors are curtailing the production of dry sausage, such as B.C. Salami and Genoa, as well as the many forms of hams. The raw material market is so high and the processing time so long that good business judgment dictates long term risk should not be taken.

It must be remembered that European nations have never been able to produce enough meat to feed their own populations because of a scarcity of land, and have been long term importers of beef, lamb, and veal. As their economy has improved, so have the demands for these products. It has been to the advantage of the various segments of the meat industry to export since the prices

realized have been much higher than those in this country.

In my opinion the bulk of beef cattle, hogs and lamb available in this country no longer comes from modest ranches, but from large corporate efforts. Profit is the motivating factor in making ever increasing meat products available. This is as it should be. If the availability of an industry to show profits is negated, then the supply of meat products will shrink. Along with labor, it will move its investment to more profitable areas.

I do not have a solution to propose; the answer will lie in the close cooperation of the industry (rancher processor and retailer) labor and consumer. Government will need to act as arbitrator and not as controller. Otherwise we will end up as a socialist state.

STATEMENT BY GEORGE WILBUR, PRESIDENT OF THE LITCHFIELD FARM BUREAU, WINSTED, CONN.

It seems that all I hear today from most housewives is "We are being robbed. Food prices keep going up, when are they going to stop? The price of beef is out of sight! Something has to be done. Clamp price ceilings on the farmers and cut the middle man's profits."

Let's explore this problem because it is a big problem. Let's find out *why*, because without the answer to this question there is no meaning.

Who is to blame? Is it the farmer or is it the middleman? The answer is neither. The real McCoy is *inflation*. Yes, today's high food prices and high prices in other areas are the *result of inflation not the cause*. It is inflation that has increased consumer demands, an increase which is the result of more people having more money to spend than there are goods to buy.

But what causes inflation? Inflation is caused by excessive deficit spending by the federal government and expansion of the money supply by the federal reserve board.

I agree that food prices are high, but what is not? Have you paid a plumber or electrician lately? Hospital care, clothes or even entertainment? Although food prices rose as much or more than other goods purchased in '72, they have risen less than prices of other things over a long period of years.

In the last 20 years, farm prices of food products are up less than 11% while retail prices are up 46%. Transportation, processing and distribution take 60% of the consumer dollar. Industrial wages have increased during this same period to 129%; food market employees, 148%; semi-private hospital rooms, 370%; doctor's fees, 122%; cigars, 300%.

Meanwhile, all farm costs rose 109% in 20 years and 7 1/2% in 1972. Taxes on the farm increased 297%; labor, 141%; machinery, 100%.

Retail food prices advanced 4.3% while wages of industrial workers increased 6.2%. Farm prices of food increased 8.7%, but despite the improvement in farm income in 1972, the disposable income per farmer is still only 78% of that enjoyed by non-farmers.

Food is a big bargain even today. Twenty years ago, 23% of one's disposable income was spent on food; in 1972, the cost to the consumer is less than 16%.

Will food prices go higher? Yes, except for items where production may exceed demand. Reasons for increased food prices include:

1. Bad harvests
2. Heavy feeding
3. Expanding exports
4. Increased consumer demand for certain commodities

Now we know the "why" of high food prices. What can be done?

1. Clamp ceilings on farm products? Not likely. Ceiling on raw food will result in rationing, black market and decreased production.

2. Open the gates on imports. There is little help here since world food production due to bad harvests, rising population and increased consumer buying power is running behind demand. Excessive imports of commodities in world surplus could seriously erode domestic farm income and reduce our producers' ability to gear up for adequate production in the future.

3. Dismantle government farm programs and eliminate subsidies? This is rash treatment but is being discussed, and we farmers must be prepared to do our part in fighting inflation. Pay the fiddler and dance. Stable prices when inflation is harnessed.

We as farmers are doing our best to help solve this problem, but the consumer has to help too, by:

1. Insisting inflation be controlled
2. Resisting wage settlements that exceed increases in productivity.

3. Refusing to support food boycotts (for the dairy and poultry farmers of Connecticut, their price of grain alone has risen 50-80% in 6 months.)

4. Encouraging quick settlement of transportation tie-ups.

5. Avoiding the imposition of unworkable price ceilings on farm products.

STATEMENT BY FRED CARACCIOLI, CHAIRMAN OF THE NEW BRITAIN-BRISTOL AREA UAW CAP COUNCIL

Voluntary meat boycotts by thousands of people who use and purchase meat start next week. These are people who would use and purchase meat during that week because they can still afford it. But a boycott of more than a week has been forced upon a great number of people who are living on wage earnings of less than \$3.00 an hour and have already been priced out of their limit. The current administration has effectively controlled wage increases, minimizing increases allowable for people earning only \$3.00 an hour, but has failed completely to impose any commensurate control on the prices of necessities, and especially the food that those \$3.00 an hour wage earners must purchase.

We wish to congratulate you, Congresswoman, for taking the time to hear from people about their complaints concerning high prices.

STATEMENT BY ANNE-MARIE RUSSO, SOUTHERN JUNIOR WOMEN'S CLUB

I am speaking on behalf of the Southington Junior Women's Club. We are 100% in support of the meat boycott to be held during the first week in April.

Many people must be questioning our motives, now that President Nixon has placed a ceiling on all beef, lamb and pork prices. We are not only fighting to keep prices from rising, but to bring them down to a level where hamburger and chuck, once the backbone of many budgets, are no longer luxury items; back to where round steak, the budget sirloin for many families, is not a penny away from \$2.00 a pound; back down to where meat can be placed on the American table as a basic food and not just as a sale item, a one time treat of the week.

We feel there is a strong need to hold prices down on all foods—some of which were once staples but are now out of reach for many families. After all, the cost of a simple green salad is close to \$1.50 for a family of four.

We feel that in this country in this day and age, we should not be engaged in an every day struggle to place food on the family table.

STATEMENT BY LEN DUBE, PRESIDENT OF CONNECTICUT STATE UAW CAP COUNCIL

According to Thursday night's report to the nation, President Nixon is now freezing meat prices at the highest level within the last 30 days, supposedly to soothe consumer unhappiness over soaring meat prices: specifically, beef, pork and lamb. He stated that

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the ceiling will remain in effect as long as is necessary to do the job.

Mrs. Grasso, we of the UAW say the job has already been done on the worker, on the low and fixed incomes of the poor and on the senior citizens whose 20% increase that he boasted about in November has now been wiped out. These are the people who have been watering down their milk and substituting chicken, fish and eggs for meat. And these prices will continue to rise because our cries fall on deaf ears in the White House.

Mrs. Grasso, you are our spokesman in Congress and we urge you to motivate your colleagues and return to us all our purchasing power. We are supporting the Meat Boycott Coalition with Phase 4, buy meat No More.

STATEMENT BY MRS. MARY HALLORAN, PLAINVILLE JUNIOR WOMEN'S CLUB

As a representative of the Plainville Junior Women's Club, I would like to express the housewives' point of view on the escalating prices of food. I think that I would be safe in saying that housewives across the nation are fed up with food costs and meat prices in particular. I know that everytime I go into the grocery store, the cash register receipts go up while the quantity of goods in my shopping bag goes down. I feel that for months housewives have out of necessity been forced to keep a close eye on what they buy.

Although the new price ceiling is good, I feel that it is late in coming. It does nothing to reduce the price of meat from its already too high level. We must concentrate our efforts on a rollback of prices in an attempt to find a permanent solution. If necessary, a Congressional task force should be convened to solve this critical problem. In addition, the administration must continue in their efforts toward unit pricing so that housewives can readily compare the prices of food.

I am heartened by the fact that so many women have joined together in this critical time, and I hope that this appeal will prove to be effective.

GOLDWATER ALARMED BY INCREASING RISK OF MIDAIR AIRCRAFT COLLISIONS

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. Speaker, during this decade, at the present rate of increasing air traffic density, there is a high probability of some 335 midair aircraft collisions which would result in the loss of nearly 1,000 lives and millions of dollars in property damage.

This would be up from 240 actual midair collisions in the previous decade which resulted in the loss of 615 lives.

However, even this predicted rate of death and destruction may be exceeded. One hundred and fifty-three persons lost their lives in 69 midair collisions in 1970-71.

The National Transportation Safety Board has estimated that some 80 percent may have been avoided if an electronic collision avoidance system had been available.

The state of the art to produce such a system is now here. Before another needless and huge loss of lives occurs, a national standard for aircraft collision avoidance must be set.

THE LAW AND COMMONSENSE

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY
OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, an editorial which appeared in the Washington Post, April 9, described the plight of Mrs. Beatrice F. Harris, a District resident who was forced through a court-order auction, to sell half her home in order to repay the debt of another person.

While this may seem unbelievable, it did happen, and should cause us to examine several aspects of the matter.

First, as reported, Mrs. Harris is still another victim of the archaic District of Columbia Code. How much longer are we going to tolerate such injustice in the District. Not only do we deprive them of self-government but we do not even give them reasonable laws with which to operate.

Second, incidents such as this magnify the need for some type of prepaid legal services plan. Many persons do not need legal services very often but cannot afford to be without competent legal counsel during such a crisis.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, is it not long past the time when the question of home rule should be brought to the floor of the House. I, for one, wish to express my opinion by voting on this issue.

I command this editorial to my colleagues and insert it at this point in the RECORD:

THE LAW AND COMMONSENSE

"The law is a ass, an idiot," Charles Dickens wrote over 100 years ago, but the United States District Court for the District of Columbia waited until February 1971 to prove it conclusively. That was when Judge Gerhard A. Gesell entered a judgment ordering Mrs. Beatrice F. Harris, an \$8,465-a-year clerk with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, to pay a debt then amounting to about \$8,300. Now there's nothing unusual about a judgment ordering someone to pay a debt: they're entered every day. In this case, however, Mrs. Harris didn't owe anyone any thing and didn't even know the people to whom the debt was to be paid. No matter though; half her house was sold at a court-ordered auction on March 30 in order to satisfy the debt. Mrs. Harris calls the thing a nightmare and is understandably dismayed.

Well, now, all of this probably makes no more sense to you than it does to Mrs. Harris or to us, but we'll run through the facts in any case. Some years ago Mrs. Harris contracted with a home repair man named Tom Herring to do some work on her house. Mrs. Harris was not satisfied with the results so she withheld \$600 of the \$1,500 price that had been agreed upon. At about the same time, Mr. and Mrs. Andrew McCoy of Seat Pleasant were having similar problems with Mr. Herring and they decided to sue him. They won a judgment against him for about \$8,300 and that's when Mrs. Harris' troubles began.

Apparently in a search for assets with which Mr. Herring could satisfy the judgment owed to the McCoys, Mrs. Harris' outstanding obligation of \$600 was discovered and she was ordered to come into court to turn over whatever she owed. Mrs. Harris says she went to a lawyer who promised to take care of the matter for her, but who didn't perform. Not being a lawyer herself, the legal papers which came to her baffled

her, especially since she did not know the McCoys and couldn't figure out what possible connection she had with their dispute with Mr. Herring.

Unfortunately, she also did not know about a provision in the law that says when a person in Mrs. Harris' position in the McCoy-Herring lawsuit fails to answer the court papers served upon her, a judgment "shall be entered against him for the whole amount of the plaintiff's (the McCoys') claim." Knowing nothing of the intricacies of the law, and having, according to her account, been ill-served by her lawyer, Mrs. Harris did the straight forward, simple thing that she thought would erase her connection with the matter: she dropped her argument with Mr. Herring and paid him the \$600.

But that simple act wasn't good enough, for she was by then caught in the iron toils of the law and her relationship with Mr. Herring had been transferred to the court and attached to the McCoys' judgment against Mr. Herring. The next month, a judgment was entered against her as specified by law.

So there you are. Mrs. Harris' house still hasn't been fixed to her satisfaction, but she's paid *all* the money and now she owns only *half* her home. Things may get a little better because she now has a lawyer who is working on the case and perhaps he can get the judgment overturned. But then again, maybe he can't. And, in any event Mrs. Harris is certain to have some very substantial legal expenses before it's all over. One is left with the feeling that some way, somehow, a lawyer or a judge or somebody connected with the case, could have tempered justice, not with mercy, but with common sense and could have spared Mrs. Harris all this trouble. Courthouses and lawyers' offices are adorned with all kinds of noble and fancy phrases which lawyers have dreamt up to dignify their profession. For our part, in this case, we'll just stick with Dickens.

TROOPER OF THE YEAR

HON. GOODLOE E. BYRON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to report that Trooper 1/C George H. Davis has received the Trooper of the Year Award from the Maryland State Police Alumni Association at their annual meeting. As you may know, the selection is based on the overall dedication and professionalism shown by the recipient during his career with the Maryland State Police.

Trooper 1/C George Hul Davis was born in 1964 at Cumberland, Md. After graduating from Fort Hill High School, he joined the U.S. Marine Corps in July 1962, and served our country for 4 years. On January 2, 1967, he was selected to enter Maryland State Police Academy after which he was assigned to the Rockville barracks where he performed at a high level of competence. In December 1970, Trooper Davis was promoted to the rank of trooper first class and is presently assigned as a public information officer of the Waldorf barracks.

Trooper 1/C Davis is a pistol expert, qualified radar operator, member of the technical task force, and has just received training as a breathalyzer operator. He is taking a law enforcement course at the Charles County Community College to further his education,

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and is an officer in the Fraternal Order of Police Lodge. Last year the Greater Waldorf Junior Chamber of Commerce selected him as Trooper of the Year for Charles County.

I know you join with me in extending congratulations to Trooper Davis for a job well done.

WRITER FINDS ETHNIC RICHNESS IN SECOND DISTRICT OF MINNESOTA

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, to my pleasant surprise and delight, the ethnic richness of our Second Congressional District in Minnesota was discussed by syndicated Columnist Jenkin Lloyd Jones in an article which appeared in the Evening Star and the Washington Daily News on April 7.

Certainly, it is gratifying to note his recognition of the pioneering contributions to America's greatness which the people of our district have made.

Mr. Jones proceeds in his column to contrast the success of our Minnesota melting pot with the more modern, but backward trend, to deliberately foster separatism based upon language within the public school system. I fully share his worries about the wisdom of this course, and can speak to the point from personal experience.

As the son of Danish immigrant parents, I spoke almost no English when I began school in our rural community in Minnesota. But I seriously doubt whether it would have been possible for me to be elected to Congress or to any other public position I have ever held had I not been required to learn the common language of this great country.

I therefore believe Mr. Jones' observations merit the most thoughtful consideration by educators and others in positions of public responsibility. I include his column in full at this point in the RECORD:

IS THE MELTING POT PASSE?

(By Jenkin Lloyd Jones)

In the golden Minnesota spring morning I looked down from the feeder line plane at St. Patrick, New Prague, Le Sueur, Norway, New Sweden, New Ulm, Cambria and Dundee.

Here in 20 minutes' flying time Irish, Bohemians, French, Norwegians, Swedes, Germans, Welsh and Scots had left their names upon the land.

And that was the way it was—the adventurous pioneer family or two, speaking their Old World tongues, who broke the sod of Minnesota and found it good. The writing back home to entice relatives and friends. The attraction of other like-tongued land-seekers. The building of the church—Irish or German Catholic, German, or Scandinavian Lutheran, Scottish Presbyterian—and the putting upon the place of an Old World name.

Yet today in the schoolyards of these towns and villages you wouldn't be able to distinguish a shade of difference in the English spoken. Although the last names of the children still attest to many national origins, the famed American melting pot has worked splendidly.

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But maybe the melting pot is a little out of fashion now. That morning I had been reading a Chicago Tribune story to the effect that there are now some 40,000 Spanish-speaking students in the Chicago public schools who have great difficulty with English, and the Latin community has criticized the school board for not hiring more bilingual teachers to "meet the needs" of Spanish-speaking children.

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries when America was being inundated by vast waves of foreign immigrants, nobody raised the cry that public schools were under obligation to conduct multilingual classes.

Certainly, the youngsters who knew only Italian or Polish or Yiddish or German or Chinese must have had a tough time for a while in school. But, in general, their parents were anxious to have them learn the strange new tongue.

Young minds absorb a language easily if faced with a sink-or-swim situation, and the wonderful thing about those old red-brick public schools in the ghettos of the foreign-born in our great cities was how rapidly they turned out kids who spoke English passably well.

There is a current madness in the world in which minorities are demanding the preservation of cultural differences even against their own self-interest. We have Welsh separatism and Flemish separatism and the foolish drive for Gaelic and the language rights of India.

Yet it ought to be plain that the welfare of minority-language speakers is directly tied to how soon they can master a language that the majority speaks. In the commercial or cultural world there isn't much future for the person who can handle only Tamil or Tagalog. And, in a land where English is the rule, keeping a student in the womb of Spanish narrows his opportunities.

There may be good sense in putting recently arrived Puerto Rican children in crash English courses, and this requires bilingual teachers. But these programs should be short-lived.

A recent non-nonsense English program among Mexican-origin children in the border town of Laredo, Tex., raised reading comprehension 300 percent.

A century and a quarter ago my own Welsh ancestors arrived in America speaking no English. But they demanded no Welsh teachers for their children, and it was lucky they didn't. For within months in the rude frontier school their children were gabbling happily with the Adamses and the Browns.

The fact that we may be going backward from an educational point of view is indicated by a recent study of reading comprehension in the New York City public schools.

Last year 66.2 percent of the students in the second through ninth grades were below the national norms of reading capability. That was up from 54.1 percent in 1954, the first year of citywide testing. Worse, poor readers kept falling farther and farther behind—two months behind the national average at grade 2 and one year, eight months by grade 7.

At the same time, students in the wealthier sections of the city—Forest Hills, Riverdale, Sheepshead Bay and so on—were a year and seven months ahead of the fifth grade norms.

The report spoke of the heavy Puerto Rican population and "poverty and its attendant evils" as the cause for poor reading. But the immigrants of 75 years ago were poor. The tenements were terrible. There were no vast programs of welfare. Most of the families didn't speak any better English than the Puerto Ricans of today. Yet the children learned fast.

Could one cause of the difference be that a quality of performance was demanded than that is not demanded now, and that it was assumed that a facile use of grammatical English was the proper goal for everyone?

If we turn down the heat on the melting pot there are going to be some sad lumps

that just keep going around and around—and around.

NIXONOMICS

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I believe the other Members of this worthy body will find it as interesting as I have found it to read the following account of "Nixonomics" written by Samuel Bristol of Vista, Calif.:

NIKONOMICS THE JUMBLE SCIENCE

How free is American "Free Enterprise"? Is the business establishment of the USA, with its administered pricing by monopolists, the authentic heir apparent of the laissez faire doctrines of Adam Smith? Or are these newcomers more opportunists claiming kinship with the free enterprise doctrines which they constantly thwart and undermine? Inasmuch as business seems to hold the balance of power in Washington today, maybe a closer look at that brand of free enterprise is in order.

In chapter 10 of his monumental work "An Inquiry Into The Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations", Adam Smith, best known of the classical economists, made a very significant and timely statement—"People of the same trade seldom meet together, even for merriment and diversion, but the conversation ends in a conspiracy against the public or in some contrivance to raise prices."

This was written in 1776, nearly 200 years ago. Yet today the same tendency is evident in the annual meetings of the plumbers, the electricians, the carpenters, the steel workers, the longshoremen and even the medical men. Corporate stockholders reveal similar tendencies. The central theme at these gatherings is always higher prices and more profits. Following this sage comment Smith pointed out the inherent danger in such conspiracies. He showed how any interference with free competition would make it difficult to maintain fair prices. Since buying power lies almost entirely within the bounds of the prime costs of production, any collusion among competitors would create a price structure based upon pure profits and one that would not be matched with purchasing power in the market. What Adam Smith believed and what has been confirmed by later economists was simply this—that pure profits should not be permitted and would not be created in a system that remained competitive, and allowed the play of the market to determine prices.

This, in the opinion of reputable economists, is the cardinal principle of the free economy and its moral justification. Yet any examination of American economic history will show how this principle has been persistently defied. American business has from the beginning been supported by tariffs, patents, embargoes and other devices all devised to maintain high prices. One of the first acts of the congress of 1789 was a ten percent import tariff designed to "protect our infant industries."

Administered pricing has now become standard practice among most basic industries of the United States. Through corporate mergers and new stock issues American corporations have been dominating business. They have been aided by an ill-controlled flow of fractional reserve checkbook money, usually available in abundance to wealthy borrowers.

New money to facilitate the growth of the nation's economy is not created by Congress, as the constitution provides. It is created by some 14,000 stout-hearted bankers, each armed with a 12 or 14 percent reserve privi-

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

lege and a fountain pen. Each dollar may thus expand into seven or eight new check book dollars for the customer's use. Furthermore, by the Glass-Steagall Act, the banks now purchase U.S. securities with this kind of "money" and immediately transfer them into the cash account. Thus the operation, like blowing bubbles, can continue ad infinitum. The greedy and inept direction of this limitless flow of credit money by bankers is one of the main factors in the destruction of the free, competitive economy envisioned by the classical economists.

Even our tax laws favor the rich, thus taking buying power away from those most in need of it. How the wealthy folk rail against the graduated income tax, the most equitable tax ever devised. How they love the sales tax, one of the most regressive and inequitable of all taxes. They also hate and fear the cooperatives, the credit unions and all state and municipal enterprises—in a word all those which seek to maintain competitive or yardstick pricing. President Nixon was recently sending out feelers on the possibility of enacting a federal transactions tax, the final step in creating wild, uncontrolled inflation. Yet these same affluent people all claim sponsorship of "The American Way," which with total lack of humor they call "Free Enterprise." Some even try to identify this savage creed with Christianity, which in a Christian nation seems almost sacrilegious.

Against this brief background let us consider that set of ideological obsessions held by Richard Nixon, which have come to be known among scholars and news media as "Nixonomics." The President has not acknowledged the existence of this credo, but the elements of his beliefs have appeared in his executive orders, his "game plans," his vetoes and his rare news conferences.

It is no accident that Richard Nixon early became enamored of the American business system which is dominated by corporate monopolies, joined with the privately operated Federal Reserve Banking System, creators of the nation's money supply. The bankers, especially the group which operated in the old 12th congressional district of California, are the men who put Nixon where he is today and are still among his chief supporters. It is a reasonable assumption that the banking group who picked him as their candidate in 1945, a year before the congressional elections, hired his public relations men and paid for his lavish smear campaign against Jerry Voorhis in 1946, represent his most enduring loyalty. He will not abandon them because he dares not do so. They know too much. As one Whittier banker, commenting on the \$18,000 secret fund scandal of 1952, remarked, "That was only peanuts compared with the money we shelled out for his campaign."

An opportunity to test this banker tieup came a little more than a year ago, after the country had suffered through two years of Nixon's high-interest depression. The Congress authorized the President to order a reduction in the Federal Reserve's prime interest rate, which at one time had reached 8½ percent (the highest rate in the history of that institution). This, Nixon declared, he would never do. He accompanied his statement with another outburst of Nixonomics theology and a declaration of his unalterable devotion to private banking. Does anyone now doubt where Dick Nixon's heart lies?

Nixon early pledged a balanced national budget, but during his last two years in office, 1971 and 1972, his budgets had deficits of 25 billions and 28 billions. The current '72-'73 budget will undoubtedly be higher with further deficits. Incidentally, current spending has been skillfully distributed with an eye on the votes of defense workers.

Nixon was against inflation but his usury-loving friends, William McChesney Martin and later Dr. Arthur Burns of the F.R. board of governors, by setting exorbitant interest rates, created the phenomenon of national unemployment and uncontrolled inflation

simultaneously. Nixon put the wage clamps on working people, while corporate profits in many cases soared to new highs. He became positively niggardly in reducing welfare funds to needy unemployed and school lunch money for hungry children, as well as social security increases for the aged. It was noted, however, that the next social security checks bore the significant statement that the 20-percent increase (which Nixon had vigorously opposed) had just been signed into law by President Nixon.

The president's response to defense department requests was entirely different. Whenever the Pentagon men wanted more billions for "national defense" in southeast Asia more money for planes, bombs, napalm or missiles to lay waste the countryside—the generosity of the president knew no bounds.

President Nixon has offered the American radio and TV audiences his quaint homily about his "work ethic" and the "welfare ethic," the latter term invented to express his opinion of welfare recipients. If I might break in on this bit of presidential sophistry, I would like to ask Mr. Nixon to explain the increase in the nation's unemployment rate from three percent to nearly six percent during his administration.

Nixon's economic convictions, if he ever had any, have changed during the past two years from orthodox to extremely heterodox. Early in 1971 this disciple of frugal laissez faire orthodoxy had apparently become a follower of the tax-and-spend philosophy of David Cushman Coyle. Nobody seems to know where he will eventually land.

I believe the most accurate assessment of Nixon's behavior was made by Jerry Voorhis in his recent book "The Strange Case of Richard Milhous Nixon." Voorhis's quotation follows: "To one practice Richard Milhous Nixon has been faithful. He has done whatever at any given time would advance his political fortunes. This alone explains the strange gyrations of his strange case."

It is important to remember that America's economic plight is in an area in which Richard Nixon's talents are not notably evident. This nation does not lack productive capacity, a fact which apparently has not been recognized by the president's economic advisers. We suffer from a breakdown of distribution, where deprivation and even hunger exist alongside vast concentrations of wealth. It is becoming increasingly evident that President Nixon has no answers to this problem. He has lost his way. Ending the war in southeast Asia—if indeed the peace endures—will not solve this problem. It may grow worse.

Maldistribution in America is mainly the result of administered pricing by monopolists and the creation of an unscientific and ill-controlled flow of bank credit money through the privately operated Federal Reserve System. Working together in unholy collusion these two giants of American business increase inflation, perpetuate deficit financing and are mainly responsible for an almost incalculable debt. This debt and the accompanying overcapitalization of business have become an increasing burden on the economy, both at home and abroad.

The tragic part of this situation is that it has become almost endemic in the American economy, like a cancerous growth that feeds on its host. The staggering debt of the American people—national, state, and local government, as well as institutional and private debt—constitute a continuing drain on production. Every householder knows that his interest on the home or the business must be paid before he fills that cart at the supermarket or buys shoes or clothing for the children. Most small businesses expand and grow with borrowed capital. Increased interest charges must be added to their costs and the cycle of inflation rolls on, with sales resistance at home and loss of export sales abroad.

As a result of these forces American producers are faced with a hopeless dilemma.

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Without monopoly pricing they can scarcely carry the overhead of debt and high taxes needed to continue welfare for the victims of our folly. If they try to maintain monopoly prices they are automatically priced out of the export market. This is the dilemma of the richest and most powerful nation on earth. Are we going to be content in this situation to be led by politicians who repeat the foolish, outworn cliches of the 18th or 19th century?

This is the paramount issue in the present governmental struggle. Mr. Nixon is disliked by many who regard him as a political delinquent or an unscrupulous partisan. But these are personal judgments often considerably tinged with politics. The real issue with President Nixon, it seems to this writer, is his combination of ruthless, self-seeking power, coupled with Nixonomics, a complex of outdated economic mythology that spells total confusion in the business world of 1973.

SIX YEARS OF THE JUNTA IN GREECE

HON. EDWIN B. FORSYTHE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. FORSYTHE. Mr. Speaker, on April 21, 1967, Greece fell victim to a military coup d'état. Martial law was imposed on the country and civil liberties were suspended. The small band of army colonels overthrew the legal, democratic government of Greece on the grounds that Greece was threatened by a Communist takeover. The junta assured the Greeks that military rule would only be temporary—that its aim was to restore order and create conditions which would set democracy in Greece on a firmer basis.

Six years later, Greece still suffers from a lack of democratic freedoms. To be sure, martial law has been lifted in the countryside and in some cities, but is still in force in the most populous area of Athens and Piraeus. To be sure, the number of political prisoners has gone down from an estimated 6,000 to an estimated 300, but arbitrary arrests continue, prisoners are detained and held incommunicado for long periods of time without charges, and this in direct violation of decrees enacted by the junta itself. To be sure, the junta has drafted a new constitution, which was approved in a nationwide referendum in September 1968, but its most important provisions, those dealing with basic civil liberties, the formation of political parties, the holding of elections, remain in abeyance. Furthermore, the junta has refused to commit itself to a timetable for the implementation of these provisions.

Far from preparing Greece for a return to parliamentary democracy, Prime Minister Papadopoulos has spent the last 6 years consolidating his own power. In addition to the premiership, he has accumulated the duties of regent, defense minister, and foreign minister in his own hands. Today he holds the reins of power, with the help of the army, the police, and a vast network of informers. And he has yet to produce documentary evidence of a Communist threat in 1967.

Mr. Speaker, as friends of Greece we can only deplore the junta's failure to fulfill its own promises. Far from saving

democracy in Greece, the junta has stifled it.

HON. SAM GIBBONS' LATEST QUESTIONNAIRE

HON. SAM GIBBONS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, from time to time I send out a questionnaire to the residents in my congressional district to ask for their opinions on the various issues which Congress must resolve. Their answers to these questions help me in the important decisionmaking process. I recently sent out the following questionnaire, with multiple choice responses:

CONGRESSMAN SAM GIBBONS ASKS YOUR OPINION

APRIL 1973.

DEAR FRIEND: The 93rd Congress has been in session for several months. We have been deliberating on the President's Budget proposals for quite some time. There are many issues which this Congress must strive to resolve. I am sending this questionnaire to the residents in your area. Your answers to these questions will help me in the important decision-making process.

The responses to these questions might not totally reflect your point of view on each subject. Many of the questions can be answered with more than one selection. Should you have any questions on these issues or any other matter concerning your Federal government, please let me hear from you.

Sincerely,

SAM.

(NOTE.—Provisions for "his" and "her" answers.)

1. Consumer Protection: The consumer needs better protection in the area of—

- a. product warranties.
- b. false advertising.
- c. labeling of products.
- d. medical care.
- e. door-to-door salesmen.
- f. none of the above.

2. Social Security: Would you like to see—

- a. better medicare coverage.
- b. removal of the earned income limitation.
- c. no further changes in the system.
- d. allowing those who wish to retire at age 60 with reduced benefits.

3. Clean air and water: Funds for cleaning the environment should come from—

- a. those who violate anti-pollution standards.
- b. the Federal government.
- c. State and local governments.
- d. the Federal government and private industry.

4. Vietnam: In dealing with truce violations, the United States should—

- a. defer to the four-nation peace-keeping force for policy decisions.
- b. withhold all U.S. aid from those who violate the truce.
- c. re-enter Vietnam with military forces.

5. Defense spending: Do you think the President's \$4.7 billion increase in the defense budget should—

- a. be approved by Congress.
- b. be reduced, with the savings going to other kinds of Federal programs.
- c. be reduced to help balance the budget.

6. National health insurance: The Federal government should institute a program which would—

- a. provide coverage for all basic medical needs.

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b. provide only for major illnesses or long term treatment of serious illnesses.

c. provide coverage only for hospitalization.

d. set standards for private health insurance companies.

7. Pension plans: To insure that those who contribute to private pension plans receive the benefits they deserve on retirement, Congress should—

a. strengthen Federal regulation of these plans.

b. control inflation better, so that retirement funds are not eaten away by rising prices.

c. take no further action in this area.

8. Education: Public education should be financed—

a. as it is now, largely by local property taxes.

b. with more Federal funds, so that property taxes can be reduced.

c. with more State funds.

9. Inflation: The Federal government should—

a. continue mandatory controls on prices, wages, rents, etc.

b. establish mandatory controls only on large industries and labor unions.

c. establish voluntary controls on the cost of living.

d. take no further action in this area.

10. Deficit spending: The Federal government should—

a. increase Federal taxes to balance the budget.

b. reduce spending wherever possible and avoid further deficit spending.

c. continue deficit spending to stimulate the economy.

d. balance the budget by reordering priorities for Federal spending.

If you have not been receiving my monthly Legislative Reports and would like to receive them, please check. I will be glad to add your name to my mailing list.

ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS—TO INCLUDE ELECTED SCHOOL BOARD OFFICIALS

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the education of our children and the system of public education should be among the highest priorities in our Nation. Aside from the obvious influences that public education, administered by some 17,500 school boards nationally, has upon 46 million schoolchildren, we must also take into account that the public school system employs 7 percent of the entire work force, and is directly responsible for spending 47 percent of all local revenues, as well as 26 percent of all State revenues. Except for national defense, Mr. Speaker, no other governmental service has a larger impact upon the taxpayer than public education.

I am bringing these facts up in an effort to correct what I feel is a grave mistake made when school board members were omitted from membership on the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. This Commission is a coordinating body between Federal, State, and local branches of our Government. But the Commission cannot effectively represent the interrelating bodies of our Government while excluding representation by those most directly con-

cerned with our country's top domestic priority, education. The public school board member is best qualified to act as the spokesman for public education. It is the school board member who sets the policies and handles the financial dealings of the public schools.

I have introduced legislation, H.R. 6263, which I believe will rectify the mistake in the original constitution of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations by expanding the membership to include two elected school board members. I believe such legislation will provide the Commission an insight in dealing with matters concerning education that is unavailable to it as presently constituted. I believe the legislation will enable the Commission to confront more effectively the problems of improving the operations of our federal system.

INFLATION

HON. BEN B. BLACKBURN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, recently, I heard an editorial by Louis Rukeyser, ABC News, New York, on the American Information Radio Network with regard to the problem of inflation.

At this time, I would like to share this editorial with my colleagues:

INFLATION

I'm Louis Rukeyser, ABC News, New York, and this is "Rukeyser's World" on the American Information Radio Network.

I'll have a look at talk vs. action on inflation in sixty seconds.

* * * * *

With all the rhetoric about a historic confrontation between the President and Congress, the casual observer might get the impression that the Nixon Administration is finally coming to grips with the basic problem of inflation.

And compared with the reckless attitude of the legislative branch, which has never bothered to assign a single committee to the task of coordinating and controlling the budget, the Executive may indeed appear prudent.

But applause for the Administration still has to be muted for two essential reasons: It has already presided over an irresponsible string of budget deficits so large that their inflationary impact will, in any event, be felt for years. And it continues, through the farce it calls Phase Three, to seek scapegoats in the private economy for the inflationary forces it has helped unleash in Washington.

The latest example of this fuzzing of the realities comes in the assault on banks that raised their prime lending rates from 6 1/4 to 6 3/4 per cent.

The banks, to be sure, make an easy target. Attacking them requires about as much political courage as attacking the anopheles mosquito—and Congressmen like Wright Patman have built entire careers on doing so.

But banks do not compete in a vacuum, and their interest rates inevitably are affected by such factors as the cost of money from other sources and the demand for loans—which happens to be quite vigorous now because of the booming economy.

One of the primary factors keeping interest rates high is the expectation that inflation will continue. Lenders demand an extra point or two of protection, and borrowers are willing to give it because they assume they will be repaying the loans with cheaper dollars.

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It's a problem that can be solved only by combating inflation at the source—by harnessing the Federal budget and the Federal money supply. Meanwhile, rising rates are simply a way of adjusting the supply to the demand—and blaming the banks for high interest rates is like blaming the thermometer for high temperatures.

I'm Louis Rukeyser, ABC News, New York, and this has been "Rukeyser's World" on the American Information Radio Network.

TERRORISM AND ITS EFFECT ON SOCIETY

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, terrorism is a problem of growing concern throughout the international community. Indeed, terrorist attacks have ranged from political bombings, skyjackings, attacks on the diplomatic corps and even the mass murder we witnessed at the Munich Olympics.

Within the United States we have seen a small band of otherwise politically impotent radicals attempt to employ terrorist intimidation against the very foundations of representative government. Even the U.S. Capitol has been a target of their attacks. Likewise, any foreign governments are faced with the threat of terrorist subversion.

To prepare ourselves for countering the terrorist menace, we need sound analysis and empirical research at both the national and international level. Dr. Stefan Possony's article, "Terrorism: A Global Concern," which appeared in the January 1973 issue of Defense/Foreign Affairs Digest outlines the structure of modern terrorism and its effects on societies and governments. Dr. Possony's article on terrorism follows:

TERRORISM: A GLOBAL CONCERN

(By Stefan T. Possony, Ph. D.)

Terrorism is as old as war, of which it is a technique, and for which it may be used as a substitute. Its protean manifestations range from mere threats through destructions of assets and symbols, to kidnapping, torture, mutilation, and murder. Terrorism is as complex a phenomenon as any combination of war, revolution, criminality, psychological disturbance, ideological fanaticism, and mental disease could be.

The frequency of terror depends both on socio-political conditions and tactical opportunities. The terrorist is by necessity a volunteer. Conditions which induce a person to choose the terrorist avocation exist everywhere and at all times, yet mass self-recruiting of terrorists occurs only during acute crises. But, since terrorist activity depends on practical feasibility, countries with effective security arrangements usually don't suffer from terrorism, regardless of the multiple frustrations they impose upon their citizens.

Thus, high frequency of terrorism may be regarded as an indicator of serious political trouble and of deficient internal security.

Terrorism stimulates the urge to imitate. Hence, unless stopped, terrorism tends to expand. But even if a terrorist wave is broken, terrorist organizations often survive and emerge years later. For example, the history of Irish terrorism can be traced back for more than two centuries.

Terrorism is usually divided into two basic categories of *strategic* and *private* terrorism. In practice, such classifications tend to be

blurred, and there are several distinct mixed forms. The planner called upon to devise methods for the prevention or suppression of terroristic acts needs a typology of the different threats so that each can be handled with appropriate measures.

Strategic terrorism is aimed at the persons who keep a state together and who are responsible for its policy, and at additional human targets whose killing would be expected to have strategic consequences. It is directed from a strategic center, e.g. staff headquarters running regular or irregular military organizations, or command posts of "professional" revolutionary parties engaged in insurrection. The terrorists are soldiers of a special kind acting under strict discipline.

By contrast, private terrorism is undertaken by individuals or small independent gangs acting on their own for purposes of private strategy or for no purpose at all beyond self-gratification.

The overall purpose of terrorist strategy is to defeat a hostile state or government. Implementing goals may include the elimination of hostile leaders, the dispersal, weakening, or paralysis of hostile forces, the destruction of symbols, exhibitions of strength, demonstrations of presence ("the enemy in our midst"), armed propaganda, punishment, intimidation, confusion, fear, the incapacitation of administrative machinery, and creation of governmental panic, etc.

Private terrorism is typically a matter of criminality, such as robbery and extortion; or a symptom of mental disease, frustration, and hysterical drives; or a corollary of drug addiction; or the playing-out of revenge, hatred, rage, and sadistic "blood thirstiness". Private terrorists are not soldiers, but "rebels".

Unlike strategic terrorism which concentrates on "choice targets", private terrorism, in the main, is restricted to random targets of opportunity or accessibility.

In the mixed forms of strategic and private terrorism, the criminal or the sadist may want to "embellish" his deeds, for example, by ascribing to them political motivations, such as "protest", "expropriation of the expropriators", or the "execution of tyrants". In other cases strategic terrorists who ran out of weapons or money may resort to hold-ups and kidnappings against random targets. Extremist groups may want to force the hand of a cautious revolutionary party or expansive foreign power and provoke reluctant friends into large conflagrations.

Or anti-terrorists may mount criminal activities to discredit the terrorist project or cause a shock to strengthen defenses. Sometimes the failure of a strategic undertaking may lead to a spree of murders committed by frustrated terrorists—this is happening today in Northern Ireland.

In all its forms, terrorism requires training, arms, intelligence information, transportation, communications, money, and other logistics like safe houses and forged documents. Terrorist attacks by substantial numbers of fighters, scouts, and assistants, involving substantial logistics and detailed intelligence about targets and timing, and which are executed with considerable skill in planning and tactics, are virtually always commanded from a capable and professional strategic center.

They never result from the improvisation by a few poor and frustrated amateurs.

Terrorism has now reached larger dimensions than ever before in history, especially if it is remembered that mass terror executed "from above" by governments, such as political purges, class liquidations, and genocides are symptoms of the same malignancy of violence.

The conditions which permit the high incidence of strategic and private terrorism include the presence of frustrated and well-trained ex-soldiers and a herd of unemployed semi-intellectuals, the easy availability of

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

weapons and explosives, and the lack of individual self-defense capabilities.

The communist attitude to terrorism has been expressed on several levels.

The official doctrine calls for the liquidation of classes and rejects "individual terror". But even in Lenin's time, the bolsheviks engaged in "expropriations" such as bank hold-ups (which usually entailed killings), and they took advantage of the terrorism practiced by other revolutionary parties. Furthermore, the communists have conducted numerous guerrilla wars which more often than not were organized as systematic terrorism.

Various secret agencies of CP states, notably the Soviet KGB, have "executed" defectors through fake suicides and seeming heart attacks, but the art of imperceptible murder was also practiced for offensive purposes. Names like Trotsky, Sedow (Trotsky's son), Kutiepov, Tresca, Bandera, Krivitsky, and Bang-Jensen may serve as examples.

The Kremlin criticized Arab terrorism in a mild manner, but has continued to supply Arab terrorist organizations with weapons. Recently IRA "provos" were using Soviet-made bazookas. In the UN, the USSR rejected collaborative measures to suppress international terrorism.

Moscow-oriented CP leaders emphatically condemn "anarchist" terrorism practiced—for example, in Germany—by gangs who advertise themselves as true red communists. CP spokesmen criticize the Weathermen, Meinhof and Feltrinelli gangs, the Tupamoros, and the Red Army of Japan, as "adventurists", i.e. utterly undesirable communists. But the CP's have refrained from cutting the links to the New Left groups, many of whom, though under direct or indirect communist control, favor terrorism. The Black September attack during the Olympiad was predicated on collaboration between German "adventurists" with the Arabs. CP *praxis* is pro-terrorist.

The attitude of most western governments has been that it is infeasible to guard most of the likely targets of strategic terrorism and entirely impractical to protect the random targets of private terrorism. Pope Paul VI said on January 10, 1973, that "the entire world is beginning to be shocked by the re-crudescence of violence". The shock was very long in coming. As yet it has led to little more than moaning.

It is widely believed that the danger posed by terrorism is minimal. So long as counter-measures prevent the terrorists from moving up to higher levels of violence, the threat may stabilize or recede. Yet present counter-measures are insufficient. Hence, it is likely that terrorism will continue and quite likely that it will rise. Specifically, as private terrorism is not brought under control, the opportunities for strategic terrorism will expand.

Historically, sustained terrorism often resulted in the destruction of established governments.

**RAYMOND F. FARRELL
COMMENDED**

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to commend Raymond F. Farrell who retired on March 31, 1973, from his position as Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Commissioner Farrell served for 11 years in this position after a previous 20 years with the Service.

Mr. Farrell, a graduate of Georgetown University law school, served as a Federal investigator in a variety of assignments throughout the United States, and in 1938 and 1939 he was special counsel to the joint Senate-House committee of Congress for the investigation of the Tennessee Valley Authority. He came to the Immigration and Naturalization Service in 1941.

Commissioner Farrell went on active military duty during World War II in May 1942 and received the Bronze Star for outstanding service in Italy during the Rome-Arno campaign. He was separated from service on November 30, 1945, with the rank of lieutenant colonel.

Upon his return to the Immigration Service following World War II, Mr. Farrell was named chief of investigations at New York City. In 1948, he came to the Central Office of the Service in Washington D.C. as Information Specialist and the following year was made Assistant Commissioner for Investigations in 1952.

In 1958, he was promoted to Associate Commissioner in Charge of Service Operations, coordinating the functions of the investigative, enforcement, and examinations work of the Service, as well as the overseas offices.

He was unanimously confirmed by the United States Senate as Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization on February 5, 1962.

Mr. Farrell's record as Commissioner since 1962 has been praised for opening a bright new era of compassion and understanding in administering the Nation's immigration and nationality laws.

In a statement from the White House accompanying the 1963 annual report of the Service, President Johnson described Commissioner Farrell's administration as a good example of "government with a heart."

President Johnson explained that "by applying existing immigration laws with humanity, we are demonstrating that compassion and efficient administration go hand in hand."

On February 13, 1973, President Nixon accepted Commissioner Farrell's notification of impending retirement with regret. The President said Mr. Farrell "had served the Nation with the highest distinction" throughout his lifelong public career.

The Association of Immigration and Nationality lawyers has honored the Commissioner with its prestigious Founder's Award, and the president of the organization has described him as a "zealous, understanding and fair-minded public official."

WE CALL THIS WAR A CEASE-FIRE

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to conclude my remarks on "We Call This War a Cease-Fire" by printing part of the report by the American Friends Service:

April 11, 1973

REPORT BY THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE
V. SAIGON'S CIVILIAN PRISONERS

"The term 'civilian internees' is understood to mean all persons who, having in any way contributed to the political and armed struggle between the two parties, have been arrested for that reason and have been kept in detention by either party during the period of hostilities."—Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities in Vietnam, July 20, 1954, now contained in Agreement, Article 7.

Although exchange of military prisoners has proceeded more or less on schedule, progress in terms of exchange and release of civilian prisoners is quite another matter. Saigon claims that the DRV holds nearly 60,000 South Vietnamese civilians, and the DRV and PRG claim up to 300,000 civilians are held by Saigon. The International Red Cross, Amnesty International and other neutral and western observers estimate this number at between 100 and 200 thousand—many of them political opponents of Thieu, many of them students—and many living under conditions of daily torture and beatings.

There has been absolutely no progress in negotiations between the PRG and the GVN over release of these civilian prisoners. On the contrary, there is distressing evidence to support that Thieu is using various means to cut down the number of those currently classified as "detainees" so that he will not have to release them. Both Amnesty International and the PRG have documented, in very detailed accounts, the moving of prisoners—never to be heard from again. Fishermen in the Gulf of Thailand have found bodies floating there, dressed in the clothes of the type worn by Saigon prisoners. On February 5, Saigon claims to have released some 10,000 civilians into the streets of Saigon, announcing that they were "new life cadre" members who had been "rehabilitated". These were not turned over to the PRG as stipulated in the agreement.

Several persons, including two Frenchmen, recently released from Thieu's prisons, have reported that Saigon is forging records and changing classifications—moving persons from prison to prison—so that "civilian detainees" will become common criminals, not subject to the Agreement's provisions. (See Tom Wicker, *New York Times*, March 11.) Adding substance to these bits of evidence is the fact that Saigon has refused to allow any inspection of its prisons by international bodies, as specified in the Agreement, or to provide lists of prisoners. The Canadian Red Cross delegation spent a futile three weeks in Saigon, trying to visit the prisons. They finally gave up.

VI. THE SPIRIT OF THE AGREEMENT

"With a view to ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam on the basis of respect for the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination . . ." *Agreement*, preamble.

"If a stranger enters your village, shoot him in the head." Nguyen van Thieu, *Time*, 2/5/73.

"The United States will continue to recognize the Government of the Republic of Vietnam as the sole legitimate government of South Vietnam." Richard M. Nixon, 1/25/73.

Peace will never come to Vietnam unless all parties concerned begin to show a conciliatory spirit. The attitudes of the two sides toward this essential "spirit" of the Agreement have been radically divergent, even from the start. The PRG and the DRV have voiced support for the Agreement in its entirety and have urged its implementation. They were the ones who suggested the basic terms of the Agreement as far back as July, 1972. President Thieu, essentially backed by the United States, has made no secret of his unhappiness with it, used his leverage to

delay its signing from October to January and maintains his undying resistance to any reconciliation with the "communists."

From the start, the Nixon administration has supported Saigon's belligerence. In October, Nixon used the pretext of Thieu's objectives to the Agreement to pump over 10,000 tons of military equipment into Saigon's arsenal.

Despite the fact the accord recognizes two parties in South Vietnam, and calls for foreign countries not to intervene or support any political tendency in South Vietnam, the U.S. continues to insist that the GVN is the only "legitimate" government there. U.S. aid, direct and indirect, accounted for nearly 90% of Thieu's budget in FY 1973 and requests for FY 1974 show no indication of going down.

None of this has encouraged a peaceful or conciliatory attitude in Saigon. Thieu has urged his people not to confuse "cease-fire" with peace, not to support the military or international commissions, and not to let any "communist" live.

The day before the ceasefire was announced, Thieu issued new decrees to his police: "Detain those persons who are neutralists . . ." and those persons who incite others to "leave those areas controlled by the government in order to go into communist controlled areas or vice versa. If they protest, they will be shot."

The other side's attitudes have been different. In October, the DRV made public the Agreements in order to hasten a ceasefire. Once the Agreements were signed, the DRV and the PRG promptly hailed them as a victory.

Two days after the signing, according to *Le Monde*, the PRG called its forces "to seriously adhere to the ceasefire accords and to treat ARVN troops just like brothers."

Why the opposite attitudes toward the Agreements on the part of the two South Vietnamese parties? The Accords recognize the PRG as a legitimate political force in South Vietnam. In the open political struggle which was supposed to follow the signing, the PRG could take advantage of its years of political organizing. The democratic liberties guaranteed by the Agreement could only help the PRG solidify its strength.

On the other hand, Thieu's power is based on his army and police, and the American dollars which perpetuate the Saigon government. If a real peace were to come, if the 1.1 million Saigon soldiers could go home, if a free political competition were to occur, it would likely be the end of Thieu in Vietnamese politics. Even if this June, Congress cut off the 3 billion dollar a year American subsidy to Saigon, would a real peace among Vietnamese be possible after so many years of fratricidal war? Perhaps it would happen much faster than most would guess. Even now we hear the story of the village of Haut Hanh, where, "there is free movement of goods, people, and money back and forth between the two sides in the kind of live and let live relationship that Saigon insists is unacceptable."

APPENDIX—HARASSMENT OF THE AMERICAN PRESS

The American people have been hampered in getting news about Vietnam by the outrageous way in which the American press has been treated by the Saigon government. With the expulsion of *Newsweek's* Ron Moreau on April 1st, there is now no American correspondent in South Vietnam who is fluent in Vietnamese. The U.S. press is at the mercy of Saigon interpreters and guides.

Almost immediately following the ceasefire repression began as correspondents attempted to get into the field to film alleged violations, and to cover the arrival of Communist truce teams. In early February, it was announced that the same policies applying to South Vietnamese domestic press would begin applying to foreign press: any newsman taking part in "un-Vietnamese"

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

activities would not be allowed to enter South Vietnam and those already in would be expelled. "Un-Vietnamese activities" were defined as "those activities which undermine the security of Vietnam with false and inaccurate reports." In covering post-ceasefire action, CBS and NBC News were physically stopped by Saigon troops and police, and five NBC reporters and cameramen were threatened with a weapon. In an incident retold by both correspondents, Craig Whitney of the *New York Times* and Peter Osnos of the *Washington Post* were traveling together with a cameraman and a driver in a jeep from Quang Tri to Hue. They had just passed and filmed a firefight when they were stopped by the Province Chief and the head of the province police. The film was ripped out of the photographer's camera, the driver's ID card was confiscated, and the tires of the jeep were shot out.

During this period, at least 20 correspondents from various newspapers and press agencies were arrested, detained, harassed, and otherwise prevented from having any contact with DRV and PRG Joint Military Commission members at Camp Davis at Tan Son Nhut Air Base. As Joseph Galloway of UPI put it, "the official American attitude appeared to be one of indifference."

The South Vietnamese crackdown and U.S. indifference resulted in the expulsion of Donald Davis, the Saigon Bureau Chief for UPI, the suspension of action on all other UPI visas, and the expulsion of NBC newsmen Ron Nessen. It also resulted in the non-renewal of the visas of Jacques Leslie of the *Los Angeles Times*, and Ron Moreau of *Newsweek*, plus a private communiqué to Agence France Presse that one of their correspondents, out of the country on vacation, would not be allowed back in.

Nor does it appear that coverage of American military presence in Indochina in the post-ceasefire period will be easy. The 100,000 U.S. servicemen remaining in Thailand and off the coast on aircraft carriers will be virtually inaccessible. The new U.S. headquarters, at Nakhon Phanom in Thailand, is hundreds of miles from Bangkok, and correspondents will not be allowed access even by telephone.

WILL CONGRESS ACT?

HON. WILLIAM L. ARMSTRONG

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Mr. Speaker, our national economy is teetering on the brink of disaster.

The critical seriousness of the economic crisis was underscored again last week in the report of the Joint Economic Committee. And from the committee's conclusions one fact emerges clearly:

The Federal Government is spending too much: Not too much for the appetite of program administrators; possibly not too much, or even enough, as measured by the needs of people to be served and value of worthwhile programs—but more than we can continue to spend without ruinous inflation, higher taxes or both—more than we can continue to spend without permanent damage to our national economy. Consider the facts:

First. Even after reductions proposed by President Nixon, next year's Federal funds budget will be nearly \$30 billion in the red.

Second. Present and projected deficits have fostered inflation which has eaten away over 27 percent of consumer pur-

chasing power in the last 6 years alone. These deficits, and the resulting inflation, have dislocated the economy and created innumerable hardships for persons on fixed incomes and triggered endless rounds of wage and price increases as consumers, producers, workers, and investors all struggle to stay ahead of rising prices.

Third. Wage-price controls have failed. In the first 3 months of this year consumer prices rose at an annual rate of over 6 percent while wholesale prices soared at an annual rate of 21.5 percent. Predictably, these increases have prompted a clamor for still more stringent controls which will also fail while tempting us still another step toward a totally regimented economy.

Fourth. The world has lost confidence in the dollar. Even after two devaluations in 15 months, the price of gold is double the official rate.

Fifth. Our balance of trade is the worst in 70 years.

These are just symptoms of a basic illness in our country—fiscal irresponsibility. And the symptoms will grow worse until Congress begins to put a lid on Federal spending.

This fact is recognized by the Joint Economic Committee's report which aptly identifies budget reform as a question of "urgency."

The committee's report supports the recommendations of 54 freshman Representatives who have called for a spending ceiling.

The Senate majority leader has eloquently urged a ceiling. So has the House minority leader, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, the Appropriations Committee chairman, and many of the most distinguished Members of Congress. In the House alone, over 40 spending ceiling bills have been introduced by more than 100 Members.

With such evident support, and mounting public concern, establishment of a spending ceiling would seem assured.

But will Congress act?

Although the need to restrain spending and establish an overall congressional budget has long been recognized, this decision has been put off over and over again as the Members have given priority to partisan considerations, squabbling with the President, and special interest appropriations.

We must not permit this to happen again. The crisis is too imminent; the consequences are too drastic.

Purely economic aspects of the Federal spending spree are bad enough. But of utmost concern are the ramifications in public opinion.

If we fail to brake Federal spending now, when the need is so urgent and well defined, our national fiscal policy will lose its last shred of credibility. It will confirm everyone's worst suspicion—that Congress lacks the willpower to hold the line.

Such a signal will undoubtedly promote the worst possible inflationary psychology at home and abroad. Business and agriculture are sure to raise prices as rapidly as possible to keep ahead of the tidal wave of rising costs; labor will shoot for the moon in contract negotiations; and how can management hold the line if Congress cannot?

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

The international consequences are equally predictable: U.S. prestige will drop another notch; there will be more speculation against the dollar; and the world will know America is not what it used to be.

This country is in an economic mess already. And Congress is to blame.

We can still avoid the worst consequences of reckless spending if we act decisively now to balance the budget.

But if we fail to meet this issue head-on, our country faces economic catastrophe.

Will Congress act?

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE DISCLOSES 1972 INCOME

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, in accord with my regular practice since coming to Congress, I again disclose my income as shown by my most recent income tax return for the year 1972, due and filed in the year 1973.

My joint personal income tax return, form 1040, line 11, shows my congressional salary of \$42,500. Lines 13 and 14 list other income of \$3,085 for a total income on line 15 of \$45,585. Less line 16, \$6,242, consisting of adjustment for allowed congressional living expenses attending Congress in Washington, D.C., \$3,000; and congressional expenses from personal funds not reimbursed, \$3,242; adjusted gross income, line 17, is \$39,343.

Itemized deductions, form 1040, part III, line 52, are \$6,537, consisting primarily of State and local taxes, real estate and personal property taxes of \$3,351, interest payments of \$1,167, and charitable contributions of \$1,111.

The total income tax, form 1040, line 18, is \$8,095.84, plus \$150.90 added on line 21 for self-employment tax. Against this is allowed on line 19, \$22.50 credit for contributions to candidates for public office as provided by law. The total net Federal income tax withheld, line 23, form 1040, is \$11,118.91.

Total payments are \$11,118.91, as indicated on line 27, form 1040. This leaves a total overpayment of tax for the year 1972 of \$2,895.67. Since current withholding schedules exceed my tax due and since no additional outside income in excess of 1972 outside income is foreseen for 1973, the overpayment is requested to be refunded.

The principal sources of the \$3,085 income aside from congressional salary, were interest on savings and loan deposits, \$780; rental income, \$293; and lecturer's fees in excess of expenses incurred in connection therewith from engagements at St. Louis, Huntsville, Monroe City, Sikeston, Tokyo, Kansas City, Saint Joseph, Boston, Chicago, Fulton, and Mexico, Mo.

I do not own any stocks or bonds.

In accordance with the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (Public Law 92-225), all receipts and expenditures of campaign funds are handled by the Hungate for Congress Committee, Don Thompson, treasurer, Troy, Mo., and I

have no direct control over such funds. Nonpolitical funds for congressional services—and consisting of a total balance of under \$2,000 as of this writing—are used for newsletters, questionnaires, and expenses of radio and TV reports.

BOYCOTT MEAT MONTH

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, over the past weeks we in the Banking and Currency Committee have been taking testimony and preparing a bill to put the Congress on record with proposals to halt, once and for all, the outrageous and disastrous effects of rising prices on the working people of America.

These issues are being debated this week on the floor by the entire House and widespread support in the country at large for a strong stand by the Congress has been generated by leaders on the local level. I was privileged to meet one such leader, Councilman Basil M. Russo, who at 26 is the youngest member ever elected to the Cleveland, Ohio, City Council, and received from him a copy of an emergency resolution passed by the Cleveland City Council. The resolution designates the month of April 1973, as "Boycott Meat Month" in the city of Cleveland and memorializes the Federal Government to take the steps necessary to combat rising meat prices.

The resolution, along with my own letter of appreciation, follow:

AN EMERGENCY RESOLUTION

Designating the month of April, 1973 as "Boycott Meat Month" in the City of Cleveland and memorializing the Federal Government to take the steps necessary to combat rising meat prices.

Whereas, throughout the past year the price of meat has continued to rise unchecked, thereby placing an intolerable hardship on the financial resources of American families; and

Whereas, the Federal Government has not shown to date that it can act in a responsible manner to ensure reasonable meat prices; and

Whereas, the residents of the City of Cleveland will not continue to tolerate this situation without expressing their indignation to both the Federal Government and the meat industry; and

Whereas, this Council wishes to lend its support to the efforts to combat these rising prices; and

Whereas, this resolution constitutes an emergency measure in that it provides for the immediate preservation of the public health, safety and welfare; now, therefore,

Be it resolved, by the council of the city of Cleveland:

Section 1. That the month of April, 1973 be and the same is hereby declared to be "Boycott Meat Month" in the City of Cleveland.

Section 2. That the President and the Congress of the United States be and the same are hereby memorialized to take whatever legislative and administrative action is necessary to force a mandatory rollback in the price of meats.

Section 3. That the Clerk of Council be and she is hereby authorized to transmit a copy of this resolution to the President of the United States and to the leadership of the United States Congress.

Section 4. That this resolution is hereby

declared to be an emergency measure and, provided it receives the affirmative vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to Council. It shall take effect and be in force immediately upon its adoption and approval by the Mayor; otherwise it shall take effect and be in force from and after the earliest period allowed by law.

APRIL 11, 1973.

To Councilman Basil M. Russo, the city council and the people of Cleveland, Ohio:

DEAR FRIENDS: On Wednesday, April 11, 1973, I was highly honored to receive a copy of the Emergency Resolution 706-73, presented to me by its sponsor, Councilman Basil M. Russo, representing the Cleveland City Council and the citizens of Cleveland, Ohio, which designates the month of April, 1973, as "Boycott Meat Month" and memorializes the Federal Government to take the steps necessary to combat rising meat prices.

The House of Representatives soon will begin its deliberations on the Economic Stabilization Act Amendments of 1973, which include a rollback of prices, interest rates, and rents to January 10, 1973. The rollback provisions of the bill are highly controversial, but whatever the final outcome of this legislation, the no-nonsense stand taken by the City Council and the people of Cleveland vividly demonstrates that the people care and are demanding from the Congress and the President a meaningful solution to this problem.

I am most appreciative of this outpouring of support from Cleveland and pledge my continued efforts to halt this outrageous deterioration in the standard of living of the American people.

Sincerely,

FRANK ANNUNZIO,
Member of Congress.

BUFFALO'S JOHN LORD O'BRIAN DIES AT 98; PUBLIC SERVANT

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to inform my colleagues of the passing of John Lord O'Brian, a distinguished attorney who had an enviable record of public service that spanned the 20th century.

Born in Buffalo, N.Y., in 1874, he had maintained an active law office there until the end of World War II and continued to the end to maintain his close ties with his hometown, although his work had kept him headquartered in Washington for many years.

Few individuals in our Nation's history—and Mr. O'Brian's lifetime extended over half of our country's existence—have had so many opportunities to serve the public interest at local, State, national, and international levels.

John Lord O'Brian accepted each of these challenges as they came along and had a record of public service which is unparalleled.

He was a member of the State assembly for three terms at the beginning of the century and then took on his first Federal responsibility in 1909, when he was named by President Theodore Roosevelt as U.S. district attorney for the western district of New York.

MAN WHO LOOKED AHEAD

Mr. O'Brian was a gracious and modest man, slight in physical stature, but tall in every other respect. He was grate-

ful for the many accolades he received over the years, but he did not dwell on them. His concern was for problems of the day and in contributing further in any way he could to the public interest.

He referred to his role in life as that of "just a busy lawyer." And busy he certainly was—but never too busy to provide requested counsel.

Time after time, regardless of party, Presidents called upon him for help in critical periods. In three wars, he was asked to counsel with regard to our Nation's economy.

His development of war production policies in World War II set a pattern for the Korean war period and future economic crises.

His legacy is great to his alma mater, the Buffalo University School of Law—now the State University of New York at Buffalo School of Laws. Even as a young state assemblyman in 1909, he sponsored legislation to elevate the university's status.

A TRUE PUBLIC SERVANT

Mr. O'Brian served his alma mater—and its State parent—for many years and received all the highest honors.

Perhaps the apex was the action of the State University's board of trustees last November in naming its law building at the new university campus in his honor. Never before had a living person been so honored.

Mr. Speaker, John Lord O'Brian was a true public servant for whom we can be most grateful for his great contributions to the public interest.

He was proud of his Buffalo heritage and Buffalo, in turn, not only was proud of him but is deeply indebted to him for what he did for our Buffalo area, for our State, and for our Nation over the years.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks I include the text of the very complete obituary from the Buffalo Evening News: BUFFALO'S JOHN LORD O'BRIAN IS DEAD AT 98; FAMED LAWYER, PUBLIC SERVANT

WASHINGTON.—John Lord O'Brian, 98, who gained international fame as a lawyer and public servant, died today (April 10, 1973) in George Washington University Hospital, Washington, D.C.

He had been admitted to the hospital Wednesday after a fall a day earlier in his apartment in the Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington. It was learned subsequently that he had suffered four fractured ribs.

Mr. O'Brian was a senior partner in the Washington law firm of Covington & Burling. He had gone to his office for a few hours each morning until his fall last week.

Mr. O'Brian, who was born Oct. 14, 1874, at 146 Chicago St. in Buffalo's old First Ward, had served in appointive offices to which he was named by six Presidents.

Mr. O'Brian casually referred to himself as "just a busy lawyer."

But associates and admirers called him "one of the truly great, but though non-professional, public servants of this age."

DEEP SENSE OF JUSTICE

In the decades from President Theodore Roosevelt to President Harry S. Truman he earned recognition as a constitutional lawyer and government official with a deep sense of justice transcending partisan interest.

He also was known as a churchman devoted to practical service and a citizen dedicated to civic betterment.

Mr. O'Brian's many tributes from associates in the legal profession were climaxed by recognition in the U.S. Supreme Court

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

chambers on April 2, 1962, the 50th anniversary of his admission to the bar of the court.

Commenting on the anniversary, Chief Justice Warren said to Mr. O'Brian:

"Few men in history have had a longer or more active practice before this court. During all of these years you have served the court in the highest sense."

In 1956 Mr. O'Brian received the Gold Medal Award of the State Bar Association for "distinguished service" and was honored at the annual dinner of the Bar Association of Erie County.

RECEIVED MANY HONORS

Twice he was honored by the National Conference of Christians & Jews.

In 1953, he received a brotherhood citation "for lifelong service in the fields of human relations."

In 1956 he received a National Brotherhood Award for his book "National Security and Individual Freedom."

Mr. O'Brian once told a college audience, "Loyalty to a great idea is the noblest of human achievements."

Friends often commented that his entire career was a demonstration of his own loyalty to his great idea—the idea of public service.

In 1913 he was a candidate for mayor of Buffalo on a combined Progressive and Citizens Parties tickets. Mayor Louis P. Fuhrmann defeated him in a close race.

In 1919 he was considered for nomination as the gubernatorial candidate by the Republican State Convention.

In 1938 he was the unsuccessful Republican candidate for a New York seat in the United States Senate.

NAMED U.S. ATTORNEY

After serving three terms as an assemblyman in Albany, he was appointed United States attorney for the Western District of New York by President Theodore Roosevelt for a term beginning in March 1909.

He was reappointed by President William Howard Taft and served until December 1914. During this period he effectively prosecuted anti-trust cases.

Mr. O'Brian's other presidential appointments were:

By Woodrow Wilson, head of the War Emergency Division, Justice Department, 1917 to 1919.

By Herbert Hoover, first assistant attorney general, in charge of the Anti-Trust division, 1929 to 1933.

By Franklin D. Roosevelt, appointed to defend the constitutionality of the Tennessee Valley Authority before the U.S. Supreme Court.

By Mr. Truman, named chairman of a committee to investigate a strike at the Oak Ridge, Tenn. atomic center in 1948.

Mr. O'Brian's selection to defend the TVA was indicative of his reputation for freedom from bias and devotion to the public interest. A Republican, he was chosen to defend a major enterprise of a Democratic administration.

WAR PRODUCTION BOARD ROLE

During World War II he was in Washington as general counsel for the Office of Price Management the Supply Priorities & Allocation Board and the War Production Board. He resigned from the WPB in December 1944.

He balanced his Washington activities with a continuing interest and activity in Buffalo.

Growing up in Buffalo, he graduated from School 16 and old Central High School. He earned degrees at Harvard University and the University of Buffalo Law School.

While serving a clerkship in the law office of Joseph H. Morey Sr., he taught evening classes in old Central High School.

He taught insurance law in the UB Law School and lectured on medical jurisprudence in the UB School of Medicine.

Mr. O'Brian was admitted to the bar in

1898 and practiced law in Buffalo until 1945 with the firm of O'Brian, Hellings, Ush & Morey.

AIDED ALMA MATER

As an assemblyman in Albany in 1909, Mr. O'Brian sponsored the legislation transforming the University of Buffalo from a stock corporation into an educational institution—a move that raised the status of the college.

He helped persuade Chancellor Charles P. Norton to locate the campus at the Main St. site instead of the 40-acre Rumsey tract on Elmwood Ave. near the old Pierce-Arrow plant.

In 1940 he received the Chancellor's Medal for "distinguished public service" from UB. In 1951, for "notable contributions" to the university, he received the Samuel Paul Capen Alumni Award.

Mr. O'Brian was a regent of the State University of New York from 1931 to 1947, a trustee of the University of Buffalo from 1903 to 1929 and an overseer of Harvard University from 1939 to 1945.

The Law Bldg. on the State University of Buffalo's new campus was named for Mr. O'Brian last November by the State University Board of Trustees.

Manly Fleischmann, Buffalo attorney and university trustee, commented at that time, "Naming a building for a living person is unique, but all the other trustees went along with it enthusiastically."

HARVARD ESTABLISHED CHAIR

He was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences.

He was president of the Harvard Alumni Association in 1945. In 1955 the John Lord O'Brian Chair was established at the Harvard University Divinity School.

In 1920 Mr. O'Brian was a leader in opposing the expulsion of Socialist members from the State Assembly.

In 1923 he was counsel for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in anti-injunction and damage suits resulting from a sweatshop strike in Buffalo.

As counsel for the Civil Service Reform Association he was active in this field of enlightened endeavor.

At the 1940 Republican National Convention in Philadelphia he nominated Thomas E. Dewey for the presidency.

Mr. O'Brian was chancellor of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Western New York from 1932 to 1946. His home was on West Utica St. for many years and he was a vestryman of St. John's Episcopal Church.

HONORED BY HISTORIANS

In recognition of "a lifetime of continued unbroken devotion" to the program and welfare of the Buffalo & Erie County Historical Society, he was awarded the organization's Red Jacket Medal in 1959.

A member of the Buffalo Club, he was its president in 1940.

In 1946 Mr. O'Brian represented Iran successfully in a dispute with Russia before the United Nations. The next year he was appointed chairman of an Army-Navy Flying Pay Board to study the merits of continuing "hazard pay" allowances to military personnel.

He was a legal adviser to the Greek delegation to the United Nations. He was recognized by the Belgian government as an officer in the Order of Leopold II.

In 1949 he was counsel for professional baseball in damage suits for more than \$3 million brought against the major leagues by Danny Gardella and other players barred after playing in the Mexican League.

MANY HONORS AND DEGREES

He was a director of the Equitable Life Insurance Society and the former Art Metal Construction Co. and a trustee of the Public Administration Clearing House, Chicago.

He was a member of the American Bar

Association, the American Law Institute, Delta Upsilon, Phi Delta Phi and Phi Beta Kappa.

He received honorary degrees from Hobart College, Syracuse University, Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, Brown University and Harvard University.

He was a member of the Century Club, the Harvard Clubs of New York and Boston and the Metropolitan Club and Chevy Chase Club of Washington.

Mr. O'Brian was an authority on Western New York history. He enjoyed good music. He was an interested reader of the sports pages and was an enthusiastic tennis player for many years.

He married Alma E. White of Buffalo Sept. 17, 1902. Her father was Truman C. White, a Superior Court judge in Erie County who later was appointed a justice of the State Supreme Court when that tribunal was created. Mrs. O'Brian died in 1968.

Surviving are four daughters, Mrs. Kellogg Mann and Mrs. Winfield L. Butsch of Buffalo, Mrs. Thurston Robinson of Lake View, N.Y., and Mrs. Davis Boylston of Sarasota, Fla.

RARICK REPORTS TO HIS PEOPLE: INCOME TAX INEQUITIES

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, recently I reported to the people of my district on the personal income tax dilemma. The text of that message follow:

I came across a cartoon in the paper the other day that expresses the feelings of a great many Americans today. It said: "Just when you've cured yourself of cursing, it's income tax paying time again." Well, it is that time again: when millions of American tax payers become entangled in the redtape of the annual chore of filling out income tax forms, and paying the federal government for their right to be producing citizens. Since income taxes are a subject near to the hearts and pocketbooks of all working Americans, I thought today we'd talk about taxes. It may not be the most pleasant subject. But it's a real education to look at the background of the income tax mess, and the misuse to which your taxes are being put by the federal government.

No American under the age of 60 has lived in a time when there was no income tax in the United States. Some of our younger viewers today may be amazed to learn that there was a time when the government of this country was able to operate efficiently without a personal income tax. But it did. For 137 years our country managed to function, pay the bills, and carry on the business of government without having to resort to draining the incentive of American workers through income taxes. Congress passed an income tax act in 1894, but it was quickly declared un-Constitutional by the Supreme Court. The people simply would not stand for unequal taxes. Americans' opposition to taxation goes way back into our history. It was unfair taxation that finally got the American colonists so fired-up that they declared themselves free of the mother country, and fought the Revolutionary War to preserve that freedom. Thomas Jefferson had quite a bit to say on taxation.

"We must make our election between economy and liberty, or profusion and servitude. If we run into such debts, as that we must be taxed . . . in our labors and . . . our people . . . must give so much of their earnings to the government that they will have no time to think, no means of calling the mismanagers to account . . . private fortunes are

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destroyed by public as well as by private extravagance . . ."

If Mr. Jefferson could see the tax system of the US government in operations today, he wouldn't recognize the government he helped found.

How did the federal government operate without revenue derived from personal taxes for 137 years? The answer is that before 1913, when the Sixteenth Amendment was ratified, the government was run in accordance with the Constitution. From the American Revolution to the Civil War, except in periods of war citizens were free of all federal taxes except the tariff on imports. Prior to the tax act, federal revenues collected came from taxes on liquors, tobaccos, from import tariff and sale of public lands. During these years our federal government heeded the warnings of President Jefferson. The emphasis was on less government and more individual responsibility. American enterprise prospered mainly due to the great individual freedom the people enjoyed.

Every time government takes a dollar from its people in taxes, it denies the citizen the freedom to use as he sees fit the earnings of his labor.

There is little doubt that the good men in the Congress and in the State Legislatures who voted to amend the Constitution to allow income taxes had any concept of the monster they were creating. From that little thirty-word statement they added to our Constitution, has come this enormous collection regulations that reach into the private lives of every American citizen: The Internal Revenue Code. It is the most far-reaching group of documents ever placed as a stumbling block to American's freedom. It has led our government into the most inflationary element in the economic system: deficit spending.

With the American taxpayers footing the bill, federal bureaucrats have taken this country on the wildest spending spree in world history. In 1971, our national debt exceeded the combined public debt of every other nation in the world by \$87.4 billion. And it continues to grow. Statisticians have calculated that the interest alone on the national debt costs the taxpayer \$40,000 per minute.

Even though Congress killed the foreign aid appropriations bill last year, it passed so-called emergency legislation entitled: "Further Continuing Appropriations, 1973." This interim bill allows more than \$3.6 billion of your tax money to be spent on foreign aid. That's nearly one half billion dollars above the 1972 level.

It is as unjust as it is irresponsible for the Congress to continue spending programs unauthorized by the Constitution, and which result in huge deficits. No where in the Constitution is there authorization to provide for taxing the American citizens to give aid to foreign nations, international organizations and the United Nations.

It is equally unjust that the American worker, farmer, small businessman and other middle income people carry the greatest financial burden of this country. People with middle income pay upwards to 80% of the personal income taxes. They also pay the great bulk of use, sales, excise, property, and other taxes. While corporation income taxes supplies only 27.5% of the combined total, the average citizen keeps getting hit in the face every April 15th.

There's a growing resentment of inequities in the tax laws by middle income taxpayers. And a glance at headlines from around the country indicates that people are fed up with taxes, taxes, taxes. They've had it with the complexities of the tax laws which allow the rich and the super rich to pay little or no money to support the system that enabled them to make their money—and even worse those who live abroad and make profit from Americans who labor.

There are any number of cases where

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million dollar corporations pay little or no income taxes on the money they make. There's the celebrated case a billionaire in this country who is reported to have an income from investments totaling one hundred thousand dollars a year. His tax when computed by the method the middle income taxpayer uses would be \$75 million a year. Yet he pays only a few thousand dollars, because of loopholes and tax shelters.

The American taxpayer has every right to be up in arms over the inequities in the tax system. When the Internal Revenue Service began collecting personal income taxes in 1913 it imposed a minimum rate of one percent on incomes over \$3000 and a maximum of seven percent upon incomes in excess of \$500,000. If you look at the tax schedule today, you'll see that citizen who makes only \$1,000 must pay 14 percent and the scale goes up to 70 percent on earnings in excess of \$200,000.

So far in this session of Congress, I have introduced 28 bills aimed at providing tax benefits for the average workingman, elderly and retired people and small businessmen. Many of my bills have received a great deal of Congressional support.

Early in this session, I introduced a bill that would allow retired individuals having a gross income of \$10,000 or less not to have to file income tax returns. These people who have worked all their lives should be entitled to enjoy a moderate income free of taxation in their retirement years. In the same general area of tax assistance to the elderly, one bill I have introduced would allow any individual who has reached the age of 65 and continues to work to elect to treat services performed by him as noncovered (and exempt from tax) for Social Security purposes. After all, these people have already paid their share of Social Security during the time before they reached age 65.

Another of my tax relief bills that has gained much recognition and support from a wide spectrum of Congress would allow tax deduction for certain expenses incurred in the adoption of a child. Fifty-five legislators have joined me in this bill so far. Existing tax laws allow for a tax deduction for certain expenses resulting from the birth of a child, and similar consideration should be shown to those people who seek to provide a home for children through legal adoption. Another bill to aid the workingman is to allow an itemized deduction for automobile insurance premiums.

Two more of my tax relief proposals this session would provide help to the average citizen. I propose to increase from \$700 to \$1,800 the personal income tax exemptions of a taxpayer. This includes the exemption for a spouse, for a dependent, and the additional exemptions for old age and blindness. Another would allow a taxpayer to deduct the expenses incurred in making repairs or improvements to their homes. It would also allow the owners of rental housing to amortize at an accelerated rate the cost of rehabilitating or restoring rental housing. Another bill would allow an income tax deduction for the amount of social security taxes paid by employees and the self-employed.

Last week, I co-authored and introduced along with 13 other Congressmen a bill to allow itemized deductions for individuals who rent their principal residences. Twenty-four Representatives have joined me in introducing to extend to all unmarried individuals the full tax benefits of income splitting now enjoyed by married individuals filing joint returns. I have two bills related to education. One allows teachers who continue their education to deduct certain related expenses. The other allows parents a tax credit for the money they spend for tuition expenses incurred in providing elementary and secondary education for their children.

More and more legislation is being introduced to provide tax relief for working people, the elderly, veterans, teachers and others

who have been forced to carry the tax burden of the country. But to correct the inequities of the tax system is as important as providing tax benefits to middle income people. I have reintroduced bills that would remove the tax-exempt status from foundations engaged in propaganda and politics, and force them to show each source of income, including the money they receive from governmental sources.

These bills and others I have introduced this session would give some measure of tax relief to the average American taxpayer. But they don't provide the full answer to the income tax mess this country is in. The real solution is to repeal the federal personal income tax laws, and require the federal government to obey the Constitution. It would put this area of government back into the jurisdiction of state and local authorities. Here the people have the greatest influence and control over government and a closer chance to watch the spending of their taxes. To this end, I have re-introduced House Joint Resolution 23, known as the Liberty Amendment. This proposed amendment to the Constitution would abolish personal income tax, estate and gift taxes and prohibit the United States Government from engaging in business in competition with its citizens. It has already passed the legislatures of 8 states on its way to adoption.

Adoption of this bill would strengthen and enlarge the free enterprise sector, and restore Constitutional balance between state and federal governments.

The federal government can continue to operate without enslaving the American people to a personal income tax—it worked for 137 years without it. Elimination of unconstitutional federal programs alone would make up the difference. Government can do nothing for people they cannot do better for themselves and that includes spending their money.

SUPPORT FOR REVISION OF TITLE I OF ESEA

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago I introduced H.R. 5163, a bill to amend and extend title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Since the introduction of that bill on March 5, I have received a great many letters supporting in whole or in part the legislation. In addition, several days of testimony on H.R. 5163 have been held by the General Education Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, of which I am ranking minority member. I believe the comments and testimony which have been received are of interest to all Members. I am reproducing below excerpts from meetings and the statements which have been received in the last several weeks:

Lincoln D. Lynch, superintendent of schools, Middleborough Public Schools, Middleboro, Mass., February 21, 1973:

I wish to compliment you on your proposed revision of Title I, ESEA, based on educational disadvantage. I have sent letters home with each of over 3,500 children asking that their parents write to their Congressmen asking for an extension of Title I based on your premise. I have also written to Carl Perkins describing how unfair his proposed extension bill is to children who need help. With his bill we find that because of local geography or having parents over an income

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guideline, children in need are denied the advantages of our good Title I programs.

My School Committee does not feel we should run programs which discriminate against children with special needs, and with the changing emphasis evidenced in the administration of Title I, we are at the point in time where rather than discriminate, we will locally support very reduced programs but try to help all children who need it.

Dr. Samuel G. Sava, executive director, Institute for the Development of Educational Activities, and vice president, Charles F. Kettering Foundation, Dayton, Ohio, March 28, 1973:

I will conclude with this flat statement: the burden of educational research and experience indicates that homogenized instruction will work well for a minority of scholastically inclined students who have no more control over their aptitudes than they have over the color of their eyes. If we wish to design an education that will serve the rest well, we must go toward individualized instruction—for there is nowhere else to go. As the 19th century philosopher Lichtenberg put it, "I do not know whether, if things change, they will get better; but I do know that if they are to get better, they must change."

Robert G. Scanlon, executive director, Research for Better Schools, Inc., Philadelphia, Pa., March 28, 1973:

House Bill 5163 represents an impressive, innovative approach to Federal assistance for programs to improve the academic proficiency of children who are educationally disadvantaged. The bill provides a much needed revision of the means of allocating funds and strategies for providing quality education to children in educational need. The use of testing to identify educational need is a sound notion and operationally possible with current knowledge in the field of education. Further, the intent to individualize programs for educationally disadvantaged students is a desperately needed step. . . . H.R. 5163 is long overdue and could be the beginning of the institution of major changes in our educational system.

Dr. Joseph Dionne, vice president, McGraw-Hill Book Co., March 29, 1973:

The criterion-referenced testing program called for in H.R. 5163 is well within the state of the art of such tests. With eighteen months in which to develop the tests, the commission will be able to determine the appropriate level of generalization of the objectives and insure that the items are sensitive to instruction. One of the major strengths of criterion-referenced tests is that they make explicit a continuum of objectives. . . . In summary, CTB/McGraw-Hill supports H.R. 5163 as a major development in educational testing and evaluation.

Dr. James Popham, University of California at Los Angeles, March 29, 1973:

Criterion-referenced measures are used to ascertain an individual's status with respect to some criterion, that is, an explicitly described type of learner competence. It is because the individual's performance is compared with an established criterion rather than the performance of other individuals that these measures are described as criterion referenced. The meaningfulness of an individual score is not dependent on comparisons with other individuals who took the test. We want to know what individual can do, not how he stands in comparison with others.

Dr. William J. Early, superintendent of governmental affairs, Flint, Mich., School District, March 28, 1973:

Speaking directly to H.R. 5163, we believe from our experience in Michigan that it does effectively transfer the basic determination of eligibility from the use of census data on

income to that of educational deficiency. . . . The legislation also provides flexibility of programming by permitting the funds to follow the child. This is particularly crucial in urban areas where great mobility may exist during the school year.

Dr. John Porter, superintendent of public instruction, State of Michigan, March 26, 1973:

I think that the concept is just absolutely essential, and the concept of moving from where we are today to account for what we do is important enough to set in motion this type of legislation. . . . I think, in my opinion, that it can be done. I think it is important that it be done.

R. M. N. Crosby, M.D., pediatric neurosurgery and neurology, Baltimore, Md., April 6, 1973:

Thank you for the opportunity of commenting on your bill (H.R. 5163). I think this is a good piece of legislation. It is innovative and attacks the problem more directly than has been done previously.

The statements that I make about this bill are my own. As Chairman of the National Advisory Committee on the Education of the Handicapped, I cannot speak for the Committee without consulting directly with them; however, you will find that many of the ideas expressed in your statement in the Congressional Record of Tuesday, March 6, 1973 concerning H.R. 5163, are coincident with many of the recommendations that the National Advisory Committee has made in our Annual Report for 1973.

This bill has the major advantages that it obviates the problem and misdirection of funds under present Title I methods. The determination of educational handicapped, rather than economic disability is much more to the point. The use of criterion referenced testing is an ideal which I have felt for a long time should be the direction in which such legislation goes. This obviates the use of antiquated census figures and disregards economic status in rendering aid to children who really need it.

Jasper Harvey, chairman, Department of Special Education, the University of Texas at Austin, April 9, 1973:

I have read with interest your H.R. 5163, introduced to amend Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. . . . It was gratifying to note that this bill would include under those who are eligible children who have deficiencies resulting from a physical or mental handicap.

Although undoubtedly there will be those who will question your innovative formula which eliminates the use of census and AFDC data in computing Title I payments, it is my considered opinion that the criterion referenced test as a substitute will be vastly superior to the census data formula. . . .

I do endorse this bill and I feel that it has far-reaching implications for defining disadvantaged children on a current basis and further that it provides for development of individualized programs.

The Honorable Bruce King, Governor of New Mexico, March 30, 1973:

My staff and I have reviewed and discussed the provisions of H.R. 5163. We have agreed that the bill addressed itself to a critical area of educational need in a manner which we consider an improvement over the present attempt to deal with these problems—at least in some respects.

In capsule form I have outlined below those provisions which strike me as most favorable in our attempts to provide for the needs of these children:

1. The intent of the bill is to serve all children who are in need of developing skills in the basic areas of reading and mathematics;
2. An attempt is made in the bill to use

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as current a student count as possible to determine eligibility.

3. The bill allows the states to devise their own definition of disadvantaged;

4. The provisions of the bill call for the states to devise their own distribution formula;

5. The bill calls for a continuation of parental involvement in matters affecting their children.

Henry J. Ferri, project director, board of education, Wethersfield, Conn., March 21, 1973:

I perused your proposal in the Report on Preschool Education, March 7, 1973, concerning the using of criterion referenced testing, individualized teaching and reinforcement variables that have an effect on student productivity.

Many of the conclusions that were stated in the article can be corroborated by a Title III Project that we have been conducting in the Wethersfield School Department in Connecticut.

The Project is studying the use of a comprehensive motivational system. Our first year analysis of statistical data has found that the student achievement is greater when you involve the individualization process in conjunction with positive reinforcement by parents and teachers.

Through the usage of criterion-referenced testing, we diagnose the strength and weakness of students and dwell on those behavioral objectives that students cannot accomplish with at least 80% accuracy.

Cecil D. Hardesty, superintendent of schools, Duval County, Fla.:

Duval County has been dealing with criterion referenced tests and individualized instruction for a considerable period of time. We find ourselves in support of your efforts to place emphasis on reading and mathematics and on individualizing of instructional programs.

Mrs. Latrice Wade, title I coordinator, Jones County schools, Laurel, Miss., April 2, 1973:

We want you to know that we in this office agree wholeheartedly with your recommendations concerning the allocation, distribution, and provisions of Title I funds. In Jones County, Mississippi, this year our project has attempted to provide individualized programs of remediation in reading and mathematics. It would be of great benefit to have funds provided on the basis of educational needs of the children rather than on economic needs. Your plan of parent involvement is an excellent idea, also.

Mr. H. D. Allison, general manager, Educational Products, Birmingham, Ala., March 23, 1973:

I share many of your feelings that Title I should be expanded to include all of the children in the present public school system nationwide. To isolate a child according to his economic and educational level and to deny another child the right to innovative and interesting curriculum because he is somewhat more affluent is futile. A lasting change will never be effected according to the present guidelines of ESEA Title I.

John T. Cicco, superintendent of schools, Catholic School Board, Pittsburgh, Pa., March 23, 1973:

I have had the opportunity to read H.R. 5163 which you introduced in Congress. I also read the Congressional Record, Volume 119 dated Tuesday, March 6, 1973. Obviously, I cannot speak for the United States Catholic Conference or Catholic educators throughout the country, but I do find your Bill to be very interesting. I agree wholeheartedly with your concept that the most equitable method of appropriation is educational deprivation rather than economic

deprivation. I also feel that parental involvement such as you described in the Congressional Record would be most beneficial not only to the children but also to the parents.

Warren Pederson, coordinator, title I, ESEA, Department of Public Instruction, State of North Dakota:

One of the urgent changes that was evident from the beginning of Title I, ESEA, was the need for a change in the formula used to distribute Title I funds to the states.

The present method is and has been inequitable from the very beginning and the poverty guidelines eliminate many children from the program who have as great or greater need than those children receiving services.

We in North Dakota, strongly favor your plan of allocating funds on the basis of educational need; rather than on the basis of outdated, inequitable and educationally unsound data.

Approximately 95% of all Title I funds in North Dakota budgeted are spent for instruction and most of our projects are implementing individualized programs of remediation. Naturally, we favor the individualized approach because these programs produce the best results in most cases.

Funds allocated on the basis of a testing program and the flexibility at the State level to allocate the funds, where the greatest need is, will be a great improvement over the present system.

B. G. Williams, associate director for Federal programs, Department of Education, State of Arkansas, April 4, 1973:

After reading the Bill and the comments, I am favorably impressed with your Bill and I wholeheartedly support the elimination of census and AFDC data in the computation of Title I payments. As perhaps you know, our State is penalized severely in the distribution formula because of the use of the AFDC factor. The AFDC factor tends to favor the large urban states at the expense of the poor states.

Leslie Brinegar, associate superintendent, Department of Education, State of California, April 4, 1973:

First of all, I want to congratulate you in the inclusion of several new and important concepts which should contribute to a vastly improved piece of legislation for the disadvantaged.

Because I have a primary concern and responsibility for handicapped children and their education, it is gratifying to see the reference to physical or mental handicap in the Declaration of Policy....

Finally, the inclusion of individualized education plans for children is a good move toward the improvement of this important program.

Robert M. Gagne, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, Calif., March 27, 1973:

This seems to me to be a most carefully planned and forward-looking piece of legislation. The idea of basing the determination of disadvantage upon the findings of criterion referenced tests in reading and mathematics is surely an excellent and critical feature of the bill.

I hope the bill will be favorably received and acted upon. I shall certainly give it all the support I can, and ask my colleagues to do likewise.

Mr. L. M. Pennock, National Association of Elementary School Principals, Arlington, Va., March 27, 1973:

The National Association of Elementary School Principals endorses and supports H.R. 5163. We like the citation: "Educationally Disadvantaged Children's Act of 1973." The NAESP endorses your philosophy, found in this bill, which provides money to a state for

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every student who needs help. We believe this should remove many of the administrative problems that befall the Title I program.

Congratulations are due you for attempting to correct the past formula which used outdated census figures to determine who should receive aid.

Mr. Donald S. Bliss, treasurer and member, executive board, Albuquerque school volunteer program, Albuquerque, N. Mex., March 27, 1973:

It is quite evident that learning problems make little distinction between the economic and social backgrounds of the children who have these problems. To me a learning problem is a problem that needs our attention regardless of where it is found.

Keep up the good work. There are many others who feel as I do and believe that all learning problems need attention, not just those that qualify due to arbitrary restrictions.

TOO MANY LOOPOLES

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Ollie Neu-decker of the Sleepy Eye Herald Dispatch in my congressional district in Minnesota recently plugged editorially for the passage of stronger legislation to close loopholes through which criminals have been managing to escape justice. Certainly, many of us here in Washington share his views, and we hope that Congress will act without further delay upon the crime package that has been proposed by Mr. Nixon.

Mr. Neu-decker's editorial follows:

TOO MANY LOOPOLES

Time and again we read about criminals who escape justice because of loopholes in the law.

Others who have been serving time try desperately to have their cases re-heard, hoping that a sympathetic jury will turn them free.

Last month in Washington, D.C. police arrested a self-styled revolutionary and put him in jail. He was carrying a sawed-off .303 rifle... the same gun which, it is known, was used to murder at least four innocent victims since the first of the year.

Less than two months before, the self-same suspect had been arrested, charged with several minor offenses, fined \$205 and released after being held less than 20 hours in a detention center.

At the time of his first arrest the suspect who was standing outside of his automobile, made a sudden lunge toward the car, but he was halted when the police drew their guns and ordered him to stop.

Reaching in the car, one of the officers picked up a snubnosed .38 calibre revolver from the floor in front of the driver's seat. The suspect did not have a Washington permit to carry a gun. The gun law carries a heavy penalty, but the suspect was not charged with this crime.

Why?

Because the policeman picked the gun off the floor of the car without a search warrant.

Loopholes. You can say that again!

Five years ago when he ran for presidency Mr. Nixon said that he would correct the imbalance in law which protects criminals at the expense of the innocent.

This is one campaign promise which remains to be fulfilled.

Let's hope Mr. Nixon gets around to it, and quickly.—O.N.

TRADE REFORM ACT OF 1973

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the trade bill introduced yesterday is certainly the most comprehensive and innovative piece of trade legislation ever submitted to Congress. For the first time, a U.S. President has provided for the evolution of a more open system of international trade.

I am especially pleased that the administration has proposed new authority for the expansion of East-West trade. Title V of the trade bill authorizes the President to enter into commercial agreements with Communist countries heretofore denied most-favored-nation treatment and to provide such treatment in the context of and for the duration of such commercial agreements.

For years I have sponsored such legislation in the firm belief that we can and should trade with Communist countries on a basis of reciprocity and mutual advantage.

I first introduced an East-West Trade Relations Act, H.R. 10569, on April 24, 1969. I have reintroduced it in each succeeding Congress. Currently my East-West Trade Relations Act is H.R. 5944, introduced on March 21, 1973.

Viewed as a framework for the reduction of import restrictions on both sides, the legislation proposed by the President is a major step forward toward normalizing trade relations with the state-controlled economies of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

It should be noted that under the bill commercial agreements will not take effect if either House of Congress disapproves of them within 90 days of their submission to Congress.

Commercial agreements made under title V must include certain provisions. In particular, they must be limited to an initial term of not more than 3 years and provide for suspension or termination at any time for national security reasons. Certain provisions may be included in commercial agreements at the discretion of the President, such as satisfactory arrangements for the settlement of commercial disputes and for the protection of U.S. industrial rights and processes in Communist countries. The bill provides for bargaining with respect to most-favored-nation treatment, that is, the removal of discriminatory restrictions on imports in return for a variety of concessions which would considerably ease the position of American firms doing business with Communist state trading agencies.

The bill also repeals the embargo on furs and skins which are the product of the Soviet Union or China, which dates from 1951. Also, the bill would repeal the Johnson Act which prohibits the making of loans to Communist countries and which has inhibited long-term payment arrangements for the sale of U.S. capital goods and equipment. That act is both unnecessary and disruptive of trade and it should be repealed.

All in all the bill provides a new legal framework and a bridge for trade be-

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tween our market economy and the state-planned systems.

In my view, the new legal framework is appropriate and conforms with a series of steps which the President has taken since assuming office. As one who has urged that these steps be taken, it is with special pride that I commend the President for these initiatives.

The President has lifted the embargo on U.S. trade with China. Now trade with China will be on the same basis as trade with the Soviet Union.

President Nixon has rescinded the requirement that 50 percent of certain grain cargoes to Eastern Europe must be carried in U.S. vessels. He has also rescinded the requirement which prohibits full-cargo grain shipment to Eastern Europe.

In addition, most agricultural exports to Communist countries now require only a general license.

The result of these bold initiatives has been a tremendous expansion of agricultural trade with the Soviet Union, and a modest increase in trade with the Peoples Republic of China, with whom we have had no trade for decades.

In response to a growing clamor from the Russian people for more and better quality food, the Soviet Government has promised them a 25-percent increase in animal protein food over the next 5 years. To do this, the Russian officials must not only increase livestock numbers, they must also greatly increase the amount of feed available within their country. Last year's Russian grain crops were a dismal failure.

Soviet trade teams which came to the United States during those hot, stormy days of last summer promptly bought up over one-fourth of the total U.S. wheat crop. This surely must have been the greatest concentrated buying spree of agriculture commodities the world has ever seen, and the one most cleverly executed.

I was fortunate to be able to make two trips to Russia last year—one in January long before the great wheat sale, and another in September before the chafe had settled from the sale.

My opinion after I returned from both trips was this: the Soviet Union will be a buyer of American agricultural produce for some time to come. The news of the past 2 days indicating substantial purchases in 1973 reinforces my opinions.

But, of course, there are some obstacles to be overcome before we can classify Russia as a sure-fire customer.

Of primary importance is the tariff discrimination which the United States currently imposes on the products of all but a few Communist countries. For years we have failed to accord them the same tariffs which we charge virtually every other nation in the world. It is time, past time, when this discrimination should be ended. It remains a significant barrier to world trade and will always limit the amount of American goods which Communist countries will be able to purchase from the United States.

This is the reason I have introduced the East-West Trade Relations Act in previous Congresses, and why the President has seen fit to recommend similar language in title V of the Trade Reform Act of 1973.

What are our possibilities of further massive agricultural sales to the Soviet Union? I think they are good, especially if Congress acts on this bill.

When I visited Moscow a year ago January, I was on a soybean sales mission. I carried a suitcase crammed with edible soybean products.

A recent discovery at the University of Illinois of a simple blanching process that removes the piny taste from soybeans offers real possibilities for greatly increasing human use of this protein-rich vegetable. I wanted to give the Russians exposure to these food-use possibilities. While there, I talked to many high-ranking government officials and displayed my wares.

Shortly after I returned to the United States, the Soviets bought 1 million bushels of our soybeans.

And in May, President Nixon visited Moscow, apparently setting the stage for the large-scale resumption of trade.

In September, then Governor Ogilvie asked me to lead Illinois' agriculture trade mission to the Soviet Union. Along with farm leaders from throughout the State, I took part in the first agriculture trade mission representing a State to visit the Soviets.

We showed the Russians we were more than willing to do business with them. We acquainted them with Illinois farm leaders and the products we have to sell. And we made sure they knew that Illinois is the leading agriculture export State in the Union.

While we were there we met and talked with the Russian Minister of Foreign Trade Nikolay Patolichev, perhaps the single most important individual who determines Russian purchases of foreign agricultural products. We also met with Agriculture Minister Vladimir Matskevich, who has since been replaced—apparently because of the failures in Russian grain production.

We also visited Russian markets, co-operative farms, and agricultural research centers. From this experience, we developed a much clearer picture of the status of Russian agriculture, what their needs are, and we let them know what we could supply.

After these two visits, I am convinced that great agricultural trade potential exists now with Russia and will continue to exist for sometime to come.

First, they will continue to have to import grains. And there is no reason it cannot be U.S. grown grain. The Soviet Government is going to push ahead with its protein expansion program. They have many livestock on feed, and they were still expanding their herds when I was there. Complicating this as far as the Russians are concerned is the geography of the Soviet Union. Their growing season is short. Moscow is on a parallel with Labrador, and the Ukraine, the so-called bread basket of Russia, is on the same latitude as central Minnesota.

In short, the Soviet Union is not an ideal country for the production of grain. Even with ideal weather conditions, the Soviets will have to push hard to produce enough grain for only their minimum needs under their great protein expansion program. In addition, we have received preliminary reports that their current winter wheat crop is in some

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difficulty due to lack of sufficient snow cover this winter.

Second, not only will the Russians be interested in more wheat and feed grains, they are genuinely interested in soybeans. Minister Patolichev told me that he was almost positive they would be purchasing substantial amounts of beans.

Third, the Russians are definitely interested in improving their livestock and poultry lines. Currently, in some lines they have developed, they get, by our standards, poor feed conversion. They know this—but are reluctant to admit it. They may well decide to purchase more of our stock.

Fourth, they are very concerned about their shortage of equipment—tractors, trucks, and other farm implements.

Fifth, they would like to have some of our agricultural technology, from pesticides through fertilizers, including frozen cattle semen.

And, finally, that I consider a vastly important sign, they are willing to exchange ideas.

A word of caution. We undoubtedly cannot expect purchases of the same magnitude as the wheat sales of last year to be made again this year. The Soviets purchased over \$1 billion worth of grain from us. This was certainly a tremendous drain on their available funds. Imagine what those purchases did to their balance of trade.

Nevertheless, the demand for U.S. products by the Soviet Union is strong. The need is clear and present. And if we provide the Soviets with the incentive, and the means, to buy U.S. products, we can expect our trade to grow and to prosper.

That is why this Trade Reform Act is so important, and that is why I hope the Congress will give it the most sympathetic attention.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS
CHARLES A. MEYER

HON. CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, Charles A. Meyer, one of our most capable and popular diplomats, has recently terminated his assignment as Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. Since his appointment in 1969, Charlie Meyer has brought to his post a high degree of competence as well as a sensitive perspective of the mutuality of interests that exist between the United States and Latin America.

As the foremost exponent of the "low profile" approach to our relations with Latin America, Secretary Meyer has consistently maintained that Latin nations should seek to mold their futures without American tutelage. During his 4-year tenure, he has attained the respect of my House colleagues as well as Latin diplomats and officials.

I know many of my colleagues join me in wishing him well in the years ahead.

THE BUFFALO EVENING NEWS' INSIGHT INTO OUR FISCAL CRISIS

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, many of my distinguished colleagues in this chamber and in the Senate and I have repeatedly emphasized our conviction that Congress must, in discharging its responsibility to every American man, woman, and child, reform the congressional budget procedure and the process of selecting program priorities.

Individually and collectively, we have become deeply aware of the mandate to enact fiscal reform and to exercise spending disciplines to avoid the threatening plagues of higher taxes, higher prices, and other afflictions of inflation.

Tens of thousands of words have been written about last Tuesday's Senate vote to sustain the President's veto of the inflationary authorization for the Vocational Rehabilitation Act. It has been described as a victory for the administration, identified as a possible turning point in the long campaign to hold a ceiling on the annual budget and the avoiding of the reoccurring temptation to support singular, seductive social proposals which result in irresponsible raids on taxpayers' dollars.

Personally, I perceive the sustaining of the veto and my own support of the less costly alternative authorizing legislation authorized by Mr. Esch and Mr. Erlenborn, as a significant advance in our goal to bring new vigor and stability to our country's economy, to strengthen America's position in growing competition among the world's family of nations and, perhaps most important, to restore the people's confidence in the Congress and our ability to act more decisively and more effectively in the interests of all our citizens.

Even considering the ravages of inflation upon the dollar, the pending alternative authorizations of \$775 million for fiscal year 1974 and \$840 million for fiscal 1975 must be considered as substantive evidence of our concern for the handicapped and disabled especially when we reflect that the outlay for vocational rehabilitation was only \$371 million in fiscal 1969 or about 48 percent of what we are proposing for fiscal 1974.

Sometimes, Mr. Speaker, the rushing current of day-to-day events, the chorus of vocal critics and the temptation to attempt to solve serious social ills with short-term, shortsighted, patent remedies obscure our obvious obligations and alternative courses of more responsible action. But, at such times, the built-in diversity and perceptiveness of our legislative system and the American society usually produces not only the flashing light of caution but proposals of more responsible action.

I believe that this latter genus is eloquently manifested in an editorial published Wednesday, April 4, in the Buffalo Evening News, a newspaper which helps to serve the people of my 38th Congressional District and other portions of western New York.

In my view, the editorial not only provides incisive insight into the fiscal crisis but accurately reflects the views of the majority of my constituents who, in recent days, indicated in response to my questionnaire that they support, by an overwhelming 88 percent majority, an annual Federal spending ceiling as a means of combating inflation.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I include the Buffalo Evening News editorial in the RECORD.

VICTORY FOR FISCAL DISCIPLINE

President Nixon won a significant early-round victory in Washington's battle of the budget when the Senate voted Tuesday to sustain his veto of the \$2.6-billion authorization for job rehabilitation programs.

We hope the defeat of the original bill will promptly spur efforts to work out a compromise mutually acceptable to all sides. The justifiably popular vocational rehabilitation program helps thousands of people help themselves through new jobs. Nationally and here in Buffalo, rehabilitation centers have shown they can pay big dividends by training people for work as well as by getting them off the welfare roles. Since neither side in Washington wants the program to end, each should now be willing to arrive quickly at a mutually satisfactory spending level.

This should be particularly true for the Democratic leadership on Capitol Hill that had refused to compromise before, had forced a test-case showdown and has now lost. In the process, the issue changed from job rehabilitation alone to the broader issue of whether Congress would discipline federal spending.

Had Congress legislated a ceiling on all federal outlays for the budget year beginning July 1, this debate would have assumed a far different complexion. Several Democratic leaders have endorsed the Nixon ceiling of \$268 billion in principle, but they have not enacted it into law. Long-needed procedures leading to a congressional overview of the total budget haven't even been put in place. Thus it is difficult to argue about priorities within a total when that total itself has not been formally agreed to, and when Congress, unlike the President, persists in considering program areas separately and without relation to the budget as a whole.

When Congress mandates that certain amounts be spent for specific purposes, then the President has the obligation to faithfully execute that mandate. This is precisely the message of a federal appellate court which has just ruled against the impoundment of highway funds by the Nixon administration.

But the Nixon victory on the job rehabilitation bill, on the other hand, should encourage greater effort to compromise on future spending issues than has so far been displayed by Democratic leaders in the Congress.

TO INCORPORATE THE NATIONAL INCONVENIENCED SPORTSMEN'S ASSOCIATION

HON. JOHN BRECKINRIDGE

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE. Mr. Speaker, yesterday Congress voted to pass into law a minor but highly positive bill, H.R. 4586. In these days of pessimism and doubt, when not only the shape of our economy but the whole shape of our constitutional relationships have been marked by a lack of trust, it is encouraging to do something for those who need

the Government merely to help them help themselves.

The National Association of Inconvenienced Sportsmen has asked to be granted, and the House yesterday agreed, that it become a body corporate in the District of Columbia. The corporate powers provide inconvenienced people with opportunities for recreational activities, extending to them the sort of natural sports environment that will have positive therapeutic and psychological effects, creating a nucleus of sports programs, together with instructors for them, and the carrying out of such programs to the inconvenienced throughout the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, such a program will have beneficial effects not only upon the well-being of our returning veterans, to whom all of us owe such a debt of gratitude. It will also greatly aid those who suffer from neurological damages, amputees, those who are blind or are otherwise physically disabled, as well as those who suffer from developmental disabilities such as cerebral palsy.

In my own home community of Lexington, Ky., dedicated people have been struggling with the problems of the cerebral palsied for years. Through the efforts of such persevering leaders as Rabbi Joseph Rosenbloom, Ed Hagan, Dr. Joe Leone, Homer Drew, Caruthers Coleman, and the inspired and the inspiring efforts of Mrs. Rhea Taylor of the United Cerebral Palsy of the Bluegrass, more than could have been imagined has been accomplished.

It is my hope that the incorporation of the National Inconvenienced Sportsmen's Association, under a national charter, will further this and related efforts directed nationally at converting into a reality the dream that all Americans will ultimately be enabled to achieve the development of their fullest capabilities. The Congress, and the House District of Columbia Committee of which I am a member, can take pride in the action they have taken.

LIVE FETUS RESEARCH DEBATED

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the controversial and unfortunate January 22 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court legalizing abortion under certain circumstances has raised a myriad of legal, social and scientific problems facing the American people. The basic human right to life is under attack and in serious jeopardy.

In this morning's issue of the Washington Post an article appeared reporting proposals supposedly endorsed by some Federal officials recommending the use of newly delivered human fetuses—products of abortion—for medical research before they die. The underlying assumption by quoted gynecologists in the article is that before abortion the fetus is a tiny growing human being and that only after abortion is the fetus no longer a human being but rather

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only a piece of tissue available for scientific analysis and experimentation.

That, Mr. Speaker, is exactly one of the primary reasons why I have introduced a resolution calling for a constitutional amendment to safeguard the basic right to life of the unborn by making arbitrary and supposedly convenient decisions to abort illegal in our country.

The recent Supreme Court decision in legalizing abortion could lead to excesses and abuses never intended or foreseen by proponents of this decision. For instance, such erosion for the respect of human life could include justification of Nazi-type experiments on doomed concentration camp inmates in World War II; could encourage "relieving" an elderly person suffering from the pain of a terminal illness; and could lead to ending the lives of the mentally and/or physically retarded or incapacitated.

The need to improve human life through scientific research and experiments is a valid and commendable national policy—but certainly not at the expense of another life. This is not only illogical but immoral and inconsistent with the basic human right to life.

At this time, Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert the text of the April 10 Washington Post article, calling it to the attention of our colleagues:

LIVE FETUS RESEARCH DEBATED

(By Victor Cohn)

The possibility of using newly delivered human fetuses—products of abortions—for medical research before they die is being strenuously debated by federal health officials.

So is the question of whether or not federal funds ought to be used to support such research in a country where abortion is considered immoral by millions.

A proposal to permit such studies was recommended to the National Institutes of Health 19 months ago, it was disclosed yesterday by a doctors' newspaper, *Ob.-Gyn. (Obstetrician-Gynecologist) News*.

Officials at NIH, prime source of funds for American research laboratories, differed yesterday on whether the recommendation had at least temporarily become "NIH policy."

But they agreed that NIH is considering the ethics of the matter afresh in the light of last year's revelation of an Alabama syphilis study in which the human subjects were neither informed about their disease nor treated for it.

They also agreed that most scientists feel that it is both moral and important to health progress to use some intact, living fetuses—fetuses too young and too small to live for any amount of time—for medical study.

Most such scientists would apparently agree with the recommendations of still another NIH advisory body—made in September, 1971, but again not disclosed until yesterday—that a fetus used in research must meet at least two out of three criteria: (1) it be no older than 20 weeks; (2) no more than 500 grams (1.1 pounds) in weight; and (3) no longer than 25 centimeters (9.8 inches) from crown to heel.

Such tiny infants if delivered intact, may often live for an hour or so with beating heart after abortion.

They cannot live longer without aid, primarily because their lungs are still unexpanded. But artificial aid—fresh blood and fresh oxygen—might keep them alive for three or four hours.

Scientists in Great Britain and several other countries are regularly doing studies in this way, medical sources said yesterday.

British scientists generally work under a set of strict though unofficial guidelines set

last year by a government commission named to end what virtually everyone agreed was an abuse—obtaining months-old fetuses for research and keeping them alive for up to three or four days.

Before permitting research on fetuses said the British commission, a hospital ethics committee must satisfy itself "that the required information cannot be obtained in any other way."

This is often the case, one well-known genetics researcher, Dr. Kurt Hirschhorn of New York's Mount Sinai Hospital and Medical School, said in an interview yesterday. Indeed, he added, some U.S. scientists are going to Sweden or Japan or other countries to do such research and doing so with the help of their NIH funds.

Using the fetus, Hirschhorn said, it may be possible "to learn how differentiation occurs"—the way cells develop into different parts of the body. "We could learn more about inborn anomalies," or birth defects.

"I don't think it's unethical," he said. "It is not possible to make this fetus into a child, therefore we can consider it as nothing more than a piece of tissue. It is the same principle as taking a beating heart from someone and making use of it in another person."

Dr. Andrew Hellegers, professor of obstetrics at Georgetown University and director of the Kennedy Institute for the Study of Human Reproduction and Bioethics, argued with the view at one NIH advisory meeting. "It appears," he said, "that we want to make the chance for survival the reason for the experiment."

"Isn't that the British approach?" another member asked him.

"It was the German approach. 'If it is going to die, you might as well use it,'" Hellegers replied, referring to Nazi experiments on doomed concentration camp inmates during World War II.

Despite some views like his, an NIH Human Embryology and Development Study Section decided in September, 1971, that: "Planned scientific studies of the human fetus must be encouraged if the outlook for maternal and fetal patients is to be improved. Acceptable formats for the conduct of . . . carefully safeguarded, well controlled investigations must be found."

For example, this group warned, "under no circumstances" should attempts be made to keep a fetus alive indefinitely for research.

The study section's recommendations were greatly modified by the National Advisory Child Health and Human Development Council—the advisory group to NIH's National Institute of Child Health and Human Development—in March, 1972.

But this council agreed that "scientific studies of the human fetus are an integral and necessary part of research concerned with the health of women and children." No investigator, it said, should be involved in the decision to end a pregnancy, and "informed consent must be obtained from the appropriate party(ies)"—the mother or parents.

Also, it said, guidelines to protect the rights of minors and "other helpless subjects" should be applicable. For example, one scientist said yesterday, "I don't think we should do anything that might be construed as painful to the fetus, or that might palpably injure it."

A PENNY SAVED

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the editorial in the April edition of Nation's

Business expressed a simple but solid thought, uncluttered by words, which I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues. I insert the editorial in the RECORD at this point:

A PENNY SAVED

Not being lawyers, we can't judge the constitutional argument over the President's decision not to spend all the money Congress has appropriated.

The Constitution does seem to give Congress the clear right to appropriate the people's money. It exercises that right enthusiastically.

We've looked in vain, however, for any mention in the Constitution of who should save the people's money.

You'd think some of the Founding Fathers—Ben Franklin for example—would have provided for governmental thrift in some way.

It's a shame they didn't.

"DISCONTINUE LOCAL FUNDING TO LSO" SAYS LOCAL JUDGE**HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, Judge John L. Niblack of the Marion Circuit Court, 19th Judicial Circuit, State of Indiana, recently wrote two letters to the Indianapolis City-County Councilmen on the topic of funds for the local OEO funded Legal Services Organization.

I would like to share Judge Niblack's thoughts with you since I feel they describe the unfortunate situation that many of the legal services programs are now in.

I include Judge Niblack's two letters to be printed in the RECORD:

FEBRUARY 2, 1973.

HON. BEURT SERVAAS,
City-County Councilman,
Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR FRIEND BEURT: The LSO attorneys have been deceiving you and the public when they say they had to shut down their offices and are short-handed because they don't have the extra \$200,000, although they have \$400,000 for the balance of this year.

Yesterday in Judge Dillin's Court they had a hearing of a case entitled "Inmates of the Jail vs. Lee Eads, Sheriff, Commissioner Robert Heyne, Department of Indiana Corrections, and some others." This suit was brought by the LSO and they had six attorneys there headed by Harold Berk and Solomon Lowenstein. Recently the LSO had seven attorneys present in front of Judge Steckler in the "Corn-cob Curtain" case from Tech.

This case yesterday was based on a 37-page Complaint and they have asked the Defendant Eads to answer 222 Interrogatories, 164 Requests for Admission and two pages of request for Production of Documents. In addition the LSO is trying to take over the jail in this law suit and want to have the County Council appropriate a lot of money for a lot of improvements in the jail. Eads does not have the money to do so.

If Judge Dillin mandates Sheriff Eads to make all those improvements, the Council will have to appropriate the money.

This is the type of case I have been trying to tell you and the Council that the LSO handles. Even if they promise to reform, they will go right ahead. I cannot see why you should give them \$200,000 more.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN L. NIBLACK,

Judge, Marion Circuit Court 19th Judicial Circuit.

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JANUARY 16, 1973.

MEMBERS OF THE CITY-COUNTY COUNCIL, Indianapolis, Ind.:

During the recent discussion about the LSO and legal aid to the poor it became evident that the LSO in 1973 will have \$400,000 to finance their activities, whatever they may be. In addition, LSO wants this \$202,000, making \$602,000 total for 1973.

I believe in economy in Government. \$400,000 is ample for one year for LSO especially as there is a responsible legal aid for poor persons operating here in duplicate, to wit: The Indianapolis Legal Aid Society. On a budget of \$80,000 a year, it takes care of more indigents than the LSO. About \$60,000 of this money is furnished by the United Fund, raised from your money and mine.

If the \$202,000 has to be spent in 1974 (being tax payer money) I recommend it be given to the Legal Aid Society under contract. Then the United Fund can use its funds for some other agency where the need is great, such as Boy Scouts for inner city children, or Hawthorne Settlement.

The Court's are 100% in favor of legal aid to the poor people and have been over the years. The Legal Aid Society co-operates with the Court's, but the LSO bucks us all the time. It spends more time in the Federal Courts suing our local judges and courts, the various school boards, prison officials and officers of State Government than it does looking after poor people.

At a meeting yesterday our local civil judges unanimously agreed to recommend to you that you do not award this \$202,000 to the LSO.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN L. NIBLACK,
Judge, Marion Circuit Court.

OFF-DUTY POLICEMEN AID SENIOR CITIZENS**HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI**

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, the Louisville Police Officers Association has voluntarily undertaken to provide a check cashing service to senior citizens in two housing units. The service is performed on off-duty hours by city policemen. I represent these men in Congress and I would like to take note of their laudable concern for the safety and security of their fellow citizens.

I include the following article for the RECORD:

POLICE THWART MUGGERS WHO PICK ON OLD PEOPLE

LOUISVILLE, KY.—Around the first of each month senior citizens throughout the nation receive their Social Security checks in the mail. But many of the recipients never get a chance to spend the money: On the way home from cashing their checks they are mugged.

PRIME TARGETS

"Senior citizens are prime mugging targets," says Maj. Louis G. Schweizer, a Louisville police official, "particularly when they are clustered together in housing projects."

"Muggers know that old people can't put up much resistance. It got so bad here that the robbers would hang around the larger housing projects just waiting for the checks to arrive. We were having 40 to 45 muggings every month at one project alone—all of them of older people."

To combat this, the Louisville Police Officers Association, of which Schweizer is president, has begun a check-cashing service for

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the elderly residents of two housing projects, and with impressive results: Muggings near the projects have dropped by 90 percent in recent months.

EXPANSION STUDIED

The policemen, who perform this service during off-duty hours, arrive at the project buildings at specified hours, carrying enough cash to cover the checks. The money comes from the Police Association's treasury. When they have finished the officers take the endorsed checks to the Association's bank for deposit. Virtually all of the 1,300 persons living in the two housing projects have begun using the "police bankers," and plans are being studied to expand the service.

The check-cashing program was originated last year after other efforts to protect the elderly failed. "For a while the Louisville Housing Authority tried taking the people to the bank in buses," Schweizer recalls, "but each one wanted to go to a different bank." The idea of opening a branch office of a bank within the housing project was also unworkable—federal banking security regulations ruled it out.

Robert Carter, manager of the 258-unit J. O. Blanton House, says the project's tenants seem "a lot more secure" since the policemen began cashing their checks.

USED TO BE SCARED

"They used to be scared," recalls Carter, a Louisville policeman himself for 24 years until he was shot in the throat while breaking up an armed robbery in 1970.

"The people here, and in other senior citizen apartment houses, used to form groups to walk to the bank. They were too afraid to go alone," says Carter.

Patrolman Bobby Eaton, who coordinates the check cashing, says he is impressed by the senior citizens' honesty.

"Once as we were going out the door, an elderly woman ran after me shouting, 'Officer, officer, you made a big mistake. It seems we had overpaid her a dime. They have yet to let us overpay them.'"

Eaton said he looks forward to visiting the housing projects each month. "It's one of the best jobs I've had in my 20 years on the force. The senior citizens really appreciate us."

Says the appreciative Mrs. Ada Satterly, a resident of the 700-unit Dosker Manor for three years: "I used to have to take a cab to the bank, which I couldn't afford. Now my worries are over."—L.J.

U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY BEYOND VIETNAM**HON. ALAN STEELMAN**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. STEELMAN. Mr. Speaker, on April 5, at the University of Dallas Graduate School of Management in Dallas, Tex., Jerry W. Friedheim, the Acting Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, gave what I thought to be an excellent presentation on the role of the United States in promoting a lasting peace throughout the world in the post-Vietnam era.

Speaking before the Management Classics Lecture Series, Mr. Friedheim outlines a policy which I commend to you as both sound and reasonable. To summarize the speech in his own words, Mr. Friedheim tells why "détente without defense is delusion."

The full text of his remarks follows:

U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY BEYOND VIETNAM—THE PROMOTION OF PEACE
(By Jerry W. Friedheim)

It's a pleasure for me to be here today at the University of Dallas. This first opportunity of mine to visit with you here comes at a time when our nation also has its first opportunity in many years to be freed from the painful challenge of overseas war. We have, in fact, as our President said in his television address to the nation last week: "the magnificent opportunity to play the leading role in bringing down the walls of hostility which divide the people of the world." In fact, we can now look forward to being engaged not in war but in the greater task of building a stable world peace.

As you know, the last four years have been years of transition:

From war to peace;

From a wartime economy to a peacetime economy;

From a federal budget dominated by defense expenditures to one dominated by human resource expenditures;

From arms competition to arms limitation; and

From a draft-dominated military force toward an all-volunteer force.

Now, this transition period is just about over, and we are moving further away from an era of confrontation and further into an era of negotiation. So now our task is to marshal our resources and to help guarantees that world stability and peace—once achieved—can be maintained.

President Nixon has emphasized that the post-World-War-II period of international relations is over. He has made it the task of his Administration to shape a modern foreign policy addressed to the challenges and requirements of a new area—an era of peace, achieved and preserved through the application of U.S. strength, partnership, and a willingness to negotiate.

U.S. involvement in the long and difficult war in Indochina is coming to a close. A quarter-century of mutual isolation and distrust between the U.S. and the Peoples Republic of China is ending. In the past four years, more significant agreements have been reached with the Soviet Union than in all previous years—including the historic arms limitation agreements.

In company with our overseas friends and allies—with whom we share strong convictions about the proper relationships of governments and of men—we are now pursuing the goal of a lasting peace.

We are not abandoning our treaty commitments. But, the meeting of our commitments does not require the United States to play the role of world policeman. Instead, it requires that we have the capacity and the will to contribute to and to help sustain an international structure of security, stability, partnership, and cooperation.

The United States will do everything reasonable to help achieve lasting peace, utilizing our own forces as necessary and exercising our Security Assistance Program to help others help themselves. But our hopes and desires for peace cannot be allowed to obscure our view of a real world that is almost incredibly complex.

It is true that many changes have occurred in the Communist world in recent decades. Its monolithic structure has changed, and nationalism has gained strength. It is quite correct that we take these changes into account in formulating our national security policies. It also is both correct and essential that, in planning our military forces, we have before us a careful, clear calculation of the capabilities of those in this world who may not always wish us well. And, at present, the major nuclear threat still is from the Soviet Union.

Our relations with the USSR do appear promising, and—if we keep our eyes open

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and our wits about us—the odds are fair that we and they can avoid slipping back into the intense hostility which made the last two decades so dangerous. The Soviets' conclusion of the SALT I agreements confirm that they are interested in considering arms control. Further and more lasting limitations on both U.S. and Soviet strategic, offensive armament may be achieved through SALT II. And, if this arms control momentum can be held, we and the Soviets will have safely put a lid on the Post-World-War-II nuclear arms race.

At the same time, the Soviets have made significant gains in missile and naval power and are continuing to build up their overall military strength. For instance, they are building three new types of intercontinental missiles and two aircraft carriers. While this does not mean that an imminent danger to the United States necessarily is being created, the need for prudence and for attention to real Soviet capabilities is obvious.

The adversary aspects of U.S.-Soviet relations still are very real and can have serious security dimensions.

For example, in some areas of the world, the Soviets are undertaking diplomatic and economic penetration efforts of major proportions. Their purposes probably include attempts to enhance their great-power status, to acquire political influence, to gain improved access to raw materials, and in the longer run to complement their maritime expansion through base and port access overseas.

Furthermore, the Soviets demonstrate few compunctions about creating or capitalizing on international instability when they can do so at low cost and low risk.

So, the physical defense of our nation and our allies must be our highest priority, because destruction or domination would render any of our other values and goals meaningless; and we must also secure the way we live from coercion and from undue, unwanted influence by others.

So my friends, the purpose of our defense forces in the last quarter of the 20th century is more than just the prevention of war: it is the promotion of peace. And the best way to promote peace is to keep our guard up even as we outstretch the hand of cooperation and friendship.

The goal of U.S. foreign policy—supported by the U.S. national security policy of Realistic Deterrence—is to build a framework of peace for the United States and the world. We are not involved in the world because we have overseas interests; rather, we have overseas interests because we are involved in the world. We couldn't be uninvolving even if we wanted to. Neoisolationism is not simply a mistake, it is an impossibility.

It is beyond reality to think that the United States could withdraw from the world, live in isolation, and live in peace. For one thing, the United States is no longer, as it once was, self-sufficient in energy.

At present, the United States consumes over 15 million barrels of oil a day is satisfying about half of our consumer demands for energy. Two-thirds of this 15-million-barrel daily requirement now is produced domestically, and one-third is imported, primarily from Canada and South America. It is estimated that in only a dozen years U.S. oil requirements will expand from today's 15 to about 26 million barrels a day; and we will need to import at least half of it.

The only countries that can produce sufficient oil to meet that demand in 1985 are the countries of the Middle East and North Africa, where we find 70 percent of the world's known petroleum reserves.

Even today, Western Europe is dependent upon Arabian oil for more than 50 percent of its needs in meeting energy requirements. Japan is at least 90 percent dependent on that same source.

These figures highlight only one facet of

the world's energy problem, but the strategic, political, economic, and military implications of world petroleum supply and demand are enough—all alone—to indicate that nations are inter-dependently involved in the areas of the world where vital interests are at stake.

By the year 2000, more than half of the raw materials we need will have to come from abroad. How then, can this nation—so dependent on worldwide resources for its economic vitality and strength—disclaim worldwide interests?

The answer is, we cannot.

So the Nixon Doctrine foreign policy and our Realistic Deterrence national security policy are not ways to retreat into isolation. Instead, they are ways we can continue to participate in and to influence world affairs in the 1970s and 1980s without doing all the jobs and paying all the bills and making all the decisions ourselves.

But, let us always remember that the ability of our nation to pursue a generation of peace—through the process of negotiation—depends upon our maintaining strong armed forces.

We are, today, the strongest nation in the world; but, even now it is a world in which we cannot have absolute security. We must live indefinitely with risk. And so the peace we seek is based on the realities of the world.

And let us also remember that a willingness on the part of others to negotiate with us rests on great subtleties. A decision to negotiate takes form largely in the minds of those who might otherwise be contemplating adventurism or aggression. Talks begin only when potential antagonists conclude that any possible avenues of aggression or blackmail are offset by the predictable costs of such activities.

Our national security and foreign policies seek to establish for the United States an international role that encourages an environment in which negotiations really can become the overwhelmingly dominant means of resolving conflicts. But, for such an environment to be viable, a country as powerful as ours must participate actively, must be committed to peaceful resolution of contentious issues among states, and—of critical importance—must have credibility in the international arena.

To establish and maintain such credibility—which is not the same as predictability—the United States must adhere to word and commitment, and must sustain the military capability to backup its negotiating posture.

Especially for a strong nation, willingness to negotiate stems from a conviction that peace is in the best interest of all nations and that the less strong have legitimate rights and claims in the international arena just as do the very powerful. The United States has accepted those kinds of responsibilities. We enter an era of negotiation not expecting that violence has been eradicated, but hoping that conditions can be created where negotiated adjustment of differences will offer more useful solutions than war.

Clearly, we cannot negotiate a significant reduction of world tensions if the United States by any unilateral disarmament creates vacuums in the international structure of security—vacuums that lead to disequilibrium, to a temptation for adversaries to exploit a perceived advantage—vacuums that could lead ultimately to the self-defeat of American objectives.

And so, the free world maintains defense forces to assure that the scales of international ambition are balanced for peaceful competition. The principle is a simple, human one—as applicable on the schoolyard as in the world arena: unbalanced strength is destabilizing. It tempts conflict, and invites intimidation. Balanced strength leaves talk and negotiation the only viable option toward resolving differences.

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If the United States expects in our negotiations to be taken seriously by our adversaries and our allies, then we must have strength as we bargain. If we should try to settle differences with other countries under circumstances of military inferiority, we would experience great pressure to reach agreements more favorable to our adversary than to us. It is only by maintaining a strong defense posture that we ensure our interests and objectives will be adequately respected and that we can negotiate by choice, not from coercion.

This military strength of ours must be adequate not only in fact, but it must be perceived as such by friends, neutrals, and potential enemies. Other nations base their policies toward the U.S., at least in part, on their evaluation of our military capabilities. Therefore, we must exhibit continual determination to maintain a sufficient level of modern, capable armed forces.

The question really is: How do you go about promoting peace from where we are now? And, the approach of the United States is that you do it through patient, piece-by-piece negotiations—negotiations for which we are well prepared, knowing where we might compromise and where we dare not compromise. These careful negotiations involve two goals: an attempt to reduce situations of world tension as in Berlin or the Middle East, and an attempt to limit arms as in the SALT talks and the coming talks on possible balanced force reductions in Europe.

And, when we are thinking about how you get there from here, it should be clear that we are dealing in a very tough negotiating situation. Just think for a minute about who the people are who head the governments with which we are negotiating. There is Brezhnev and the members of the Soviet Presidium; there is Mao and Chou En-lai and the other aging leaders of the Peoples Republic of China whose memory, whose active experience, goes back to the Long March. These are people who will not give us anything for nothing. They will not bargain with us unless we have something to bargain with.

Sometimes these days we think wishfully about how much the peoples of the world have in common—human aspirations, human problems, human satisfactions. And we feel that there surely is a goodwill of peoples toward each other. There may be, and if relations between nations really were relations between peoples, then perhaps we already would have worldwide peace.

But the fact is that this is not the way in which relations between nations are conducted. They are relations between governments. So when we bargain with the Soviet Union or the Peoples Republic of China, we are not dealing with 250-million Russians or 800-million Chinese. We are dealing with the handful of very tough-minded individuals who, over a long history, have fought their way to the top of those Communist governmental systems.

You just cannot achieve agreements with such leaders unless you are in a position where you are worth bargaining with. That's what is meant by negotiating from strength. And that is where the role of the U.S. Armed Forces comes in in the pursuit of a generation of peace.

The past year's activities and accomplishments with the Soviet Union and China would not have been possible or sensible if the tough-minded leaders of those nations had perceived the United States as lacking in will or as militarily weak. Nor will our initial agreements stand up any longer than those foreign leaders continue to view our military capability with respect.

The successes thus far achieved through negotiations can be attributed, of course, to a willingness of the negotiating parties to accommodate conflicting interests. But let

there be no mistake, such willingness is directly related to the relative bargaining power of the parties concerned. And in those negotiations related to military arms, bargaining strength is synonymous with military strength.

If we expect ongoing arms-limitation and force-reduction talks to be productive, we must maintain our military strength—in combination with our allies where appropriate. We must at all costs avoid unilateral disarmament actions. We must recall that things given as gifts cannot be negotiated.

In this regard, Americans need to remember that our armed forces now are smaller and have less purchasing power in their budgets than at any time for a quarter century. The reordering of our national priorities has placed defense spending below human-resource spending and at the lowest portion of the Gross National Product in 24 years. At the same time that we have achieved these purchasing-power lows, our nation has moved ahead with its desire to try an all-volunteer force of well-paid men and women. We have ended the draft. Military pay and other people costs now take up some 57 percent of the defense budget. And, we have cut out hundreds of ships and closed or reduced hundreds of bases. Not since Harry Truman was President and Louis Johnson was Secretary of Defense has American defense been so austere.

As you know, our President is making a determined effort to reduce federal spending and to hold the federal budget within reasonable and prudent limits. To do this he has had the courage to take a fresh look at some of the outworn and nonproductive domestic programs that have grown up over the years and to place a ceiling on overall federal spending. We in the Department of Defense have contributed to this effort by holding level the purchasing power of the defense budget so that domestic priorities can have a majority share of federal funding. But, we agree fully with the Commander-in-Chief that it would be unsafe for our people to allow further drastic cuts in the defense budget at a time when we are trying hard in many forums to negotiate with potential adversaries from a position of strength.

The point, of course, is that those who clamor to cut billions more dollars from the defense budget, yet who also want the nation to achieve further progress in negotiations, cannot have it both ways. U.S. budget priorities already have been reordered to the domestic side. Further major cuts in defense forces would cut into bone and muscle needed to backup negotiating strength—and needed to assure our nation's security and our peoples' safety if negotiations fail and aggression or international blackmail occur.

The Department of Defense does not underestimate the task before us in maintaining credible, effective forces as we move into a new world era and as we engage that "magnificent opportunity" of which our President spoke.

We understand the difficulties deriving from Vietnam, but we intend to state our case firmly and to move ahead now that our military commitment to that war is virtually ended. We intend to keep our eye not on the past, but on America's Bicentennial and third hundred years.

We know most Americans want a strong country, but we know they also demand and deserve reasons why defense is essential in time of peace—reasons why detente without defense is delusion. We believe that a national consensus on the importance of peacetime deterrent forces is obtainable. And we will do our part to be worthy of public confidence and respect and to vigorously respond to the need and desire of all our citizens to know about our defense activities, programs, and plans.

Because, we cannot achieve a volunteer

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armed force, and we cannot meet the demands of developing detente unless the American people know, understand, and support our national security policies and—even more important—know, understand, and support the men and women of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines.

It's all about strength, and it's all about peace, and it's all about liberty.

Because, as Emerson once wrote:
For what avail the plough or sail,
Or land, or life,
If freedom fail.

SUN, STAND THOU STILL

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, it was Joshua who commanded it. It is written in the Book of Joshua, X, 12:

Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon!...

But it was Nicholas Copernicus who demonstrated that the Sun did stand still, and the other planets of the solar system revolved around it. For Copernicus, the Sun was the center of all things, both literally and figuratively. In the first book of "De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium"—On the Revolutions of Heavenly Bodies—he wrote:

In the middle of all sits Sun enthroned. In this most beautiful temple could we place this luminary in any better position from which he can illuminate the whole at once? He is rightly called the Lamp, the Mind, the Ruler of the Universe; Hermes Trismegistus names him the Visible God, Sophocles' Electra calls him the All-Seeing. So the Sun sits as upon a royal throne ruling his children the planets which circles round him.

There are 100 billion stars like the Sun in our galaxy. There are billions of galaxies like our in the universe. A visitor from one of them would not find anything unusual about our Sun at all. Copernicus' words would amuse him.

This visitor would note that the Sun, by our terms, is a dwarf star, of the type spectral G. It weighs an estimated 2 billion billion billion tons, with a pressure of one trillion pounds per square inch at the core. Its radiating surface has a temperature of 10,000 degrees. At the core, it is 25 million degrees.

In colors no eye could stand to behold, with sounds no human ear could hope to register, its nuclear furnaces turn mass into energy. Every second there is the equivalent of the explosion of 100 hydrogen bombs, 657 million tons of hydrogen are converted into 653 million tons of helium with an energy output equal to 380 million billion billion watts. The missing four million tons of mass are thrown off into space as energy. Earth receives only 2-billionths of this. Yet, in 1 year this would be enough to melt 114 feet of ice over the entire surface of our globe.

The Sun has been doing this for 6 billion years. Still, only 5 percent of its total potential has been spent. For all of this it is quiet and well-behaved when compared to some of its larger and noisier relatives. For instance, its mag-

netic fields are two orders of magnitude weaker than the smallest fields that can be detected among other stars.

Some stars rotate at 450 kilometers per second; the sun, but 1.9 kilometers per second. The nearest stars similar to the sun in luminosity and size are Epsilon Eridani and Tau Ceti. Both are 11 light-years away—one light-year is six million million miles.

To the ancients, the Earth was the center of the universe. Copernicus gave this place to the sun. In this he was wrong; our Solar System is not remotely near the center of the universe, nor even of our galaxy. We are in one of our galaxy's spiral arms which is 30,000 light-years from its center. Our solar system revolves around the center at 250 kilometers per second, and it will take it 225 million years to complete the journey.

It was only around 50 years ago that we've discovered where we really belong. In the last 10 years, we've doubled our knowledge of the Sun.

Nicholas Copernicus, whose "De Revolutionibus" is ranked alongside Darwin's "Origin of Species" for its everlasting impact on scientific thought, was born 500 years ago on February 19, 1473. It was a day when, as Charles Whitney describes it so well in his book the *Discovery of Our Galaxy*:

"... man's view of the universe was still fashioned on the ideas of the ancient Greeks and Egyptians. The sky was a vast machine, a concatenation of shells carrying the sun, the planets, and the stars about the head of man. The universe swam in the breast of God. . . ."

It is, one might say, a tribute of truly cosmic and universal magnitude that 1973, the quincentenary of Copernicus' birth, should be known to science as "The Year of the Sun." When Skylab goes aloft later this year, it will carry the most complex array of solar telescopes ever assembled. From these astronomers hope to find the keys to unlock some of the more baffling and major mysteries of this dwarf star, so insignificant among the billions of its neighbors, yet the source of all energy and life for Earth. The man for whom the Sun was "the Ruler of the Universe" and who put it on a "royal throne" would smile again as he sees his spiritual descendants, the watchers of the skies, prepare for "The Year of the Sun."

Man has always looked to the sky. He has marveled at its mysteries and the process of unlocking the secrets of the heavens began centuries ago. At times he has feared what he beheld and he has seen the faces of his gods looking down upon him.

This had its most striking and significant development in Egypt. It began as early as 1400 B.C. under Amenhotep III. The Sun-god concept expanded. When he died around 1408, his son took the office of high priest of Aton—an ancient name for the physical Sun—and also assumed the title of Great Seer, which was held by the high priest of the old Sun-god Ra at Heliopolis—Sun City.

Amenhotep IV proceeded to develop the new cult. Thebes was renamed City of the Brightness of Aton. Its temple quar-

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ter was designated Brightness of Aton the Great. The new Aton sanctuary itself was called Gem-Aton and that term is still undeciphered.

Even the name of the Pharaoh was changed. Amenhotep meant "He is whom Amen is content." He discarded it and took the name Ikhnaton—"Aton is satisfied" or "He in whom Aton is satisfied."

A city was built and consecrated to Aton in each of the three great divisions of his empire: Egypt, Nubia, and Asia. The Egyptian Aton city, constructed on a bay in the Nile cliffs about 60 miles above the Delta and 150 miles below Thebes, was called Akhetaten—"Horizon of Aton". We know it today as Tell-el-Amarna. It became the real capital of the empire. Ikhnaton composed his famous Hymn to the Sun, in part:

Thou shinest so beautifully on the horizon of heaven,

Thou living Sun, who created life.

Thou standest on the eastern horizon

And hast filled all lands with thy splendor.
Thy rays embrace the lands to the very end
Of all thy Creation.

Thou makest the lands subject to thy be-
loved Son,

Pharaoh Ikhnaton....

The young king failed in his attempt at installing this new religion. He died when he was not yet 30, in part a victim of growing royal intrigues and dissatisfaction among the priests of the old faith and the army. There is mystery about him to this day. It has even been suggested that the body in his royal sepulchre is not his. Curious incident here: the skull found with the body has one of the largest human crania ever recorded. Regardless of all this, his place in the history of Mankind is secure. He has been called the first of the long line of men who revolted against tradition, possibly he was the world's first idealist, first individual and also the earliest monotheist and prophet of internationalism. Indeed, the article on him in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, which says all this, concludes by paying him the supreme accolade: "... the most remarkable figure of the Ancient World before the Hebrews."

Unusual behavior in the heavens, such as a comet, a ring around the moon or an eclipse of the sun, in particular, was for centuries a sign of divine displeasure. Old Chinese records tell us:

When an eclipse of the Sun takes place, the Emperor takes no full repast, and has the drums beaten on the altar. All officials lay aside their ceremonial robes; the princes sacrifice pieces of silk; the historian delivers a speech, until the eclipse is over.

Emperor Kuang Wu-ti, who reigned during the first century A.D., took it personally. As the sun struggled with the dragon that was trying to devour it, he made a 5-day retreat to consider his sins and issued a decree:

It is necessary to repair our errors and thus forestall the evil that Heaven is sending. I for my part can scarcely speak; I am trembling over my misdeeds. I do not wish my subjects to give me the title of Ching. I wish the lords of my court to tell me their opinions bluntly, in secret memoranda.

The court astronomer was blunt about it:

According to the rules of starcraft eclipses of the Sun ought to take place only on the first day of the month. This eclipse struck upon the last day; that is because the Moon has speeded his course. The Sun is the image of the Emperor, the Moon the image of the subjects. But the faults of the subjects usually have their origin in the faults of the Emperor.

This shows the highly prestigious position court astronomers sometimes enjoyed, but not always. In the third century B.C. the royal astronomers Hi and Ho—oh, yes, those were their names—were busy with the wine jug when an eclipse of the sun began. The emperor hauled them up for trial, for negligence of their duties. The verdict:

The prayer-drums beat, the mandarins mounted their steeds, the people gathered in clusters. Meanwhile, Hi and Ho, like wooden statutes, saw and heard nothing. Their negligence in calculating and observing the stars is being punished by death.

This did not mean rulers of antiquity expected 100-percent accuracy in predictions beforehand. The Babylonians were undoubtedly the best astronomers of that era, and even they made mistakes. Much has survived on clay tablets, in Babylonian cuneiform. Among them are reports to the King on celestial observations. Some include occasional admissions of failure. One reads:

As for the eclipse of the Sun, of which my King spoke, it has not taken place. On the twenty-seventh I will again observe and report.

The month of Addaru will have thirty days. On the thirteenth, and during the night from the thirteenth to the fourteenth, we made an observation. On the fifteenth, Sun and Moon were together, but no eclipse took place. Seven times I arose, but no eclipse took place, I will send later the final, decisive report.

The astronomer signed his name: "Tabu-sil-Marduk, nephew of Inlilnasir."

So it was the fault of heaven, not the astronomer. The rules of the heavens deviated, for some reason. And so the King must do penance. After all, what did the heavens mean? At the worst, the King might write to the astronomer, as did one:

The King is tired of his long fast and asks whether the new Moon has not yet appeared.

The King fasted. There is absolutely no indication that the astronomer did.

Lorenzo to Jessica in "The Merchant of Venice":

How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank!

Here we will sit, and let the sounds of music Creep in our ears; soft stillness and the night

Become the touches of sweet harmony. Sit, Jessica. Look how the floor of heaven Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold; There's not the smallest orb which thou beholdest

But in his motion like an angel sings. Still quiring to the young-ey'd cherubim; Such harmony is in immortal souls; But, whilst this muddy vesture of decay Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it.

There must be some sort of order, form, and harmony among the heavens. If it could not be discerned, then the watchers of the skies would describe it to suit themselves.

The Egyptian goddess of the heavens, Nut, arched her star-flecked body over the earth. The ship of the sun glided over her back; when it sank below the horizon it went into the realm of the dead beneath the earth. The next morning, newborn, it began its journey once more. The myth is almost childlike. Yet, contained in it is the truly permanent and great concept of faith in the resurrection of man.

Babylon was more realistic. The sky was a dome, bell-shaped. It constantly whirled around, covered with stars and enclosed in a shroud of water extending below the earth. These universal waters trickled through the milky way to feed the clouds.

Hebraic tradition took part of this idea. The dome became a "firmament." The Tower of Babel was begun in order to bore into the sky and see if it was clay, bronze or iron.

The Greeks saw the sky was a curved and brazen shield. It was surrounded by fire which shone through various holes of differing sizes. Rain came from the clouds, not the sky. The clouds rose from the round disk of ocean, upon which floated the disc of the Earth.

In the sixth century B.C., about the time the Iliad and Odyssey were being written, there arose in Ionia on the Aegean coast a new school of philosophy. For Anaximander, the Sun was a hole in the rim of a huge wheel; the rim in turn was filled with fire and, as it turned, so did the hole. It was the first concept of a mechanical form for the universe. To Anaximander, the stars were fixed like nails into a transparent, crystal sphere. It turned around the Earth. For Xerophanes, the Sun and stars had no permanence; they were cloudy offshoots of the Earth, which had caught fire. The stars burned out at dawn; the Sun was born anew from the sparks.

Into this world was born Pythagoras of Samos. His universe became a spherical ball. The Sun, Moon and planets revolved around it in concentric circles. Their revolution led to a musical sound in the air, each of them on a different pitch, depending on their orbits. As Arthur Koestler put it in "The Sleepwalkers":

If Anaximander's universe reminds one of a Picasso painting, the Pythagorean world resembles a cosmic music box playing the same Bach prelude from eternity to eternity.

So the Earth was a sphere. The idea, once advanced, grew from the end of the sixth century on. Philolaus, a pupil of Pythagoras, went one step further: He gave motion to the Earth. Now the sphere was air-borne. Herakleides of Pontus, in the fourth century B.C., is known to have come very close to the modern concept of the solar system. He did maintain some of the planets revolved around the Sun, but it is unknown to this day for certain just how far he went with his idea.

There is no doubt, however, about what Aristarchus believed. The last of the Pythagorean school, he was born, like Pythagoras, on Samos in 310 B.C., the same year Herakleides died. Although Aristarchus' writings are lost, both Archimedes and Plutarch, impeccable

sources, comment that he did teach the Sun was the center, and the planets moved around it.

His teachings were the first advancement of the heliocentric theory of the solar system. Then it was forgotten for almost 2,000 years.

The first true astronomer in the modern sense was Hipparchus, a Greek from Nicaea in Asia Minor. Around 150 B.C. (Rome was overthrowing Carthage and Corinth) he saw a star where none had been before. He investigated. A contemporary wrote of him:

Therefore he began a blasphemous undertaking, namely, to count the stars and measure their positions, so that posterity could determine whether stars are born and pass away.

He devised some precise instruments for his use. With them he found the length of the year, exact to within 6 minutes of the true figure. He calculated the distance from the Earth to the Moon as being 33 earth diameters, which is only 3 too many.

But his real contribution was setting longitude and latitude of 1,080 stars. He also classed their brightness in six different magnitudes. His star tables were so exact and precise that they took only some minor corrections to serve both Columbus and Vasco da Gama as navigational guides.

Three centuries went by. In the Second Century A.D. came the Egyptian, Claudius Ptolemaeus (Ptolemy), said by some to be such a theoretical genius that only Isaac Newton can be ranked ahead of him. His tables for discerning planetary motion were based on Hipparchus. Like Hipparchus, they were precise. But his eventual picture of the universe, summed up in his "Megale Syntaxis tes Astronomias"—the Great System, usually known by its Arabic name as Almagest—which was to be the last word in Greek astronomy, was a confused mess.

He had the planets traveling in loops, around an imaginary point that circled the Earth. The reasons for this point and its circle were unknown. But the point did not make a perfect circle. Its center was yet another imaginary point, near the Earth. This didn't come out to uniform motion, either, so yet a third imaginary point was picked from which motion looked uniform.

Alphonso X of Castile, known to history as the Wise, reigned during the 13th century. He was a pious man and deeply interested in astronomy. After wrestling with the Ptolemaic concept of the heavens, he made his famous remark, the only one remembered of all his many sayings, that "If the Lord Almighty had consulted me before embarking upon the Creation, I should have recommended something simpler."

Unfortunate man; his son took this as blasphemous and used it as an effective lever to force Alphonso from the throne.

At any rate, the Almagest was to be the bible of astronomy for almost 1,300 years. Alfred North Whitehead could write that "In the year 1500 Europe knew less than Archimedes who died in the year 212 B.C."

Then came Niklas Kippernick, Mikolaj

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Kopernik or Nicholas Copernicus, as we know him by the Latinization of his name that he adopted. The form makes no difference, for in the 15th century, when he was born, people were careless about spelling names. I was once told there are almost three dozen variations of the name of William Shakespeare.

For a man whose work would begin expansion of the universe toward the infinite, there are curious inconsistencies. He made most of his instruments himself, using directions from the Almagest. These relics of 13 centuries past were less reliable than those used by the ancient Greeks and the Arabs. Yet, there were vastly better tools available. He had a comfortable income and could have afforded them.

Crude—that is the only term that could be applied. He once said he wished he could reduce his errors to 10 minutes arc. This is one-third the apparent width of the full Moon; the astronomers of ancient Alexandria had come much closer than that. It also seems he wasn't particularly entranced with looking at the stars, because over all his entire lifetime he only noted between 60 and 70 observations. He thought of himself more as a philosopher of the skies not an observer. He preferred to use the figures of centuries past. Spica, his base star, was given a position off by almost 40 minutes arc, more than the width of the Moon.

Arthur Koestler says of him:

Copernicus is perhaps the most colourless figure among those who, by merit or circumstance, shaped mankind's destiny. On the luminous sky of the Renaissance, he appears as one of those dark stars whose existence is only revealed by their powerful radiations.

Born on February 19, 1473, in the Polish city of Torun, he was half out of the old world and half into the new. The printing press with movable type had been invented, but Columbus had not yet sailed.

Nothing is known about him until he reached age 18, save one event. When his father died, Nicholas, his brother and two sisters went into the care of their uncle, Lucas, a future bishop. It was also decisive. Uncle Lucas was fond of his relatives, legitimate and otherwise. The oldest sister became a Mother Superior of a convent; the youngest was married off to a nobleman. An account of the times notes that:

Philip Teschner, by birth a son-of-a-whore, born to Lucas the Bishop by a pious virgin when Lucas was still a magistrate at Torn, was promoted by the Bishop to the post of mayor of Braunsberg.

Lucas packed him off to the University of Cracow in 1491, when Nicholas was 18. Four years later he returned. One of Lucas' canons was dying and the ever-thoughtful bishop wanted his own nephew in the post. But the canon died too soon, in September. Canon vacancies in uneven months of the year were filled by the Pope. Nicholas had to wait for 2 years. The next time a vacancy came up was in August. He was named canon and took off for Italy at once for further studies.

Until age 32 Nicholas studied at the Universities of Bologna and Padua. It

was the Renaissance. Therefore, he had to take something of everything: philosophy, law, mathematics, medicine, astronomy and Greek. Somewhere in this period he took an active interest in astronomy and discovered the heliocentric theory of the universe of Aristarchus. He never forgot it.

In 1506 now holder of the degree of Doctor of Canon Law, he ended his Italian student days and went home to Prussia to live with Uncle Lucas at Heilsberg castle, residence of the Bishop of Ermland. Technically he was still a canon of Frauenberg Cathedral but was given an indefinite leave of absence to act as physician to Uncle Lucas.

He had studied medicine but his attitude towards it was conservative; there was nothing original. One prescription that he copied out twice survives. It has these ingredients:

Amenian sponge, cinnamon, cedar wood, bloodroot, dittany, red sandalwood, ivory shavings, crocus (or saffron), spodumene, camomil in vinegar, lemon rind, pearls, emerald, red jacinth and sapphires, a deer's heart-bone or pulped heart, beetle, the horn of a unicorn, red coral, gold, silver and sugar.

It was a typical prescription for the day. What it was supposed to cure isn't recorded.

His duties were more diplomatic than medical, however. Ermland—thanks to Bishop Lucas—maintained its independence both from Poland and the Teutonic knights. The knights bitterly hated Lucas and prayed for his death. The walled towns of Ermland were safe from their forays, however. By and large the towns were left alone, but everything else in the countryside in that day and age was fair game: farms, villages, crops, women and whatever else could be stolen, burned, plundered, raped, consumed on the spot or carried away.

The pace of life was slow. He had time for other things, such as preparing his two manuscripts. One that was printed, entitled "Epistles", consisted of translations into Latin of Greek letters of the 7th century A.D. Byzantine historian, Theophylactus Simocatta. This manuscript was Copernicus' contribution to the literature of the renaissance. It was divided under three different headings: moral, pastoral and amorous. They attracted no one and soon passed into obscurity. The other, unpublished, was called "Commentariolus" or Brief Outline.

Bishop Lucas died suddenly in 1512 of food poisoning. The Teutonic knights, grateful for his death, swore he had been poisoned deliberately. Nicholas soon after left Heilsberg and at last, 15 years after his ordination, took up the responsibilities as a canon of Frauenberg Cathedral.

They were not too heavy. The canons lived like noblemen. Their duties were primarily administrative. Only one had taken higher vows and could serve mass. Around 1530 he completed "De Revolutionibus" and promptly locked it away.

Not until 1540 did a summary of the new Copernican cosmology appear. "Narratio Prima"—First Account—summarized the main features of his work. It had been written and published, with his

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permission, by his pupil Joachim Rheticus. The response was predictable.

Martin Luther wrote to a friend in 1541: "Der Narr will die ganze Kunst Astronomiae umkehren"—the fool wants to upset the whole art of astronomy.

Philipp Melanthon in that same year used Copernicus' idea to point out how absurd something could be; it is worth repeating in the original, elegant Latin:

... rem tam absurdam ornare, sicut illi Sarmaticus astronomus qui movet terram et figit Solem.

Melanthon's jibe was double-edged. He used the term Sarmaticus—Sarmatian—to refer to Copernicus, instead of the technically correct Polonus—Polish. So the translation comes out:

... to adorn such an absurd thing, like that Sarmatian astronomer who moves the earth and stops the sun.

The Sarmatians were nomads, related to the Scythians and first described by Herodotus in the 5th century B.C. They were thought—erroneously—to have been the ancestors of the Poles, but barbarians all the same.

Copernicus answered them with a phrase in his letter to the humanist Alessandro Farnese—Pope Paul III—that: "Mathemata mathematicis scribubuntur"—mathematics is written for mathematicians.

It was Rheticus who urged him to publish his own work, and it was Rheticus who had written the strangely prophetic passage in *Narratio Prima*:

Thus the astronomy of my Teacher may rightly be called eternal as the observations of past ages testify and the observations of posterity will doubtless confirm. . . . A boundless Kingdom in astronomy has God granted to my learned Teacher. May he rule, guard and increase it, to the restoration of astronomic truth. Amen.

By August 1541 the 424 pages had been copied out by hand. In May 1542 the printer, Petreius of Nuremberg, started setting up "De Revolutionibus." Almost exactly 1 year later on May 24, 1543, Copernicus died. Bishop Giese of Kulm, Copernicus' friend, wrote to Rheticus a few weeks later:

For many days he had been deprived of his memory and mental vigour; he only saw his completed book at the last moment, on the day he died.

Koestler says the book was and is an all-time worst seller. Its first edition of 1,000 copies never sold out and in the next 400 years it had but four reprints. It is highly unreadable. Even modern scholars sometimes show they have not read the book as they make errors in their interpretation of what Copernicus did write. It was a disappointment; "Narratio" had stirred up more of a storm. It was not until the beginning of the 17th century that the old astronomy surrendered to the new, with Johannes Kepler.

But, as one writer has said of the man and his work:

In the Renaissance, society was in motion, its conceptions were in motion, and it became easier for it to see that the universe was also in motion. Copernicus expressed the supreme idea of the age.

EPILOG

There have been periods in mankind's history when knowledge and learning slumber. One might almost say the human intellect has stood still. We cannot really think of these times as wasted, however, for when the mind does move again and our store of knowledge advances, it seems to do so in quantum leaps.

Take quasars—quas-stellar radio sources—first discovered just 12 years ago in 1961. Cited as one of the fundamental astronomical discoveries of the 20th century, they have characteristics unlike anything known in the universe. Their true nature is unknown, but they may be galaxies in an early stage of formation.

Around the first of April of this year it was announced that a quasar more distant than anything previously observed had been discovered. If present techniques used to measure distances to quasars and other remote objects are accurate, then this one lies an incredible 12 billion light-years away. Astronomers believe they have seen the very edge of the universe itself.

That is what I mean by a quantum advancement of knowledge. In the 500 years since Copernicus put our solar system into its proper perspective and laid the foundations for modern astronomy, science has progressed to this point.

Given the estimate that the universe originated 13 billion years ago, then it may honestly be said that in seeing light from a quasar at that distance means coming very close to looking at Creation.

On August 21, 1972, an Atlas-Centaur launch vehicle, 10 feet in diameter and 117 feet high, roared into life at Cape Kennedy. Its mighty engines, capable of generating 400,000 pounds of thrust, lifted off a complex 2,250-kilogram—5,000-pound spacecraft into a 650-kilometer—400-mile—circular Earth orbit.

Its code name is OAO-3—Orbiting Astronomical Observatory No. 3. It is the last in the presently approved OAO program. Its mission: Investigate stellar phenomena, galactic, and intergalactic media.

The spacecraft itself provides power, thermal control and precision pointing for the observatory systems. It is capable of providing data storage, handling, transmission and reception, and is supported by a ground system.

Its complex of astronomical instruments observe the electromagnetic spectrum—ultraviolet and X-ray—from space. They measure the emission of diffuse nebulae, map the form and brightness characteristics of faint nebulae, record the brightness of hot stars, obtain absolute spectrophotometry data, observe the spectra of interstellar gas and dust, and observe X-ray emissions and their absorption in interstellar space.

In layman's language, OAO-3 is gathering data that is changing our view and understanding of the composition of the dense clouds of gas and dust that are the beginnings of stars like our own sun.

It is named "Copernicus."

WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT
DU BOIS HONORED

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY
OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, as you know, I have been sharing with my colleagues articles from the St. Louis American newspaper, which has spotlighted prominent black Americans in history as part of Afro-American History Week.

This week the newspaper has honored William Edward Burghardt Du Bois.

The article follows:

WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DU BOIS

(Note.—Du Bois was a great man of our time. His deeds of heroic struggle for the liberation of the Negroes and the whole of mankind, his outstanding achievements in academic fields and his sincere friendship toward the Chinese people will forever remain in the memory of the Chinese people.—MAO-TSE-TUNG.)

Dr. William Edward Burghardt (W.E.B.) Du Bois' association with the Chinese people began during a brief tour of China in 1936. He was impressed by the Chinese "will to survive that neither imperial tyranny, nor industrial exploitation, nor famine, starvation and pestilence" could kill. Twenty years later, Communist China invited the famous Black American scholar to return to participate in celebrations marking the 250th Anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin. Other Black Americans had visited Communist China, but Du Bois was perhaps the most famous American to ever receive an invitation. In the United States Du Bois reached the apogee of leadership and influence among Black Americans following the death of Booker T. Washington in 1915 and, although never a leader of the people as Washington, became recognized as America's, and perhaps the world's, most influential Black man.

In 1958 the United States Supreme Court rejected the State Department's restriction on issuance of passports based in alleged Communist affiliations. Du Bois and his wife, author Shirley Graham, immediately obtained passports and left in his fifteenth world tour which would take him to England, Holland, France, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Russia, Sweden, and China. It was during his stay in England that Communist China invited him to Peking and he accepted, deciding to flaunt the restriction of the State Department which had declared his passport invalid for travel to Communist China. During his eight week visit to China, February to April 1959, Du Bois was as lavishly entertained as President Nixon and received an even friendlier reception. In contrast to the widely publicized Nixon visit, the American press ignored the Du Bois trip and it has subsequently disappeared into obscurity. This is not particularly unusual for many of his accomplishments have gone unnoticed or have disappeared into oblivion; his image and cultural contributions in the annals of American history remain a national error.

Three years later, in October 1962, Du Bois returned to Communist China for a brief visit to renew his health and to participate in the Thirteenth Anniversary of the formation of the People's Republic. Of the more than three hundred foreign guests from fifty countries, Du Bois was one of three foreigners, and the first American ever, allowed to observe the National Day Parade on Octo-

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ber 1 from the central rostrum with Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai and other Chinese leaders.

In the evening of October 1, 1962, the group including Du Bois and Mao returned to the central rostrum to watch a fireworks display. After the celebrations and a state banquet with Chou En-lai in early November, Du Bois left China never to return.

Du Bois' visits to Communist China, although now all but forgotten, were and are significant. The trip in 1959 signaled Communist China's desire to establish direct relations with African states. Although contacts between Communist China and Africa can be dated from the First Afro-Asian Conference which met in Bandung, Indonesia in 1955, the African impression of the Communist Chinese was that they were an Asian variant of the Soviet Union. In 1959 China, on the verge of an open split with Russia, was desirous of establishing independent friendly relations with African states. His association with the Pan African movement dated from 1900 when he was named Secretary of the First Pan African Conference in England. His involvement continued for the rest of his life and led some to accord him the revered title, "Father of Pan Africa."

As Du Bois' two visits to Communist China were virtually ignored by the American press and government, so was his death. Peking, conversely, immediately sent a message to Mrs. Du Bois conveying its official condolences and then each of the leaders of the Communist Chinese Government sent personal telegrams. Kuo Mo-jo, the Cultural Minister, Chen Yi, the Foreign Minister, and Chou En-lai, the Prime Minister sent separate messages expressing sympathy for Mrs. Du Bois.

FLORIDA EARNS PACESETTER IN DRUG EDUCATION AWARD

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, for some time now the drug abuse education efforts of various private and governmental agencies have been under fire. The efficacy of these programs has been questioned, and indeed there is evidence that drug abuse education, in its preoccupation with drugs and not the people who use them, has elicited greater, not less drug abuse. The result is a situation so grave that we have recently heard highly-placed recommendations for a complete moratorium on drug-abuse education until we assess the impact of present programs.

In light of these developments, I am greatly encouraged by the drug education project currently being implemented by Florida's Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services. The project's director, David Schmeling, puts the program's goals this way:

We're trying to make sure people who have drug problems know where they can go for help, and to get everybody to stop thinking of drugs as the problem. Drug misuse is a symptom of people not getting along.

Appropriately, the opening phase of the project consists of six public service television announcements showing individuals helping each other in common-

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place situations; for example, an old man helping a little girl get a drink from a high water fountain.

The National Coordinating Council on Drug Education thinks so highly of Florida's project that it has awarded the State its Pacesetter in Drug Education award. The NCCDE is a nonprofit coalition of national professional, government, youth and service groups which regularly recognizes organizations and individuals making unique contributions to the field of drug abuse prevention. According to the Council:

The program was chosen because they are the first State agency to stop talking about drugs and begin emphasizing personal relationships. By making Florida a recipient of our pacesetter award, we hope to encourage other States to follow Florida's example.

Mr. Speaker, I join the NCCDE in commending the State of Florida for this excellent, innovative work in the field of drug education. At a time when our efforts have lacked direction and are plagued by self-doubt, it is most encouraging to see this display of initiative in seeking a new direction for our drug abuse prevention efforts.

A TASK NOT WORTH DOING

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, on Monday in Ottawa, Canadian External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp said that Canada would withdraw from the truce team in June before the situation in Vietnam "improves very substantially." He said Canada would rather leave than risk more Canadians for "a task not worth doing."

It is unfortunate, Mr. Speaker, that a party to the Vietnam peace agreements, the Vietcong, have made three flagrant attacks against peacekeeping helicopters since this past weekend. As we all know, in one of the attacks an ICCS helicopter was downed and nine persons were killed. They included two Americans, a Filipino, a Canadian, an Indonesian, and two Hungarian officers. The other two were Vietcong liaison officers.

Of course, the Vietcong have denied the downings were intentional. That is to be expected. But, Mr. Speaker, there is more than ample proof that the downings were far from accidental; on the contrary they were quite intentional.

There is eyewitness proof that a heat-seeking missile did indeed explode the helicopter, and carry nine to a fiery death.

There is also proof that the second helicopter was hit by sustained fire and forced to land. Now, sustained, to me, Mr. Speaker, means over a long period of time. Again, how could this be unintentional when the truce helicopters are clearly marked for all to see?

In spite of all this, I was relieved somewhat to see President Nixon once again taking a no-nonsense stand. I have great respect for General Haig and am confident that when he returns from his assignment we will get an accurate accounting of the events unfolding in Vietnam and the rest of Southeast Asia.

We have learned a lot about the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese over the last few weeks, and it is my fervent hope that my colleagues will put more stock in what the officials of the United States have to say, rather than to rely on the self-appointed apologists for the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese.

WHY WELFARE COSTS KEEP RISING

HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, HEW Secretary Weinberger was interviewed in the March 19 issue of U.S. News & World Report. I think that his comments on OEO are particularly timely and I insert his remarks concerning OEO in the RECORD at this point:

WHY WELFARE COSTS KEEP RISING

(NOTE.—Interview with Caspar W. Weinberger, 55, was a San Francisco lawyer before becoming California State finance director in 1968. He came to Washington in 1970 as Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget, moved up to Director in early 1972, then became Secretary of HEW last February 8.)

Q. Mr. Secretary, now that the Administration is ending war on poverty, what does it intend to put in its place?

A. We are not "ending" the war on poverty. The commitment to try to improve the quality of life for everybody in the country still exists, and we particularly want to improve it for the people who are clearly disadvantaged and have incomes below the poverty level. I know of no weakening of that commitment.

On the other hand, there has been a feeling that much of what the Federal Government is doing has not been effective, and we know we have limited resources. We have to make some hard choices. We can't continue doing everything we've been doing, and therefore we have to stop the things that have been least effective, and try to put some other things in their place.

Q. Are you scrapping completely the Community Action program, which employs 180,000 people?

A. With the Community Action program, which is one of the activities for which we're terminating federal funding, we would hope that the communities that wish to do so will continue it—if that is a high priority with them. A lot of the program activities that have been financed or undertaken by Community Action organizations can be continued under specific grants.

For example, there's a widespread myth around that Head Start has been stopped. It has not. It has been provided with increased funding, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is continuing to operate it. So a lot of these things will continue in one way or another, particularly if there is a desire for them locally.

The best thing that we think can help win the war against poverty is jobs—the policies we're pursuing will increase employment substantially, as they have already.

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We've managed under these policies to absorb a very large number of people returning from Vietnam as we wound down the war, and ultimately we think that jobs is the final solution to this—the only effective solution.

Meanwhile, we have not phased out or terminated a lot of the activities that we have been funding to help people in the poverty category.

Q. In terms of total spending, will aid to the poor now be more or less?

A. It will be more, even after elimination of the federal funding for Community Action.

Q. With the Office of Economic Opportunity being phased out, a lot of its programs are being taken over by your agency—Health, Education and Welfare. Do you think HEW can do a better job?

A. I think in many cases we can do the job in a more coordinated fashion and eliminate some existing duplication and overlaps.

The principal activity of OEO that is not being transferred is, of course, the Community Action programs. We think that the remaining portions being transferred to HEW fit very well into the other things we're trying to do, and we believe we can do it perhaps more effectively and with less overhead.

Q. When you were Director of the Budget, you played a big part in shaping and cutting many of these programs that are now being transferred to your agency. Do you think that the funds that are in the budget are adequate to do your job in your new capacity?

A. Yes. In many of the OEO programs that are being transferred to HEW, we had provided for increased funding to take care of normal work-load increases that go with our projections of the population affected in this group.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, one has to be discouraged by President Nixon's recent utterances concerning crime and crime control in America. It is so incredibly easy to gain political points by crying for the electric chair, life imprisonment, and other "get-tough" policies which only serve to play on peoples' emotions and fears.

How much more difficult and nobler it is to speak to the true nature of crime in this country. This important and honorable task is something that has heretofore been ignored by our President. Clearly, the scourge of crime in the United States will remain unsolved until our leader has the guts to honestly face up to it.

New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis wrote about this situation in the April 2 edition of the newspaper. I bring it to the attention of this body:

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

(By Anthony Lewis)

LONDON.—One of the great mistakes of Richard Nixon's critics over the years has been to regard him as a man without basic beliefs, moved only by opportunism. Of course he has shown that he can bend to the wind. But as President he has surprised us again and again by meaning exactly what he said.

The President's recent words on the subject of crime are a particularly powerful ex-

ample. When he denounced "soft-headed judges" and said that a "permissive philosophy" had caused the crime wave, he was surely expressing deep personal feelings. And they have been carried out in his legislative proposals for revision of the Federal criminal code.

The authenticity of Mr. Nixon's statements of crime makes them even sadder to read. Their large rhetoric has such small relation to the realities of preventing crime. They promise so much and can deliver so little. And they bespeak an atavism that one simply regrets to see expressed by the President of the United States.

Deterrance is his theme: the argument that harsher penalties will discourage people from committing crimes. If that were so, the problem of crime prevention would be simplified indeed. But alas it is not.

The most respected American criminologists, including men just as hard-nosed as Mr. Nixon could wish, are in broad agreement as the certainty of punishment that deters. The trouble in America, the desperate trouble, is that a man who commits a crime has so small a chance of being arrested for it, much less being sentenced to anything.

One estimate is that when a burglar does a job, the odds are 50 to 1 against his being convicted for it. Changing those odds, increasing police effectiveness and the rate of detection, would have by far the greatest deterrent effect of any imaginable step against crime.

The proposal to restore the death penalty for certain Federal crimes is an example of the gap between Presidential rhetoric and reality. If capital punishment were a "valuable deterrent," as Mr. Nixon said, and nothing else were involved, we might still be hanging men for stealing a loaf of bread. But the deterrent effect has proved to be so doubtful, and the impact on the penal system so corrupting that the penalty has been abolished or left largely unused in every Western industrial country except one. That is South Africa.

Long-fixed minimum terms for narcotics offenders are another example. It is possible that the chance of such a penalty could occasionally scare a drug peddler off. But the trade is so profitable, and the people involved so base, that the deterrent would be marginal at best.

And mandatory sentences have long been known to have a distorting effect on the trial process. They make juries and judges more reluctant to convict. James Q. Wilson of Harvard concludes that "they often strengthen the hand of the criminal."

A third example is the President's proposal that the insanity defense be virtually abolished, with the problem of mental condition being treated instead as a matter for the judge in passing sentence. That shift does have some expert support. But it could have no significant deterrent effect. Most defendants in fact prefer the known of prison to confinement in a mental institution.

No one has a magic cure for crime, but some modest specifics are available. Gun control would save many more innocent lives than threatening capital punishment. However complex the social origins of crime, it would be worth trying to help the most susceptible group, unemployed teenagers. Political leaders could set an example by not condoning lawlessness in their own entourage.

The inescapable conclusion is that President Nixon is less interested in specifics than in mood. He wants America to be tougher, to attack crime as it attacks us, "without pity." That attitude will have its effect, for there is a strain in all of us that would substitute vengeance for justice. But a civilized society does not mimic the savagery of those who attack it.

"The mood and temper of the public in regard to the treatment of crime and crim-

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inals is one of the most unfailing tests of the civilization of any country. A calm and dispassionate recognition of the rights of the accused . . . and even of convicted criminals against the state . . . , an unfaltering faith that there is treasure, if only you can find it, in the heart of every man—these are the symbols which . . . measure the stored-up strength of a nation, and are the sign and proof of the living virtue in it."

The words are not those of a soft-headed judge or a permissive professor. They were said on July 20, 1910, in the House of Commons, by the British Home Secretary, Winston Churchill.

**"WOMAN EQUALLED SECRETARY"—
BUT NOT FOR HER**

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, too often in the fight for equal rights for women, the so-called horror stories and miscarriages of justice seem to get all the coverage. Today, I am delighted to present an exception.

Mrs. Ann Blackham—and she is "Mrs.", not "Ms."—is a longtime dear friend who tells her side of the equal rights story well and with pride. She is an outstanding example of a parent, wife, and member of the business community. I am delighted to submit for my colleagues' perusal the following eight-column profile of Ann Blackham that appeared in the April 4, 1973, edition of the *Boston Globe*:

**"WOMAN EQUALLED SECRETARY"—BUT NOT
FOR HER**

(By Gwynne Morgan)

Several years ago Ann R. Blackham, founder and president of Ann R. Blackham & Co., Winchester realtors, was named to one of the area's many real estate boards.

"Mrs. Blackham," the male board members queried on the occasion of her first meeting, "would you honor us by becoming secretary?"

"I said no. I told them that I had no secretarial skills and was hoping to make a real contribution to the board. There was," she explains, loosing her great laugh and rolling her blue eyes, "initial shock. But they got used to it. They hired a professional stenographer, who did a fine job, and now they treat me as an equal. They didn't mean any harm. It was a cultural pattern. Woman equalled secretary."

Mrs. Blackham, 46, as a woman in business, a 1969 member of the President's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities, and current chairman of Governor Sargent's Commission on the Status of Women, has no misconceptions about a woman's place being in the home.

The oldest child of a politically-conscious family (brother Vincent DeCain is assistant deputy chairman-Transportation), she always assumed that she would 1) have a career and 2) be in politics.

Born in New York, raised in Cleveland, Mrs. Blackham attended Ohio Dominican College in Columbus, received her MA from Ohio State and came east to join Wm. Filene & Co. and marry James W. Blackham Jr., an insurance broker. When she left Filene's in 1953 to give birth to her daughter Ann, she was a store manager, a rare accomplishment for a woman in those days.

A son, James W. 3d, now 19, was born the following year.

"I loved retailing," Mrs. Blackham recalled. "I loved the idea of having a product to sell and all that people-contact. But I felt that retailing was too comprehensive a career for a woman with young children. I couldn't guarantee that I would be placed in a store near Winchester, the hours were erratic, and too much can crop up with children."

She set her sights on real estate, because of the selling and the personal interaction, took the brokers' exam, and went to work for a Winchester realtor. Since 1958 too, she's been selling people, working as campaign manager and consultant for various Republican hopefuls. Last year she served as Northeast Regional Director of the Committee to Re-elect the President, Volunteer Division.

"I found that real estate was the perfect spot for me, and also allowed me the flexibility to be active politically," she beamed. "It's hard to assign priorities to her vocation and avocation. Even her two-piece suit is red, white, and blue.

Beginning as a broker in a Winchester office, she graduated to sales manager and director of the James T. Trefrey Inc. real estate office. In 1969, after an unsuccessful bid for state legislature on the Republican ticket, she opened her own business at 11 Thompson st. which now employs eight brokers.

"When we first opened, only women brokers would apply," she recalls. "Men would look at the name on the building, see it was a woman's business, and that would be it."

About half of her brokers now are men, she pointed out, "and we have more and more men applying. Each broker has his or her own clients on profile, so that there is no conflict. A person is broker-of-the-day every day and that avoids hassles over new accounts."

While Mrs. Blackham maintains that Winchester is a well-integrated town racially and economically, an incident from several years ago illustrates sexual barriers in real estate transactions.

"The counting-incomes problem came to my attention a couple of years ago when a returning Vietnam veteran and his wife came to me to buy a home. The veteran's wife had a job and he had been hired back by his company, with the promise that he would get his old, better paying job back as soon as a vacancy occurred. I found them a house that suited their needs on the North Shore.

"We went to the bank, and the bank refused the loan, declaring that they couldn't count the woman's income, since she was of childbearing age and could become pregnant. Unless their doctor presented a written statement saying that pregnancy was impossible at the time, the bank refused to lend them the money. I had a fit. The young man was furious. It was an invasion of their privacy. They dropped the issue altogether, where today they probably would have fought it.

"That situation," she continued, "crystallized the issue of women's rights to me. Then, in 1969, I was named to the President's Commission on Women's Rights and Responsibilities. With 12 other Task Force members, I spent about a year in Washington listening to the testimony of housewives, professional and laboring women, students. My eyes were really opened to the inequities a woman faces."

The committee report, "A Matter of Simple Justice," serves as the backbone for the current Equal Rights Amendment before Congress.

Mrs. Blackham is a little discouraged about the prognosis for passage of the amendment she told the *Globe*. "Some women simply

don't understand the proposed legislation," she said. "They blow the draft issue out of proportion and complain that they will be forced out of their homes into jobs against their will. The whole equal rights amendment is not intended to force them into anything, but to give them a choice," she stressed, which is more than women have had in the past. If they and their daughters want equal opportunities in career or education, they can have it. They will be accepted as people, because of their merit, professionally and academically, not because of any quota system."

Looking back, she admits that she never used to think much about discrimination.

"In 1950, when I finished my education, even a college-educated woman had to start out with typing and secretarial work. The first thing the employer asked was whether you had typing and shorthand. I've never learned typing. It was almost a defense. Then, once you were hired for secretarial, if a male co-worker happened to get drafted, maybe you could worm into his job. That was your only hope for advancement. A man, on the other hand, with similar background and experience, was inevitably hired as a management trainee.

"At Filene's, where I was in the executive training program, the pay was generally low—around 45c an hour then. Nobody thought much about salary. Even later on, I know the men made more money than I did, but it was accepted. You might complain to your friends, but you never questioned it. I used to grumble to Bill, before we were married. He'd say, 'That's the way it should be; men have families to support.' Now he's come full cycle."

Mrs. Blackham disdains the term "women's lib," and likes to think of herself as taking the "more establishment approach." But, she admits, "even some of the movement's more radical actions did crystallize the situation to the country."

She commends the Associated Industries of Massachusetts for the "great inroads" they are making on equal opportunity employment. Polaroid is one of the companies she mentioned by name as opening new fields, including mechanics, to women.

"I feel that the association has gone beyond the quota stage, and is now actively recruiting women for what they offer as individuals," she said.

Sexual idiosyncrasies still exist, and extend even to the house-hunting process, she notes. "It's funny. You take a couple to view a home. They tour the first floor together, then invariably split. He goes to the basement to check the water pipes, furnace and wiring; she goes upstairs to check the bedrooms and baths."

In the Winchester area, where homes range between \$20,000-\$150,000, most couples make the buying decision together, often choosing the home by the merits of the school system.

In Winchester, the average mortgage is 80 percent financing, to be paid off during a period of 25 years.

"Usually the family will live in the house about 5 years," Mrs. Blackham has found, "then trade the mortgage onto another bigger house because their tastes or their family size has changed."

While no lower income housing is slated for Winchester, housing for the elderly is upcoming and Mrs. Blackham considers that a good trend.

"I think we need condominiums. People who have lived in this town all of their lives shouldn't have to tear up all their roots because the taxes on their homes are too high to support on retirement. All their living friends are here. Their children are grown and educated. They supported the school system for years. I think there ought to be living situations for them within the town."

THE FBI: PHASE II

HON. HAROLD V. FROELICH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. FROELICH. Mr. Speaker, I was very pleased this morning to see that I am not the only one who is disturbed about the recent legislative proposals to establish an independent Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The Washington Post has published a cogent editorial exposing the grave dangers that would exist if the FBI were to be reconstituted as an independent agency outside the Department of Justice. I hope other newspapers will speak out against this ill-considered plan.

I insert in the RECORD this morning's lead editorial in the Washington Post:

THE FBI: PHASE II

Having spearheaded the effort to turn back President Nixon's nomination of L. Patrick Gray III to be director of the FBI, Sen. Robert Byrd (D-W. Va.) has turned his attention to quite serious issues of the governance of the bureau which flow both from J. Edgar Hoover's 48-year tenure in the director's chair and from the Gray hearings. Senator Byrd has introduced a bill which he hopes will improve the bureau and take it out of politics. The central purposes of the bill are to take the bureau out of the Department of Justice and make it an independent agency and to limit the director's term in office to seven years. Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) is introducing a bill which would give the director a 15-year term with no possibility of reappointment and require that the nominee have at least 10 years experience in the FBI.

There can be little doubt that the issues which these two measures seek to address are extraordinarily important. The dangers of politicizing the FBI or even giving the appearance of doing so have been graphically demonstrated in the last few weeks. It is not simply the distribution of John Ehrlichman's request for information which would be useful in the campaign to FBI field offices last year or even the appearance that Mr. Gray acted at least like a quasi surrogate for the President in the campaign. Those things are bad enough. More to the point is the nightmarish position of a few employees of the Committee for the Re-election of the President who, wanting to discuss matters involved in an FBI investigation freely and out of the presence of their superiors, arrange to do so and then find that their information has made a full circuit right back to the people whose intervention they sought to avoid in the first place. Finally, of course, there is the sad story of Mr. Hoover's ossifying political views and concurrently ossifying control over the FBI in his later years.

Although these two bills attack very real problems, we are not, at least at this juncture, persuaded that the remedies proposed are either appropriate or wise. The establishment of the bureau as an independent agency, while attractive at first blush, might create more problems than it solves. In a very real and substantial sense, the FBI serves as the investigative arm of the federal criminal process. As such, it is imperative that it have the closest and most cooperative relationship with the lawyers who are trying to develop cases and who ultimately will have to try them. During the last years of Mr. Hoover's tenure, that relationship was either nonexistent or constricted and carried out with the greatest difficulty by lawyers within the

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Justice Department for, although Mr. Hoover was nominally the Attorney General's subordinate, he and the bureau were in a very real sense independent. Sen. Byrd's bill would simply perpetuate that problem.

We have already addressed the fixed term proposals in this space. Sen. Jackson's 15-year idea with the requirement that candidates be drawn from people who had put in at least 10 years in the bureau seems to us unduly restrictive of the President's freedom to choose the best person available, no matter what he or she might be engaged in at the time of the vacancy. Moreover, the trouble with fixed term, whether it be 7 years or 15 or something in between, is that it would prevent the President from firing a person who had turned out to be his or some past President's mistake. Despite the perils of politicization, we think the system can be made to work if the President and his Attorney General are convinced that the Congress actually wants and is prepared to work to achieve a truly non-political and highly professional FBI.

And that, it seems to us, is the healthiest aspect of the Byrd and the Jackson proposals. For Sen. Byrd said some very important things when discussing his reasons for introducing his bill. He said that there was a real need to take a careful look at the FBI after Mr. Hoover's long rule, that he did not want the directorship to become a patronage plum and, most importantly, that he considered his bill a stimulus to congressional oversight and study of this whole matter. That last is the nub of it. If Congress can mount serious and sustained oversight on the problems of the governance of the bureau, all of these problems will be manageable. If it cannot, no gimmicks like fixed terms for the director will work. In providing a stimulus to active congressional participation in the management of the FBI, Sen. Byrd and Sen. Jackson have performed a useful public service.

U.S. POSTAL SERVICE

HON. ELLA T. GRASSO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mrs. GRASSO. Mr. Speaker, all of us have been hearing a rising crescendo of disappointment and frustration from the American people concerning the deterioration of mail service. The House Post Office and Civil Service Subcommittee on Postal Service is currently holding hearings designed to recommend needed changes in U.S. Postal Service operations. These hearings are a very positive development and one which will hopefully bring us closer to the day when our citizens can rely on efficient mail delivery and services.

The Connecticut Western News recently published an article which expresses the concern of local residents about their mail service. For the interest of my colleagues, the article by reporter Lucy Boswell follows:

U.S. POSTAL SERVICE—IS IT KEEPING UP?

(By Lucy Boswell)

"What are you doing here?"
"Didn't you get my letter telling you I was coming? I mailed it a week ago."

"No."

"Your income tax return just got here. You'd better wait until you come home from college to get it. If I send it to you, you may never see it."

"I just got the Christmas card you mailed on Dec. 22. It was postmarked Phoenix, Ariz. What were you doing out there?"

"I wasn't."

Sound familiar? People all over the country are griping about the service they are (or aren't) getting from the post office. Legislators are receiving piles of letters from constituents complaining about mail service and, according to an article in the March 19 issue of U.S. News and World Report, at least 13 Congressmen are sponsoring legislation which would abolish the new independent status of the U.S. Postal Service.

The uproar over services has mostly come about since, in July of 1971, the old post office was reorganized into an independent agency designed to make the postal service more business-like and to speed up deliveries. The Postal Reorganization Act of 1970 requires the Postal Service to pay for itself by mid-1984.

Postmaster General Elmer T. Klassen told the Senate Post Office Committee that the Postal Service was so determined to cut costs toward that end that "we perhaps lost track of service."

U.S. News and World Report quotes Klassen as saying that he was "shocked by individual cases of delays that have come to my attention," but that "complaints are inevitable in such a huge organization." He went on to say that the Postal Service handles about 90 billion pieces of mail, and that if it performed with 99 percent effectiveness, there would still be grounds for 900 million gripes.

Is postal service really worse than it was a few years ago, as the numerous complaints suggest? Or has the post office simply become a new national punching bag, a new pet peeve? In order to get some idea of what the situation is around here, the Western did a little snooping around and experimentation.

Area residents, businesses and postal employees were asked, "Do you think postal service has improved, worsened or stayed the same since the post office has become a public service organization independent from the government?"

The sample was admittedly very small, but the statistics that resulted are nevertheless interesting.

One fifth of the people questioned thought that services have improved. It is interesting to note that of these, all but one were postal employees. Robert Patnoe, the postmaster of Norfolk, said, "I've worked in the post office since 1955 and our delivery is just as good as it ever was. Our percentage of increase is lower than in almost any other business, too."

Douglas Griffiths of the Salisbury Post Office said that he thought services have improved in certain areas, and that "as far as air mail is concerned, we got a package from California overnight recently." If people would get their zip codes right, that would speed things up, he said. "Someone used their phone number instead of a zip code the other day," he added.

Dick Weinstein of the North East Pharmacy in Millerton, was the only non-post worker who thought services have improved. "The only problem we have in this area is that they have a very poor service for mail that goes to Sharon. It's routed through Poughkeepsie first and takes forever. Other than that, I think service is better than it used to be," he commented.

SERVICE "AWFULY UNEVEN" IN SALISBURY

Approximately one-third of those questioned thought postal service has gotten worse. Mike Holly of the Canaan Post Office said, "It's definitely worsened, but this is a temporary situation. Like anything, when a

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

lot of changes take place, it takes a while to get all the problems ironed out."

Betty Warland of the Sherwood Tree and Nursery Service in Salisbury believes mail service has definitely worsened and related a story to explain why. The nursery needed some information about a plant from another nursery. The decision was finally made to make the more expensive move and telephone the other nursery because, "if we had to depend on the mail we'd never get an answer for two weeks." She added, "It's exactly the same in Winsted where I live."

Mrs. John Minatti of Canaan commented, "It takes so long to get a letter. Do you know that it usually takes six days to get a letter from Florida?"

Mrs. J. M. Currier of Norfolk said that she believes mail service is worse not only because mail is later in getting where it is supposed to go, but also because it gets lost more frequently.

Mrs. Wellesley Smith of Salisbury said she couldn't tell if the overall service was worse or better because "it's awfully uneven here. Sometimes mail comes quickly from a long distance, but takes a long time from just around the corner."

The remainder of those questioned could see no difference in mail service. Typical comments from people in this group were, "I get my mail delivered in my box and that's it. It seems the same to me," and "I haven't had any trouble at all. I don't think service is any better, but it isn't any worse."

There is one conclusion to be drawn from this small survey. Since the post office was reorganized in 1971 to gain more efficiency and speed deliveries, and only one-fifth of those questioned saw an improvement in postal service since the reorganization took place, it can be concluded that, in the eyes of most of the people surveyed in this area, the postal service has not met its goal.

However, there can be a wide difference between what people perceive of a reality and what the reality is. With the purpose of discovering whether people are ignored the facts about the mail service and believing what they want to believe (that service has not improved, that mail is slow, that more letters are getting lost, etc.), the Western ran an experiment with some post cards. The cards were mailed at local post offices (Goshen, Norfolk, Salisbury, Millerton, Canaan and Sheffield) after the last pick-up on Thursday, March 15, so that they would all be in Friday's first pick-up. One card was mailed from each town to four people—one in Stonington, Conn.; one in Concord, Mass.; one in New York City and one in Kenosha, Wisconsin.

Deborah, the Western's Kenosha correspondent, received cards from Canaan, Goshen, Salisbury, and Sheffield on Monday, March 19. Not bad, considering they were picked up on Friday morning. On Tuesday, March 20, she received the cards from Norfolk and Millerton. The Millerton card had apparently been all the way out to Detroit, Michigan, for it bore a Detroit postmark as well as a Millerton one.

Deborah mailed three cards from Kenosha to the Western Tuesday afternoon, March 20. One arrived Thursday, March 22 and others arrived Friday, March 23. She mailed three cards Wednesday afternoon, March 21; all three arrived Saturday, March 24. Getting mail from here to Kenosha and back was generally as fast as could be expected.

THE GREAT POSTCARD EXPERIMENT

The Connecticut Western's girl in scenic Concord, Mass., Kathleen, received her Millerton post card on Saturday, March 17. This

St. Patrick's Day delivery set the record for the speediest delivery of out-of-state-mail witnessed in this experiment. The cards from Goshen, Norfolk, Salisbury, Canaan and Sheffield all arrived the following Monday, March 19.

Kath sent a postcard to the Western on Wednesday morning, March 21. This arrived Saturday, March 24. She also sent a letter on Wednesday morning which arrived the next day, Thursday, March 22.

In the quaint coastal village of Stonington, Conn., Linda received postcards from Millerton, Canaan, Sheffield, Norfolk and Goshen on Saturday, March 17—one-day service from pick-up to delivery. The card from Salisbury arrived on Monday, March 19.

Linda mailed a card from Stonington to the Western Wednesday morning, March 21, which arrived the next day, March 22. Service across state was excellent.

Getting mail in and out of New York City was a different story altogether. Laura, our Lady on West 119th Street, received the Goshen, Norfolk and Sheffield postcards Wednesday, March 21, after Deborah in Kenosha had received all of her cards. The card from Salisbury got to Laura on Thursday, March 22. As of this writing (Saturday, March 24), the cards from Millerton and Canaan have not reached Laura. It has been more than a week since they were mailed.

WHO CAN UNDERSTAND?

Laura sent a postcard to the Western on Wednesday afternoon, March 21. It arrived Friday morning, March 23, after a reasonable day-and-a-half interval.

Who can understand why the six post cards, mailed from post offices within 30 miles of each other, mailed at the same time and to the same place, should reach their destination as much as three days apart? Why did the card from Norfolk get to Laura on Wednesday, March 21, while the card from Canaan, 8 miles from Norfolk, is still hanging around in a post office somewhere (Detroit?) and hasn't reached her?

In all fairness, postal service in this experiment was not bad on the whole, just erratic. The only really bad service was to New York. This would lead to the obvious conclusion, which many have made before now, that the New York postal system is at fault. As far as post offices are concerned, bigger does not in any way mean better.

BIGGER IS NOT BETTER

Postmaster General Klassen, in his testimony before the Senate Post Office Committee, said that the Postal Service is in the process of upgrading facilities and completing reorganization, all of which takes time. A network of 21 bulk mail centers around the country is being established to give automated treatment to parcels. However, the Postal Service must pay for itself by mid-1984. In order for this to happen, costs must be cut. According to U.S. News and World Report, the number of postal employees has been cut considerably toward this end.

Whatever improvements in efficiency have been made have probably been stymied by the cutback of workers. Meanwhile, the volume of mail is steadily increasing.

In an age of instant communications and faster and faster transportation, when people expect to get to Europe faster next year than they did last year, any service that does not keep up with the pace of steady improvements may be viewed as "falling behind," rather than remaining the same.

It is difficult to tell whether service is actually worse now than it was a few years ago, but the idea that it probably isn't any better

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is discouraging. After all, the Postal Reorganization Act of 1970 was meant to improve service.

Perhaps it is too much to expect that the post office can pay for itself without exorbitantly raising rates, and at the same time improve services.

AL-O-MON FOREST NO. 138 HONORS AMERICA

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 11, 1973

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, the return of our servicemen from the prison camps of North Vietnam has rekindled a spirit of patriotism in the hearts of most Americans. For too long the majority of our citizens silently endured the degradation and defilement of our country by a vocal minority.

The return of the POW's and their display of courage, strength, and faith, unleashed the torrent of emotion which our people had kept under control for so long. In city after city, the people unashamedly displayed the love, honor, and respect they have for America, its flag, and the men and women who wear a uniform in its defense.

In McKeesport, Pa., a male chorus, "The Chanters," affiliated with Al-O-Mon Forest No. 138, Tall Cedars of Lebanon, presented a concert of patriotic music. Their songs ranged from George M. Cohan's cocky "Yankee Doodle Dandy" to moving renditions of "God Bless America" and "America The Beautiful."

Each number drew enthusiastic applause from the audience of several hundred people but there is no describing the emotion which filled the room when "The Chanters" paid their tribute to the Nation's Armed Forces. One by one, a representative of each branch of our military services marched beneath an arch of American flags, borne by members of the DeMolay, the Order of Rainbow for Girls and members of Al-O-Mon Forest's color guard, to the rhythmic applause of the audience and the lusty singing of their service song by "The Chanters."

I know that Sgt. Kenneth Littlejohn of the Army, Sgt. Nerun R. Karasek of the Air Force, Chief Daniel R. Vaugh of the Coast Guard, Chief Joseph Matta of the Navy, and Sgt. Paul Smith of the Marine Corps will never forget the recognition and admiration given them that evening by the citizens of McKeesport and nearby communities.

Mr. Speaker, it was a program and an evening to remember. America still is the greatest nation on the face of the earth and "The Chanters," directed by Robert Forney, the members of Al-O-Mon Forest No. 138, led by Donald Craven, should be commended for reminding us of it.