

concerning members of the news media; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. MARAZITI:

H.R. 14982. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 and certain other provisions of law to provide for automatic cost-of-living adjustments in the income tax rates, the amount of the standard, personal exemption, and depreciation deductions, and the rate of interest payable on certain obligations of the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROY:

H.R. 14983. A bill to provide for the modification of the project for Tuttle Creek Lake, Big Blue River, Kan.; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. SKUBITZ:

H.R. 14984. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to provide service pension to certain veterans of World War I and pension to the widows of such veterans; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia:

H.J. Res. 1025. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim the third week in October of each year as National Screen Printing Week and to proclaim Tuesday of such week as National Screen Printing Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COUGHLIN:

H.J. Res. 1026. Joint resolution to authorize and request the President to issue a proclamation designating the calendar week beginning April 20, 1975, as National Volunteer Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DULSKI:

H.J. Res. 1027. Joint resolution to designate the third week of September of each

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year as National Medical Assistants' Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ESCH (for himself, Mr. CONLAN, Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia, Mr. MARTIN of North Carolina, Mr. MAZZOLI, Mrs. CHISHOLM, Mr. MILFORD, Mr. ROE, Mr. SYMINGTON, and Mr. WINN):

H.J. Res. 1028. Joint resolution designating the premises occupied by the Chief of Naval Operations as the official residence of the Vice President, effective upon the termination of service of the incumbent Chief of Naval Operations; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. SYMINGTON (for himself and Mr. MINSHALL of Ohio):

H.J. Res. 1029. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim the week beginning on the second Monday in November each year as Youth Appreciation Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DULSKI:

H. Con. Res. 502. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the President, acting through the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Organization, take such steps as may be necessary to place the question of human rights violations in the Soviet-occupied Ukraine on the agenda of the United Nations Organization; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ESCH:

H. Res. 1142. Resolution creating a standing Committee on Small Business in the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. MINISH:

H. Res. 1143. Resolution declaring the sense of the House with respect to a prohibition of extension of credit by the Export-Import Bank of the United States; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

May 22, 1974

By Mr. STEELMAN (for himself, Mr. ERLENBORN, Mr. SHUSTER, Mr. WHALEN, Mr. PARRIS, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado, Mr. McCLOSKEY, Mr. MAYNE, Mr. REGULA, Mr. MCKINNEY, Mr. THONE, Mr. MCCOLLISTER, Mr. BELL, Mr. PRITCHARD, Mr. CLEVELAND, Mr. HORTON, Mr. MITCHELL of New York, Mr. ESHLEMAN, Mr. MATHIAS of California, Mr. SHOUP, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. QUIE, Mr. CONTE, and Mr. GUYER):

H. Res. 1144. Resolution providing for the consideration of House Resolution 988; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. STEELMAN (for himself, Mr. BROOMFIELD, Mr. YOUNG of South Carolina, Mr. BURGENER, Mr. SHRIVER, Mr. ROBISON of New York, Mr. SARASIN, Mr. MARTIN of North Carolina, Mr. DU PONT, Mr. MCLEWEN, Mr. MADIGAN, Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia, Mr. GUDE, Mr. KEMP, Mr. FROELICH, and Ms. CHISHOLM):

H. Res. 1145. Resolution providing for the consideration of House Resolution 988; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mrs. SULLIVAN:

H.R. 14985. A bill for the relief of Ebinger Electronics, Inc.; to the Committee on Judiciary.

By Mr. BOB WILSON:

H.R. 14986. A bill for the relief of Rear Adm. F. B. Gilkeson of the U.S. Navy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

FEDERAL AID MEANS MORE FEDERAL CONTROL

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. HARRY F. BYRD, JR. Mr. President, the Richmond News Leader of Tuesday, May 7, 1974, published a provocative editorial entitled "Federal Aid Means Federal ***." It deals with the controls which the Federal Government is putting on the States and localities through the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The editorial concludes by stating:

So it goes. Further proof, if further proof were needed, that federal aid means . . . federal control.

How accurate that editorial is, Mr. President.

The more the States and localities accept Federal funds, the more Federal funds are appropriated to them, the more Federal control goes along with it.

I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

FEDERAL AID MEANS FEDERAL ***

Early in the debate about federal aid to education, it became a cliche of the anti-statist argument that "federal aid means

federal control." During the past several months, three occurrences relating to education in Virginia have verified the truth of that cliche.

(1) In February, the news columns carried accounts of dismay among officials of the National Collegiate Athletic Association—dismay caused by a provision of Title IX of the Civil Rights Act of 1972. The provision requires that colleges which accept federal aid spend as much money on their athletic programs and facilities for women as they spend for men. Failure to comply could mean a cut-off of federal funds to the transgressing colleges and universities. (In fiscal 1972, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—the conduit for federal aid to education—provided \$4.1 billion to American colleges and universities.) Walter Byers, the executive director of the NCAA, has informed the NCAA's 775 member institutions that "this regulation will dismantle the structure of intercollegiate athletics in this country. Right now, we do have a crisis." So, as the result of a regulation intended to eradicate "sex discrimination" from the nation's colleges, the federal government possibly will put intercollegiate athletics at many colleges out of business.

(2) As a result of unrest at Handley High School in Winchester during the week of April 15, school authorities in Winchester suspended or expelled 15 students—all of them black. And abracadabra, within 10 days those school authorities found themselves "consulting" with two representatives from HEW. The alleged purpose of the visitation? To determine whether the school authorities had "discriminated" in their suspensions and expulsions. If the HEW representatives detected such discrimination, they will demand corrective action; if corrective action is not initiated, HEW will cut off federal cash

to public education in Winchester. This type of remedial—i.e., punitive—procedure is set forth in Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Never mind that during the current school year, Handley officials have expelled or suspended 65 white students and 40 black students. The charge is made that because only black students were suspended or expelled in the aftermath of the April unrest, those who run the public schools of Winchester are "discriminating" on the basis of race. If federal cash were not involved, such a charge would be correctly dismissed as merely a mischievous allegation.

(3) And during the past year, both Governors Holton and Godwin have haggled with HEW about "desegregation" of Virginia's public colleges and universities. The Governors have argued that Virginia already is complying with 1964 Civil Rights Act provisions pertaining to higher education. HEW has argued that, well, maybe Virginia is complying and maybe Virginia is not complying, but until HEW decides, Virginia would be well advised—for instance—to increase the numbers of blacks at predominantly white schools, greatly increase the number of whites at predominantly black schools, hire more black teachers at predominantly white schools, etc., and file progress reports with HEW every six months. HEW euphemistically describes its position as "conciliatory." That is about as subtle as a mailed fist. The implied threat that has run through these year-long dealings with HEW is that if Virginia does not knuckle under to HEW's demands, HEW will halt the flow of millions of dollars of federal aid to Virginia public education.

So it goes. Further proof, if further proof were needed, that federal aid means . . . federal control.

STATEMENT OF THE GREATER WILMINGTON DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL BEFORE THE CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD HEARING SEPTEMBER 25, 1973, CONCERNING THE PETITION OF EASTERN AIRLINES AND ALLEGHENY AIRLINES TO SUSPEND SERVICE AT GREATER WILMINGTON AIRPORT

HON. PIERRE S. (PETE) du PONT
OF DELAWARE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. du PONT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD the following excellent statement on the suspension of service at the Greater Wilmington Airport:

STATEMENT OF THE GREATER WILMINGTON DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL BEFORE THE CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD HEARING SEPTEMBER 25, 1973, CONCERNING THE PETITION OF EASTERN AIRLINES AND ALLEGHENY AIRLINES TO SUSPEND SERVICE AT GREATER WILMINGTON AIRPORT

The Greater Wilmington Development Council, a bipartisan, not-for-profit, public interest organization whose primary aim is to develop solutions to community problems for the long-range good of its citizens, opposes the petition by Eastern Airlines and Allegheny Airlines to suspend passenger service at the Greater Wilmington Airport. GWDC membership and support comes from hundreds of influential citizens and the leading businesses and industries in the Greater Wilmington Area.

We regard the proposal by the two airlines to have serious negative impact on the interests of the people of the Greater Wilmington region. Based on information in hand, it is difficult to justify such an action when one considers that: (1) the airport is strategically situated in one of the fastest growing regions of the Northeast Corridor, a future major market for air transportation; (2) in excess of 300,000 air trips are made by New Castle County citizens annually; (3) Delaware would be the only State without regularly scheduled trunk airline service; (4) the suspension of these flights will add to the seriously overcrowded conditions at Philadelphia International, both on the ground and in the air; (5) value in use will be diminished of a \$6.5 million investment made in the facilities at this airport, about half of which was financed by Federal matching funds; and (6) the CAB denied a similar request in 1966.

We believe that CAB approval of this petition would be an act contrary to the interests and expectations of the many residents of the Greater Wilmington region, Lower Delaware, and the neighboring states of New Jersey and Maryland. There is some evidence of a need to increase flights at Greater Wilmington to better serve the increasing population and support industrial development in the immediate vicinity. We recognize the difficult situation the airline companies face trying to provide each and every community with adequate air service. Therefore, we offer our assistance and cooperation to both airlines in an effort to build a more economically viable passenger flight schedule at Greater Wilmington.

A balanced transportation system is the lifeline of the commerce, industry and tourism of any locality and the loss of passenger air service at the Greater Wilmington Airport would be a serious blow to the future economic well-being of the Greater Wilmington region and the State of Delaware.

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DÉTENTE AND THE UNITED STATES

HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, détente is being used as a descriptive term to characterize the complex relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. It all began with the President's visit to Moscow in 1972 which was followed by a wave of optimism by Americans. Let us look at this word. Détente is many things to many people, but literally it means a relaxing of tension, implying, of course, that there had been tension in the past. But that is all détente means—nothing more and nothing less. Many have looked at this description of the state of affairs and found it to be a panacea for all our international problems. These same individuals, and indeed, some institutions, worry excessively about press reports that détente is fragile, failing, crumbling, or collapsing. Unfortunately, the definition leaves much unanswered about the totality of the state of affairs it attempts to describe.

Perhaps it is easier to express what the word does not mean or what it will not do rather than what it means or will do. Détente is not a panacea, nor is it an agreement, contract, pact, or obligation in any form between the two superpowers. Détente will not guarantee peace between the United States and the Soviet Union, nor is it a state of affairs which would preclude the need for a modern, well-equipped, and ready military establishment. Détente with the Soviet Union will not provide a basis for agreement between the United States and the Arab nations to arrive at a permanent solution to the oil situation, nor will it necessarily help us negotiate the cease-fire and troop disengagement between the Israeli and Syrian forces—a giant step required to reach a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. Détente does not represent a change in the value system of moral and ethical questions in the Soviet Union, nor does it represent an ideological shift by either side which would diminish the "perpetual conflict" destined to confront the two systems.

The fact of the matter is that the Soviets have not made one change to their Marxist-Leninist ideology even in light of this new era of proclaimed "peaceful coexistence" and, of equal importance, in the face of the Sino-Soviet confrontation. This latter point causes one to ponder how the Soviet Union will feel about détente in a post-Mao era and China with leaders in agreement with the Soviet view of communism. Make no mistake about it, "American capitalistic imperialism" remains the No. 1 enemy of the Soviet Union. Chairman Brezhnev said in June 1972, following President Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union:

Peaceful coexistence in no way implies the possibility of relaxing the ideological struggle. On the contrary, we must be prepared for this struggle to become more intense and an ever sharper form of con-

frontation between the two social systems (*Pravda*, June 29, 1972).

The Soviet accommodation with the United States in our desire to ease the tensions should not be considered as a sudden and fundamental change in policy which can be applied with any degree of predictability or consistency. It can only be viewed as a selfish willingness on the part of the Soviet leadership to relax the tensions for specific purposes; namely, to enhance Soviet economy and the Soviet position in world affairs. We cannot link détente to the full spectrum of Soviet policy issues vis-à-vis those of the United States.

To some degree, if we keep in mind its precise definition, détente can be used to describe the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union, as there has been a relaxation of tension between the two superpowers since 1972. We find, however, that this condition is characterized by a confused and whimsical mixture of accord and discord, depending on the issue.

The hidden danger in using détente, in its broad sense, as a descriptive term lies in the real possibility that many will be lulled into a false sense of security and relax into a sensation of complacency. Such ominous perceptions could cause us to be overly trusting in negotiations and ill-prepared during confrontations. Already some are saying that this era of détente permits us to reduce our national defenses. A breathtaking leap in logic, as now, more than ever, we must have a military establishment second to none. Now that the Soviets have reached nuclear superiority, or at best parity, we simply cannot afford to negotiate from a weak hand.

It is true that the framework required to shape the abstract concept of détente into a viable form was built in Moscow in May 1972. Détente is certainly the initial and, indeed, the essential step forming lasting relationships and we should pursue it. But until détente is underpinned with initiatives in the social, political, commercial, economic, and military areas, we can ill afford to be complacent or at ease with the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. Détente alone is insufficient. As we understand its meaning détente is certainly preferable to the tense and strained relationship which existed in the 1950's and 1960's during the height of the cold war. But it is important for us to realize just what détente means, or more importantly, what it does not mean.

S. SGT. WILLIE TERRY RECEIVES RED CROSS AWARD

HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, the American Red Cross has named one of my constituents, S. Sgt. Willie Terry, of Jamaica, N.Y., to receive the Certificate of Merit, highest award of that

organization for meritorious action in sustaining another human life.

In a period in our Nation's history when we too often miss reading of accounts of heroism, I believe it is particularly important to bring actions such as these to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives.

At this point in the RECORD, I insert the text of a letter which I received from the American Red Cross, advising me of the award to Staff Sergeant Terry and the event which earned him this recognition:

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS,
Washington, D.C., May 15, 1974.

Hon. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ADDABBO: Once again I write to call your attention to a meritorious action taken by another one of your constituents. In this instance S/Sgt. Willie Terry, 084-34-6334, 105-10 177th Street, Jamaica, New York 11433, military address Hq. Co. 10th Trans. Bn., Fort Eustis, Virginia 23604, has been named to receive the Red Cross Certificate of Merit. You will recall this is the highest award given by the American National Red Cross to a person who saves or sustains a life by using skills learned in a Red Cross first aid, small craft, or water safety course. Presentation will be made by the Red Cross Field Director at Fort Eustis.

On March 20, 1974 Army Staff Sergeant Terry was nearby when a switchboard operator received a severe electrical shock while operating a field switchboard. Immediately Sergeant Terry, trained in Red Cross advanced first aid, went to assist and began at once to perform mouth-to-mouth resuscitation and other lifesupportive measures to the victim. Sgt. Terry continued the resuscitation efforts approximately 20 minutes until an ambulance arrived and transported the victim to a hospital. Although the victim later succumbed, Sgt. Terry's use of his skills and knowledge sustained the man's life until medical help could be reached.

This meritorious action is another example of the concern of one human being for another who is in distress.

Sincerely,

GEORGE M. ELSEY.

DO SIRICA AND WATERGATE METHODS REALLY HONOR OUR SYSTEM?

HON. ROBERT J. HUBER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Speaker, a recent article by Mr. Louis Nizer in the Family Weekly of May 12, 1974, of the Star-News explains the dangers of resorting to extraordinary methods in trying to bring Watergate offenders to justice. Mr. Nizer points out how Judge Sirica used penalties to force people to surrender their rights under the fifth amendment in order to secure evidence and that this is not in keeping with our best traditions. The article follows:

DO SIRICA AND WATERGATE METHODS REALLY HONOR OUR SYSTEM?

(By Louis Nizer)

(NOTE—Louis Nizer is the author and attorney whose latest best seller, "The Implosion Conspiracy," is being produced as a major motion picture by Otto Preminger. When Judge Sirica was recently asked his

hobby, he responded, "reading Oliver Wendell Holmes and Louis Nizer." This article is adapted from an address delivered by Mr. Nizer at New York University Law School.)

Of all the people in Watergate who received universal acclamation, Judge Sirica is first. He has been praised by critics at the opposite ends of the spectrum. President Nixon has twice referred to him as that "courageous judge." Senator Ervin, Senator Baker and the other members of the Watergate Committee have heaped adulation upon him. If any editorial in the nation has contained an unkind word about Judge Sirica, I haven't found it.

I, for one, am loath to make the point I am about to make, but I feel it has to be made. The epigram, "The end does not justify the means," has a corollary: "The means does not justify the end." During the McCarty terror, it was easy to detect the impropriety of the means, even if the objective—to stop Communism—was desirable. "You can't," we cried, "pillory people and destroy them by innuendo and hearsay." But when today we enjoy the discomfiture of those who are being accused, we are inclined to overlook the means by which they are exposed.

Judge Sirica's objective has been magnificent—the exposure of the Watergate scandal. But what have been his means?

Five defendants pleaded guilty to burglary. Two others stood trial and were convicted. Sirica told them that they knew more than they had told and he was sentencing them provisionally to 35-40 years. If they cooperated and confessed all, he would reconsider the punishment. After four weeks, one of the defendants cracked and wrote a letter saying he was ready to talk. Thus the objective was achieved.

But do we want judges—despite the result in this case—to use penalties to force people to surrender their right under the Fifth Amendment not to talk? Is this not a form of judicial duress? Is it very different, except in degree and kind, from other forms of duress to obtain confessions, which our Supreme Court has repeatedly condemned?

In one famous case, in which a murderer was forced to confess, giving objective evidence that left no doubt of his guilt, the Supreme Court set aside the conviction and freed him. Justice Douglas wrote the following sentence, which I have always admired for its forthrightness. He said that it was true that some murderers who now go free would be caught if third-degree methods were used to wring confessions from them. But "this is the price we pay for a civilized society." If we resort to duress, sooner or later innocent men are going to be pounded and beaten.

There are many forms of duress. Some are subtle, not merely the rubber pipe applied below the face to leave no marks, but endless questioning that deprives the victim of sleep, and other psychological devices. Once we break down the constitutional guarantees, we set an evil precedent.

Let me give another illustration. Senator Ervin, a constitutional lawyer of standing, and Senator Baker, a very able lawyer, said on television during the hearings, not once but several times, "Ninety percent of this testimony would not be admitted in a court of law because it is hearsay. But this is not a court. We are a Senate committee seeking the truth. So we will accept this evidence."

Just reflect on that a minute. The truth is equated with hearsay evidence. For centuries, legal philosophers have considered hearsay evidence the worst way to get the truth. The reason that hearsay evidence is eliminated from trials is not technical, but because in the scales of evidence it has no weight; it has no probative value. I could convict anyone in this country of any crime through hearsay evidence. You would be helpless. "A" takes the stand. He is a reputable and honest man who always tells the

truth. He swears that he met "B," who told him that the defendant said he had stolen the money. You can't cross-examine "A" effectively. "B" is not available to be tested. It is by use of hearsay that tyrants convict those they wish to dispose of, no matter how innocent.

Does purging our political system justify such wrong means? Mind you, the hearsay in the Watergate hearings was not projected merely to 12 jurors, but to 20 million Americans. It was they who were drenched with accusations against individuals, who, guilty or not, had none of the safeguards provided by criminal law.

Let me consider a third proposition. A Senate committee is authorized to take testimony for one purpose only—to formulate legislation. It has no authority to decide the guilt or innocence of any individual. Only a court, which affords a defendant protective privileges, can do so. No other system of law is as zealous in its concern for one who may be deprived of his liberty as ours. Consider some of the safeguards our Constitution provides.

First, there is a presumption of innocence that continues to the last second of the trial. Second, the jury must be unanimous. If one out of the 12 has a doubt, the defendant is free. Third, the defendant can sit quietly by no matter how guilty and say, "You, Mr. District Attorney, must prove me guilty. I am not going to help you." Fourth, the judge charges the jury, "If you believe this man is guilty, you must, nevertheless, not find him so unless you find that he is guilty *beyond a reasonable doubt*." This is an extraordinary standard.

Justice Black was interviewed shortly before his death and was asked, "In view of the decisions you are handing down here, isn't it almost impossible to convict anybody?" He shocked the reporters by replying, "Of course—that's the purpose. Read the Constitution. The government has immense power—the FBI, police, prosecutors—and unlimited funds. The individual citizen stands alone. The very title of the action is enough to put terror into the heart of a citizen. 'The United States of America against John Jones.' So we have built a cordon of rights around him to balance the situation, to protect the individual against the overwhelming power of the government. That's our purpose, to make things as tough for the prosecutor as we can."

Now, one final word, I, for one, and I hope you, too, are concerned but not discouraged by the revelations that have shocked. It is healthy that they have come out. Only in a democracy could this miracle of exposure have occurred, despite the enormous powers vested at the top. Also, I believe it will result in legislation to control financing of elections, and proper procedures for election processes. This will be a magnificent result.

Ours is a great and noble nation. We must not give vent to despondency or skepticism. There are fine people in government and out of government and in business and out of business, and our great nation couldn't have achieved its eminence in science, business and culture without a healthy core. The surrounding corrupting tissue, will have to be removed.

BIBLE-EVINS TAX BILL FOR SMALL BUSINESS STRONGLY ADVOCATED BY NATIONAL SMALL BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Small Business Association of New

England and other small business organizations today make an excellent presentation to members of the Select Committee on Small Business and other Members in connection with their projected legislative program for 1974.

The first priority in their recommendations was small business tax reform, and in this connection SBANE, the Independent Business Association of Wisconsin, the Smaller Manufacturers Council of Pittsburgh, Pa., and the Council of Smaller Enterprises of Cleveland, Ohio, endorsed the Bible-Evins Tax Simplification and Reform Act. This bill, H.R. 5222, was introduced by Senator ALAN BIBLE, chairman of the Senate Small Business Committee, and by myself as chairman of the House Small Business Committee.

"The Bible-Evins bill is a must for independent business", the SBANE report declared, and urged early action by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Bible-Evins bill provides for simplification of tax laws and forms; tax benefits to encourage plowback practices; lower tax rates for small business, particularly new business and the promotion of growth of new and small firms by liberalizing first-year depreciation and increasing permissible accumulations of earnings to increase reserves; among others.

Other recommendations by the small business organizations included:

Proposals to strengthen the small business procurement programs in Federal departments and agencies, assuring small business of an equitable share of Government contract and service awards.

Amendments to the SBA loan assistance program to provide greater flexibility based on current problems and needs of small businessmen—including loan guarantees for both long-term and revolving short-term debt.

The combining of the Service Corps of Retired Executives, SCORE, with Active Corps of Executives, ACE, and directed by SBA.

Encourage growth of minority enterprises in manufacturing to broaden the base of minority participation in the economy.

These are worthwhile proposals which will be considered by our Small Business Committee and, I am sure, by the appropriate legislative committees of the House.

I commend and congratulate the leaders, officials and members of SBANE and its affiliated organizations in its Washington program for their outstanding presentation and their fine work on behalf of small businessmen throughout the Nation.

VETERANS' BENEFITS

HON. STANFORD E. PARRIS

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

MR. PARRIS. Mr. Speaker, I am frankly appalled by a situation which has developed in the House and Senate and which may well prevent some 300,000 veterans across the Nation from continuing

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their education after May 31 of this year. In just 9 days' time, GI educational benefits will expire for those thousands of veterans, even though they have not yet completed their education.

On February 19 of this year, the House passed H.R. 12628, which not only extended the eligibility time period for those veterans by 2 years, but also provided a much-needed 13.6 percent increase in educational benefits. I strongly supported that legislation, knowing full well the devastating impact of recent inflation on the current meager allotment granted veterans for educational purposes.

However, in the last 3 months the House and Senate have been unable to resolve their differences over the level of benefit increases, and the May 31 deadline is now perilously close at hand. As a result, the critical issue to which we must devote our immediate attention is the extension of the eligibility time period. It was precisely for this reason that on May 16, I sponsored legislation to extend that time period for 2 years; if enacted, the bill would permit the Congress to work its will concerning the increase in benefits as expeditiously as possible thereafter.

Mr. Speaker, I consider it shameful that 300,000 honored veterans of this Nation do not yet know if they will have the means to be able to register for classes after May 31. The blame for this intolerable situation can only be placed squarely on the Congress. In the strongest terms possible, I urge my colleagues in leadership positions to take action to resolve this matter now.

THE FUTURE OF THE SOUTH— REPRESENTATIVE ANDREW YOUNG

HON. JOE MOAKLEY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

MR. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, it is always encouraging to see a Member of Congress who exudes the qualities of faith, sincerity, and universal concern for the American people.

Representative ANDREW YOUNG, of Georgia, provides an excellent example of this kind of legislator. His efforts in the Congress encompass a broad range of issues, a profound concern, and an intense dedication to service for the people of his district and the entire Nation.

I am heartened also by the changes in attitudes that have allowed a man like ANDY YOUNG to be elected to the House of Representatives. He was elected from a district in the Deep South which is 60 percent white, and in which only 3 years before his election he had been jailed for his work in the civil rights movement.

Recently, an article by Ian Menzies appeared in the Boston Globe, praising the work of my friend and colleague, and outlining the social changes which he has been through and worked for. I would like to share this article with my colleagues in the House, and with the

American people, by inserting it into the RECORD. The article follows:

NEW BREED FROM THE NEW SOUTH

(By Ian Menzies)

ATLANTA.—Congressman Andrew Young, who is black, a reverend, and from a Georgia district which is 60 percent white, tells the story of how, following an outdoor political meeting, he suddenly found himself face to face with a huge, white, unsmiling red-neck farmer leaning against the open rear door of a light panel truck.

"It was the whole bit," says Young, "right down to the open neck shirt, straw hat and bandana and inside the truck I could see a whole rack of hunting rifles.

"This is it, I thought, the end of the line . . . Well, it comes to everyone, but I stuck out my hand anyway and said who I was.

"That red-neck farmer took my hand and said, 'Boy, I wantcha to know I'm gonna vote for YOU . . . and Lester Maddox.'

"I asked him 'why'; why Young and Maddox, who don't exactly share similar philosophies.

"Because," he said, "I want more folksy politics."

And by "folksy politics," the red-neck farmer didn't mean corn whiskey, promises and banjos, but people who care and understand.

Young, who is slim and boyish and looks more like 32 than 42, cares and understands.

He exudes sincerity, faith in the future, even the black-white future and speaks with the voice of reason which is why undoubtedly in 1972 he was elected the first black congressman from the Deep South since 1898.

Young is the type of man this nation needs, a man who, whether black or white, or any other color, appeals to the universal goodness of men and women; draws out the best, not the worst.

And nowhere is such a man more needed today than in Boston.

That Atlanta can send such a man to Congress speaks well for the South and for the basic truths of the civil rights movement; a greening which exists more in name than fact above the Mason-Dixon line.

Selma was only nine years ago, a March in which Young, chief aide to the late Dr. Martin Luther King, took part.

And Atlanta has looked at Young in distinctly different ways.

In 1969 it jailed him and three years later sent him to Congress, "so Atlanta can't be all bad," says Young laughingly.

Could that happen in Boston?

Young's message, which comes from his ministry as well as himself, is simple and direct; that we all must live together.

"We're beginning to realize," he feels, "that it's not a question of black and white, but good and bad and the good and bad comes in all colors."

"I see a new pluralism. This country is not a melting pot, but a stew with everyone retaining an identity."

Young remains vigorously opposed to black separation while conceding it may have been needed by young blacks to establish identity, but he feels strongly that "there can't be quality education in racial isolation."

He believes, as obviously did the red-neck farmer who endorsed him, that there are far greater issues facing this nation than differences in color and that coalitions are needed to point up these issues, coalitions which he says are coming.

Young, whose credo is the vote, has not been impressed with black voting records in Boston and as a past campaign participant has some knowledge.

He likes to point out that there are now more black elected officials in Mississippi than in any other state in the union, as well as 3000 black elected officials nationwide, which is 152 percent more than five years ago.

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Northern cities such as Boston can learn some lessons in race relations from the South. Atlanta and Congressman Young and that "folksy" rather than confrontation politics may be more effective in producing both coalition and compromise.

A SALUTE TO SMALL BUSINESS WEEK

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, small business plays an indispensable role in our economic and social life. Small business can be considered a tradition as old as America itself. The early history of our Nation discloses that a great many of our forefathers engaged their talents organizing and developing small businesses. To their unending credit, their efforts created a solid foundation upon which later American enterprises could flourish. To this day, that foundation provides the healthy backbone upon which America's strength and world leadership rests. In this light, it seems most appropriate that we honor the small businesses of our Nation this week.

Unfortunately, too often this traditional view of small business is all we acknowledge. We picture small business as a thing of the past, a freak of sorts among the large modern corporations. The phrase "small business" brings to mind the nostalgic paintings of Norman Rockwell, depicting a quiet, friendly store-keeper whose small shop brings him a respectable but not extravagant livelihood. This nostalgic image of small business also includes a feeling that small business as a viable economic alternative was an option open to our grandfathers and fathers, but not to ourselves.

But this is a misleading notion. A more realistic view shows that small business plays a very vigorous, substantial role in our economy. Let me present some infrequently recognized facts concerning small business.

First. Nineteen out of 20 businesses in our Nation fall under the category of small business.

Second. Small businesses employ 35 million workers or roughly 41 percent of the total civilian work force.

Third. Small business accounts for 37 percent of the GNP equivalent to \$467 billion annually.

Clearly, the economic value of small business is sizable and not, as popular mythology contends, relatively unimportant.

Furthermore, the institution of small business constitutes a concrete and practical social form whereby a person can express and assert his individual creativity and talent. The free enterprise system, of which small business is a key component, offers an unlimited arena in which one can pit his individual qualities or courage, determination, and imagination against the unseemingly odds of

"making it alone." The freedom and opportunity possible in a small business venture cannot be overlooked or undervalued.

I think it encouraging to note that many of the minority persons of our Nation are now engaged in small business. The Census Bureau informs me that, according to their latest statistics there are approximately 321,958 minority owned businesses in the country. I believe minority owned and operated businesses are one of the most constructive rewarding and most of all, realistic channels for the minority community to achieve full participation in the economic and social life of the Nation. I can think of few other instances where the opportunity to "pull oneself up by one's own boot straps" presents itself as compellingly as in a small business undertaking. For these reasons I especially congratulate the small business owned by minority entrepreneurs.

In conclusion, I wish to express to my colleagues the importance of supporting the Committee Reform Amendments of 1974 (H.R. 988) which give the Select Committee on Small Business full recognition and legislative authority. In light of the important and continuing contribution small business makes to every facet of our national life, I believe this reorganizational change is not only just and proper, but wholly necessary.

EULOGY FOR CHARLES F. LYNCH, SR.

HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, the recent passing of Charles F. Lynch, Sr., of Long Beach, N.Y., marked the end of a career of public service and community involvement which will long be remembered by the people of Queens and State of New York area. Charles Lynch served as a member of the Long Beach City Council and was a high official of both the Queens and New York State American Legion for many years.

Charles Lynch was part of a family tradition steeped in politics and public service. His father, the late Patrick Lynch, was Democratic leader of the 23d Assembly District in Brooklyn. His sister, May, served for a number of years as Long Beach deputy city clerk until her death in 1947 and his brother John is a former Brooklyn Democratic chairman.

I had the privilege of knowing Charles and his family for many years. Charles was dedicated to his work as an official of the American Legion Post in Queens working his way to Queens County commander and later State vice commander and treasurer. His work for the Legion and veterans, and his country, covered a 50-year period.

I extend my personal sympathies to the Lynch family and I feel this passing as a deep personal loss. We have been left

with a marvelous record of public service and accomplishments in the best meaning of that phrase and the Lynch family reputation continues as a model for all who believe in the principles of Americanism and community service.

CLEAN AIR STANDARDS

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, we have all seen the full-page ads in the national magazines and the major newspapers claiming that clean air standards cannot be met. The solution, according to the ads, is to begin wholesale strip mining in the West and postpone clean air deadlines. The reason given for not meeting the standards is that the technology for desulfurization is not available. The argument is a familiar one, normally used to defend the status quo, and I am tired of hearing it. I am also offended that such a massive expenditure of funds, undoubtedly tax deductible, are being used to propagandize the public and lobby the Congress.

The Washington Post is to be commended for pointing out the flaws in the argument against desulfurization in their editorial of May 19. They noted that one corporation that is well known for claiming that it cannot meet the technological requirements of the Clean Air Act—even though the Japanese have—in the area of auto emissions, has developed workable scrubbers. That corporation is General Motors. Meanwhile the electric power industry claims that scrubbers will not work, yet they have been spending very little on research and development to try to solve the problems they describe in full-page ads.

General Motors is not the only corporation that has developed a workable scrubber system. The Louisville Gas and Electric Co. has operated a scrubber in its Paddy's Run powerplant in Louisville for the past year, and the desulfurization system functions reliably and effectively. In 1972 an interagency task force of the Federal Government began a thorough evaluation of flue gas desulfurization systems. Their final report, issued in 1973, concluded that desulfurization is technologically feasible in the near term. To quote from an article on this subject from Science magazine of April 19, 1974, entitled "High-Sulfur Coal for Generating Electricity":

Having examined the status of stack gas cleaning in the United States and Japan, the task force concluded that the removal of sulfur oxides from stack gases is technologically feasible in installations of commercial size, and that a large number of the nation's coal-fired steam electric plants can ultimately be fitted with commercially available stack gas cleaning systems. Of many processes considered, four wet-scrubbing systems were rated as sufficiently developed for full-scale commercial application within the next five years.

The technology can, and will be improved. The public health can and must be protected, and if the utilities maintain that this cannot be done by technology available means, then they should be told that nontechnological means must be used. If they were faced with this decision, the technology would rapidly be found. I am disappointed that American industry, which used to be considered the leader in technology in the world, now resorts to claims that they cannot do what others have shown they could do.

The Washington Post editorial follows:
[From the Washington Post, May 19, 1974]

CLEAN AIR AND THE SCRUBBER

The American Electric Power System is currently buying ads in newspapers, including this one, to argue that scrubbers don't work, won't work and can't work. Scrubbers, you remember, are chemical devices to take the sulfur out of the exhaust gases of a power plant burning high-sulfur coal. The reason for removing the sulfur oxides is that they are poisonous and, when they concentrate in the air, they kill people. The American Electric Power System, which is a chain of utilities, knows a lot about scrubbers and warns us emphatically that they are more trouble than they are worth.

That's odd. Just the other day General Motors Corporation announced that the new scrubbers on its big power plant at Parma, Ohio, had been in operation for two months and are working splendidly. There seems to be a considerable discrepancy between American Electric Power's hypothetical disaster and GM's actual experience. American Electric Power says that scrubbers would "emit tons of wet-waste sludge that would confront an ecologist with a disposal nightmare." GM says that it is actually getting an inert waste cake that it can use as land fill. American Electric Power says that scrubbers "require huge amounts of chemicals, usually lime or limestone, which then become saturated with residue." GM's scrubbers cleanse and recycle most of the chemicals. American Electric Power says that scrubbers "suitable for a sizeable coal-fired utility clog the works, and cause prolonged shut-downs." GM's scrubbers are suitable for a sizeable industrial power plant. That's perhaps one-tenth the size of the standard utility generator, but it develops 40 megawatts and the scrubbers are working quite satisfactorily.

The main difference between the two companies' views of scrubbers may conceivably be that GM has been working actively for 10 years on the purification of stack gases. To put it another way, GM told its engineers to build a system that works, while American Electric Power was busy thinking of reasons why it couldn't possibly work. Or to put it still another way, the automobile industry is accustomed to spending heavily on engineering to get what it wants. The electric power industry meanwhile, has been spending considerably less than one percent of its operating revenues on research and development.

The scrubbing process is expensive. Forcing the power companies to take the poison out of their exhaust fumes is going to mean higher power rates for consumers. But the cost is not prohibitive. The present system at GM's Parma plant has a cost equivalent to an additional \$10 a ton for coal, which means an increase somewhere in the range of 40 percent. But the scrubbers permit the plant to burn cheaper coal than it otherwise could use. GM engineers note that the Parma system is an experimental prototype, and GM now has a contract with the federal Environmental Protection Agency to find ways to cut

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the cost. While GM continues to refine the process, American Electric Power continues to argue that it can't be done.

The sudden spate of advertisement no doubt has something to do with the fact that Congress is now revising the Clean Air Act. Some congressmen have permitted themselves to be persuaded that the oil shortage justifies loosening the laws that protect us against sulfur poisoning the air. On the contrary, the shortage justifies increased vigilance and greater emphasis on engineering. The House version of the Clean Air amendments is a dangerous retreat from present health standards. The Senate version, passed this week, is far preferable.

Since it does not like scrubbers, American Electric Power offers two other solutions. One is to desulfurize the coal before it is burned. This process, most specialists believe, lies many years in the future. It seems strange that American Electric Power should reject a technology already in operation at a big GM plant, in favor of an alternative technology that is much more distant and uncertain. The utility's other proposal is, as you perhaps expected, to "release" the low-sulfur coal under federal land in the West. The verb "release" means, of course, to strip-mine. All those citizens who favor massive strip mining of federal land will support American Electric Power. Everyone else will prefer to trust the kind of advanced industrial technology that GM is now developing at its Parma plant.

SMALL BUSINESS WEEK

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, it is a very great pleasure for me to join with my many distinguished colleagues in paying a deserved tribute to small business during this week dedicated to it.

The history of small business is the history of America, it is the story of the growth, the progress, and the dependability of the American people.

From the earliest days of our history, the trader and the merchant, pushing westward, laid the foundation for what has become the world's greatest economic achievement.

I am particularly happy to pay this tribute today, because the legislation establishing the Small Business Administration of our Government, was introduced by my very good friend, the late Senator Ed Thye of Minnesota.

It was created specifically to "aid, counsel, assist, and protect the interests of small business."

Small business today provides 35 million jobs and contributes more than \$476 billion annually to the gross national product.

It is the heart and soul of our agriculturally dominated Sixth Congressional District.

The achievements of the Small Business Administration in guaranteeing loans to businesses, in providing help in time of disaster, and in funding badly needed community development programs are legion.

They are a demonstration of the faith and trust of the little people upon which our Nation achieved its greatness.

SUFFOLK COUNTY'S ENERGY CONSERVATION MEASURES

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, last week the Regional Marine Resources Council of the Nassau-Suffolk Regional Planning Board held a seminar on energy alternatives. In his opening speech Suffolk County Executive John V. N. Klein stressed the need for strong energy conservation measures. He noted the efforts taken by Suffolk County to deal with last winter's energy crisis, and called for a number of realistic, attainable energy conservation measures at the local level. I submit for the RECORD that very fine speech.

The speech follows:

Good morning ladies and gentlemen. I am pleased to take part in this discussion on energy alternatives and the more efficient use of energy for Long Island.

At the same time I want to extend a cordial welcome to all participants in today's meeting. The Nassau-Suffolk Regional Planning Board's Marine Resources Council is to be commended for arranging a seminar on this all-important subject and I am sure, after looking at the roster of distinguished people who are on the program today, that you will have a meaningful and provocative session.

Up until about a year ago the word energy had no more than the normal meaning in my vocabulary. It was the stuff that propelled me from my bed in the morning and sent me through my day as Suffolk County Executive.

But for the past year, ever since our Federal Government dropped the energy crisis bombshell on us, no subject has been more on my desk and higher on my priority list of problems than this one. In fact, toward the latter part of last year, we were receiving so many calls and letters from residents during the gas and heating oil shortage that I set up a special Energy Crisis Coordinator's Office for citizens requiring energy information or action. And call they have at the rate of 500 a month. I assure you that our Energy Office is going to continue to function indefinitely.

I assure you too that in a County like ours, the fastest growing County in New York State, 86 miles long, with 1,250,000 residents, 680,000 registered motor vehicles, and 11,000 employees, we lost no time in going into action on the subject of energy conservation.

Starting from the inside out we issued a series of energy-conserving directives to all 52 of our departments on a wide variety of matters. We ordered our police to crack down on speeders exceeding the 55 miles per hour limit. We ordered thermostats in all County buildings lowered ordered that hot-water temperature and boiler temperature in all County buildings be cut down at least 10 degrees. We asked that hall and lobby lights be turned off during daylight hours. We asked maintenance men to turn off lights, office by office each night. We directed all

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department heads to devise County employee carpooling schedules. We currently have 2,200 employees involved in this method of getting to and from work. We also pressed County cars into service for pick-up of employees in the morning and return at night.

We also appealed to our citizens and urged their cooperation on reducing the use of energy and I must say that they have responded beautifully. In fact last September Nassau County Executive Ralph Caso and I issued proclamations establishing a Nassau-Suffolk Energy Conservation Month. And we have never let up on that theme since.

In discussions with our Buildings & Grounds Department we have emphasized the importance of planning, energy-conserving architecture in the future. For example, designing insulation into buildings so as to conserve heat and allow it to be retained and recirculated. Setting up the means of recapturing heat, such as that generated by a data processing operation, so as to heat other parts of the building. Placing lighting controls in a central location so lights can easily be turned off. There is no longer any excuse for constructing buildings whose windows do not open, whose lighting systems are inefficient, or whose workers require the use of air-conditioning in summer for survival.

We have also continually urged energy conservation measures for our citizens in their homes. I have called for a minimum standard to be set for efficiency in home heating installations and a County program of inspection of heating burner efficiency similar to the meter reading programs of the Suffolk County Water Authority.

I have expressed my views, too, to the Public Service Commission and to the Long Island Lighting Company on behalf of our heavily burdened, energy-consuming citizens. The Public Service Commission would do a great public service by requiring state utilities to change their rate structures. Currently the more electricity used, the lower the rates. Thus the biggest users of electricity pay at the lowest rates. In most parts of the country, electric use is about 70 percent industrial and 30 percent residential. Here on Long Island it is divided about 50-50. A change in the rate structure to favor the small user would be a boon to the homeowner. I have also expressed my opposition to the practice of a utility like the Long Island Lighting Company conducting an advertising campaign promoting the sale of electrical energy at a time like this when we have low availability and high costs.

The automobile is one of our big energy bugaboos in Suffolk. Sprawled out over an area of 920 square miles, we are heavily dependent on cars. In fact literally the only means of transportation for 98% of the population of Suffolk County is the automobile. And 83% of our working breadwinners rely solely and exclusively on private automobiles to get to their place of work. Naturally this represents a large chunk of energy use. On a national level vehicles account for 24 percent of energy consumption.

But our need is not for more roads. The answer lies in attractive, efficient commuter transportation on and off Long Island as well as within the bi-county area. Our mass transit should include a mix of commuter buses and trains, as well as large, high-speed ferries. While Suffolk is willing to plan and aid such facilities—for example we pay operating and station maintenance subsidies to the Long Island Railroad and expect to provide \$6 million for improving the roadbed in Suffolk—no single municipality has the resources to effect such a sweeping mass transit plan. Massive Federal and state aid is imperative.

Also on the subject of cutting down on

auto usage I have recommended that study be given to requiring builders of large residential developments to provide, or arrange for, transportation to local shopping centers, and requiring the builders of shopping centers to consider providing transportation to local communities.

We are constantly alert to energy-conserving methods and alternatives. We are currently watching with great interest studies now going on at Brookhaven National Laboratory on the subject of solar energy. Solar power has the advantage of not using fossil fuels that nature took millions of years to create. While not feasible yet on a large scale, solar power is becoming feasible for providing heating or cooling to individual homes. Even during a cold Long Island winter solar heating seems possible and we are watching technological progress in this development.

More esoteric forms of energy, such as large-scale use of offshore windmills are now being studied by the Grumman Corporation.

Also, construction of Long Island Lighting Company's 800-megawatt nuclear power plant currently is underway in Shoreham and the plant is expected to begin operation in the Spring of 1977. The company has also applied for a permit to build two other nuclear plants. While I am admittedly a layman in terms of the scientific aspects it has become evident to me that the use of atomic energy for power generation, from an environmental standpoint, is significantly less offensive than the continued use of fossil fuels.

One alternative to the energy shortage that neither County Executive Caso nor I will countenance is offshore drilling. I have continually expressed great skepticism that offshore oil drilling could take place without irreparable harm to our ecology, economy and the way of life on Long Island. In fact the Federal Council on Environmental Quality confirmed in a 600-page report recently that oil drilling in waters just south of Long Island would be riskier than in most other areas in the Atlantic Ocean. Mr. Caso and I intend to rally every legal and scientific resource in the bi-county area in a coordinated fight against offshore drilling off our shores.

The battle for the conservation of energy will, in my opinion, go on into the foreseeable future. There is one happy note in our constant struggle to conserve it. Energy conservation is good environmental protection, too. Virtually anything that reduces energy use will result in a reduction ultimately of pollution.

Thank you for permitting me to speak briefly to you on this very important subject this morning. I am sure the exchange of ideas will be of benefit in our endeavor to hold the line on the use of vitally-needed energy and in finding other promising non-pollution sources.

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE CONGRESSMAN CHESTER A. MERROW

HON. WILBUR D. MILLS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, it was with profound sadness that we noted the recent passing away of a distinguished former colleague, the Honorable Chester E. Merrow of New Hampshire.

Chester Merrow was originally elected to the 78th Congress, and his distinguished service in this House extended through the 87th Congress. He retired from the House in 1963.

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It was my privilege to know and respect Chester Merrow during his 20 years of distinguished service here in the House, both for his intellect and his dedication to this country. He will be long remembered for his many contributions and devoted service to his district, to New Hampshire, and to the Nation.

We all mourn the passing of Chester Merrow, and I join his many friends in the House in expressions of tribute to this highly esteemed from Member from New Hampshire.

NO-FAULT INSURANCE

HON. HAROLD V. FROELICH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. FROELICH. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which appeared in the Friday, May 17 issue of the Star-News on the subject of no-fault insurance. Mr. Kilpatrick makes a compelling case, with which I totally agree, on the need to defeat national no-fault insurance legislation, and allow the states to retain their jurisdiction in this area. The article follows:

THE CHIEF FAULT IN NO-FAULT

The Senate voted 53-42 on May 1 to establish a national system of "no-fault" automobile insurance. In its present form the bill is a bad bill—bad in principle and doubtful on its merits. The House would be well-advised to amend the measure drastically or to kill the bill and start over.

The general idea of no-fault insurance, as most motorists are now aware, is that the system substantially eliminates the concept of personal responsibility for automobile accidents. An injured person collects from his own insurer. In the great bulk of cases, it makes no difference who was at fault. In the view of Utah's Sen. Frank Moss, one of the principal sponsors of the Senate bill, the system treats victims "humanely and fairly." The plan would bring motorists "a more valuable product at lesser cost."

The concept itself may have some merit. There is no denying that a large part of a motorist's liability insurance premiums must be channeled into legal fees. It seems at least plausible that the no-fault system, by eliminating most of this expense, should produce lower premium costs.

Yet it is far from certain that lower costs to the consumer actually would result from the Senate bill. Experts differ. One analysis cited by Senate opponents indicates that consumers in 44 states would experience an increase in costs. This same analysis suggests that truckers, rental vehicle owners, and fleet operators would benefit at the expense of private motorists.

These arguments on the merits may obscure much greater objections. Under the Senate bill, the state would be virtually compelled to adopt and to administer a single, uniform national system of no-fault insurance. Except in the most serious accidents, involving death or permanent disfigurement, the right to sue would be effectively abolished.

The effect of the Senate bill would be further to destroy the ancient and respectable concept of federalism. This concept, embedded in our Constitution, has two purposes. The first is to prevent the growth of excessive power in the federal government; the second is to permit the states to

function as individual laboratories of social and political experiment.

Under the Senate bill, the states would be reduced to mere lackeys of the U.S. Department of Transportation. For all practical purposes their auto insurance laws would be written in Washington.

The experimental work now being done in 21 states would be nullified. Everything would yield to the superior wisdom of the United States Congress.

It is instructive to glance at the several state laws already in operation. Massachusetts has been working for more than three years with an act providing up to \$2,000 in benefits to an accident victim. Delaware's law provides up to \$10,000 per person. In Florida the figure is \$5,000. Maryland says \$2,500. New Jersey and Michigan permit unlimited benefits. New York provides \$50,000.

The states have widely varying "threshold" provisions, fixing the point below which damage suits are forbidden.

In my own view, at least, this is the way to proceed with so complex and uncertain a program: Let the states experiment. In another four or five years, a body of data should be available on which informed opinion can be based.

It is entirely conceivable that some features of no-fault now being tested in Hawaii, or Nevada, or Colorado, or Georgia, will be found superior to the untested provisions that the Senate bill simultaneously would fasten upon the entire nation.

Suppose the Senate bill proves unworkable or wrong? One is reminded of Cromwell's letter to leaders of the Church of Scotland: "I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken!"

Congress doubtless has power, under the Commerce Clause, to adopt a federal no-fault system that would be federally administered. The power ought not to be invoked.

So long as the states are free to get their own way, error may be confined and success may be emulated. That is the way our structure of government was planned. We ought not needlessly to tear it apart.

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increases in the Federal budget. During the last 10 years domestic spending has increased almost four times as much as military spending. The need to balance the budget and to control inflation should not be accepted as adequate rationale for undermining our military preparedness.

I was chagrined to learn of the Air Force plan to reduce the number of Air National Guard flying units. The defense duties of 14 of these units will be reassigned to regular Air Force units and the ANG units will be deactivated if the Air Force plan is implemented.

The effect of the deactivation of these units on the total defense effort is amply illustrated by a review of the Ontario, Calif., ANG unit. This group has a complement of 21 F-102 fighters supported by 717 Guard personnel and 220 full-time staff technicians. Their primary responsibility is to fly air-defense missions over the southern California coastal area.

The Air Force plan calls for this unit to be replaced by a pair of F-106 fighters and 101 active-duty personnel to carry out the same defense mission. This would provide less defense at higher cost.

The part-time soldier has been a healthy tradition in American military history, and in every national emergency, the Guardsmen and Reservists have responded patriotically, at great personal sacrifice, to meet the need.

This defense-authorization bill reiterates this confidence in the ANG. The minimum number of ANG flying units is established at 91, thus protecting the role of the ANG. In addition, 24 model A-7D fighters are being authorized exclusively for the use of the ANG. This will give them new equipment comparable to that used by regular Air Force personnel.

Approval of this authorization will mean nationwide that the services of 11,726 highly skilled men will not be lost. In addition, we avoid an adverse effect on morale and on the ANG recruiting program. This authorization is vital to the air-defense system, and I commend the committee for including it in the bill. I am happy to have been able to bring the focus of the thinking of the California congressional delegation to bear on this decision.

In an effort to trim defense spending, the committee reduced the authorization for the Phalanx close-in weapon system by \$20 million. I submit that this is an unwise reduction. The Phalanx has the capability to provide Navy vessels with a last-ditch defense against incoming cruise missiles. The Phalanx is currently in the testing and evaluation stage, but we need production of this system at the earliest possible time. There is no substitute defense in sight.

Contrary to some widely publicized comments by some of my colleagues, the Phalanx scored lethal hits in 11 out of 12 firings in shipboard tests against moving targets simulating cruise missiles. The Naval Ordnance Systems Command has indicated satisfaction with the test program and has expressed confidence that the Phalanx system will satisfactorily progress through the final testing and evaluation procedures.

The \$32.1 million requested by the Navy for this program will permit the development of the Phalanx to continue on schedule and we are unwise to slow the development. We have not kept pace with the Communist bloc in the building of a fleet; therefore, it is mandatory for us to provide the necessary armament to protect ships at sea as well as the lives of naval personnel.

I urge the House to restore these funds so the testing and evaluation of the Phalanx can continue on schedule.

CHANGE IN THE TAX SCHEDULE WILL SLOW INFLATION

HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, as every American consumer knows, inflation is one of the most serious problems we are facing today, in fact. I believe that it is the most pressing matter before the Congress today and we must focus our attention on a new approach to stabilize our economy. I am, therefore, introducing legislation today entitled the "Cost of Living Adjustment Act" which would require among other provisions, that the personal exemption, low-income allowance, standard deduction and the limits of the tax brackets be adjusted each year for the rate of inflation during that year.

Today, a large percentage of the wages paid to American workers are tied to the cost-of-living index. Because of this, as a workers' salary is increased because of inflation, his taxes are also increased because he is pushed into a higher tax bracket. Consequently, he is forced to pay a higher proportion of his income in taxes. Without any increase in his purchasing power, the worker finds himself paying more taxes to Uncle Sam.

This hidden tax allows the Federal Government to increase its tax base without legislation authorizing a tax increase. My legislation would stop this practice and require the Congress to face up to actually voting on a tax increase. Such action, if taken over a period of years, will force Government spending down and act as an automatic brake on inflation.

This legislation would return fiscal responsibility to the Congress as those with new programs for spending large sums of money will, for a change, have to consider where the money will come from. As Congress would undoubtedly have to face up to a responsibility of publicly voting a tax increase to support new programs, new programs would have to be both sound and have broad-based support in the electorate. As one might well imagine, it would be next to impossible to get some of the wasteful spending programs which we have witnessed breeze through Congress in the past under the leadership of the liberal majority in Congress get through after the enactment of my legislation. The Christmas tree-type legislation which promises

ARMED SERVICES AUTHORIZATION

HON. VICTOR V. VEYSEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. VEYSEY. Mr. Speaker, in the preparation of this bill the committee sought to achieve balance between economy and adequate security. As the milieu of world politics has shifted, so have our national priorities. Spending for human welfare programs has increased proportionately more than defense spending. The percentage of the Federal budget earmarked for defense spending has actually declined from 59.9 percent in 1953 to an estimated 29 percent in 1974. Meanwhile, the Russians have continued to increase their appropriations for military purposes.

Competing forces in the political arena quickly adjust to fill a power vacuum, and if we fail to maintain a strong defense posture we may invite other nations to take advantage of our weaknesses.

We face a crucial challenge to balance the budget in order to restrain the forces of inflation. All Government spending is inflationary but defense spending has not been the primary cause for the huge

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something for everyone without serious consideration for the source of the funds to pay for the program would come to a grinding halt.

Our existing tax schedule simply does not reflect economic reality in an inflationary situation. The taxpayer should not be subjected to the continued increases in his income tax while his purchasing power is not increased. This legislation would allow our tax schedule to be flexible by adjusting to the constant changes in economic life brought on by inflation.

The obvious inequities of this hidden tax increase has led several countries to introduce adjustments for inflation in their own tax systems. These countries include Chile, Denmark, Brazil and most recently Canada this year. According to this legislation, the adjustments would be made by the Internal Revenue Service in the tax tables and not by the individual taxpayer.

The Congress recently abandoned a system of wage and price controls—a move which I supported wholeheartedly—and must now look for a real solution to the economic situation which we are experiencing. Even the most ardent defenders of wage and price controls have conceded that we must now aim straight at the heart of the disease and stop attempting to cover-up the symptoms. This legislation is the beginning of the road to establish a realistic economic policy. This bill should simultaneously promote equity, accountability and sensible economic policy.

HON. TIM LEE CARTER DELIVERS COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, last weekend our distinguished colleague from Kentucky, TIM LEE CARTER, was awarded an honorary doctor of science degree from Union College in Barbourville, Ky. Dr. CARTER delivered the commencement address on that occasion to the college's graduating class.

Congressman CARTER's thoughtful remarks are worthy of close consideration by every Member of Congress, and I therefore submit the text of his excellent address for inclusion in the RECORD:

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

President Miller, Faculty, Graduates, Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a deep honor for me to be here today, and I appreciate so much the opportunity to be with you on this important day in your lives.

On this occasion, I have to say that there have been only a few other times in my life when I have felt as honored as I do now. Probably one of those times was when the citizens of our district elected me to represent them in Congress. I knew that there would be times of difficulty, but, basically, I felt good about the challenge and the responsibility.

Abraham Lincoln once served in Congress, and I recall many stories which reflect his own courage and determination in under-

taking his responsibilities. In 1846, during a campaign for Congress, Lincoln attended a preaching service of Peter Cartwright's. Cartwright called on all those desiring to go to heaven to stand up. All arose except Lincoln. Then he asked all to rise who did not want to go to hell. Lincoln still remained seated. Cartwright then said, "I am surprised to see Abe Lincoln sitting back there unmoved by these appeals. If Mr. Lincoln does not want to go to heaven and does not want to go to hell, perhaps he will tell us where he does want to go."

Lincoln slowly arose and replied, "I'm going to Congress."

As we all know, not only did he go to Congress and to the Presidency, but he went directly to the heart of great leadership and devotion to duty.

My friends, today the challenge and the responsibility belong to you. If I were to give you a bit of advice about the way you should meet the problems of tomorrow, I would feel confident in repeating Lincoln's own statement: "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

I believe that if we apply these words to our own lives and always work for that which we believe to be right, a great many conflicts will fall naturally into proper perspective—and solutions will be more readily forthcoming.

As graduates of this fine institution, you must keep in mind that regardless of the careers you choose, there will be no way to avoid problems—some insignificant; some difficult. There is also another certainty—you must move toward a greater recognition and a more realistic understanding of the problems of your fellow human beings.

Our tiny rock in the Universe is becoming smaller—at a rate almost beyond comprehension. The problems of one easily and quickly become the burdens of another. Crises are shared and their effects are far-reaching.

We can never pretend to have all the answers, but we must never pretend with the answers that we do have. We cannot afford to turn our heads from the responsibility of actively seeking creative and appropriate solutions to the conflicts of mankind.

Yes, my friends, troubles surround us. But I ask you, have we forgotten what is right with our nation and our world? Have we become so preoccupied with the negative that the positive is no longer visible?

Our nation and our people have survived and advanced through times of hardship and times of glory. One thing is certain—it all adds up to a truly remarkable heritage. I submit that to cast this aside at this point would be irreparably damaging to the world, as well as to the United States.

Let us not lose sight of what is basically good and right with America.

(1) In World War I, we saved the world for democracy.

(2) In World War II, we saved Europe, and afterward, we helped to rebuild France, Germany, Russia, England, and Japan.

(3) The long arm of Uncle Sam has always been extended to nations in distress—Nicaragua, Chile, Peru, Swaziland, and Bangladesh, to name only a few. Yet, I ask you, how often have other nations offered assistance to us? How many nations even offered so much as a letter of condolence when massive tornado storms recently ravaged the heart of America?

Yes, we have much to be thankful for; and if we examine recent years, we can clearly see the progress that has been made—

(1) an end to our participation in the war in Vietnam,

(2) substantially improved relations with the People's Republic of China,

(3) detente with the Soviet Union,

(4) improvement of conditions in the Middle East,

(5) better social and health programs,
(6) jobs,
(7) hospitals,
(8) vocational schools,
(9) roads and parks,
(10) pure water and sewage treatment systems, and

(11) increases in social security benefits and veterans compensation pension.

I say to you that the time has come to accent the positive and count our many blessings. For far too long we have been flooded with reports about what is wrong with America.

If we do not now build on the positive, we will not witness a strong and stable United States in the years to come. Certainly, the burden of building on the positive and constructing a better tomorrow rests on your shoulders more than ever before. I hope that you will accept the responsibility with determination and sincere dedication.

To those who would attempt to undermine our nation's progress and destroy the many sound principles upon which we have flourished, I would like to respond with lines from *The Prophet*, by Kahlil Gibran.

"Oftentimes have I heard you speak of one who commits a wrong as though he were not one of you, but a stranger unto you and an intruder upon your world.

"But I say that even as the holy and the righteous cannot rise beyond the highest which is in each of you, so the wicked and the weak cannot fall lower than the lowest which is in you also.

"And as a single leaf turns not yellow but with the silent knowledge of the whole tree, so the wrong-doer cannot do wrong without the hidden will of you all.

"Like a procession you walk together toward your God-self.

"You are the way and the wayfarers.

"And when one of you falls down, he falls for those behind him, a caution against the stumbling stone."

To continue, let me add this:

"The murderer is not unaccountable for his own murder.

"And the robbed is not blameless in being robbed.

"The righteous is not innocent of the deeds of the wicked.

"And the white-handed is not clean in the doings of the felon.

"Yea, the guilty is oftentimes the victim of the injured.

"And still more often the condemned is the burden bearer for the guiltless and the unblamed.

"You cannot separate the just from the unjust and the good from the wicked;

"For they stand before the face of the sun even as the black thread and the white are woven together.

"And when the black thread breaks, the weaver shall look into the whole cloth, and he shall examine the loom also".

My friends, these words hold significant meaning for us in these difficult times. With current widespread concern about Watergate and impeachment, I submit that our decisions must be based solely on reason, sound judgment and common sense. Only by such a path can we proceed with justice and fairness.

Your task is clear. Energy, health, world peace, domestic stability—all these areas deserve and need your attention. Do not attempt to single-handedly save the world, but neither sit by the wayside. Choose your avenue of participation, and become involved with all your heart.

If we fall in this effort, we shall succeed in bringing about desolation and decay. But if we succeed in this effort, we shall not fail to bring about a rebirth of spirit and progress in the world.

So, to each to you, the ones who will determine our nation's future, I say—

May 22, 1974

Good wishes, good wishes,
Your life is your own;
But may it be one
That deeply enriches
The lives of all others,
And not yours alone.

THE IMPEACHMENT DILEMMA

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, in all the white heat of publicity concerning the Watergate affair, it is to be expected that emotions would overcome reason in some instances, that evaluations would be made and conclusions not only reached but stated publicly before all the evidence has been heard.

It goes without saying that those of us in Congress who may be called upon to sit in judgment of the President of the United States should do so with open minds, no less so than if we were members of a jury in any court in this land.

In its issue of May 21, 1974, the Wall Street Journal carried a sober and thoughtful editorial on this subject that I commend not only to the members of the House Judiciary Committee, but to all Members of Congress and to every American.

I include it for insertion in the RECORD at this point:

THE IMPEACHMENT DILEMMA

With the impeachment hearings about to go public, we look in vain for a way out of the current national dilemma. In fact, we are left with the gloomy thought that perhaps the best remaining outcome would be if the Rodino staff comes up with an irrefutable case. That would be tough on Mr. Nixon, but at least the nation could in good conscience unite on an obvious course of action.

Admittedly we come to this gloomy conclusion after wrestling with the personal dilemma of what to say at this stage of the proceedings. We are in no mood to defend Richard Nixon as the man who ought to be President of the United States. But neither do we see any good grounds on which to recommend his impeachment. We suspect that we share this dilemma with a good many citizens, including no few of the lawmakers who will eventually decide the President's future.

The conversations in those Oval Office transcripts reveal a pettiness and narrowness about the President and his closest associates. In an odd way it is a testimony to the system; Madison always told us it was designed to work not because of noble men but despite base men. And in a programmatic sense, Mr. Nixon's presidency has been something of a success despite the approach the tapes reveal.

Still, there is such a thing as moral leadership. Teddy Roosevelt's "bully pulpit." This is what Mr. Nixon has sacrificed for once and all. His problem is not simply having allowed a peek into the private recesses of the White House. If the same tapes had been released a year ago, the nation could have concluded that the President came within an ace of really blowing one, but in the end he did the right thing. Instead, the tapes have been released after a year of Watergate speeches that were perhaps accurate in detail but were smotheringly sanctimonious in tone. It is the contrast between the public and the pri-

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vate, between the seamy conversations and the sanctimonious postures, that have robbed Mr. Nixon of both his moral leadership and his remaining defenders.

There are of course political systems where the loss of moral leadership provides ample grounds for removing a chief executive. Our Founding Fathers insisted instead on "high crimes or misdemeanors," and while the meaning of that phrase can be debated, surely it means some offense that is both specific and serious. What's more, the Founding Fathers made impeachment deliberately difficult, fearing that otherwise it might become the instrument of passing passions. So far history seems to have vindicated this fear; the one presidential impeachment has generally been regarded an abuse, and some of the few judicial ones were as well.

Perhaps the Founding Fathers were simply old-fashioned in their fear of passing passions, in their willingness to restrict the democratic principle by forcing it through rigid institutions. Perhaps we should forget such institutions as fixed terms, and simply govern ourselves by submitting all important questions to the Gallup Poll. But the system under which we live has been functioning now for nearly two centuries, longer than any other political system in the world today. Perhaps the Founding Fathers were wise to design institutions that enhanced a stable government.

As we look out over the world today, indeed, it seems to us that stability is a larger problem than ever. In Germany Chancellor Brandt was forced to resign. For the first time in many years Great Britain is ruled by a minority government. France has a new leader with narrower support than ever. In Canada, all of Prime Minister Trudeau's glamour could not save his government. Israel, Iceland and others have unprecedented leadership crises. And of course, in the United States we are apparently witnessing the destruction of the third President in succession.

It seems that the modern environment is an acid that attacks democratic leaders. The pace of life is so fast, societies are so complex, interdependences are so wide-ranging, communication is so fast, that any problem or dislocation is likely to divide and inflame the public. In such a hectic and impatient age, political leaders cannot build enduring support; they are bound to fall victim to one passing crisis or another.

It would be a mistake to underestimate this air of perpetual crisis. For the inability of democratic governments to govern creates the greatest danger of authoritarianism in the world today. Already the economic success of the Brazilian junta has attracted notice in the many parts of the world where democracy is not taken as self-evidently the form of government most appropriate to human nature. Or as Alexander Solzhenitsyn warned in his famous Nobel lecture, "As seen from the outside, the amplitude of the tossing of Western society is approaching the point beyond which the system becomes unstable and must fall."

The opposite and more fashionable specter of authoritarianism, we know, is the most frequently used argument for impeachment on expansive grounds. This vision sees a rapacious presidency spreading across the political landscape, finally going beyond legitimate instruments of power and into illegitimate ones. Thus the danger of totalitarianism lies in a proliferation of Gordon Liddys, the argument goes, and even if there are no further grounds we must impeach Richard Nixon to bring the presidency back in line.

It is of course entirely healthy to have an uproar about wiretapping, shady money-raising and the rest. It's quite true that Congress, mostly through its own lack of responsibility, has lost ground to the presidency. Yet a daring leap is made from these

truths to impeachment, commonly by men who have devoted their lives to handling and celebrating a powerful presidency. In those terms, the argument could scarcely be more profoundly wrong.

It is simply not true, first of all, that the American presidency is exceptionally powerful in comparison with the executives of other democratic governments. The President does of course enjoy the pomp of a head of state, and the protection of a fixed term. It's true that once a Watergate exploded, the heads of most democratic systems would have promptly fallen from office. But would it ever have exploded? In few other systems is a Sam Ervin or Archibald Cox even conceivable. Most executives have far greater control, including day-to-day dominance over their legislative branches. The President of the United States cannot get the school milk program out of the federal budget and we hear talk of the need to curb his overweening power.

More specifically about Watergate, in reading those Oval Office conversations we have anything but the impression of men who dominated the political landscape. Surely they did not talk as if they controlled Congress, or the judiciary, or the press, or even the Justice Department or FBI or CIA. Rather, the total impression was of insecure and frightened men, besieged by hostile forces, trying to manage the situation by eking out marginal advantages.

When we look to the origin of the Watergate crimes, similarly, we see something nearly opposite to an insatiable greed for presidential power. We see an erosion of the normal social controls that allow governments to function, the erosion of the kind of unenforced authority that would keep government officials from massively leaking official papers, or would keep generally virtuous citizens from thronging the streets trying to take control of foreign policy from duly elected leaders. The origins of the "plumbers," and of much of the White House mentality, lie in an ever more desperate attempt to compensate for this erosion, finally and of course all too easily slipping over the border of the illegitimate. And with that blunder, the Nixon administration gave fatal ammunition to those who had long since tried to discredit it, some of whom even long before Watergate talked of impeaching the President.

Thus the Watergate crisis very much blends in our minds with the general crisis of Western governments, and it is this that creates the impeachment dilemma. On the one hand, impeachment would be a victory, and a most disturbing precedent, for those who thronged the streets seeking to overturn an election, and even worse for the acid spirit that corrodes the stability of the democracies. On the other hand, the President has clearly forfeited his moral leadership, and may have committed more specific offenses against nothing less than the administration of justice.

The only refuge we can find is that of due process, that eternal friend of justice and eternal foe of undue passion. It is entirely conceivable that we may have at hand one of those genuinely exceptional cases when the long-slumbering weapon of impeachment should be invoked. But given the spirit of the age, it seems to us that such a conclusion should be resisted until the whole process has run, until the charge has been framed, the evidence presented, the defense heard, and a constitutional debate held on the meaning of the phrase "high crimes and misdemeanors."

Above all, the process should be free of the taint of changing rules in the middle of the game, of impeaching Mr. Nixon on grounds that would not have been applied to his recent predecessors. For if the rules can be changed for Mr. Nixon they can be changed

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again when his successors meet their own corrosive crises. Larger things hang in the balance, and whether the President goes or stays is less important than insuring that if he is ultimately impeached and convicted the nation understands precisely why.

WORLD TRADE WEEK

HON. HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI
OF PENNSYLVANIAIN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. SCHNEEBELI. Mr. Speaker, we are in the midst of World Trade Week, which was proclaimed from May 19 through May 25. Therefore, it seems appropriate at this time for the House to take stock of achievements as well as uncompleted tasks in the very important area of international exchange.

In that connection, I place in the RECORD at this point an excellent speech delivered earlier this week before members of the National Press Club by the Honorable Frederick B. Dent, Secretary of Commerce:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
FREDERICK B. DENT

Your invitation coincides with the Presidential proclamation of this as World Trade Week.

This coincidence gives me the opportunity to speak of one of the great successes of the Nixon years as well as of one of today's most pressing national problem.

President Nixon's record in the area of world trade, with its implications for world peace, for our own economic well-being and economic expansion is a major reason I believe the President's leadership is a valuable and positive component of the state of our union today.

Rarely does the world's history produce unique leadership. I believe that despite the tumult of today, history will identify the current President of the United States as one who has the capacity to shape destiny and who has done so to the eternal benefit of all mankind. The strength he has displayed in the face of the current ordeal is but one measure of the character of this man and the quality of his leadership.

I came to Washington to join the President's Cabinet more than 15 months ago because of my admiration for him and for the accomplishments of his first term in office. My experience in Washington has increased my belief in his extraordinary grasp of world affairs, his understanding of our own economy and of its relationship to the world economy.

Consider the tremendous expansion of our international trade. The 1968 level of \$67.3 billion has exploded to the current level of \$180 billion. . . . Our current rate of exports, \$89 billion, is well in excess of the combined exports and imports of 1968.

Noteworthy in this regard also our agricultural exports have gone from \$6 billion to an estimated \$20 billion this year. This has permitted the unleashing of our agricultural productive capacity, the scaling back of subsidy payments, the reversal of our policy to reduce planted acreage and the costly carrying of surplus commodities at taxpayer expense.

Of course, the turning on of our farm economy has penetrating ramifications in the agricultural machinery, agri-chemical, fertilizer, agricultural transportation, financing and distribution industries.

This revolution in U.S. international trade did not just happen. It was caused by Presidential leadership. Our exporting efforts had been stymied by an overvalued dollar. Investment consequently had been forced offshore. American labor and products were uncompetitive.

To reverse this untimely and unfortunate situation the President early in his first term founded the Council on International Economic Policy headed by Peter Peterson. As you will recall, one of the initial accomplishments of their analysis of our international trade position was the program announced on August 15, 1971 designed to restore American competitiveness in world markets.

The effective, courageous action taken that fateful day involved:

1. An import surcharge averaging 10 percent which remained in effect until the December Smithsonian Agreement.
2. Our gold window was closed, in essence, de-valuing and floating the dollar.
3. Legislative passage of the DISC—Domestic International Sales Corporation—was requested and enactment came three months later.
4. The seven percent investment tax credit was restored to increase United States production to provide for expanded sales both at home and abroad.

The results are clear, as I have already mentioned, and thousands of U.S. jobs have been created. Additionally our more competitive international position is now attracting heavy foreign investment as well.

One of the President's more important initiatives in this regard was to provide the leadership for initiating the multi-lateral trade negotiations which began among GATT members in Tokyo last September.

They have proceeded reasonably well on schedule since then, and it is anticipated that the serious negotiations will begin later this year and continue through 1975.

Our objective is to free up world markets on a fair and equitable basis to provide increased sales opportunities for business, to broaden the choices available to consumers, and to stimulate new jobs both at home and abroad.

Since the beginning of the talks, a new issue has surfaced which we believe should be discussed in a multi-lateral forum for the first time, namely the rights of purchasing nations to access to supplies in foreign markets.

We believe that the enunciation of broad principles on this subject would be a good start and that progress beyond would depend upon the consensus developed in the negotiations.

The continued participation of the United States in these talks is dependent entirely upon successful enactment of the Trade Reform Act of 1973 which passed the House of Representatives last year and is now the pending business before the Senate Finance Committee.

Passage of this legislation is essential, because no President of the United States has had the authority to negotiate internationally in trade matters since 1967 when such authority expired. . . . The economic issues involved are clear and the opportunities for American job enhancement are great.

I myself am deeply concerned over what failure to pass this legislation might do to our nation's position as the leader of the free world. . . . If we have to withdraw ignominiously from the negotiations because of the President's inability to obtain legislated authority to conclude the negotiations, I am concerned that such a withdrawal might undermine the credibility of our Nation's other international political, military and economic commitments.

It is, in my judgment, one of the most serious issues before the Nation today. . . . As we survey the free world in which I am told

that only one chief of State in Western Europe today was in office a year ago—Luxemburg—America's leadership is more necessary than ever before. . . . We most assuredly run great risks if we allow developments which would undermine our leadership in world affairs on the one hand, and which on the other hand, would give encouragement to those wherever they may be who would be tempted by irresoluteness and instability in the free world.

If this legislation is so important, why does it languish at the moment at least in uncertainty? First of all, I believe that its importance is unappreciated. Few have grasped the implications which its failure to pass would cast upon our position in the world and upon the economic opportunities it presages for all economics.

Secondly, of course, is the issue of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment which has interjected the question of Soviet emigration policy into the President's request for authority to grant Most Favored Nation status to countries now trading with us on a discriminatory basis.

With regard to the emigration issue, let us recognize the tremendous progress which has been made largely because President Nixon's policy has developed a mutuality of interest between our country and the Soviet Union, as well as opening a channel of communication between the leaders of these nations. . . . From a rate of 400 per year in 1969, Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union expanded to a rate of 35 thousand last year.

In my judgment, the efforts of those who have surfaced the emigration policy question have also played a part in the figures I have just noted. Yet, it is imperative to recognize that total success of their effort would destroy the leverage presently available to them while simultaneously damaging the communications channel opened by detente.

If, on the other hand, we preserve a mutuality of interest, the opportunity for communication and progress remains.

There are also many who believe that cutting off trade with the Soviets will deny them the benefits of our products. . . . Let's face reality. Our Western European and Japanese trading partners all provide the USSR MFN treatment and government related credit. U.S. affiliates in these countries can sell to the USSR to the benefit of stockholders and management. The only losers are the men and women working in U.S. plants who are denied the opportunity to provide the job content of the products.

Internationally we enjoy about 20% of the world's non-agricultural exports. With the Socialist countries our penetration last year was only 4.4% yet I assure you from the experience of 2 trips to a number of these countries that the will to trade with us is there—but it must be on a non-discriminatory basis.

Last year our 2-way trade with the Socialist countries totaled \$3.1 billion as compared with our overall trade of \$140 billion. More significantly, however, our trade surplus with the East was \$1.9 billion as compared with \$1.7 billion overall.

The issue of credits for the Socialist countries is also raised. Let's make several points especially clear—credits are granted by all our competitive trading partners of Western Europe and Japan. Secondly, the Soviet credit record is good. Thirdly, the credits issued by the U.S. are small compared with our other Western trading partners. As of last October the official export credits to 3 Eastern European countries by France, Germany, Italy, the U.K. and Japan totaled \$8.9 billion compared with \$600 million from us. Our credit commitments were relatively small as well.

In discussing East-West trade, let me hasten to do so in the context of full sup-

port of our policy of limitation of exports of strategic materials, products and technology as agreed to by the 15 nations that have banned together in the Co-ordinating Committee for this purpose. The licensing of exports of this nature is administered by our Department, and we take this responsibility very seriously.

The President needs the authority to grant MFN status to countries presently not enjoying it because lack of this authority is a major deterrent to further expansion of our trade with the Eastern European countries. While economic considerations concern these nations, perhaps the most compelling factor to them is the simple fact that all of our trading partners and competitors in Western Europe and the Orient have granted them MFN. We in turn have granted MFN to all our Western trading partners and yet maintain a discriminatory attitude towards most of the Socialist nations, forcing them to pay tariffs on their exports to this Country at the 1934 level rather than at the subsequently negotiated lower levels paid by those enjoying non-discriminatory status.

One has only to consider that the Socialist countries contain one-third of the world's population to understand the tremendous potential of this market.

Last month, I attended the opening of Stanki, the American machine tool industry exhibit in Moscow. The show lasted nine days and was visited by over a quarter of a million people both from Russia and from all over Eastern Europe.

Sales off the floor exceeded \$5 million and anticipated additional sales this year alone should be about \$85 million.

This exhibit, in which 83 American firms participated, probably advanced our sales in the machine tool industry by five years and is an indication of the prospects for East-West trade.

Incidentally, while I was in Moscow, I attended a luncheon in which the spirit of detente prompted Acting Foreign Trade Minister Kuz'min to invite me to join the Communist Party. I told him, "Thank you, but the Party I belong to in the United States cannot spare me right now."

Since Minister Kuz'min is now visiting in Washington, I suppose I should return his hospitality by inviting him to become a Republican. However, after he is exposed to our vigorous free press for several days, I am not sure that he would regard my invitation as a kindness.

As another aspect of the President's international trade expansion program, he launched a maritime program to rebuild the American Merchant Marine, which at the beginning of this decade was carrying less than 5% of our international trade in American bottoms. The extensive maritime program undertaken by this Administration has resulted in modernization of American shipyards through investment of 150 million private dollars to date, with more to come, the building of the largest order backlog for merchant ships in the Nation's history and the production of the most modern and efficient merchant ships in the entire world.

This program was intended to be a 10-year program and will result in providing the ships necessary to carry a substantial portion of our international trade flow. This progress has been made on the basis of declining construction subsidies as well as reduced operating subsidies. The Administration contends that this program will achieve the necessary goals for the Nation without resorting in addition to the adoption of cargo preference legislation.

President Nixon has described trade as the cement which holds together the building blocks of the structure of peace.

While it would be comforting to think that trade between nations serves as a fool-proof barrier to war, history has shown us

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that trading partners can, indeed, go to war with each other. History, however, has also shown us that trade, fairly and properly conducted, enhances the economies of all nations at the expense of none and thus removes or lessens one incentive to international conflict.

History has also shown that trade opens up the minds of men to the people of other nations and to their ideas thus furthering international understanding and in turn promoting peace.

Historians have made much of the significance of the failure of the United States to join the League of Nations after World War I, undercutting President Wilson's foreign policy objectives.

Should we today undercut President Nixon's commitment to detente by failing to pass the MFN provisions of the Trade Reform Act, in my judgment we run the risk of seriously damaging the policy of detente, a decision which future historians may well compare to the action of the Senate in rejecting the League of Nations Treaty.

Prompt Congressional passage of trade legislation is essential. The authority sought by the President has strong bearing on our leadership of the free world, on the march we are leading towards world peace and on the need to continue the expansion of jobs and business in America. It is clear that the Trade Bill is an issue combining our world leadership, peace and jobs for Americans. It must be enacted without further delay.

RUN GOVERNMENT LIKE A BUSINESS?

HON. ROBERT J. HUBER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Speaker, recently a friend of mine in Florida, Mr. Vincent McAvoy, forwarded to me an editorial from the Pinellas Times of Clearwater, Fla., dated May 7, 1974. The title was "Business-Like Methods in Government? Spare Us." The editorial was astounding in that it said that government should never make a profit—"Profit in government is a bad thing, a sign of mismanagement." This is astounding, but it is also indicative of the problem we face in the United States today in that so many of our people, newspaper people included, have such a vague understanding of private enterprise that they do not really understand how our economy works. I commend this editorial to the attention of my colleagues as a prime example of economic ignorance.

"BUSINESS-LIKE" METHODS IN GOVERNMENT? SPARE US

This is an election year and it is only a matter of a few weeks until some man who has been successful at selling vacuum cleaners or facial tissue or some other product will announce his candidacy for public office with a proclamation that he wants to run government on a business-like basis.

If he's serious, we'd all be better off if he didn't get the chance.

May the public be protected from the businessman who looks at government as just another business.

In fairness to many successful businessmen who also have been very good public officials, it is possible to be both, just as it is possible to be a successful businessman and a good father.

But the man who tries to run his home as he runs his business is headed for trouble and the same is true of government.

The problem is that the motives of business and government are very different.

The goal in business is to make money, to grow bigger than your competitor. The methods are to do a lot of advertising telling only the good things about business and the product, to adjust prices as often as necessary to ensure a profit and to form advantageous relationships with other businessmen.

In government, the goal is to provide service at the lowest possible cost. Profit in government is a bad thing, a sign of mismanagement.

Dealing exclusively with friends, doing favors for them in exchange for return favors, can be called graft. And to try to sell government with a public relations approach is to invite disaster.

Public service requires that the emphasis be put upon a different set of values. The public official must remember that he is not the boss of the government, he is the servant. The money is not his to spend. He can't wheel and deal the same way he can in his private business.

So spare us the promises of candidates to run governments like they run their businesses. The job of government is to serve the people, not to buy or sell them all for a profit.

SENIOR CITIZENS INTERNS VISIT WASHINGTON

HON. ELWOOD HILLIS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. HILLIS. Mr. Speaker, the month of May has been set aside as a time to pay tribute to over 21 million Americans. It has been proclaimed as Senior Citizens Month.

I, along with several of my colleagues in the House and Senate, sponsored a group of several senior citizen interns in our Washington offices for a 2 week period in early May.

They have now returned to their respective homes but I believe that they carried back with them a greater understanding of their Government's operation and how it is attempting to respond to the concerns and needs of the elderly. But, most important, they left behind with us a sharper perception of our own responsibilities as legislators in working for all senior citizens.

My interns, Mr. and Mrs. Chester Edwards of Anderson, Ind., have written a report containing their thoughts and experiences while in Washington. It will be distributed and shared with other senior citizens in my Fifth Congressional District.

I would like for my colleagues here in the House to have the benefit of Chester and Verle's thoughts and present their report for the RECORD:

SENIOR CITIZEN INTERNS VISIT WASHINGTON

We consider it a great honor and privilege to have been chosen as Senior Citizen Interns by Congressman Elwood H. (Bud) Hillis. There were 17 this year from 6 states selected by 9 Senators and Representatives, including James Yellig, Official Santa Claus from Santa Claus, Indiana. We all stayed in a hotel near the White House. Each day we took a bus to our work on Capitol Hill, except during

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the bus strike when we used taxi or walked. We were only mildly inconvenienced by the subway construction project which has many streets torn up.

Washington in the spring is a beautiful sight, with dogwood and azaleas in full bloom. We had a good view of Kennedy Center and Watergate as we landed at Washington National Airport.

I complained to the hotel clerk that my T.V. was unintelligible and he said, "so is everything in Washington." At first it did seem confusing and overwhelming, but with the capable staff in the office of Congressman Hillis most of our questions were answered and the pieces began to fall into place. With Donna Norton as our lovely hostess we found our way through the maze of streets, tunnels and buildings.

We found that the Congressman is faced with what seemed to be insurmountable problems and innumerable bills. It is remarkable how well informed he is about so many subjects and how he always seemed to be so calm and collected. He also keeps in touch with his constituents by weekly visits to the district.

When we visited the Senate on April 30, they were observing "a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer". Senator Hatfield told the Senate he had fashioned his resolution after a proclamation issued by Abraham Lincoln because "the will and mood of the country (today) is not unlike what it was (in 1863). There is despair and little hope for the future in many sections." In spite of a stormy past and a troubled present, with this attitude, we still have hope for the future. There are many capable and dedicated men in Washington who are seeking the right answers and the best solutions to our problems.

TOURS

We visited the White House, Capitol, State Department, Library of Congress and the Singapore and Australian Embassies. We had an opportunity to visit our daughter Fern on the weekend, but had little time or energy to do much additional sightseeing. We were photographed with Vice President Ford and other notables. Verle attended a Republican Women's Dinner where Agricultural Secretary Earl Butz spoke. We took over 100 pictures to record our story.

HEARINGS AND BRIEFINGS

Tom Winebrenner of the Office of the Minority, House of Representatives, explained to us the legislative process. During hearings in the House we were impressed by the girl pages and the speed of the stenographers who recorded the proceedings for the Congressional Record which is published and distributed early the next morning. We were impressed with the consideration given to Senior Citizens. In this session over 100 bills have been submitted dealing with problems of the elderly. H.R. 6175—Research on Aging—passed the House on May 2. It now is subject to reconciliation with a similar Senate bill passed in July 1973.

I. Perspectives on older Americans

This overview was ably covered by Larry Lane, Legislative Representative, National Retired Teachers Association/American Association of Retired Persons. This organization has a constructive program dealing with health plans, housing, taxes, transportation, age discrimination, long-term care, Social Security and other Social Services.

II. Older Americans Act of 1965

This first major step in recognizing the problems of the elderly was given additional impetus by the 1971 White House Conference on Aging and the 1973 Comprehensive Amendments. These matters were reviewed for us by Dr. Clark Tibbets of the National Clearinghouse on Aging, David Dowd of the Division of Research and Demonstration, Eva

Nash of the Office of State and Community Programs and Dick Wilson of the Federal Council on Aging. Specific bills were explained. It was suggested that "those with the greatest need have the least information." The question WHAT IS THE GREATEST NEED? was answered by the participants as follows: Financial Independence, Proper Nutrition, Medical Care, Housing and a feeling of Self Worth. Most want to be an integral part of our society. Less than 7% of the 21 million elderly are immobilized.

III. Housing and the elderly

This was the subject of Helen Holt, Assistant to the Secretary for the Elderly and the Handicapped, Department of Housing and Urban Development. Funds for multiple family low-cost housing provided by Section 235/236 have been frozen. The program has been suspended for further study. Section 23 provides rent subsidies in approved housing to 25% of income, and this is still available. Section 232 provides assistance for long-term nursing home care under specific circumstances.

IV. National health insurance and medicare

This is a live issue at the present time. Glenn Markus, Social Legislation Specialist of the Congressional Research Service, filled us in on progress.

1. The Administration Plan (CHIP) Comprehensive Health Insurance Program, requires participation 25% by employer and 75% by employee through private health insurance companies.

2. Kennedy-Griffin is most comprehensive and most expensive (\$70 to \$100 billion per year). It is backed by organized labor but Senator Kennedy has moved to a compromise.

3. Kennedy-Mills is the new compromise plan. It does include long-term care.

4. Long-Ribicoff (S-2513) is backed by many congressmen.

Some feel that the chances for Congressional passage of national health insurance legislation in the near future have been enhanced by compromise proposals.

V. Social Security, SSI and Social Services

This discussion was led by Joan Miller, Former Deputy Assistant Secretary for Welfare Legislation, Department of Health, Education and Welfare. It was held in the beautiful Foreign Affairs Committee Room in the fabulous Rayburn House Office Building.

Social Security was adopted in 1930 to help older people live independently in their homes. Since then there have been many layers of amendments and revisions and it seems time for a complete review and replacement by a National Health Act.

The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) was designed to eliminate poverty. Extension is now pending in Congress.

SSI—Supplemental Security Income—is a new program to provide a minimum of \$140 per month per person which may be increased. Recipients may still own a home and car, and may have as much as \$1500 in savings.

VI. White House briefing

In a room in the White House where the President's legislative bills are hammered out, Vern Loen, Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, filled us in on the President's policies.

Mr. Loen said, "out of 100 bills passed last year the President vetoed only 10, and only one veto was overridden." He also pointed out that of 2.3 million on the Federal payroll, the President controls only 200,000 employees. The transcripts of the much wanted tapes had just been made public and it was hoped that this may relieve some of the tense impeachment atmosphere.

VII. Political action

Phil Guarino—Director, Senior Citizens Division of the Republican National Com-

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mittee, in cooperation with AARP/NRTA, attempts to help people who are confused about their rights and privileges.

VIII. Transportation and the elderly

Lynn Sahij spoke for the Office of Transit Planning of the Urban Mass Transportation Administration. Funds are available on an 80-20 basis to municipalities for the purchase of equipment and planning assistance. Twenty seven cities have made studies concerning the need for transportation for the elderly and handicapped.

Pictures were shown of experimental new bus designs which are now being tested in various parts of the country. These include small buses, dial-a-ride, door to door service, kneeling bus, low step, hydraulic lift for wheelchairs, credit card system, school bus utilization, and free vans. One hundred fifty cities have reduced fare plans.

IX. Action

Victor Hruska, Deputy Associate Director of Older Americans Volunteer Programs, provided the following information:

PEACE CORPS is operating in 56 countries. VISTA is the domestic Peace Corps.

These two programs involve a full year of participation and pay a small stipend.

Foster grandparents enables volunteers to work four hours per day at \$1.60 per hour which is tax free, to help needy children. Transportation is provided. An excellent film is available through state offices.

R.S.V.P.—retired senior volunteer program enlists retired citizens in a volunteer program of community services. An excellent film is available through state offices. Six hundred programs are in operation involving 84,000 volunteers. These include Meals on Wheels, Mail Distribution, Tutoring, Reconstruction of Historic Airplanes, and teaching skills such as weaving and mechanics.

SCORE—Service Corps of Retired Executives helps small businesses.

ACE—Active Corps of Executives has a similar function. Col. Emanuel Singer, one of our Interns, is involved.

National Center for Voluntary Action, 1785 Massachusetts Ave. N.W. This program is administered by George Romney. The presentation was made by C. F. McNeil and Dr. Helga Roth. This is a clearing house for all volunteer programs, including 43 agencies in the Federal Government, and cooperative organizational groups such as Red Cross, Catholic Charities, etc. Information on various volunteer programs is available on request.

CONCLUSION

We could not possibly learn it all and we could not possibly tell it all, but we will never forget the rich learning experience which has been ours. We appeared on Radio and T.V. programs with Congressman Hillis. When his plane landed at the Anderson Airport we were met by news media and members of the political science class from Anderson College, with Professor Larry Osnes, and also Frank Frier of the Anderson office of Congressman Hillis.

JOINT RESOLUTION TO PROCLAIM THE THIRD WEEK IN OCTOBER OF EACH YEAR A "NATIONAL SCREEN PRINTING WEEK"

HON. JOEL T. BROTHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. BROTHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim the third week in October of

each year as "National Screen Printing Week" and to proclaim Tuesday of such week as "National Screen Printing Day."

Mr. Speaker, screen printing is without doubt the most versatile medium of the graphic arts. It is a leading production process for point-of-purchase advertising, decalcomanias, electronic circuit boards and close-tolerance plates, product identification markings, outdoor advertising, informal sporting and high-fashion garments, specialty advertising, and container decoration. As this list indicates, screen printing goes well beyond the bounds normally associated with commercial printing; indeed, this diverse industry reaches into numerous completely different industries, such as electronic components, transportation of all forms, sports and sporting goods, fashion, retail sales of all types, and many others.

The daily life of each of us here today is touched by screen printing literally hundreds of times: from the dashboards of the cars in which we came here this morning and the highway signs we passed, to the faces of the alarm clocks we set prior to going to sleep. In short, though we all are well acquainted with the screen printer that produces campaign materials, other screen printers also are deeply involved in all aspects of modern American life.

Mr. Speaker, I would also like to mention the character of this industry, and of the countless individuals and individual businesses which comprise it. This industry is, in this year 1974, still a young industry, and is going through a phase of tremendous expansion. In the latest official Federal statistics available, the Department of Commerce reported an annual growth rate for the screen printing industry of 17 percent, and in the years since that study this industry has shown every evidence of equaling or bettering that rate.

As a young and expanding industry, screen printing is comprised primarily of small businesses; the national average of screen printing firms has less than 20 employees. Typically, the owner of such a business started it himself after the Second World War, and though he now has an office with a secretary, he can—and frequently does—do any job in his plant, from mixing inks to operating a press to stacking the finished job. The incidence of family-owned and family-run businesses is particularly high in this industry, and the nature of the many diverse markets for screen printing demands that the screen printer have, and exercise, a great amount of flexibility. I would point out to my distinguished colleagues that these are characteristics often associated with the businessmen of the colonial era, the founders of the present American economy.

Mr. Speaker, I would like briefly to touch on the recognition rendered to the screen printing industry in other parts of the world. Throughout Europe the screen printer is generally recognized as the premier craftsman of all the printing media. In the Far East, the screen printer is considered an artist as well as craftsman, while other printers are considered

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merely capable technicians. In this country, however, screen printing is just beginning to attain any status or recognition at all. The industry has advanced to the state of a highly developed, highly technological, and highly automated process, but it still tends to be viewed as a poor relation to the other graphic media. To help bring some measure of this long-overdue recognition to the screen printing industry in America, I strongly urge favorable consideration by my colleagues of this resolution which I have proposed today.

WORLD POPULATION CONFERENCE YEAR

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, as many of my colleagues are aware, this is World Population Conference Year, in which we will seek some answers to the problems that confront us in the realm of population control.

Recently, a constituent of mine who is a member of the U.S. Coalition for Life forwarded to me the following position paper which was prepared for the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. Although I do not necessarily agree with the positions taken in the paper, I do feel their views should be aired. The paper follows:

USCL PLANS STRATEGY FOR POPULATION YEAR

The U.S. Coalition for Life has issued a position paper and a list of recommendations on World Population Conference Year—1974. This position paper was prepared for the November meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops in Washington, D.C. Following is the text of the paper:

(1) Defining Terms—Any statement on the issue of population must be based on clearly defined terminology which leaves no room for possible misinterpretation by the faithful. Verbal abstractions and ambiguous wording should be carefully avoided lest they become a source of confusion and anxiety.

(2) Population Control—(Population control is defined as government prescription of family size supported by procedures to insure compliance.)

Such policies are frequently disguised by such euphemisms as "government family planning" or "population dynamics" or "world population programs." Such programs often appear to be eminently sensible. Yet the words cloak a proposed reality so ugly that the human race is unlikely to accept it on any large scale or for any extended period of time.

Population Control is based on the erroneous belief that the family exists for the State and the family is therefore required to submit in its most intimate life to the collective conscience of public authorities.² Population control is a subversion of the order of nature and the entire psychological and moral world which it is bound up with. The nature of the beast is totalitarianism—and though the program be "democratically" applied, it remains totalitarian.

(3) The Mind of the Population-Control Movement—The population-control move-

ment is marked by a number of distinguishable features. The most pronounced of these is a Manichaean philosophy, based on the most ancient of heresies. Human life, particularly new life, is vilified as "people" are moved into the same bracket occupied by plague, famine, pestilence. The newborn is condemned as a threat to peace. And objects, pills, and devices meant to keep him from coming into being are looked upon with love.

Mankind is naught but a unanimous and harmonious antheap and they—the population controllers—are the appointed caretakers dictating who shall live and who shall die, dictating how many people are needed by the State and the genetic quality of that human stock. The population controllers usher in the era of the biocracy—a dictatorship of the test tube. And it may yet be proven to be the harshest of all totalitarian schemes.³

(4) The Practical Implications of Population Control—No State or international program of regulating births can be "successful" without first producing the mass mechanized conscience needed to bring people into line with the will of the public authorities. Toward this end, the mass media and the indoctrination of the young are indispensable tools of the trade.

(5) Role of the Mass Media—In contemporary society the mass media can form or deform public opinion. Within the context of population control, the mass media becomes a powerful tool of psychological persuasion. "The problem is to get the individual's consent artificially through depth psychology, since he will not give it of his own free will. But the decision to give consent must appear to be spontaneous."⁴

(6) Indoctrination of the Young—In order to minimize the degree to which the individual conscience conflicts with the conscience of government, new values must be inculcated at an early age—values which will be equal to or greater than those religious, political, or social values previously held by the general population.⁵

"... Several factors are favorable to the much more rapid acceptance of the demographic-ecologic transformation than the two-generation period required for full public school acceptance of the theory of evolution. ... Most people hardly know what to believe any more, and many are thirsting for a new substitute for religion. For some, at least, the idea that man is part of a vast and awesome ecosystem which must be cherished, not manhandled, comes closer to being acceptable substitute for the religious dogmas they have discarded than anything else...."⁶

(7) Death Technology—Once the populace acknowledges the desires of the State as regards their own reproductive behavior, the means becomes secondary to the end, i.e., the prevention of births after the first or second child by contraception, sterilization, and abortion.

In adopting various population-control measures the State sets into motion something far more important than mere birth-control techniques, for such techniques are worthless unless the people can be motivated to use them. This key ingredient therefore is the permeation at all levels of society of the "new ethic" or "new mentality."

This neo-Malthusian ethic is manifested in an open hostility toward large and even moderate-size families. All manners of sexual deviations are stimulated to promote the belief that sexual relations are primarily for fun and recreation and only occasionally for procreation. Self-control is held up for public ridicule.

When after tedious attempts at contraception fail, the woman is driven by an almost irresistible urge to the abortionist to end an "unwanted pregnancy."⁷

Since couples are required to limit the number of offspring to a minimum, abortion

Footnotes at end of article.

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becomes a tool in genetic engineering to eliminate the defective child in utero. One is reminded that it is a poor plan indeed that admits of no modification.

(8) Mass Medical Experimentation—Under the guise of maternal and child-care programs particularly among clinic patients, retardees or an illiterate population, the population-control movement finds the ideal medium for the massive experimentation programs necessary for the development of new fertility-control techniques. For maximum efficiency and wide application such techniques must be disassociated from the sex act, lend themselves to mass programs and be effective in preventing the birth of a live baby, though not necessarily the prevention of conception. The ideal tool to be developed by the biocracy will be a single shot, an immunization, which will render the patient temporarily or permanently sterile. New techniques of early abortion serve to fill the gap until a successful program of immunization against fertility can be carried out by public authorities. Cost of development and research is shared by drug companies, who reap financial gain, and the government.

(9) Invasion of Privacy—In order to effectively evaluate population-control programs necessitate the collection and evaluation of data of a most intimate nature. Gross violations of civil and constitutional rights of individuals and their families have become, by necessity, the norm in the name of the public good.

(10) Myth of Volunteerism—To be effective, population control must be compulsory. If this were not true, the non-cooperators would quickly outnumber those who "voluntarily" limited their number and the system would prove self-defeating.

LEGITIMATE DEMOGRAPHIC CONCERN

(1) Historical Perspectives—Concern by government for various demographic trends is an ancient preoccupation.

The kaleidoscope of history supports the proposition that good government and dynamic population growth go hand in hand. Nations with the energy, vitality, and competence to make adjustments and changes in social and economic institutions so that population increases have an expansive effect on the national well-being have spanned the centuries. On the other hand, government presiding over declining populations are buried in history, buried by more vital and vigorous peoples.⁴

If bishops wish to adopt a negative view to population growth, they will have to do so in a historic vacuum. Furthermore, such interests would inevitably conflict with the demographic facts of life in most of the developing nations of Latin America, Asia, and Africa, which are on the verge of great population expansion. How much better to support programs geared to the expectations of a substantial rise in population numbers during the decades ahead, than to turn to programs which are from a scientific point of view simplistic and from a pastoral point of view disastrous.

(2) Positive Programs to Accommodate Population Growth—By encouraging governments to promote the self-sufficient food-production techniques and a modern industrial economy, the Church can contribute to the telescoping of the demographic transition from many centuries to just a few decades.

Government authorities should be assisted in every manner by the world community to expand their efforts on behalf of all the people, in areas in which they possess legitimate authority. There is a wide latitude in this matter.

This concern for the common good should manifest itself in programs related to housing, health care, industrial development, immigration, educational support of culture and moral values, as well as political, social,

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and economic stability. But most of all, it will manifest itself in support of the most basic of human rights, the basic right to life and support of all families, regardless of size.

(3) Cooperation With International Agencies—If they are to merit the support of the Church, international agencies, like national governments, must base their programs on the intrinsic value of all human life without regard to utilitarian measures. This principle applies to the United Nations and its delegate agencies.

1974 has been declared World Population Year with a conference to be held under the auspices of the United Nations. The bishops will find it necessary to propose a statement on such programs.

In doing so the bishops must recognize that the population-control establishment has fully entrenched itself in the United Nations and its delegate agencies. Therefore, much care should be taken in using the prestige and power of the Church toward ends which will be in harmony with God's laws and uphold the dignity and freedom of man.

Never was there a greater need for the Church to fulfill her prophetic role as a champion of right and truth.

The Church among all institutions, alone possesses the means to bring the entire question of population control into public question. The UN World Population Conference and its related activities offers her the opportunity to do just this. But the hour is late.

Let not the bishops be intimidated from speaking out by those individuals who possess superior demographic knowledge or a sundry of other academic qualifications, for the essence of the question is not to be found in data banks nor piles of statistical computations. Nor let them be silenced by a false spirit of ecumenism or pluralism. Rather the essence of the population-control question is to be found in but a few basic questions:

- (1) What is the nature of man?
- (2) What is man's ultimate destiny?
- (3) What is the providence of God?
- (4) What is the providence of the State?

When you have answered these very basic questions, you will know the road you must travel. And if that road leads to Calvary as it has so many times in the past, let the Church be at the vanguard leading the faithful to the gates of Heaven and not as Ephraim to the slayer.

CONCLUSION

The Coalition respectfully requests that the bishops set aside their statement on World Population Year and Conference-1974 at this time, and in its stead ask that the Bishops' Liaison Committee convene at the earliest possible date, a meeting of laymen representing a broad spectrum of disciplines related to the population question, such as food production, civil and constitutional concerns of population control, immigration, and so forth. Such a meeting of minds of men and women of good will, will be instrumental in assisting the bishops in the preparation of a population policy statement which will merit the confidence of the faithful and will serve as a source of strength in the trying days ahead.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Honest Love and Human Life, Christopher Derrick, Coward-McCann, Inc., N.Y., 1969, pp. 121-122.

² Anthony Zimmerman, S.V.D., S.T.D. Post-war Family Life in Japan As Seen From The Catholic Viewpoint. Pamphlet No. 1, The Family Bureau, Tokyo, 1964, pp. 7-8.

³ The Technological Society, Jacques Ellul, Translated from the French by John Wilkinson, A. A. Knopf, 1964, p. 432.

⁴ Ibid, 409.

⁵ A New Role for American Education, May 19, 1970. Published by the Office of Education, Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C., p. 5.

⁶ "Population Education: A Challenge of the Seventies." Population Bulletin, Vol. cxi No. 3. Published by the Population Reference Bureau, Washington, D.C.

⁷ "How to Get 6,000 Abortions A Day," Anthony Zimmerman, S.V.D., S.T.D., Reign of the Sacred Heart, Dec. 1966, p. 5 (Available from USCL. Reprint No. 116, 50 cents).

⁸ "A Criticism of Assumptions and Objectives of the Manila Population Seminar," Anthony Zimmerman, S.V.D., S.T.D., May 9, 1973, Nagoya, Japan, pp. 1-2 (USCL Reprint No. 131, 75 cents).

FINANCING MEDICAL EDUCATION

HON. WILLIAM H. HUDNUT III

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. HUDNUT. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing a bill that will facilitate the development of one of our most important resources, the physician. The Association of American Medical Colleges and the Institute of Medicine place the cost of education per medical student in the range of \$10,000 to \$25,000 per year in 1971. There is no reason to expect that the cost of medical education will not continue to rise. Most of this burden is carried by the Federal Government from 20 percent in 1947 to as high as 55 percent in 1968. At the same time State and local government are contributing proportionately smaller shares, and medical students pay tuition ranging from \$700 to \$3,500 a year accounting for only 10 to 35 percent of the cost of his education.

Foreign-born physicians accounted for approximately 40 percent of new medical licenses in 1972. The wisdom of depending on other nations to meet our medical need is as questionable as our current dependence on foreign nations for our energy resources. Instead we should be providing opportunity to the great surplus of highly qualified U.S. student applicants. Any attempt to increase the number of U.S. medical graduates will further add to the total costs for their education. But the higher cost is called for if the result is a better quality physician for our society and medical independence for the United States.

Many will argue that the cost of medical education is properly supported primarily by the Federal Government since it contributes so significantly to the general welfare of society. But the medical profession is unique. Medical students represent the best in quality and ability that we can offer and their training is rigorous, but their rewards include a secure financial future unmatched by other professions. Rising costs, the specter of our dependence on other nations for our physicians and the unique nature of the profession lead us to propose an alternative to the financing of medical education.

Dr. David R. Challoner from the Department of Medicine and Biochemistry of the Indiana University School of Medicine has outlined a concept of long-term

investment in human resources comparable to other socially desirable long-term property and equity shares in business investments such as mortgages on property. This concept will give the medical student the opportunity to invest in his own future and assume a more equitable portion of the cost of his own education.

The income contingent loan utilizes the National Government as a bank for loans to the medical student. These loans would be repaid through annual payments in conjunction with the medical students future income tax. Estimates indicate that the bank would be self-sustaining and recover both principal and interest if it charged the pool of medical student borrowers 0.1 to 0.25 percent of gross adjusted income over 20 to 30 years for each \$1,000 borrowed.

Since the repayment burden of an income contingent loan is constant in relation to income, the distortions in geographic and specialty distribution induced by indebted students being forced to seek higher incomes will be alleviated.

The authorization of up to \$14,000 per year is high but the cost of education is equally high. The intent is to provide \$8,000 in living expenses plus 50 percent of the net cost of medical education as determined by the study by the Institute of Medicine commissioned by the Congress. Since this is a loan program, the cost will eventually be returned to the Federal Government. In addition, this bill provides for the relief of the loan obligation for those students serving in geographic or specialty areas of need.

The establishment of a Medical Opportunity Bank will insure more equal access to medical training for people of all economic backgrounds, restore primary financial responsibility to the student when he can afford to pay, and insure the United States an adequate supply of medical doctors.

As part of my remarks, I am including an article written by Dr. David Challoner entitled, "The Medical Student Pays for His Education: Income Contingent Loans." This article was published in The New England Journal of Medicine on January 17, 1974.

The article follows:

THE MEDICAL STUDENT PAYS FOR HIS EDUCATION: INCOME CONTINGENT LOANS

(David R. Challoner, M.D.)

COST OF MEDICAL EDUCATION AND ITS SOURCES

Like that of everything else, the cost of educating physicians is rising. The cost allocation methodologies are currently being re-evaluated and improved, and new cost figures being developed by both the Institute of Medicine and the Association of American Medical Colleges. The latter's study places the cost per medical student in the range of \$16,000 to \$26,000 per year.¹ These costs have been variously financed by the student, state and federal governments, and the private sector. The last has not kept proportionate pace with rising costs and now comprises only 3 per cent of the total medical school budget, having been 10 per cent two decades ago.² The student is also paying a lesser portion of the medical-school budget through his tuition,³ this portion falling

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from 17 per cent in 1947 to 4 per cent in 1968.⁴

Finally, state and local monies have fallen from 34 to 18 per cent of medical-school budgets whereas federal dollars have risen from 20 to 55 per cent over the period of 1947 to 1968,⁵ falling subsequently to 45 per cent in 1971.⁶ Thus, the medical schools have become increasingly dependent on the federal dollar for support, but most of this support has been intended to purchase final products such as biomedical research, specialized training and the provision of health care. In this environment it is appropriate to re-evaluate the contribution of the student to his own education.

ECONOMICS OF INVESTMENT IN MEDICAL EDUCATION

Many people will argue that education at all levels should be supported primarily by the federal government from general revenues because education contributes to the general welfare of society. General revenues are derived from a system of progressive taxation, particularly at the federal level, so that the high earners return proportionately more of their income to society. This system should make general support of higher education a non-regressive use of general revenues. Other economists argue just as vigorously, however, that since lower and middle income students do not participate in higher education (and particularly in medical education) in proportion to their number in the total population, general aid actually subsidizes higher income families more than lower and middle income groups. Moreover, especially with higher education, the benefits accrue directly to the student rather than to society as a whole.

The case of medical education may be unique. The quality and ability of the entering students are superb—they are the cream of our society. Their financial rewards in any endeavor are likely to be good, but, once accepted to medical school and barring malfeasance, their social standing, personal esteem and a generous and stable future income are guaranteed. This lifetime income will be at least \$1,500,000, assuming no income growth, and more probably \$3,000,000 or more when the figures of Fein and Weber⁷ are calculated in 1973 dollars. They will work hard, to be sure, but a more secure and predictable investment, educational or financial, is hard to find. It would be difficult to argue that this group would do anywhere near as well in nonmedical endeavors.

For this, the student is being asked to pay tuitions ranging from \$1,000 to \$3,500 a year, for a total of \$4,000 to \$14,000. These amounts account for only 15 to 35 per cent of the cost of his education. Thus, it can be argued that assignment of a greater portion of the total educational cost to the student by increasing tuition would be equitable.

WHY CAN'T THE STUDENT PAY MORE?

Given this situation, what prevents the students as the major economic beneficiary of his training from accepting a greater proportion of the cost? (For purposes of discussion, let us consider that these costs might become \$10,000 to \$15,000 per year, for room, board and increased tuition.) Certainly, this is no deterrent for the very wealthy. For the remainder, current student-loan mechanisms with limited totals (\$10,000) and short-term repayments (five to 10 years at most) are patently inadequate.⁸ Society has not yet devised a method of long-term investment in human resources, such as education, that is comparable to other socially desirable long-term investments such as mortgages on property and equity shares in business activity. One reason is that, in case of default on personal loans, the lender has no security since, for other very good

reasons, indentured servitude or slavery is forbidden. However, the principle of equity has been well developed in corporate investing, where the investors share the risks and benefits, and the pooling of risks is an old insurance principle.

Beginning with Milton Friedman in 1945,⁹ economists have suggested mechanisms for the application of these principles to educational loans in an attempt to perfect the market for investment in human resources.¹⁰ In particular Professor Gerald Zaccaria, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has spearheaded the interest of educators in this area.¹¹ Professor Karl Shell, a theoretical economist at the University of Pennsylvania, has been interested in the opportunities in medicine.^{12,13} The idea was previously raised in this journal in an editorial by Dr. Maurice B. Strauss.¹⁴ Yale and Duke Universities have begun trial programs of deferred tuition to test these concepts primarily at the undergraduate level. These new instruments, if widely developed for medicine, would offer the opportunity for the medical student to invest in his own future in a reasonable fashion and to assume a greater and more equitable portion of the cost of his own education.

INCOME CONTINGENT LOANS

The income contingent loan works as follows. An organization such as a medical school, university or preferably a national governmental agency would organize and finance a bank for loans to the medical student. The bank would recoup these loans through annual payments ideally collected in conjunction with the borrower's future income tax. Instead of contracting for a fixed rate of interest on principal and a fixed repayment schedule, the borrower pledges a percentage of his gross adjusted income for a period of years. Careful preliminary estimates based on physician income projections are that the bank would be self-sustaining and recover both principal and interest if it charged the population of medical student borrowers 0.1 to 0.25 per cent of gross adjusted income annually over 20 to 30 years for each \$1,000 borrowed. Thus, if a medical student wished to borrow \$5,000 per year for four years he might be obligated to pay (at 0.2 per cent \$1,000) 4 per cent of his future gross adjusted income for 20 years. The proportion of the payment that is equivalent to interest is deductible on the borrower's income-tax return. The goals are to achieve a long repayment stream correlated with income. Certain devices could be used to place an upper limit on accumulated payments such as when they reach the equivalent of repaid principal plus a premium rate of interest or some multiple of the original principal (i.e., 150 per cent) at standard interest. At this point the borrower is considered paid up. This precaution protects the higher earner from unlimited or excessive liability but allows the lender to recover some surplus to compensate for the low earners who may never fully repay principal plus interest.

Contingent repayment loans have several advantages over available fixed repayment loans:

(1) As a result of the pooled risk or insurance principle, no borrower would have to worry about a large debt that he could not repay. Thus, his decision for a higher or lower paying future professional activity need not be colored by the specter of a large conventional debt, soon to be repaid. He pays only a set percentage of income. This scheme could have important effects on specialty distribution.

(2) Equal access to training would be guaranteed to people whatever the source and size of their income.

(3) By spreading repayment over 20 to

Footnotes at end of article.

30 years instead of five or 10, the bank would make it feasible for the trainees to borrow larger sums. Current loan programs have time and dollar limits that make loans of the size that we are discussing unavailable.

(4) The financial soundness of the bank and the availability of loans would not be directly affected by the state of the money market if the loans were guaranteed by a governmental agency.

(5) Since payments are based on the borrower's income, there are minimal payments when earnings are low, and the burden of payments thereafter is directly correlated with income.

(6) The financial viability of the bank is maintained by setting the rate at which income is taxed per \$1,000 borrowed at a level that will yield payments by the high earners sufficient to compensate for the inability of the low earners to repay their loans fully. The strength of this subsidy can be varied by actuarial techniques. Because physician incomes are high and consistent, the cost of this insurance "equity feature" for the borrower can easily be covered in medicine by only a fraction of a percentage increase in the effective interest rate charged high earners over the basic rate at which money is supplied to the bank.

(7) Various subsidy programs for social goals such as debt or interest forgiveness based on location of practice and scholarships for merit or the underprivileged can be integrated with or made supplemental to the bank program.

(8) If future public policy placed limits on physician income, holders of conventional fixed repayment loans would be forced to assume an increased repayment burden in relation to income over that projected at the time of borrowing. In contrast, with income contingent loans, the government must assume any shortfall in returns if physician income projections are lowered by governmental policy—the borrower's repayment burden remains constant.

There are many variations on this theme that accomplish the same goals of a long repayment stream correlated in greater or lesser degree with income.⁴⁻¹¹ For instance, given appropriate government guarantees, a conventional fixed repayment loan could be designed for a 20-year period, but with the fixed payments determined from an actuarial estimate of the income pattern over time of the group. This could or could not have a low income insurance feature designed in at little cost. However, to one degree or another, the advantages of strict income contingency for the individual borrower are lost.

Among the disadvantages of income contingent loan plans in education in general, and in medicine in particular, are their novelty and the large number of dollars that must be supplied in the early years before the bank becomes self-sustaining. The novelty could make their acceptability and therefore marketability difficult. In addition, care must be taken to design the program to minimize adverse selection—i.e., the possibility that the individual student confident of being a higher earner than his peers would not participate.

For many reasons the income contingent loan for medical education deserves further study. Considerations of the increasing costs of medical education and the social inequity of the present extensive subsidy of such a high earning group are being discussed by policy makers.¹¹ The present federal Administration has gone on record as supporting the principle of greater responsibility by the student for his own education, and medicine is no exception. An internal HEW planning memorandum recently released by Senator Kennedy stated as follows:

Medical students have not been called upon

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

to pick up a larger share of their educational costs. Rather, their tuitions were maintained on par with those of other university programs despite their higher costs and the very high income potential . . . [Thus] it appears that it would be feasible to shift a greater portion of the cost-sharing to the student . . . Loan repayment could be conditioned on means. The fear of flunking out, becoming disabled, or failing to earn the typically high income might lead low income background students to reject the loan strategy. A loan policy that would gear the rate and amount of repayment to postgraduate income should help remove this inhibition.¹²

FOOTNOTES

* An additional cost to the student is foregone income, which is the income that he might otherwise be earning. Though not discussed here, it is a necessary part of the student's consideration of investment medical education. That is the major part of the student's private cost of medical education or the total social cost, but it is not part of the medical-school budget. Foregone income comprises up to 90 percent of the total cost to the student at a public medical school. (Personal communication, Daniel Kaner, Cost of Education Study, Institute of Medicine, National Academy of Sciences.)

¹ Undergraduate Medical Education Elements—Objectives—Costs: Report of the Committee on Financing Medical Education, Washington, DC, Association of American Medical Colleges, October, 1973

² Fein R, Weber GI: Financing Medical Education, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971.

³ Medical Education: The institutions, characteristics and programs, Washington, DC, Association of American Colleges, January, 1973

⁴ Johnstone DB: New Patterns for College Lending, New York, Columbia University Press, 1972

⁵ Friedman M, Kuznets S: Income from Independent Professional Practice. New York National Bureau of Economic Research, 1945

⁶ United States Panel on Educational Innovation: Educational Opportunity Bank: A report to the United States Commissioner of Education, the director of the National Science Foundation, and the special assistant to the President for science and technology, Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1967.

⁷ Shell K, Fisher FM, Foley DK, et al: The educational opportunities bank: an economic analysis of a contingent repayment loan program for higher education. *Natl Tax J* 21:2-45, 1964.

⁸ Shell K: Notes on the educational opportunities bank. *Natl Tax J* 23:214-220, 1970.

⁹ *Idem*: A new approach to the financing of medical education, Harvard Med. Alumni Bull. 43 (3): 2-4 winter, 1969.

¹⁰ Strauss MB: Financing medical education, *N Engl J Med* 283:45-46, 1970.

¹¹ Scientific and Educational Basis for Improving Health: Report of the Panel on Biological and Medical Science of the President's Science Advisory Committee, Washington, DC, Executive Office of the President, Office of Science and Technology, 1972.

¹² Congressional Record—Senate S14479-S14485, July 24, 1973.

PROGRESS IN DESEGREGATION

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, in the last week the Brown versus Board of Education directive of desegregation

"with all deliberate speed" has been cited in article after article commemorating the 20th anniversary of that significant decision.

All are agreed that desegregation has proceeded slowly since the Supreme Court began the process in 1954. But progress has been made. I urge my colleagues to review the actual statistics on the extent of desegregation since Brown. They are included in the following article from the Sacramento Observer of May 9-15, 1974:

TWENTY YEARS AFTER "BROWN DECISION"

(By the Race and Relations Information Center)

(NOTE.—Twenty years ago, on May 17, 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against segregated public schools. However, the 20 years since the court's decision in *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* have not been 20 years of school desegregation, according to the May issue of "Race Relations Reporter."

(The original rulings in Brown called for compliance "with all deliberate speed." The Reporter notes that defiant white resistance, legal maneuvering, legislative barricades and the question of Southern *de jure* as opposed to Northern *de facto* segregation caused delays in school desegregation. And the desegregation movement did not gain impetus until the second decade.

(The Report's May issue summarizes 20 years of school desegregation statistics in the South and nation. The magazine is a publication of Race and Relations Information Center, Nashville, Tenn.

(The Center began in May, 1954, as Southern Education Reporting Service, created by a biracial group of newsmen and educators to provide a factual source of information on school desegregation developments.)

MAY 17, 1954 THE SUPREME COURT HELD "SEPARATE EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES ARE INHERENTLY UNEQUAL"

On this 20th anniversary of the first Brown decision, approximately half of the South's Black students attend predominantly white schools. Less than 10 per cent of the region's total Black enrollment remains in all-Black schools.

Twenty years is a long time and perhaps it has been forgotten that the Supreme Court issued two Brown decisions, each a year apart.

On May 17, 1954, the court held: "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." The cases before the court had been filed as class actions, although they came on behalf of individual plaintiffs from five separate school districts: Topeka, Kans.; Clarendon County, S.C.; Prince Edward County, Va.; New Castle County, Del.; and Washington, D.C.

Because of the class nature of these suits and the great variety of local conditions that the court would have to consider, the first opinion called for additional arguments.

On May 31, 1955, the Justices issued the second opinion, remanding the cases to the courts of origin and calling for the lower courts to "require that the defendants make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance" with the previous year's ruling. The Supreme Court also called for compliance "With all deliberate speed," a phrase that became a key in the years of controversy following the ruling.

During the first 10 years after Brown, compliance efforts focused almost entirely on the 17 Southern and border states that had required segregation by law.

The percentage of Blacks in the 11 Southern states who attended desegregated schools remained less than one per cent until the 1963-64 school year.

In 1964, the Congress passed the Civil Rights Act forbidding discrimination in education and withholding funds from segregated schools. Through the 1964-65 school year, Southern Education Reporting Service, the predecessor of Race Relations Information Center, was the only source for the region's statistics on school desegregation.

In that school year, the 11 Southern States had 2.25 per cent of its Black students attending schools with whites.

Beginning with 1965-66, the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, began monitoring school desegregation and 6.1 per cent of the Black students in the South attended desegregated schools.

The pace of desegregation quickened with the 1966-67 school year and 15.9 per cent of the public school Black students attended desegregated schools. The figure doubled two years later, reaching 32 per cent.

Figures were not available for 1969-70, but the federal count in 1970-71, showed almost 86 per cent of the South's Black pupils were in desegregated schools.

The figure showed another sizeable increase in the following school year (1971-72), reaching 90.8 per cent. The latest available figure is for 1972-73, and that figure is 91.3 per cent. A spokesman for the Office of Civil Rights said that estimates indicate the figures will have changed little for this current school year.

The first national statistics on school desegregation became available in the late 1960s. In 1968-69, the nation had 23.4 per cent of its Black students in majority-white schools (50 per cent or more white), as compared to the 18.4 per cent in the South. In 1970-71, the ranking reversed, with the South having a figure of 40.3 per cent Blacks in majority-white schools, and the national figure numbering 33.1 per cent.

The latest figures available, those for 1972-73, show that the public schools in the South have 46.3 per cent of the Black students in predominantly white schools, and the national figure is 38.3 per cent.

Another measure of "20 years of Brown" is an accounting of how many Black students remain in all-Black schools. The first nationwide survey in 1968-69, showed the U.S. had 39.7 per cent in all-Black schools, compared to 68 per cent for the South.

The South had dropped to par with the national figure of 14 per cent in 1970-71, and the South had reduced its all-Black school enrollment to 8.7 per cent of the total Black students the following year, below the 11.2 per cent national figure.

SUPREME COURT CALLED FOR COMPLIANCE "WITH ALL DELIBERATE SPEED"

Statistical tables below show the pace of desegregation for the nation, the 11 southern states, the 6 border states and the District of Columbia, and the 32 Northern and Western states, in terms of Blacks in majority white schools, and Blacks in all-Black schools.

UNITED STATES

[In percent]

	South	Border and District of Columbia	North	West
Blacks in majority white schools:				
1968-69	23.4	18.4	28.4	27.6
1970-71	33.1	40.3	28.7	27.6
1972-73	36.3	46.3	31.8	28.3
Blacks in all-black schools:				
1968-69	39.7	68.0	25.2	12.3
1970-71	14.0	14.4	24.1	11.7
1972-73	11.2	8.7	23.6	10.9

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SCHOOL DESEGREGATION 1954-74

[In percent]

Blacks in schools with whites—11 Southern States:	
1954-55	0.001
1955-56	115
1956-57	144
1957-58	151
1958-59	132
1959-60	160
1960-61	162
1961-62	241
1962-63	453
1963-64	1.17
1964-65	2.25
1965-66	6.1
1966-67	15.9
1967-68	NA
1968-69	32.0
1969-70	NA
1970-71	85.6
1971-72	90.8
1972-73	91.3
1973-74	NA

A WORLD OUT OF CONTROL?

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, there is a very important message in the following column written by Stephen S. Rosenfeld which appeared in the Washington Post, May 17:

A WORLD OUT OF CONTROL?

(By Stephen S. Rosenfeld)

The state-of-the-world report that Mr. Nixon has issued annually since 1970 is late this year and, Watergate aside, it seems indicative. This is perhaps the most difficult and dismal year to assay the changes in one year since World II.

Indeed, I am sobered, even scared, by the way the world's problems appear to be spinning out of control. I find that various acquaintances share my apprehensions but, out of doubt, modesty or propriety, hesitate to express them. Most politicians, eager to play rainmaker, don't even breathe them. This scares me most of all.

First, by a coincidence—or is it a coincidence?—the Western democracies are all passing through, at the least, a crisis of confidence. In Europe, not to speak of the United States, governments are gasping, and citizens have lost confidence in the basic competence of government. Because of the oil price increases, Europe is speeding rapidly toward economic disaster, and almost no one pays heed.

The West has known many periods of crisis but for those of us whose political consciousness goes back no further than World War II, the current period is unmatched for its aura of rudderlessness and uncertainty.

Then, large and dark economic developments have become, in the last year, much more important to all of us and to our future than the political events in which most political leaderships routinely deal. This is profoundly disorienting.

To avoid nuclear war, to build political detente with Moscow and to ease third-area trouble spots like the Mideast remain vital projects. But even if they are done, resource pressures and "double-digit" inflation ride over political achievements and turn people relentlessly inward upon their own personal privations.

The International Institute for Strategic Studies, an establishment outpost in London, has just pronounced the Arabs' use of the "oil weapon" last October as bestowing "the greatest shock, the most potent sense of a new era, of any event in recent years." But no Western government is seriously preparing

to cope with the new era—Beltway traffic is over 60 again.

At the recent United Nations economic session, most third-world states blindly went on parting the old anti-American line, oblivious to the almost certain reality that the Arab (and Iranian) oil price increases will crush them, destroy them, some in just a few months.

Accustomed as we Americans are to high living, we may be less ready than any other nation to absorb the new intelligence that not only is our power in the world eroding—we had begun to deal with that—but our very standard of living cannot be protected from forces beyond our national reach.

Reading last Sunday in *The New York Times Magazine* that the new world conditions stump our best economists, I felt chilled. It would have been reassuring to learn that, say, when the economists got their heads together and then briefed Henry Kissinger, Humpy Dumpty could somehow be put back together again. But our problems go much deeper than one discipline's insight or one man's prowess.

The implications of the West's political crisis and the world's economic crisis go far beyond the trivial matter of issuing a state-of-the-world report.

We Americans, having just cranked ourselves through one major review of our international premises in the last five or so years, must start the process over again. For the Nixon-Kissinger premise of an essentially orderly 19th century kind of world, amenable to intelligent rational manipulation by the United States (and its adversaries and allies), is wobbling badly.

We will find ourselves more concerned, relatively, with new-style economic matters than old-style political ones; with our welfare rather than "peace." Less and less does diplomacy, in the Nixon-Kissinger sense of politicians arranging things between governments, seem an adequate tool in itself for managing our world interests.

Freedom, in the classical Western or Wilsonian sense, is in for even harder times. Americans have long hoped to see, and more sometimes actively tried to promote, a flowering of our values around the world. Not just national egoism but a hard-headed concern for the kind of international environment most favorable to us lay behind this desire. But freedom comes more and more to look like a product of good times, a luxury few can afford.

Finally, the demands on political leadership are going to mount fiercely. As publics get a firmer sense of being on the chute, real recrimination, viciousness and demagoguery become more feasible. We of the West and leaders who will describe our dilemma truly and enlist our best instincts and best resources in tackling it.

I feel strange sounding so alarmed. At home, we have just remodeled the kitchen: many people have in their private lives things which pleasantly divert them. No "critical mass" of public anxiety has yet been formed. But I think the grounds for it are there.

THANK YOU, RUTH BELDON

HON. RONALD A. SARASIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. SARASIN. Mr. Speaker, it seems odd that from time to time a U.S. Congressman should take to the floor to commend an act of simple decency and common courtesy, but that is what I am doing today.

About a week ago, one of my staff assistants had her wallet lifted in a downtown restaurant. There are many people in the city who know what a disturbing thing that can be, because there are many people who have had the same thing happen to them. She lost keys, credit cards, and the usual contents of a wallet.

A few days later, she received a call from Ms. Ruth Beldon, who found most of the contents of the wallet strewn in an alley and took the time to track down the rightful owner, after having telephoned the credit card companies.

Not only that, she volunteered to return to the same spot later to see if some of the other things could be found. She did this, and recovered additional papers and medical prescriptions. Although the wallet and the money were not recovered, my assistant was relieved to have her credit cards and other documents returned.

I offer my public thanks to this most thoughtful young woman, Ms. Beldon, and extend my hope that as citizens and neighbors, all of us will seek to follow her splendid example.

ANN SAUNDERS WILLIAMS

Hon. Yvonne Brathwaite Burke OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mrs. BURKE of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of Congress to the recent passing of a distinguished community citizen in Los Angeles, Mrs. Ann Saunders Williams.

Mrs. Williams was president of Public Relations International, founded by her husband Charles. Their concern handled the public relations for a number of leading organizations and companies, including the Samuel Goldwyn Studios, Atlantic Richfield Corp., Yellow Cab, Western Union, and Kraft Foods.

As a matter of fact, Atlantic Richfield honored Mrs. Williams in 1973 with its first "Wonderful World of Women" Award. She was given the Kappa Chapter Award "in recognition of (her) contributions and interest in the welfare of the sorority and her community."

Numerous contributions were made by her to scholarship funds and other worthwhile community projects in behalf of her clients.

Mrs. Williams came to Los Angeles from Canada and was educated at UCLA and Southwestern Law School. For a number of years she was successfully associated with exclusive Beverly Hills couturiers as a custom design consultant.

She held membership in the National Association of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, the National Council of Negro Women, and the Eta Phi Beta Sorority.

Mrs. Williams was survived by her husband, and two sisters, and brothers, Mrs. Nola Mae Smith, Mrs. Nadine Smalley, and Frank and Jake Saunders.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Mrs. Williams lived an exemplary life of service to her family and community. All who knew her mourned her passing and will recall her many creative activities for many years to come.

BETTY ANN KEEGAN

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, last month the people of the Rockford, Ill. area which I represent, lost to cancer a remarkable woman, State Senator Betty Ann Keegan. Ms. Keegan, a Democrat from a Republican area, was serving her first term as a State senator, having previously served as a delegate to the State's constitutional convention. Despite extreme pain in the last year of her life, she fought on in the general assembly for the issues in which she believed deeply, particularly the equal rights amendment. Senate Minority Leader Cecil Partee observed that—

It is a tribute to her strength and courage that, even when racked with pain and suffering, she continued to work hard on legislative tasks, and moreover, she never complained about her tragic illness, nor did she seek sympathy from others. She kept her smile and sunny disposition, maintained a stiff upper lip and trusted God's will.

Mr. Speaker, I recently received a letter from a friend who had worked closely with Senator Keegan in the general assembly. To quote from that letter:

I always found her to be a very warm person, with tremendous capabilities as a legislator. It is, indeed, tragic that she didn't have more time to complete the work she felt called upon to do. Nevertheless, in her short tenure as a State Senator and as a Delegate to the Constitutional Convention, she made many contributions, which will endure for years to come.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that all the people of 34th District are saddened by the death of Senator Betty Ann Keegan and will deeply miss her as their State senator and friend. At this point in the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, I include the full text of the eulogy of State Senate Minority Leader Partee, and a remembrance from the Chicago Tribune by Rick Soll:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR PARTEE ON THE DEATH
OF SENATOR KEEGAN

The State of Illinois and the citizens of the 34th District have lost a fine public servant. My sympathies and prayers are with the family of Betty Ann Keegan. May God comfort them and give them strength in this time of need.

Besides tirelessly and conscientiously looking after the needs of her constituents in the Rockford area, Betty Ann viewed her role in the General Assembly as something more than just a local legislative broker. She considered herself a representative of all the people of Illinois. Hers was not a provincial outlook; rather, she consistently based her actions upon what she thought best for the entire state.

It is a tribute to her strength and courage that, even when racked with pain and suf-

fering, she continued to work hard on legislative tasks. She simply refused to let her illness interfere with her duties as a public official.

Her stubborn determination in the face of a grave physical handicap enabled her to accomplish more than many public officials do when completely healthy. But in order to do so, it often meant reading reports, studying legislation or meeting with staff aides while in a hospital bed.

What is even more remarkable, Betty Ann never complained about her tragic illness, nor did she seek sympathy from others. She kept her smile and sunny disposition, maintained a stiff upper lip and trusted God's will.

I sincerely believe that I am a better person for having known Betty Ann Keegan. She was a woman of pioneer stock who demonstrated, with courage and bravery and strength, why her ancestors on the frontier were able to overcome the hardships and challenges and help settle this great land of ours.

Her character and her admirable record of public service over the years are the twin legacies she leaves behind for all of us to remember and cherish.

SEN. KEEGAN: SOFT WORDS SHOWED HER STRENGTH

May 3, 1973. A soft, slow, Southern-tempered day in the state Capitol. Almost like summer, really.

Had the patrician rules of the Senate allowed, gentlemen in the chamber might have shed their suit coats.

The session began with a great musician's—a great patriot's—testimony to the country he loved. When the Olivet Nazarene College choral group sang George M. Cohan's "Patriotic Fantasy," it brought a calm to the chamber which might not have otherwise found a place in the carpeted, paneled room normally loud with the passions of politics.

The music and the mood set the legislative stage for one of the fine moments in a woman's life; a woman now dead, but loved no more than she was that day.

That woman was Betty Ann Keegan—a Democrat from Rockford elected from a traditionally Republican district who was serving her first term.

She died Tuesday at the age of 54. She had spent her last year in the kind of pain that comes from cancer—pain which would have made many people quit. But she didn't, and that day in May, after the music was done, one of the very important issues in her life was introduced on the floor of the Senate. And if the sincerity and simplicity of Cohan's music struck a patriotic chord, it was followed by an act which fulfilled the promise of the songwriter's words.

The fact that she failed to accomplish her legislative goal that day never detracted from the spirit and resolve she demonstrated until last Tuesday, both in the Senate and in her hospital bed.

The matter before the Senate that day was the Equal Rights Amendment. It had been deadlocked for quite some time in the executive committee. A motion was made to discharge it from the committee so that the full Senate could decide its outcome.

Many arguments were made, pro and con. If the bill was not wrested from committee, it would die there for the next year, so the sanctity of the committee system itself absorbed a great deal of the debate.

It was in the heat of the debate that Sen. Keegan was recognized, and when she had finished her short speech, the eloquence and truth of her words mirrored the brawn and guts of the old songwriter.

She said: "This body ought to stand up and vote yes or no. This subject far overrides the limits of one committee. I encourage

all of you to have the gumption and manliness to bring this to the floor."

The Senators on both sides of the issue remained silent for the longest of moments, for what she had said was the real truth of the matter. What she had said transcended politics and referred to the basic courage of men and women to face an issue.

Those words brought the debate to a close and the issue back to where it belonged—to a vote. The measure needed 30 "yes" votes to pass, and failed, 28 to 19.

After the Senate session, she told a reporter that one setback doesn't mean failure. "Everyone must stand up and be counted," she said. "This bill is not only for women. This is the kind of thing that makes better partners of both sexes."

"Running away from an issue never solves anything. And it is not losing or winning that is most important, but whether you have the courage to be heard and keep fighting."

It was one of the days in her life for which she ought to be remembered. It was a day a strong woman asked the best from everyone.

Betty Ann Keegan never rested in her fight to secure legislated rights for women. During a year of insufferable pain she continued to struggle for the bill she felt would insure not only the dignity of women but also the dignity of men.

When she died, her family, understanding her feeling about ERA, asked that she be remembered not by flowers but by a vote for the bill.

Which is a request for life, not death.

THE FIGHT AGAINST CANCER

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my Washington Report entitled "The Fight Against Cancer":

THE FIGHT AGAINST CANCER

In these days when government is under attack from many quarters for not dealing effectively with the problems confronting it, it is timely to note an excellent example of the executive and legislative branches of government working together to achieve new hope and better health for millions of Americans. The Administration and the Congress have both been deeply committed to an expanded attack on cancer. Recently the House of Representatives, with only one dissenting vote, authorized a new extension of the National Cancer Act.

Cancer, the second leading cause of death, will attack one in four Americans now living. In 1974, it will strike more than 655,000 of them, and cause about 355,000 deaths. Beyond the incalculable toll in suffering, cancer produces an economic loss in the U.S. estimated at more than \$15 billion annually.

Even though the incidence of new cases of cancer continues to increase, the outlook for the control of cancer is steadily improving. One out of every three cancer victims expects to be alive five years after treatment. One and one-half million Americans who have had cancer are now well, and 218,000 of them will be saved from cancer this year. Overall, the probability of achieving a five-year cure is about 40%.

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Although scientists do not expect to find a single cure for more than 100 forms of cancer, they are exploring every promising approach in cancer research, prevention, diagnosis, and treatment. The fight against cancer has accelerated rapidly in recent years. In 1971, the National Cancer Institute appropriations were approximately \$235 million. In 1975 they will be about \$600 million, and the federal government will pay more than 60% of the total cost of cancer research. In addition, basic research sponsored by the federal government in the full scope of the bio-medical sciences is increasing because clues to advances in cancer may come from research in related fields. Deeply engaged in the anti-cancer effort are educational and non-profit institutions, and the international scientific community (over 19 foreign countries are supported in cancer research by the NCI), including daily communications by Telex line between American and Soviet cancer scientists. These accelerating efforts have produced several noteworthy accomplishments:

TREATMENT

Treatment methods now effectively use combinations of surgery, radiation and drug therapy. As a result, half of those children with acute lymphocytic leukemia, a cancer of the blood, are alive five years after diagnosis. Twenty years ago this disease had caused death in a few months in each case. Radiotherapy for the early stages of Hodgkin's disease, a cancer of the circulatory system, produces a five-year survival rate of more than 90%. Only five years ago it was 68%. There are indications that breast cancer may yield to combination treatment, and adriamycin, an experimental drug, shows promise against several devastating kinds of cancer. In 1972-73, the NCI screened over 78,000 chemicals for effectiveness against cancer.

DETECTION

Progress has been made in the early detection of cancer. X-ray examination and mass screening for breast cancer resulted in a one-third reduction in the death rate over a five-year period, and periodic examination for colon/rectal cancer is extremely valuable in detecting pre-cancerous conditions. Scientists are using immunologic techniques to detect cancer-related chemicals, or "markers" in the blood or urine of persons with cancer.

PREVENTION

Progress in understanding the causes of cancer may lead to its prevention. A stepped-up program to identify cancer-causing chemicals in the environment is underway. Approximately 445 chemicals are now being tested. Although about 110 of the nearly 1,000 known viruses produce cancer in many species of animals, there is no definitive data to prove that viruses cause cancer in human beings. However, scientists are accumulating evidence for some type of association of several viruses with certain types of cancer.

Totally new approaches to cancer control and prevention are emerging. Artificial genes may be used to learn how cancer starts and can be stopped; and enzymes may be identified that appear only in cancer cells, and blocking them would kill the cancer cells while leaving the normal cells unharmed.

FACILITIES

To deliver research results to the people, twelve Comprehensive Cancer Centers are already in operation, and six more will be added by July 1. They assist a network of other institutions to provide the best possible anti-cancer programs.

The control of cancer is an elusive and difficult goal, but each of us can take heart that the federal government is helping to

mobilize the best minds in this nation and in the world to prolong life, to ease suffering, and to bring new hope to cancer victims.

THROW THE BOOK AT ILLEGAL OIL PROFITEERS

HON. CHARLES THONE

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. THONE. Mr. Speaker, my weekly letter to news media for the week of May 6-11, expressed my disgust with those who illegally profited from last winter's oil crisis. I declared that the Federal Government ought to try to "throw the book" at such violators.

Many Nebraska farmers have called and written me suggesting that I share with other Members of the House of Representatives my feelings on this matter. Those engaged in agriculture have really been hard hit by the energy situation. Most fertilizer is produced with natural gas; and many farmers have been unable to obtain needed fertilizer at any price. Propane for irrigation and crop drying has risen 350 percent in price in a year. Farmers are investing heavily to plant crops with no assurance that adequate fuel will be available at harvest time.

The text of my newsletter follows:

THROW THE BOOK AT ILLEGAL OIL PROFITEERS

The federal government should "throw the book" at any and all who illegally profited from the past winter's oil crisis.

Now under investigation are transactions which may have resulted in more than 100 million dollars of illegal profits in gasoline, home heating oil, diesel fuel and propane. John C. Sawhill, who has been nominated to be the new administrator of the Federal Energy Office, revealed this in testimony before the House Government Operations Committee, of which I am a member.

Under the law, violators must roll back their prices, refund overcharges to customers and may be liable to a \$2,500 fine for each day they violated legal price ceilings. Testimony before our committee told of violations that seemed clearly intended to break or circumvent the law. Prosecutors should make a concerted effort to exact maximum penalties against those who thus flouted this law.

One of the vicious games that was played resulted from the fact that some oil regulations allowed a markup for each company through which petroleum passed. The energy office has already found about 10½ million dollars in illegal markups that involved transferring ownership of oil without moving the product or transferring ownership using bogus corporations.

When the Arabian boycott was placed on shipping any oil to America last fall, we had a genuine crisis on our hands. We must make sure that the big oil companies didn't profit illegally while the rest of us were sacrificing. For the long pull, we must learn to conserve energy and find new sources for it. But again, we must all work together. We must keep fair prices and not allow any to profit unfairly.

Twice in the past few months I have voted to impose an excess profits tax on the big

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oil companies. I also voted in favor of rolling back petroleum prices. These were tough decisions for me. But it must be kept in mind we're dealing with a near monopoly in an essential commodity in a time of crisis. It is obvious that we can't encourage production of more energy unless the companies that produce it can make enough profit to encourage new investment. On the other hand, big oil companies have in some instances taken advantage of the American public in the past year. They also have been most uncooperative with the government, in some cases, in providing solid evidence of just what their proven oil reserves are.

One area where rollbacks are certainly needed are in propane prices. Early in 1973, there was some propane shortage. Therefore, federal energy officials allowed a disproportionate share of the total cost of refining crude oil to be charged off to that petroleum converted to propane. Due to this and a relatively mild winter, the propane supply is adequate now. The prices are outrageous, however.

While other petroleum prices in some cases went up as little as 15 percent, propane prices rose as much as 350 percent. This is ridiculous. The federal Energy Office has acted to provide some relief on propane, but not enough. I support legislation that would rollback propane prices to the level of May 15, 1973.

The public will be better served, I believe, if Congress adopts the oil reform measures that have been adopted by the House Ways and Means Committee. The tax-writing committee proposes to phase out the oil depletion allowance that has allowed oil companies tax advantages for petroleum exploration they have done in the past. Ways and Means also proposes a new windfall profits tax on the big oil companies. They would be able to escape part of this tax by investing money in new oil exploration and production. Another change badly needed would alter the present situation that makes it more attractive as far as taxes are concerned for the oil companies to invest abroad instead of at home.

We must also make certain that the big oil companies don't use the energy situation to freeze out competition. FEO Chief Sawhill and I agree that the big oil companies have been taking over too many retail outlets. We must make certain that the bulk of the service station business remains in the hands of the independent operators. As part of his authority under the energy law, Sawhill has refused to allow oil companies to raise rents at this time for their lessees.

During the last several years, I have been working on a variety of measures to improve the long-range energy situation. For example, I introduced a bill to end the tax advantages that exist when new raw materials are used in manufacturing over recycled materials. I hope the Ways and Means Committee will adopt this proposal soon.

I also helped write the legislation now in House-Senate conference committee to consolidate all energy research into one agency, instead of the eleven now duplicating each other.

Most of all, I am thankful that in the height of the energy crisis, I consistently opposed gasoline rationing. Many leaders of the House and Senate were clamoring for rationing beginning in November 1973. If rationing would have been adopted, I'm convinced we would have a severe gasoline shortage right now and from now on. It is obvious that we must put some restrictions on to protect the public in the critical energy situation.

We must, however, solve our problems through our competitive enterprise system. If we get the government too involved, we will

not solve our problems but only get ourselves into a bigger mess.

JUDGES AND LAWYERS ASK SUPPORT FOR JUVENILE PROGRAMS

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, the National Council of Juvenile Court Judges and the National District Attorneys Association recently sponsored the First National Conference on Juvenile Justice. Representatives of all phases of the juvenile justice process—judges, prosecutors, investigators, social workers, and counselors—attended the conference. They urge that the juvenile court be accorded the support and status befitting an institution so crucial to crime prevention. The resolutions passed by the conference deserves our attention and consideration:

JUDGES AND LAWYERS ASK SUPPORT FOR JUVENILE PROGRAM

The National Council of Juvenile Court Judges and the National District Attorneys Association, united in an effort to coordinate all juvenile justice disciplines into a juvenile justice system, co-sponsored The First National Conference on Juvenile Justice, San Francisco, California, October 7-11, 1973. New Orleans, Louisiana, January 27-31, 1974.

All parties, at the latter Conference, being in accord, the following was unanimously voted, adopted and resolved:

RESOLUTION

Whereas, the Juvenile Court was created more than seventy years ago to rescue children from the criminal process and provide individualized treatment which will result in rehabilitation and correction of misbehavior but those hopes are as yet unrealized largely because of the failure to provide adequate resources and services to the Juvenile Court, and

Whereas, at least fifty percent of all criminal activity is attributed to juveniles and much of the remainder of criminal conduct is committed by adults who once were the subjects of the juvenile process, and

Whereas, the greatest opportunity for crime prevention and rehabilitation of offenders is to treat the offender at the earliest age.

Now, therefore, be it resolved, by the National Council of Juvenile Court Judges, the National District Attorneys Association, and the persons attending the First National Conference on Juvenile Justice—743 registered—at New Orleans January 27-31, 1974:

1. That the Juvenile Court be given the status its responsibility requires in order to elevate the Court from the second rate or step-child category to which it is assigned in some jurisdictions.
2. That the Juvenile Court be furnished adequate support and services to provide effective programs for treatment of juvenile offenders.
3. That the Federal Government give a higher priority to the funding of juvenile programs.

Be it further resolved, that a copy of this Resolution be furnished to: The President of the United States, The Members of the Congress, The Governor of the several states, The Presiding Officer of each House of each State Legislature, and The Chief Justice of each State and Possession.

May 22, 1974

NATIONAL DISTRICT ATTORNEYS ASSOCIATION,
Chicago, Ill., May 15, 1974.

Hon. RICHARD M. NIXON,
President of the United States of America.
Washington, D.C.

DEAR PRESIDENT NIXON: The enclosed Resolution reflects the feelings of all 700 persons who recently attended our National Conference on Juvenile Justice in New Orleans, Louisiana. It is interesting to note that this conference included representatives from all disciplines of the Juvenile Justice spectrum; Judges, Prosecutors, Investigators, Social Workers and Counselors to mention but a few.

It is the feeling of those attendees, as well as the undersigned, that the Juvenile Justice System has been the "stepchild" of the Criminal Justice System for too long a period of time. Therefore, I transmit this Resolution to you with the hope that you can lend to the intention of the Resolution the facilities of your office to expedite the purposes set forth therein.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN J. O'HARA,
President.

VERSAILLES FIREMEN HONOR SAM CLAY

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, Versailles Volunteer Fire Company No. 1 has singled out for well-deserved public recognition a charter member of the organization who has served his community faithfully for 60 years.

Mr. Samuel Clay was only 18 years of age when he joined the Versailles volunteers and he has seen its transition from a "bucket brigade" to one of the finest equipped firefighting units in southwestern Pennsylvania.

During his membership in the company, Sam Clay held every elected and appointed office, ranging from trustee to fire chief to president. Prior to the modern centralized radio communications and tone-activated alarms of today, the Clay household was the main post for alerting the borough volunteers to fires and other emergencies. The telephone in the Clay home was the link between the situation and the solution. Upon first ring, member of the Clay family would answer then run to activate the fire siren nearby and relay the vital information to volunteers racing to the fire hall.

Every member of the family took their turn at helping to provide protection for the citizens of Versailles. In Mr. Clay's absence, the responsibility of sounding the alarm fell upon his wife or children, regardless of the time of day or night. Later, Mr. Clay's two sons, William and Raymond, became active members of the fire company. They now are "life members" of the organization, each having more than 20 years service. Also, Mr. Clay's late wife and his daughter, Margaret, were active in the fire company's ladies auxiliary.

At the testimonial honoring Sam Clay, the officers and members of the Versailles Volunteer Fire Company declared it would be impossible to put a value on the thousands of hours this gentleman has devoted to serving and protecting the lives and property of friends and neighbors.

Mr. Speaker, I deem it a great privilege to join in the public tribute to Mr. Samuel Clay and to bring his accomplishments to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress of the United States.

FHA STATE FARM FAMILY OF THE YEAR

HON. ED JONES

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. JONES of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, one of Tennessee's truly outstanding farm families has recently been named Farmers Home Administration Family of the Year for Tennessee. The Billy Griggs family of Kenton, Tenn. has been active in farming, church, and civic work in their community for many years. It came as no surprise to me when I learned that the Griggs family had received the FHA award.

The Humboldt, Tenn., Courier-Chronicle recently featured a story on the Griggs family which I commend to everyone who has known and appreciated their work over the years. It is my privilege to include the text of the article at this time:

GRIGGS FAMILY OF KENTON NAMED FHA STATE FARM FAMILY OF YEAR

The Billy Griggs Family of Kenton, Tennessee, on the Gibson County side, has been named Farmers Home Administration Family of the Year for Tennessee for this year.

The award was presented to the Griggs Thursday at a luncheon and awards banquet held in Nashville. Previously, the Griggs had been named District winners.

The Griggs family is the third family honored in the "FmHA's" State Farm Family of the Year program. The award was established in 1971 for the purpose of honoring families who have demonstrated outstanding progress as farmers and rural citizens. Farming methods, financial progress, family living, property improvement, community leadership, and overcoming adversities are some of the criteria used in making the selection.

This year's winner was selected from among 6 families who earlier had won district titles throughout the state. The Griggs' will now enter in competition with the winners from other states for selection of the national "FmHA" Farm Family of the Year.

The main speaker at the luncheon was Mr. Lucius Dickerson, Assistant Administrator for the Farmers Programs of FHA. The State Director of FHA, Mr. Paul Koger, presided over the meeting. The luncheon was attended by other agency directors including state, local, and federal officials.

The Griggs are a picture of an All-American family. Their modern brick home lies west of Kenton. Both Mr. and Mrs. Griggs are active in their church work, their civic life, and both dedicated to the everyday tasks of making a living for themselves and their family.

They were both born and raised near Mason Hall. She was the former Wilma Jo Hall. Both

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graduated from Mason Hall High School and both were named valedictorians of their senior class in their respective graduating years.

They were married in 1953. They now have three children, Tommy 16, Timmy 14, and Tracy 7. The boys naturally join dad in the operation of their farm programs.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Griggs grew up on a farm and both were well familiar with farming and the duties and responsibilities.

They now have some 666 acres which is devoted mainly to row crops and the feeding of hogs. 233 of these acres are owned and the remaining 433 are leased.

The Griggs began their "FmHA" operation when they applied for a loan in 1963. This was approved in 1965 with a farm ownership loan. They have since applied to FmHA for two other loans. One in 1965, and the other in 1972 which was a rural housing loan and the one which gave them their beautiful home.

But farming is only one part of their very active lives, as stated before.

They are members of the Bethpage Baptist Church and where Mr. Griggs is a deacon and Sunday School teacher. The two older boys are also presidents of their Sunday School classes.

Mrs. Griggs is the church pianist and a Sunday School teacher.

Mr. Griggs is a member of the Kenton Lions Club and both are active PTA members. He is also an ASCS County Committee man, a Farm Bureau Member and serves on the SCS Advisory board.

She is a farm bureau vice-chairman, and has been a delegate to the State Farm Bureau and National Farm Bureau Conventions. She is also vice-president of the Tilghman Home Demonstration Club.

In 1965, Mrs. Griggs was chosen the Home Demonstration Club Woman of the Year.

And, the children . . . yes they are active too. Tommy, an 11th grader, is a member of the Beta Club, FFA, treasurer of the school class and just last week, received his State Farmers Degree from FFA in Knoxville.

Timmy is vice-president of the school band, and serves as Den Chief of the Boy Scouts. Tracy is in the second grade, and lives for the day he can be like his two big brothers, and can take an active part in the farming operation.

So, quite a family and Mr. Griggs sums up the success of their family unit this way. "It is a total family operation. It takes all of us together to make a complete operation." And, while Mr. Griggs is the mainstay of the farming operation, still Mrs. Griggs is right in there. "I can do most all of it if it became necessary." She does keep the books.

"A lot of hard work and determination has brought us to this point," said Mr. Griggs. Farming has turned around the last few years. People used to look down on farmers, but people seem to look up to farmers now," he added.

David Farless, Assistant Manager of the Gibson County FmHA office stated "The overall family activities, and accomplishments of their farm operation has made them a success. They exemplify what a farm family should be, and FmHA's choice is a perfect one. We congratulate the Griggs family."

BROWN AGAINST BOARD OF EDUCATION

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, 20 years ago this month, the

Supreme Court ruled in its landmark decision, *Brown* against Board of Education, that "separate but equal" public education was unconstitutional. This decision has had far-reaching social impact. Its implications are still being studied, questioned, validated and discussed. But it has also had significant effect on the lives of many individuals.

The following remarks by William B. Gould, a professor of law at Stanford Law School, delivered at a meeting with Chief Justice Earl Warren, describe the influence of *Brown* against Board of Education upon his life. I believe that my colleagues will find his views and thoughts a significant reflection on the meaning of equality.

The remarks follow:

REMARKS BY WILLIAM B. GOULD, PROFESSOR OF LAW, STANFORD LAW SCHOOL

Twenty years ago this May, the Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education* that separate but equal was unconstitutional in public education. This pronouncement was heard round the world—and it was the first definitive answer provided by our government to what the world knew to be the shame of this country, i.e., the caste system which imposed the badge of inferiority upon Negroes throughout the United States.

I recall vividly May 17, 1954 and the reports of it contained in the following day's edition of *The New York Times*. I was seventeen years old then, a high school senior in a small New Jersey town. At that time I had little knowledge about plaintiff's petition for writ of prohibition lodged with the Supreme Court in 1896 against segregation in public transportation in which petition he "averred that he was seven eights Caucasian and one eighth African blood; that the mixture of colored blood was not discernible in him, and that he was entitled to every right, privilege, and immunity secured to citizens of the United States of the white race; and that upon such theory he took possession of a vacant seat in a coach" reserved to whites.

Although I did not know much about *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1954 I knew full well the low esteem in which black people were held by most white citizens of this country—a point made dramatically by President John F. Kennedy in 1963 when he said: "Who among us would be content to have the color of his skin changed and stand in his [the Negro's] place." I knew from personal experience the truth of what the first Mr. Justice Harlan had said in eloquent dissent in *Plessy*, i.e., that segregation was simply formalization of the master race theory. And I was also well acquainted with the debilitating impact of such attitudes upon the willingness of the oppressed to identify with one another so as to effectively stand up against the oppressor. In this connection it is to be recalled that the plaintiff in *Plessy v. Ferguson* predicated part of his prayer for the relief upon the ground that African blood in his veins was "not discernible".

I am extremely proud to be on the same podium with you, Mr. Chief Justice. For there is nothing which was more important in my decision to become a lawyer than that event of May 17, 1954—your opinion in *Brown v. Board of Education*. That decision gave me and other blacks the hope and belief that the law could address itself to racial injustices in this country and that I as a lawyer could make some contribution to end the old order against which my parents had struggled. In their day the struggle was against hopeless odds—hopeless because all who possessed African blood were isolated, ridiculed, despised—and thus regarded as unfit for occupations and work that the white man was willing to perform.

Brown changed that. Regardless of the contemporary debate about issues like community control, self determination, and integration, *Brown* was important to all black people because it gave us hope that we would have our day in court—both literally and figuratively. *Brown* turned us as a nation away from the path of South Africa and made the principle of racial equality a respectable one amongst many educated people. It encouraged civil rights advocates to protest through the courts and elsewhere and to fight back against injustice in all forms. It prompted Congress to move on its own initiative and to pass, amongst other important statutes, comprehensive fair employment practices legislation such as Title VII of Civil Rights Act of 1964.

It was May 17, 1954 that set the stage for these developments and others, and it is that decision and the difficult experience with the implementation of its principles—which had been a teacher to the courts charged with the interpretation of Title VII. This is so because *Brown* and its judicial progeny taught us that the past of racial inequality is inseparable from judicial consideration of the present—and that the affirmative dismantling of segregated institutions is a prerequisite to equal opportunity. And so it is in employment cases—where in the past decade independent federal judges appointed for life have struck down segregated seniority lines and discriminatory no transfer policies which held blacks down in less desirable and low level jobs. These same judges have laid siege to hiring preference for the sons of white workers and their friends and relatives where the effect of such preference is to perpetuate an all white work force or job classification.

Brown also opened the way for the very important decision of the Supreme Court of March 1971, *Griggs v. Duke Power*, where the Court, unanimous as it was in 1954, held that discrimination can be found even when there is no intent to discriminate. The Court was able to arrive at this conclusion in *Griggs* in part because its involvement with the issues in *Brown* and in other civil rights areas had made it clear that blacks as a group were not receiving educational benefits in our country equal to those obtained by whites. From here it was a short step to conclude that employment practices such as written examination, educational qualifications and apprenticeship programs which reflected societal inequities and which were not related and necessary to the job that a black applicant sought, were discriminatory under federal law.

And finally, the experience with *Brown*—especially between 1954 and 1968—made it clear that centuries of racism would not easily disappear and that delay therefore could no longer be tolerated. All of this prompted the Court to say that segregation must be eliminated both “here and now” and “root and branch”. The federal courts in dealing with employment cases have learned well from this history—and have therefore not been content to merely slap offenders on the wrist, but at a relatively early stage of the development of the law, have imposed goals and timetables for hiring and promotion of blacks and other minorities when there was no other way to remedy discrimination, slapped back pay awards upon defendants and, most recently, awarded millions of dollars of punitive damages against those who flagrantly violate the law.

Mr. Chief Justice, I am pleased that you could be with us today to commemorate this historic decision. *Brown* was and is the first step in our journey of a thousand miles. I do not believe that there can be a turning

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back from the new era of morality ushered in by that decision.

For that reason alone, I and all who believe in equality of the races, pay tribute to you and the *Brown* decision today. For me, Mr. Chief Justice, and people of all colors throughout the world, you are a man for the ages. You have given us the hope that we dared not have previously—the hope that our children will become adults in an age of equality—an age in which fate denied our parents the right to live.

GILMAN SEEKS INCOME TAX EXEMPTION FOR POLICE AND FIRE PENSIONS

HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, on May 21 I introduced H.R. 14937, which provides for an exemption from the Federal income tax on income from pensions paid to retired police or fire officers, their dependents or survivors.

This measure recognizes that society can never fully repay the great debt we owe the courageous, selfless public servants who protect our lives and property.

All too often, these men perform their duties at risk of their lives. Many do not live to retirement. Their sacrifice and dedication deserve appropriate recognition.

Tragically, the grieving survivors of these men often face severe financial hardships in being limited to the income of firemen or police officer's pensions. The spiraling cost of living has made it extremely difficult to make ends meet on the limited income available from such pensions.

I urge my colleagues to join with me in supporting this legislation as an expression of our gratitude and appreciation for the difficult task being courageously and diligently performed by our police and fire officers.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the full text of this bill in the RECORD:

H.R. 14937

A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that pensions paid to retired policemen or firemen or their dependents, or to the widows or other survivors of deceased policemen or firemen, shall not be subject to the income tax

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) part III of subchapter B of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to items specifically excluded from gross income) is amended by redesignating section 123 or section 124 by inserting after section 122 the following new section:

“Sec. 123. Pensions paid to retired policemen or firemen or to their dependents or survivors.

“Gross income does not include any amount received as a pension, annuity, or similar benefit to the extent that such pension, annuity, or benefit is based on service which was performed (by an individual who is retired or deceased) as a full-time policeman or other law enforcement officer, or as

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a full-time fireman, in the employ of a Federal, State, or local government or governmental entity.”

(b) The table of sections for such part III is amended by striking out the last item and inserting in lieu thereof the following: “Sec. 123. Pensions paid to retired policemen or firemen or to their dependents or survivors.

“Sec. 124. Cross references to other Acts.”

Sec. 2. Section 72(p) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (cross reference relating to annuities) is amended—

(1) by striking out “REFERENCE.—” and inserting in lieu thereof “REFERENCES.—”, and (2) by adding at the end thereof the following:

“For exclusion of pensions, annuities, and other benefits paid to retired policemen or firemen or to their dependents or survivors see section 123.”

Sec. 3. The amendments made by this Act shall apply only with respect to taxable years ending after the date of the enactment of this Act.

OBSTACLES TO INTERAGENCY COORDINATION

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the following excerpt which supports the need for interagency coordination in U.S. international science policy as indicated in H.R. 14242, the International Science and Technology Transfer Act of 1974. This excerpt was taken from “U.S. Scientists Abroad: An Examination of Major Programs for Nongovernmental Scientific Exchange,” prepared by the Science Policy Research Division, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, for the House Committee on Foreign Affairs:

OBSTACLES TO INTERAGENCY COORDINATION

A number of factors militate against coordinated program planning. One of these is that U.S. international science programs and policies have not been fully recognized as part of either foreign policy or science policy and is reported to different congressional committees.⁴⁰³ A third is that some policy.⁴⁰⁴ A second is that while each program has a number of overlapping purposes, each is carried out under its own statutory authority and agreements provide for funding and program commitments which are rarely brought to the attention of Congress until they are *fait accompli*.⁴⁰⁴

A fourth consideration which must minimize expectations of effective coordination is the unsuccessful history of actual attempts to provide this function. Two agencies have responsibility in the past for coordinating, on a government-wide basis, international science policies and exchange policies. These are the International Committee of the Federal Council for Science and Technology and the Bureau of International Scientific and Technological Affairs, Department of State.

FOOTNOTES

⁴⁰³ Most U.S. Scientific exchange programs proliferated in response to specific opportunities presented by either diplomacy or science. Only a few were established under explicit congressional mandate. The latter in-

clude, for instance, the international health activities of the National Institutes of Health, authorized by the International Health Act of 1960 (Public Law 86-610); and the exchange programs of NASA and AEC sanctioned by formal intergovernmental agreements, some with congressionally mandated authorities. The Fulbright-Hays program was established under a mandate for advancement of cultural and educational cooperation; NSF and NAS programs were fully established and functioning long before the Congress gave the Foundation an explicit authority to support foreign and international science for their own merits rather than primarily to enhance the domestic science base.

On the need for more explicit legislative statement of international science policy goals, Herman Pollack, director, Bureau of International Scientific and Technological Affairs, has "advocated a 'more adequate statement of national policy and legislative authority for international scientific ventures.'" (U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Science and Astronautics, *Toward a Science Policy for the U.S.: Report*, October 15, 1970, p. 50, citing Pollack's testimony in hearings on National Science Policy.)

Dr. Edward E. David, Jr., as President Nixon's science adviser, suggested "... that we need an international science policy just as it has been suggested that we need a national science policy and that can only be enunciated with the aid of the Congress. If such a policy were put forward strongly, I believe it would have a major impact on the agencies of Government, in that they would then see it as part of their mission. I think today, because of the way our programs are structured or not structured, very often the mission agencies do not see their role in international science cooperation as being on a par with their domestic mission." (A General Review of International Cooperation in Science and Space: Hearings, op. cit., p. 7.)

⁴⁴ Herman Pollack in 1965 summed up the effects of this fragmentation:

"... The budgets of the various departments and agencies that carry scientific and technical programs are ... built around the ... domestic missions ... They are in the process of putting together an annual or a projected plan over several years ... in terms of priorities that are developed essentially from their perspective of the domestic considerations. ... Each of these departments ... is ... concerned with its own responsibilities ... It protects its own budget ... and there is ... a mutual diffidence about not getting into the other fellow's territory.

... There are opportunities and ... requirements ... where it will be desirable for the United States to pursue a scientific relationship ... that is neither related, per se, ... to the priorities that have been established ... for the pursuit of domestic purposes or that do not fit the jurisdictional territories and boundaries that have been established by the nature of the U.S. Government organization ... Agencies don't feel ... that they are authorized to spend funds available to them for this kind of activity. [And] it hadn't been anticipated in the development of their budgetary program. They have their own congressional committees to deal with, their own constituencies in the United States to take into account.

... If it involves more than one agency, it immediately gives rise to coordination and division of responsibility, and when you get to three or four you have all the complications and problems of committee management. (Government and Science: Review of the National Science Foundation, Hearing: Vol. 1, 1965, 89th Cong., 1st sess., 1965, pp. 469-470).

⁴⁴ Legislative recognition of this problem was indicated in the passage of Public Law

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92-403, August 22, 1972, which required that the Secretary of State transmit to both the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee copies of all international agreements, other than treaties, entered into by the United States. However, these agreements are to be transmitted after the fact within 60 days after their signing; thus, intensive congressional consideration is likely to occur only in the most unusual circumstances involving severe legislative-executive differences. Also, the sheer number of such agreements militates against their in-depth consideration by the Congress. See the extensive listing of such agreements in: U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Separation of Powers, *Congressional Oversight of Executive Agreements: Hearings on S 3475*, 82nd Cong., 2nd sess., April and May 1972, 668 pp.

WOMEN'S ATHLETICS: NO SPORTING CHANCE

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

MR. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, in 1972, 12-year-old Maria Pepe, just dropped as pitcher from a New Jersey Little League team, said:

They don't do nothing for girls in Hoboken, only boys.

This year they are doing even less for girls in Hoboken—and boys, for that matter; the conflict over girls in Little League has scuttled teams throughout New Jersey.

During the same 2 years, controversy over women in sports has delayed enforcement of an amendment which bans sex discrimination in educational institutions. On one side are those who are rooting for the rights of women and girls; lined up against them: the National Collegiate Athletic Association and the National Association of College Athletic Directors—an impressive array of college athletic interests.

Women in sports has quickly become the most visible issue in the fight for women's rights, an issue so timely and complex that the Washington Post has published an excellent four part series to cover it. We plan to submit all four over the next several weeks, and begin today with the colorful background article:

NO SPORTING CHANCE

(By Bart Barnes and Nancy Scannell)

The biggest major sports battle of the past year was not on television. It did not take place in a packed stadium before a crowd of screaming fans.

It happened in hundreds of courtrooms, in the offices of principals and coaches, on Little League baseball diamonds and at school board meetings.

Women, in growing numbers, declared war on the tradition that American sport is reserved for men only.

What is happening is a revolution that strikes to the core of American custom and folkways.

Competitive sport has always been considered to be a way to develop boys into men. Girls have been left along the side-

lines, cheering the boys on—practicing the supportive role they could expect to play as women.

The sports sex revolution now has the power of law behind it. Currently on the books and being readied for implementation are federal regulations that extend the ban on sex discrimination into the area of competitive sport.

The new regulations could cause a dramatic overhauling of the big-time men's college sports system. At the very least they will lead to a thorough reappraisal of men's athletics.

Beyond that, the awakening of the woman athlete is part of a fundamental change in woman's role in our culture. Nowhere does the conflict between the new and the old attitudes toward women generate more sparks than on the playing field.

In countless studies and surveys advocates of improved sports programs for women and girls have found that sex discrimination in athletics is ubiquitous and ingrained.

Examples:

In Waco, Tex., the public schools operated a \$250,000 athletic program for boys in seven sports but spent only \$970 on girls' athletics. A study by Women's Equity Action League found that of \$1 million in athletic facilities and equipment only tennis balls could be used by girls on a regular basis. Waco schools therefore currently stand to lose up to \$1 million in federal funds.

A survey of 60 junior and senior high schools in the State of Washington found not one where the physical education budget for girls was even 50 per cent of that for boys.

An investigation of athletics in the public schools of Ann Arbor, Mich., found nearly 10 times as much money has been spent on boys' athletics as on girls'.

At the University of Maryland, there is an athletic budget of \$2,015,000 that includes 100 football scholarships and nine in basketball at a cost of \$2,840 apiece. The budget for women's athletics this year is \$19,000, or approximately the cost of seven football players for one year.

A coalition of eight women's organizations found that in the public schools of Dallas, girls accounted for only five per cent of the more than 9,000 students between grades eight and 12 participating in interscholastic sports. Dallas schoolgirls are effectively denied use of nearly \$10 million worth of public facilities such as stadiums and field houses, the group said in a formal complaint.

These figures suggest one measure of how the athletic establishment discriminates against women. But women say their problems go beyond money to the attitude that it is somehow unfeminine for a female to demonstrate ability in sports.

This and three subsequent articles will examine how the ferment in athletics has the potential to recast the entire sports picture in America today for men as well as women, from the sandlot to the college stadium.

The articles are based on scores of interviews with athletes, coaches, athletic directors, representatives of national sports organizations, school and government officials, leaders in the women's movement and on research papers and court documents.

They will discuss how implications of what's happening go beyond athletics, for in many ways the sports revolution is a microcosm of the women's movement.

The movement already has surfaced at the elementary school level in protests that textbooks tend to stereotype girls as passive creatures. Boys when they appear in the elementary texts are usually active and competing. Girls tend to be shown in frilly

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dresses, smiling pleasantly and helping mother around the house.

In hundreds of conflicts from Maine to California, the concept of sports as one of the last bastions of male supremacy is undergoing a sustained attack. Women—and some men—are demanding that their daughters have an opportunity equal to that of their sons to share in the sports programs, facilities and equipment of the nation's public schools.

Women have become jockeys, letter-winning football players, wrestlers and boxers in the last few years. But such accomplishments still are exceptions to a generally rigid rule.

And often they are met with diehard resistance from the male athletic establishment.

The New Jersey Superior Court, in a decision expected to have nationwide impact, ruled this March that girls must be permitted to play Little League baseball along with boys.

Philip DeMarco, a salesman from Middletown, N.J., and chairman of the Save the Little League of New Jersey Committee, said many leagues across the state will simply close this year rather than admit girls.

"The Little League has been a viable organization and a service, especially to boys in this state, and it's going right down the sewer," DeMarco said. "Our rights have been taken away. I will not be part and parcel of this type of operation."

The New Jersey decision grew out of a ruling last November by the State's Civil Rights Commission that barred Little League from discriminating against girls while using public parks and playgrounds.

"The institution of Little League is as American as the hot dog and apple pie," hearing examiner Silvia Pressler said. "There is no reason why that part of Americana should be withheld from girls."

Maria Pepe, a then 12-year-old pitcher in Hoboken, started the battle two years ago. She won a place on a team but was dropped because Little League rules prohibit girls. The National Organization of Women took up her case.

"They don't do nothing for girls in Hoboken, only boys," Maria said at the time.

Three years ago, two high school girls in Connecticut went to court when they were denied places on their school track and swimming teams.

In a 1971 decision, since reversed by a federal court, a state judge held:

"The present generation of our younger male population has not become so decadent that boys will experience a thrill by defeating girls in running contests whether the girls be members of their own team or an adversary team. Athletic competition builds character in our boys. We do not need that kind of character in our girls, the women of tomorrow."

The case was tied up in court for two years; finally, a year ago in January, the Connecticut high school athletic association amended its rules to let girls compete with boys.

But it is at the college level, where vast sums are set aside for recruiting, scholarships, public relations and expensive athletic equipment for men, that the tremors are being felt most keenly. Some in the athletic establishment are bracing for an earthquake. What's at stake is nothing less than the continuation of old-time, big-time college sports.

The regulations in Title 9 of the 1972 Education Amendments are intended by Congress to bar sexual discrimination in a number of areas including athletics. The penalty for violation is the loss of federal

funding, a price few school systems or universities could pay.

Proposed guidelines drafted by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare took two years to write, primarily because of the sensitivity of the athletic section. They have been circulated unofficially throughout the athletic establishment although the period for official comment for the record has not yet begun.

One of the more far-reaching and controversial sections provides that recipients of federal aid such as institutions and school systems:

"Shall not discriminate therein on the basis of sex in the selection of sports or levels of competition, provision of equipment or supplies, scheduling of games and practice times, travel and per diem allowance, awarding of athletic scholarships, opportunity to receive coaching and instruction, assignment of coaches and instructors, provision of locker rooms, practice or competitive facilities, provision of medical and training facilities and services, publicity or otherwise."

To Walter Byers, executive director of the National Collegiate Athletic Association, the regulations are ominous indeed. They mean, he says, the "possible doom of intercollegiate sports. It has taken us 60 years to reach our level of amateur sports in this country."

In plain English, Byers and sports directors around the country are afraid the government will force them to spend more money on women's sports and so starve the already hard-pressed men's programs.

Only 10 per cent of the college athletic departments in the United States are able to finance their athletic budget with the income from revenues-producing sports. The other 90 per cent must dip into public money.

At the University of Maryland, athletic director Jim Kehoe calls the proposed guidelines "unfair, unreasonable and impractical." They fail, he says, to recognize the "cold, hard facts of life" in trying to run an athletic program off two moneymaking sports, football and basketball.

And editorial and sports writers in the national media have joined in the outcry.

"After all what are we after, a race of Amazons? Do you want to bring home a companion or a broad that chews tobacco?" said Furman Bisher, sports editor of the Atlanta Journal in a column in the March 9 issue of *The Sporting News*. "What do you want for the darling daughter, a boudoir or a locker room full of cussing and bruises? A mother for your grandchildren or a hysterectomy? . . . educated their men to handle situations worse than this, then we deserve feminization."

In the *Washington Post* on April 21, sports columnist William Barry Furlong also launched a scathing attack on women athletes: "The clean hard sexist fact is that there are at least three other things I'm going to examine about a woman—four, on the chance she has a brain—before I even begin to think about her golf swing." At other points in the column, Furlong refers to women athletes as "grotesqueries."

HEW's Gwen Gregory, the lawyer in charge of drafting the Title 9 guidelines, emphatically denies they are intended to destroy men's sports.

"From the school representatives I've talked to, I certainly think it will have a substantial effect at most schools. I don't think that change spells disaster, however."

A good deal of the reaction so far to Title 9, Gregory says, has been panicky and alarmist, and some of it deliberately distorted. While the guidelines do require that women be given an equal opportunity to participate in sports, she said, they do not require

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a down-the-middle division of everything including money and scholarships.

What the legislation is aimed at, she said, is eliminating such instances as:

"When a woman's track team organized a meet the year before, and the week before the meet the men's track coach called and said, 'We need it (the track) for practices and you have to cancel' and they canceled. That plainly is wrong."

"When a men's hockey team is given expenses and transportation to go to Olympic tryouts and the women wanted to go for figure skating and they wouldn't let them go. Public funds were used to transport the men. When men are transported by airplanes and given a big steak the night before the game and the women are giving bake sales in order to afford a bus to take them and their peanut butter sandwiches in brown bags . . . when locker rooms are available only to the men . . . when swimming pools are available only after 9 p.m. so the women go over them and have to wear their wet suits home in the snow . . . and then they say that women aren't interested in sports. Well, you lose your interest when you're freezing to death in your wet suit."

Indeed, the women's issue extends even to the question of athletic scholarships for women, an extremely controversial issue with important implications. Until a year ago, the associates that govern intercollegiate sports competition for women barred all women on athletic scholarships from competition.

But last year the ban was lifted after 15 women tennis players on athletic scholarships at Florida's Broward Community College and Marymount College filed a lawsuit in federal court.

Still, the number of women getting a college education through an athletic scholarship is only a fraction of the estimated 50,000 males, athletes on whom such schools as Ohio State and Penn State depend to operate their multimillion-dollar sports programs. And it's those programs that may feel the impact of the women's movement most acutely.

PITTSBURGH'S NEWSPAPERS ARE BACK

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, Pittsburgh's two great newspapers, the morning *Post-Gazette* and the afternoon *Press*, are back in circulation after a 46-day strike shutdown which left a very important part of the Nation without adequate news coverage.

I join the people of the Pittsburgh community in welcoming the papers back. To say they were missed is a monumental understatement. TV and radio admittedly was unable to fill the void. The fine papers in neighboring cities such as the McKeesport, Pa., *Daily News* could not keep full pace with the increased demands upon them.

Our newspapers render a service which we too often fail to appreciate while they are in regular publication. They bring word of community activities. They publish obituaries. They tell of weddings. They keep us informed of the

life about us to the point where we more meaningfully can play our part in it.

I realize that some newspapers in our country have been under attack on the grounds of bias in their news reports on Government and for violations of the rights of persons in public life who have met their probing scorn.

But on balance, we are the most fortunate people in the world in having newspapers which are highly informative as well as vigilant in what they consider the public interest. More than this, we have in our papers the data which is so necessary to us—the information on our schools, our churches, our clubs, our local governments, our sports, and all the other ingredients which make up the compound of American society.

The people of Pittsburgh are well aware of this now—after 46 days without newspapers. Store sales were off. Entertainment programs failed to draw as they would have otherwise. Even the Pittsburgh Pirates got off to a poor attendance start this season at their new Three Rivers Stadium and have slumped very badly on the playing field. Perhaps they have needed the attention of the sports writers. They are getting it now.

I am interested, inasmuch as part of Pittsburgh is in my district, at what the TV and radio news people have said about their inability to fill the big news gap while the papers went unpublished. They tried manfully to do their duty to the public. Some publicized lists of obituaries. Suburban affairs got unprecedented attention. Efforts were made to explain new home rule charters which were on the primary election ballots of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County.

"But we feel strongly that any time there isn't a paper, it is a tragedy for the community," said Bill Aber, KDKA-TV news editor. "There are a lot of things we can't do, like running the classified ads, obits, vital statistics and legal advertising. And we cannot provide the indepth coverage the papers can. The feeling is one of frustration."

Mr. Aber's comment was echoed by others among Pittsburgh broadcasters. And I am certain, too, that he spoke for the people generally. The papers were sorely missed. We are all glad they are back. Indeed, their first post shutdown editions seemed to send a new burst of life through Pittsburgh, a feeling akin to that which comes with quick recovery from a depressive illness.

ON THE NEED FOR BETTER BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago, the House General Subcommittee on Education, of which I am a member, held hearings in New York City on the subject of bilingual education. At that time, I testified as to the need for

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increased funding of these bilingual programs as well as the need to have all ethnic groups be able to fully participate in these important programs.

During the course of the hearings, individuals and organizations serving as spokesmen for various ethnic groups testified on the urgent need to increase funding for bilingual education. One of these organizations was HANAC, the Hellenic-American Neighborhood Activities Committee.

HANAC is a New York City-wide organization created in November of 1972 in response to the needs of the growing Greek-American community in New York City. It is funded by the city to both study the needs and develop services to assist the Greek community.

Mr. Speaker, at this point in the RECORD, I would like to insert HANAC's testimony at the bilingual hearings. Their analysis of the problems as well as their recommendations for improvements in bilingual educational programs are worthy of my colleagues' consideration. The key to success in this world continues to be guided on a decent education, and a decent education is a fundamental right which all children regardless of their nationality should be able to enjoy.

The testimony follows:

TESTIMONY OF HANAC

In December 1973 HANAC completed its study on the needs and problems of the Greek-American community in New York City. A major part of the study focussed on bi-lingual education and English as a second language. Briefly, the study documented that there are approximately 350,000 Greeks in New York City, along with a yearly Greek immigrant influx to the United States of 40,000, most of whom eventually settle in New York. Among these Greeks it would be a conservative estimate to say that 90% have a language problem. This not only is a handicap to the adults, but poses a critical problem in the educational process of their children and the difficulty which their children experience in learning English and maintaining a satisfactory academic level of achievement. Their needs have been largely ignored.

The Greek child's educational problem is intensified when one takes into consideration that he or she has already been educated to some degree in an alphabet and phonetics different from those of the English language and the romance languages. Greek children who master the new alphabet and its phonetics learn to read well, but have difficulty comprehending what they read. This represents special cognitive problems, which we hope to study further. An additional problem facing the teaching of the immigrant Greek child is that the teacher is handicapped in his or her efforts by the lack of appropriate and sufficient educational materials. The result is that makeshift materials are developed to fill the void. If intelligent and significant bi-lingual programs are to be developed it is essential that the necessary books and other learning materials be developed and made available to teachers.

A further need is to recruit Greek bi-lingual teachers who are familiar with the language and culture of the Greek immigrant child. The bi-lingual teacher can offer a sense of security to the child which comes from an understanding and acceptance of his origins. Greater attempts must be made

to reach out and involve the immigrant parents in the education of their children.

The question of cultural background is important in assessing the younger child's school adjustment. At the HANAC office, there have been a number of cases where concerned and sometimes outraged mothers came to us to complain that their children have come home from school saying, "I wish I did not have to be Greek." To us, such incidents are symptomatic of the fact that in the cultural and educational patterns in our schools, there are elements which fail to preserve the pride and dignity in each child's feelings towards his own identity and ethnic roots.

HANAC's studies repeatedly uncovered the fact that the Greek immigrant child was not a disciplinary problem in the sense of being disruptive in the classroom. To the contrary, the Greek child was described as being shy, and often withdrawn. It has been suggested that this is a cultural reaction for the Greek child in response to the frustrations he faces in school. It is potentially more damaging to the child than acting-out would be, as it both hampers his educational progress and at the same time does not focus on the fact that he has problems. It is HANAC's point of view that bi-lingual studies, plus auxiliary programs for the child, would act in a therapeutic manner to overcome the psychological problems before they became too serious.

The recent *Lau vs. Nichols* Supreme Court decision points up the discriminatory nature of an educational system which does not provide a bi-lingual program for a non-English-speaking minority. At this time in the New York City public schools 96% of the non-English-speaking Greek children are being denied the full benefits of public education. Based on HANAC's findings and evaluation of present conditions it recommends urgently that immediate steps be taken to correct the present state of affairs. Specifically, HANAC recommends:

1. The establishment of the position of a New York City Coordinator of Greek bi-lingual education. The purpose would be to insure the beginning of a comprehensive city-wide approach to meet the needs of the Greek-speaking child.

2. The exploration of potential funding sources on the federal, state and city levels.

3. The formation of organizations of parents to become involved actively in the education of their children.

4. The institution of an intensive and extensive recruitment of Greek bi-lingual teachers.

5. The development of Greek bi-lingual educational materials.

An area of great concern is that legal requirements may be acting to prevent needed programs from reaching a minority differentiated by language. At present there is not one Title VII bi-lingual program for Greek children in the entire nation. We respectfully submit that more can be done in behalf of the Greek child who presently is being educationally disadvantaged for lack of such programs. Rather than look backward, HANAC would suggest that we begin to formulate the means by which such programs can be instituted in the schools.

In passing, it should not be overlooked that there is a proportionate need for bi-lingual education in the adult community of the Greek-American immigrants as well as among their children.

It would seem to be incumbent upon the Office of Education, Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare to investigate the needs expressed by the Community and then take appropriate action to fulfill those needs. Between the HEW, the local Boards of Education and the Community, it should be-

come apparent that it is possible to work out a program conforming to the law and satisfactory to the Greek-American Community.

In other words, if there is a real need, it should be recognized as such. The Subcommittee surely can revise existing legislation to implement these proposals. We at HANAC put ourselves—our experience and energies—at your disposal, with the fervent hope that an early conclusion may be reached in order to develop better conditions of learning for the children of the Greek Community.

REGRESSIVE RENT MEASURE

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, on May 16, the New York State Legislature passed a rent-regulation bill designed to satisfy the demands of a number of conservative Republican assemblymen. The bill ignored many of the provisions of Governor Wilson's proposed, and reasonable, rent control bill.

Vacancy decontrol will continue to afflict the tenants of New York City landlords rule. Albany has failed to provide adequate protection for tenants against rent-gouging and intolerable living conditions. As the following editorial from the New York Times of May 17 indicates, the system approved by the legislature has been shown to be ineffective and inequitable. By not requiring fair and effective rent procedures, the legislature has condoned victimizing of tenants by landlords.

The editorial follows:

[From the New York Times, May 17, 1974]

RUNOUT ON RENTS

In the shambles of the adjournment rush at Albany, the Republican majority in the State Legislature—with clandestine help from Governor Wilson—has undone the sensible rent control bill agreed upon by the Governor, Mayor Beame and a bipartisan coalition of legislators from New York City. In its place, the Legislature has enacted a measure that provides almost no relief from the irresponsible vacancy decontrol law adopted three years ago.

Under the new measure, tenants wanting to move into a vacant apartment will have to accept whatever rent the landlord decides to set; only after they have committed themselves can the tenants file an application with the rent stabilization authorities challenging the figure's fairness. Landlords get better protection than tenants in the yardsticks for determining fairness, and tenants will be further disadvantaged by Albany's scrapping of a proposed "warranty of habitability" that would have compelled landlords to furnish decent maintenance.

The Governor's apparent intention to sign this lopsided measure is particularly inexcusable in the light of the findings of the Temporary State Commission on Living Costs, appointed by his predecessor, Nelson A. Rockefeller, with the primary purpose of reviewing the operation of vacancy decontrol. That commission found that the law had failed to meet the test of equity in its first thirty months. Rents in vacancy decontrolled apartments were up 52 per cent, but there were no overall dividends for tenants on the basis of better service or renovation. On the contrary, the commission reported

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a 40 per cent drop in spending on improvements.

Governor Wilson can still demonstrate his good faith in seeking a law fair to tenants and owners by vetoing the measure now before him and putting rent control on the agenda of the special session he plans to call.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD the preliminary report of the observer mission sent to Chile by the International Commission of Jurists. The mission visited Chile from April 19 to 28. The members of the mission are listed below.

The report contains the following conclusions:

First, ill-treatment, sometimes amounting to severe torture is carried out systematically by some of those responsible for interrogation;

Second, due process is severely lacking in the military trials; and

Third, approximately 10,000 persons are being held as political prisoners—charges are often not filed against them and many are held "incommunicado" for long periods.

Foreign Affairs Subcommittees on Inter-American Affairs and International Organizations and Movements have been holding a series of hearings on the human rights situation in Chile. On May 23 the subcommittees will be hearing from one of the members of the ICJ observer mission—Mr. Covey Oliver, former Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. On June 11 the subcommittees will be hearing from a Department of State spokesman.

I believe these hearings are particularly timely in view of the administration's request to the Congress to provide Chile with nearly \$85 million in bilateral U.S. economic assistance, military assistance, and credit sales. For Chile, the administration is requesting \$800,000 in military assistance—grants—and \$20,500,000 in military sales credit. Congress should, I believe, take a very close look at these requests. A government which is committing repressive acts against its people, as the International Commission of Jurists' report reveals, should not be entitled to American arms. As Members of Congress we run the risk of being accomplices in these repressive acts if these arms become the instruments of oppression.

The reports follow:

PRELIMINARY REPORT OF ICJ MISSION TO CHILE

A three member mission visited Chile from 19 to 28 April 1974 on behalf of the International Commission of Jurists to enquire into the legal situation with regard to human rights.

The delegation was composed of:

Mr. Niall MacDermott, Secretary-General of the ICJ and former Minister of State in the U.K. government.

Professor Covey Oliver, Professor of In-

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ternational Law at the University of Pennsylvania, former US ambassador to Colombia and former Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs in the US State Department,

Dr. Kurt Madlener, specialist in Spanish and Latin-American penal law at the Max Planck Institute of International and Comparative Penal Law, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, West Germany.

The delegation met various Ministers, judges, advocates, academic lawyers and others concerned with human rights, including Cardinal Raul Silva Henriles.

In the attached preliminary report the mission expresses the view that present judicial procedures and safeguards do not meet the minimum standards which Chile is bound to observe under Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions, 1949. In particular, they state that ill-treatment, sometimes amounting to severe torture is carried out systematically by some of those responsible for interrogation.

The procedures in political trials before the Military Courts were found to be very summary with the role of the defense lawyer severely restricted. From the decisions of these Courts there is no appeal, even when serious errors of law have occurred.

The mission obtained the impression that the numbers of political prisoners have been substantially reduced in the last three months, but that many arrests are still being made and that most prisoners are held without charges being filed against them. They estimate a total of 10,000 persons in custody in one form or another. Persons are sometimes arrested anonymously by plain clothes men in vehicles without number plates which makes it impossible to tell who has arrested them or where they are being held. Many are held "incommunicado" for long periods.

The mission recommended that an appeal system and other procedural safeguards be introduced and that steps be taken by the Chilean authorities to reduce the risk of ill-treatment of prisoners. In particular the delegation recommended that:

(1) the maximum permitted time for holding a prisoner "incommunicado" should be strictly enforced;

(2) relatives should be informed of the arresting authority and place of detention;

(3) lawyers should have access to their clients at any stage after the initial period of "incommunicado".

These recommendations have been forwarded to the Chilean authorities.

With respect to the situation of foreigners who had to come to Chile as refugees before the military coup and then wished to leave, the mission states that the matter has been substantially resolved in accordance with Chile's obligations under international law.

1. We visited Chile on behalf of the ICJ from 19-28 April 1974 to enquire into the legal situation concerning the protection of human rights. The principal purpose of our mission was to investigate the legal safeguards at present in force in Chile for the protection of persons detained for political and security reasons.

2. We had meetings with the Minister of the Interior, the Minister of Justice, the Members of the Supreme Court, the Council of the College of Advocates, Cardinal Raul Silva Henriles, and a large number of other persons including many practicing lawyers and professors of law with experience of the problems we were enquiring into. We were greatly assisted by the Staff of the Committee of Cooperation for Peace in Chile. This is an interdenominational organization sponsored by the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish communities to provide legal and other assistance to detainees and their families. They have an unparalleled knowledge of the situation with which we were concerned.

3. We will first make a few brief remarks

about the context within which the present legal system is operating.

4. It became increasingly evident to us that Chileans are still deeply and passionately divided by the events leading up to and following the military coup on September 11, 1973, and that it will take some time to heal the wounds of the past, but we hope that the Junta will before long indicate the period of time within which they expect to be able to return the country to civilian rule. It is to us, and we believe to all Chileans, unthinkable that Chile should be numbered among the totalitarian states. It is a country with a deep and long tradition of respect for democratic freedom under the rule of law. An expression of intent to restore democracy with a definite and reasonably short period would, we believe have a stabilizing effect, help the process of healing to which we have referred, and enable a phased restoration of basic human rights.

5. Chile is at present ruled by decree following the proclamation by the Military Junta of a "state of siege" and "state of war". Following these proclamations all normal democratic liberties are suspended, including press freedom, the rights of association and assembly, freedom of speech, trade union rights, the right to strike and freedom of education. No political activity is allowed. The political parties of the former coalition government have been declared illegal and other parties have been suspended. A curfew at night is in force.

6. The explanation given for these and other severe restrictions on traditional freedoms are the need for a temporary period of control in order to reduce the divisions of the past, and to enable the security authorities to overcome the potentially violent forces of opposition which are believed to exist underground and across the national frontiers, with substantial supplies of weapons clandestinely imported under the previous regime.

7. In examining the legal system now in operation we have accepted the hypothesis that an emergency situation prevails in Chile and we have looked to see whether there are those minimum legal safeguards and protections of individuals rights which are to be looked for even in a serious state of emergency. More particularly, our concern has been to ascertain whether, in accordance with Chile's international obligations in time of internal war (under Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions, 1949), there are in force those "judicial guarantees which are recognized as indispensable by civilized people."

8. Our enquiry focussed in particular upon the legal aspects of the arrest and trial of persons suspected of having committed offences for political reasons and the arrest of persons whose preventive or administrative detention is thought necessary on grounds of internal security. No official statistics are published of the number of persons arrested and held in custody for these purposes. We are satisfied that the total has been very greatly reduced in the last three months, perhaps by as much as 50%.

On the other hand, substantial numbers of arrests continue to be made. On the information we have received, the best estimate we can make is that there may now be between 6,000 and 7,000 persons in detention. Of these probably about a third are awaiting trial and the remainder are being detained without charge on security grounds.

The conditions in many places of detention is bad, and we welcome the announcement made while we were in Chile that detainees on Dawson Island will be transferred to the central area of Chile.

9. In addition, at any given moment there may be as many as a further 3,000 people under arrest at any one time who are being held for questioning in military barracks, police stations, or other interrogation centres by one of the four security intelligence au-

thorities of the armed forces (army, navy, air force, and carabineros).

Sometimes these arrests are made anonymously by persons coming in plain clothes in vehicles with no number plates. No one is able to find out who has arrested them, or where they are held. Many are held incommunicado for long periods. Some are later transferred to camps or prisons for detention or for prosecution. Others are released, perhaps to be re-arrested later. It is, we believe, under interrogation at this stage that most of the cases of ill-treatment occur.

We received most convincing evidence to support the declaration of the Catholic Bishops on April 24, 1974, that there are "interrogations with physical and moral pressure".

We believe that the various forms of ill-treatment, sometimes amounting to severe torture, are carried out systematically by some of those responsible for interrogation and not, as many people sought to persuade us, in isolated instances at the time of arrest. *Habeas corpus (amparo)* and similar remedies have not been effective to deal with these problems.

10. Under the state of war, those accused of offences against internal security are tried before military courts martial called Councils of War. The procedure is very summary, and the role of defence lawyers is severely restricted. In addition, and most seriously, there is no appellate tribunal and the Supreme Court has renounced any power to supervise or review their decisions. This results in a serious lack of uniformity in procedure and sentencing policy. We have received abundant evidence that many serious errors in law and procedure by these military courts have occurred and there is no judicial procedure by which these errors can be remedied.

11. We are of the opinion that the present judicial procedures and safeguards do not meet with Chile's obligations under Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions referred to above. We respectfully put forward the following recommendations to meet what are, we consider, the minimum requirements.

12. We recommend that the military procedures available under the Code of Military Justice in time of peace should be introduced, if necessary by decree law. This would provide an appeal system and other necessary procedural safeguards.

13. To reduce the risk of ill-treatment of suspects under interrogation, we recommend that:

(i) the maximum permitted period of "incommunicado", which we were told by General Bonilla, Minister of the Interior, is three days or up to eight days in exceptional circumstances on the authority of a senior officer, should be strictly enforced;

(ii) relatives should be informed of the arresting authority and place of detention at the time of arrest, or as soon as possible thereafter;

(iii) lawyers should have access to their clients at any stage after the period of "incommunicado", whether they are charged with an offence or not.

14. We are preparing, and propose later to publish, a full report explaining our findings and comments upon the present legal system in Chile.

15. We also enquired into the situation of foreigners in Chile, in particular refugees from other Latin American countries, about which a great deal of international concern was expressed after the coup. We consider that the government has fully met its obligations under the various relevant conventions to which Chile is a party. Nearly all of those wishing to leave have been permitted to do so, whether they sought asylum in foreign embassies, or were resettled with the help of the United Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees, or left on their own by

lawful means. Others, perhaps fearing they might be arrested, have left clandestinely. Only two foreigners are known to have been sentenced by military courts, and about twenty others are awaiting trial, of whom half are released on bail. Some hundreds of the original ten thousand or so aliens still remain, and a small number (about 5 or 6 each week) are still coming forward asking to be resettled as refugees.

16. We were in Chile during the week of the notable call for Christian toleration and national unity by Cardinal Raul Silva and the Catholic Bishops of Chile. As this was also the first week of the Air Force trials, some other non-Chilean groups were showing by their presence their interest in human rights and democracy in Chile. In undertaking this mission for the International Commission of Jurists we were motivated by a deep interest in Chile's great people. We leave with hope for their future and the assurance that Chileans today, as always, cherish their finest traditions.

CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, this Monday, May 20 was the 72d anniversary of the independence of Cuba which we commemorate in celebration of May 20, 1902, when the Cuban people gained independence from Spain. It is the sad misfortune of the people living in Cuba today that government repression of their individual freedoms remains a vestige of the Castro regime. Only those Cubans living outside Cuba can truly celebrate this independence day while to their great sadness 8.2 million of their countrymen remain shackled by a totalitarian dictator whose regime is economically and politically dependent on the Soviet Union.

Nevertheless, the spirit of independence of the Cuban people remains alive in the hearts of millions who have bravely fled their homeland by planes, boats, rafts and every other conceivable means in order to find a haven free from harsh political and economic sanctions imposed upon their civil liberties by Castro.

I am amazed and concerned over the thinking of some people in the United States during recent months that we lift the 1961 trade and travel embargo of Cuba and reestablish diplomatic relations. This to me is unthinkable as long as Castro continues to repress the freedoms of the Cuban people—as long as Castroite terrorists continue to subvert other countries in South and Central America—and as long as there is a strong possibility that missile-carrying submarines and naval vessels based in Cuba present a threat to the security of the United States. I would hope that the President and the State Department of the United States will not take any action to renew economic and political relations with Cuba until these vestiges of tyranny and jeopardy to U.S. security are eliminated.

Mr. Speaker, I would again like to commend the Cuban people for their spirit in fighting for their freedoms in

the face of continued repression in their homeland. I would also like to take this opportunity to commend the Cuban Crusade organization on their dedication and service in this cause. Mil gracias amigos.

MARTIN CATTONI AWARD FOR EXCELLENCE

HON. BOB ECKHARDT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Speaker, on May 8, 1974, Thomas E. Wright III, received the Martin Cattoni award for excellence in periodontics at the University of Texas at Houston Dental Branch. The award, designed to recognize both academic and clinical excellence among seniors at the dental school, was established in memory of the outstanding achievements of the former chairman of the Department of Medicine, Dr. Martin Cattoni. Dr. Cattoni also held a professorship of endodontics and periodontics at the dental branch.

Dr. Cattoni's distinguished career, which encompassed practice, teaching, and writing in the field of endodontics and periodontics, reflected Dr. Cattoni's international background and continuing concern with dental care throughout the world.

Born on January 30, 1915, Dr. Cattoni received a Bachelor of Science degree from the University of Asuncion, Paraguay, in 1932 and a doctor of dental surgery from the University of Montevideo, Uruguay, in 1936. He earned a master of science of dentistry from the Northwestern Graduate School in 1949, and was awarded an honorary doctor of science degree from the University of Antigua, Columbia, in 1953.

In 1952 he became an associate professor of medicine and chairman of the Department of Medicine at the University of Texas at Houston Dental Branch. He also served as a consultant or on the staff of the World Health Organization; the hospital ship, *Hope*; the USAF Hospital at Lackland Air Force Base, San Antonio; the Veterans' Administration Hospital in Houston, Tex.; the U.S. Public Health Service Hospital, Galveston, Tex.; U.S. Army, Fort Hood, Tex.; Texas Children's Hospital; and M. D. Anderson Hospital and Tumor Institute, Houston, Tex.

At the time of his death on July 12, 1973, in Asuncion, Paraguay, the country he represented as Honorary Consul in Houston, Dr. Cattoni was on a lecture tour of South America. He had recently been selected as vice president-elect of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and was serving as chairman of the 1973 session of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. These two honors were only the most recent of a long list of academic and professional honors received from throughout the Americas.

This record of accomplishments and these honors, however, reflect only a part

of the man. With it all he was a man with enormous concern for humanity, a man of such contagious enthusiasm that it was reflected in all around him.

It is only now that the pain of losing so good a man, so dear a friend, is beginning to be just a bit tempered by the realization of his deep and lasting influence upon students, professors and practitioners of dentistry here and in many lands. This Martin Cattoni Award for Excellence is a fitting memorial, a continuing recognition of his own excellence.

PETER D. REED: PROMINENT AND LOVED CITIZEN OF SAN ANTONIO, TEX.

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, the city of San Antonio, Tex., is one of the most historical and cosmopolitan of the New World, not just of our country. It has existed under six different flags of six different sovereignties. Its heritage of culture, language, architecture, music, food is rich and deeply rooted. Its people and inhabitants reflect this diversity and pluralism.

This is why a man named Peter D. Reed evokes and symbolizes this cultural and social heritage. This is why a man named Peter D. Reed would hardly be considered to have been a citizen who was born in Sabinas, Coahuila, Mexico, and coming to San Antonio early in his life was identified, not with the dominant, English-speaking contingency but rather solidly identified with and a part of that singular conglomeration, of Mexican descent and Spanish speaking, that at one time in the city's development constituted a nation within a city, as I have pointed out for years as a significant historical achievement that has little noted or altogether overlooked by historians.

Yes, this great man named Peter D. Reed by his forebears who settled in the northern State of Coahuila in Mexico and helped to develop that area by stimulating its commerce and industry, by talented endeavor, and by hard work. Mr. Reed had to learn English, and even at the terminal point of his career a definite and marked accent could be noted.

But Peter D. Reed did not strangle in the separation of ethnic isolation and segregation. Rather, he struggled from the beginning, by toiling hard and eventually establishing his own small grocery business in the midst of the harshness of the depression.

It was at this point, and coinciding with my own youth, that Mr. Reed established the Peter D. Reed Red and White Grocery Store on the corner of West Euclid and Camaron Streets, in the neighborhood where I was born. The economic forces of adversity were rampant throughout San Antonio with peculiar ferocious strength. This same location of the Reed enterprise was precisely

the site where two previous ventures had floundered and failed. In fact, it was there that I lost my only paying job at the time—15 years of age—with a Mr. Walling who had Walling's Grocery and Butcher Shop. So, a few years later I was one of the first to appreciate the tremendous business acumen and ability of Mr. Reed; for his business flourished and prospered in the midst of hardship. His family also grew and his children, Alice, Marina, Peter, Henry, and Mary Lou became neighbors, playmates, and companions.

But Mr. Reed, being a very enterprising man, began to think in terms of pioneering in the field of manufacturing candles and related products, and while he was carrying on his grocery business began the second by renting a vacant site in an old structure on Medina Street, near the intersection of West Commerce. Soon, he was so successful in his candle manufacturing business that he closed the grocery store and concentrated on his latest venture.

This business grew steadily and dramatically—soon it was a major venture and eventually it has become one of San Antonio's most productive and successful businesses, enriching the community, providing employment through the years to hundreds, and gradually expanding its area of activity and its active trade territory to many miles beyond San Antonio.

Thus, at the age of 82, when the Lord Almighty called Mr. Peter D. Reed on May 1, 1974, to his eternal sleep, one can truly say: Here is a real American, who has enriched his city, raised a very wonderful family successfully, earned the respect and encomiums of his fellow citizens, and left a matchless heritage.

Mr. Peter D. Reed was very shy, withdrawn, and dedicated to his business only, when I persuaded him to join the Pan American Progressive Association by making one of the largest cash contributions to that endeavor in 1947. The Pan American Progressive Association, of which I was one of the founders and the first executive director, has been the only substantial organization made up of business executives, made up of almost 100 percent Mexican-American citizens, to have been formed in the history of San Antonio, dedicated to not only business and commercial progress but social betterment as well.

This seemed to have been the triggering mechanism that exposed Mr. Reed to his fellow citizens and once he was known and recognized for his ability he was called upon time and time again to render service to the community. Because of Peter D. Reed we have inherited the most active Little League baseball and other youth endeavors in that section of the city that most needs this.

Mr. Reed eventually became president of the Pan American Optimist Club, the San Antonio Charro Association—eventually, elected the president emeritus of this organization—he was honored by mayors, judges, Governors, and a host of business and community leaders.

On May 1 last, we in San Antonio lost a great and productive leader. We all miss him but he has left a rich and invaluable heritage of service that will forever memorialize Peter D. Reed.

REV. LEON SULLIVAN OF
PHILADELPHIA

HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, one of the Nation's outstanding clergymen and leader of men comes from the great city of Philadelphia. The Reverend Leon Sullivan is one of the most outstanding citizens in the city of Philadelphia. The Reverend Sullivan is the founder and national director of Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, an organization which he put together to provide self-help for the blacks and other minority groups.

The Wall Street Journal on Friday, May 17, 1974, contained a front page story outlining the great work that the Reverend Sullivan has accomplished since his arrival in Philadelphia in 1950 and his work with the OIC since 1964. I am indeed pleased that the Wall Street Journal has recognized his great work and has seen fit to bring it to the attention of citizens all across the country. Philadelphia is honored to have such an outstanding citizen working within its community. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include within my remarks the text of the Wall Street Journal article on Mr. Sullivan:

LEON SULLIVAN PUSHES JOB TRAINING AS KEY TO BLACKS' SUCCESS

(By Thomas J. Bray)

PHILADELPHIA.—Leon Howard Sullivan leans his six-foot, five-inch frame forward in the pulpit, gazes sternly out over his congregation and launches into his weekly sermon.

"God likes to stir people's nests from time to time." (Scattered amens.) "God stirred America's nest in the '60s during the civil-rights movement." (More amens; his voice rises.) "God stirred President Nixon's nest, and little Mitchells and Deans fell out." (Laughter, "right-ons.") "And God's stirring your nest—because he wants you to stand on your own two feet." (Loud chorus of amens and approval.)

It's an old theme—God helps those who help themselves—but one on which Leon Sullivan is well-qualified to preach. As founder and national director of the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, Mr. Sullivan has made a career out of self-help for blacks and other minorities. The OIC program began 10 years ago in an abandoned police station in the North Philadelphia slums and has since grown into a network of more than 100 job-training centers across the nation. Over 150,000 disadvantaged and unskilled workers have been trained and placed in jobs ranging from brickworking to court reporting, and labor experts praise the OIC as one of the most successful and efficient manpower programs going.

AN INFLUENTIAL LEADER

The OIC program has helped make the 51-year-old Mr. Sullivan one of the more influential black leaders in the U.S. "He comes as close as any man to being my idol," says Jesse Jackson, the charismatic Chicago civil-rights leader and onetime aide to Martin Luther King. Politicians of both parties regularly beat a path to Mr. Sullivan's door, and the businessmen who have lent their support read like a Who's Who of American industry. In 1971, Mr. Sullivan

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became the first black director of General Motors.

The OIC hasn't been Mr. Sullivan's only contribution to the black cause. He was a key—if youthful—organizer of the 1943 equal-rights march on Washington. In the 1950s, as pastor of Philadelphia's Zion Baptist Church—the largest church in Philadelphia, white or black—Mr. Sullivan pioneered the business-boycott techniques later adopted and expanded upon by the civil-rights movement. "It was one of the stellar contributions to the movement," Chicago's Mr. Jackson says.

But it was the OIC program that brought Mr. Sullivan to national attention. He had begun his Philadelphia OIC in early 1964 with less than \$750,000, most of it raised privately; Mr. Sullivan mortgaged his own home to help meet start-up costs. The federal government, desperate for new ideas and programs that might help dampen growing inner-city tensions, was quick to embrace the OIC concept, however. Several million dollars in federal funds flowed into OIC coffers in 1965; by 1970, the sum had risen to \$13.5 million, and in the current fiscal year, it is expected to reach about \$23 million.

A GROWING CHAIN

The result has been a steadily growing chain of job-training centers modeled along the lines of the Philadelphia OIC. But the OICs haven't been without problems. A number of them are little more than shells, floundering for lack of local leadership or suffering from mismanagement. Others have been closed in the wake of revenue sharing, which gives city halls a veto power over financing. Federal cutbacks in manpower spending have also hurt; the OIC, which now is almost entirely financed by the federal government, started this fiscal year expecting to receive \$32 million in funds from Washington but has been cut back twice to the current \$23 million level. But, as one staffer puts it, "The most impressive thing is that the OIC still exists at all."

In any case, the ups and downs of Mr. Sullivan's operations tell much about minority efforts to implement the gains of the civil-rights movement of the 1960s. Mr. Sullivan's career is also a remarkable story in its own right.

INTEGRATING LUNCHROOMS

That career started in Charleston, W. Va., where Leon Sullivan was born in a dirt alley to a mother who was an elevator operator and a father who was a janitor. He was raised mainly by his grandmother, and it was apparent fairly early that young Leon had brains, ambition and zeal. He was a good student, a good athlete—and a constant pest to white lunchroom owners who tried to deny him service. "I tried to integrate every place that said blacks couldn't enter," he recalls. "I couldn't understand why my people put up with it." Occasionally, he was successful: one establishment served him a Coke after he recited the Declaration of Independence from memory.

Mr. Sullivan won an athletic scholarship to West Virginia State College, and when an injury put an end to his football and basketball career, he worked his way through school in a steel mill. He also picked up a little extra cash as an itinerant preacher. In person, he is soft-spoken, almost shy, but his pulpit style is in the best tradition of fire-and-brimstone Baptist revivalism.

Soon after graduation, Mr. Sullivan encountered a flamboyant Harlem minister (later to be a controversial Congressman), Adam Clayton Powell, who was in West Virginia on a speaking engagement. Mr. Powell, impressed by the youth, invited him to New York, where he helped organize the wartime civil-rights march on Washington and entered prestigious Union Theological Seminary for his doctorate in divinity. For several years, he also served as assistant

pastor of Mr. Powell's powerful Abyssinian Baptist Church.

In 1950, Mr. Sullivan came to Philadelphia as pastor of Zion Baptist, which then had a congregation of about 600. (It now is about 6,000.)

"There was a big problem with gangs," Mr. Sullivan recalls, "so I did a lot of youth work, organizing basketball leagues and things like that. But then I began to realize that a big reason for juvenile delinquency was unemployment. So I contacted every large company in Philadelphia—about 300 of them—and asked them to at least give job interviews to some of the kids. I wasn't asking them necessarily to hire all the kids, just to take a look at them. I heard back from 10 companies, and two said they would."

Outraged by the lack of response from the business establishment, Mr. Sullivan called a meeting of Philadelphia's 400 or so black clergy. He emerged with their backing for a massive business boycott. Boycott tactics had been tried before, notably by Harlem's Mr. Powell, but they were usually applied on a limited scale, such as demanding a few jobs as checkout clerks at local stores within the black community.

The Philadelphia boycott was designed to pressure companies on a citywide basis, starting with such vulnerable concerns as bakers and soft-drink bottlers. Blacks constituted about 20% of the city's population, and Mr. Sullivan estimates that at one point the boycotts involved nearly a half-million consumers. "After a while, all you had to do was show your face at a company" and more jobs would become available, he recalls. Between 1959 and 1962, he figures, several thousand jobs were opened up for blacks.

Other observers recall the boycotts as being less successful for the number of jobs they opened up than for the sense of pride and organization they instilled in the black community. Mr. Sullivan shared the spotlight with the boycott's other organizers, but he was clearly the leader. His reputation was solidified when Martin Luther King asked him to go to Atlanta to help organize the boycotts there.

At the same time, however, Mr. Sullivan was moving beyond the protest tactics of the civil-rights movement. "Jobs were becoming available," he says, "but our people couldn't do them."

The result was the OIC. At first, Mr. Sullivan thought the solution lay in mobilizing the savings of the black community to form companies that would train and employ other blacks. "I got the idea from Jesus feeding the 5,000 with loaves and fishes," he says, referring to a Biblical story that emphasizes the Christian concept of sharing. Mr. Sullivan asked members of his congregation to set aside \$10 a month for 36 months—the 10-36 Plan, he called it—to form the seed capital for his ventures. More practical heads, however, persuaded Mr. Sullivan to separate the investment and job-training aspects of his program.

From the start, the OIC didn't claim any startling new concepts in training as such. But it was soon apparent to the OIC staff that enrollees needed something more than training in skills. "The transition from unemployed to employed can be a lot for some of these people to grasp," a Philadelphia OIC staffer says. "Our feedback was that many people were losing their jobs not because their technical training wasn't adequate but because of personal problems and attitudes."

A feeder program was quickly established to acquaint the trainees, about half of whom are welfare recipients ranging in age from 21 to 40, with the realities of the largely white workaday world. The students learn such rudiments as how to apply for a job, how to take employment tests, how to

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accept criticism from their future bosses—and how to make complaints of their own. Punctuality, courtesy and social amenities are stressed; gum chewing and wearing hats indoors are out, good diction is in. One classroom is lined with mirrors to make students aware of their dress and grooming. "Basically," says Lorraine Lockett, an instructor, "we teach them to conform."

The applicants also take refresher courses in basic math, reading and oral communication during the feeder program. When the enrollees are judged ready—usually in two to five weeks—they are sent to the job-training centers. The Philadelphia program, for example, offers 14 courses ranging from key-punch operator to auto mechanic; there are four centers around the city. Close continuing contact with employers and careful follow-up work with trainees have produced a relatively high job-retention rate; more than 50% of the trainees are still on the same job six months later. (And a good many others move on to other jobs, it is believed.)

"That shapes up just as well as most company-run training programs," says a Labor Department official in Philadelphia who monitors the OIC program here. Adds a labor expert with an old-line civil-rights organization: "The OIC may not place its people at the highest level, but it is definitely productive—unlike most government programs that are supposed to deal with the hardcore unemployed." The OIC also says it does the job more cheaply—for about \$1,500 a trainee, compared with about \$3,500 in most federally financed programs.

For the enrollees, however, there can be financial problems. No stipends are paid in the OIC program, making it difficult for many to attend classes regularly but ensuring that those who do tend to be fairly well motivated. For various reasons, about a third of the enrollees drop out during the feeder program or during actual job training.

At about the same time that Mr. Sullivan was beginning the OIC program in the mid-1960s, he was also forming Zion Investment Association, an investment company in which parishioners provided most of the capital. (This was an outgrowth of his old 10-36 Plan.) ZIA bought some garden apartments, built a new shopping center in North Philadelphia and started several companies that supply parts to the aerospace and automotive industries. Assets now are about \$5 million, and ZIA has more than 8,000 stockholders.

But like the OIC, Zion Investment Association has had its share of problems. ZIA has stubbed its toe badly on several investments, notably a garment-manufacturing operation that attempted to double as a job-training program. The aerospace company lost \$500,000 last year, and the automotive-parts concern has been hurt, like other auto suppliers, by the energy crisis. Mr. Sullivan got a chilly reception recently when he approached John Bunting, chairman of First Pennsylvania Corp., Philadelphia's biggest bank, to ask for financing for shopping centers in other cities. "I told him we only back successes," says Mr. Bunting, whose bank had nonetheless been a heavy lender to earlier ZIA ventures.

Mr. Sullivan contends that ZIA eventually will turn the corner; one of his priorities is to help ZIA become a self-sustaining, dividend-paying enterprise. "It won't be easy," Mr. Sullivan says, "but it has to succeed so minorities can see that they can manage businesses, too."

Another of his goals is to cajole General Motors, of which he is a director, to assign more dealerships to blacks, promote more blacks to executive positions and train more black mechanics.

And, always, there's Mr. Sullivan's church, which burned down in 1971 but has been rebuilt on a larger, more modern scale, com-

plete with a day-care center, classrooms for adult education and a gym for the basketball league that Mr. Sullivan organized nearly two decades ago.

It is from his modest church salary that Mr. Sullivan receives his only compensation, aside from some lecture and directorship fees; his clothes tend to be wrinkled and a little threadbare. He recently moved to a comfortable but modest home in a predominantly white suburb in order to be closer to the Quaker school that his three children attend. The move drew the predictable hate mail and telephone calls.

Mr. Sullivan continues to put in long hours, and he makes substantial demands on his congregation. At one recent service, offerings were asked separately for the Girl Scouts, and the church mortgage fund, misionary work and the general church fund.

He doesn't plan to let up, either. One ambitious project he is planning: to use the resources and manpower of his church, the OIC and ZIA to rehabilitate large chunks of the black ghetto in Philadelphia.

THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF
SCHOOL DESEGREGATION DECISION

HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, 20 years ago last Friday the Supreme Court held unconstitutional the maintenance of public schools on the basis of race. In ruling that the separate but equal doctrine has no place in the area of public education, a unanimous Court stated:

Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

Looking back across those 20 years, we see much that has changed. Since that Monday morning in May, great strides have been made in removing the historic barriers which have prevented black Americans from enjoying the bounty of our land. Full access to public facilities, restaurants, schools, Federal programs, and jobs may no longer be denied to minority citizens. The authority of the State to place its power and prestige behind racial discrimination has been rendered impotent.

Yet the promise of that momentous decision, while fulfilled in part, has not been fully realized. It has, to be sure, removed legal obstacles to equality. It has not eliminated racism. The burdens of bad schools, poor housing, unemployment, and crime still fall disproportionately and unfairly on minorities. Those who have been the victims of past discrimination still suffer the disabilities of racial exclusion through the use of newer, more sophisticated forms of inequality.

That we have not achieved the great goal underlying the Brown decision should not be cause for despair. Rather it should be a call for a broader commitment of time, resources, and spirit to remove, once and for all, the ancient scourge of racism. That is our task; we must finish it; there is no choice.

May 22, 1974

GREENVILLE NEWS-PIEDMONT
EDITORIAL

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the Greenville, S.C., News-Piedmont is one of the South's most dynamic, outstanding newspaper organizations, and renders splendid service in keeping our people informed. I am particularly pleased to call to the attention of the Congress and all Americans the following splendid editorial from the News-Piedmont, written by editorial page Editor James H. McKinney, Jr., concerning the role of the press in a democratic society:

CURINGILLS OF THE PRESS

It must be a frightening world in which we live today, much more frightening than most people think it is.

That impression emerges from almost every national or regional convention of almost every conceivable group in America. It was prevalent to a large degree at the recent convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Atlanta. Pessimism and fear played a part in almost every discussion on the agenda.

Despite the fact that the American press is the freest in the world and has exercised that freedom to a greater extent than ever before in recent years, the ASNE Freedom of Information report was a gloomy document. Reading it would lead one to believe that shackles were dangling from almost every editor's arms.

Of course there are some reasons in the form of court cases, governmental actions and pressures of one sort or another which could be regarded as intended to inhibit the press. But the FOI report also touched upon the worst real threat to freedom of the press—growing lack of public confidence in the accuracy and fairness of the media.

That one is a dire threat indeed, because written constitutional guarantees of a free press become meaningless when the public becomes hostile to the news media.

Despite lack of public confidence in the mass media nationally, we have an idea the true situation is not as bad as painted. Furthermore we are certain that the remedy to whatever threat exists to freedom of the press lies in the hands of the media. In many instances the press is its own worst enemy in a battle in which it should be unbeatable—the battle to shape public opinion.

It is ironic that large segments of the news media complain constantly these days about "sinister forces" in government and elsewhere seeking to destroy press freedom. They see special interests as ganging up on newspapers and other elements of the media to prevent them from informing the public.

Many, many news media people are seeking congressional action to protect news personnel's sources of information. There is a growing fear among news people that the courts are out to shackle the press by requiring reporters to testify before grand juries.

These protests obscure and worsen the real problem of the press—the fact that the biggest special interest group of all (the American public) no longer trusts the mass media for reliable information. The fault for that lies not with special interest groups hostile to the press, but with the press itself.

In its zeal to report and to analyze, the American press at the national level often has stepped over the line between reporting and participating in the events of the day. The advent of so-called "advocacy" journa-

lism on the television tube and in many large papers and magazines has robbed the press of its once-cherished role of objective reporter.

We have to get away from this business of "blowing up" the inevitable relatively few errors and foul-ups which occur in our society and its systems. The media has the habit of making one or two misfires in a system look like a complete collapse.

This is not so say such misfires should be covered up or left unreported. They should be reported, but in such a way as to put them in proper context. The good should be reported along with the bad.

The role of objective reporter, buttressed by the expression of opinion in clearly labeled editorials and airing of opposing viewpoints in letters to the editor, made the American newspaper the most trusted purveyor of information in the world not long ago.

The way to restore public confidence in the press is to return to the practice of objectivity and clear separation of fact from opinion.

That can be done only if the editors and publishers of newspapers and heads of broadcast media purge their reportorial organizations of advocacy reporting, undue reliance upon unnamed sources and the tendency to accept the minority negative instead of the majority positive.

CONDEMNS LATEST ACT OF ARAB TERRORISM

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, the civilized world reeled in shock and outrage last week over the latest deplorable act of Arab terrorism directed at the beleaguered nation of Israel. While all acts of terrorism are to be condemned, this particular act was the most barbaric and senseless of all, the victims of this massacre were innocent schoolchildren, who were hoping to live in a world of peace, but instead fell victim to a world of war and violence.

Equally as tragic was the fact that this event took place in a critical time in the history of the Middle East. Thanks to the untiring efforts of U.S. Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger, a viable peace seemed imminent, by virtue of a disengagement of forces between Syria and Israel. This act seemed almost to be an attempted sabotage of this noble effort, and it is the hope of the free world that Dr. Kissinger will not abandon his goal of achieving peace in this troubled area.

We must, however, be cautious with the Syrians and Arabs until they can prove to the world they are responsible parties to international agreements. These nations must abandon their policies of terror and violence. They must abide by the dictates of reason, and not force innocent victims to die so that they may get their views across to the world.

In response to this latest terrorist act, I joined with a large number of my colleagues in introducing a resolution condemning the latest Arab terrorist act, and suggesting to the President that he recommend the Ambassador of the United States to the United Nations take appropriate actions before the U.N. Security Council.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

This represents but a first step in a commitment we as a nation must make if we are to provide the moral leadership the world so desperately needs at this time. We have seen far too many acts of terrorism in the past, now we must work to prevent future acts. We have no more important mission before us.

Mr. Speaker, at this point in the RECORD, in an effort to illustrate just how frequent these acts of terror have occurred, I would like to insert a chronology of terrorist acts which have taken place since 1970. In light of these staggering figures, the need for strong leadership by the United States in promoting peace in the world should be apparent:

EARLIER ACTS OF TERRORISM

A list follows of major Arab terrorist activities since Feb. 10, 1970, when an attack on an El Al Israel Airlines plane at Munich killed one passenger and wounded eight. An Egyptian and two Jordanians were arrested but they were later set free.

July 22, 1970—Six Palestinians hijacked an Olympic Airways plane. None was brought to justice.

Sept. 6, 1970—Pan American's, Trans World Airlines and Swissair planes were hijacked by Arabs. All were eventually blown up. None of the terrorists was arrested.

Sept. 6, 1970—A woman terrorist was wounded and her male companion killed in an attempt to hijack an El Al plane. The woman was later released.

July 28, 1971—An attempt to blow up an El Al plane with booby-trapped luggage given to a woman by a male Arab friend did not succeed.

Sept. 20, 1970—A similar attempt to blow up another El Al plane failed.

Nov. 29, 1971—Wasfi Tal, Premier of Jordan, was assassinated by four Palestinian guerrillas while entering his hotel in Cairo. Suspects were taken into custody but no prosecutions have been reported.

Feb. 22, 1972—A Lufthansa airliner was hijacked to Aden where the hijackers were paid \$5-million for its release. The hijackers went free.

May 8, 1972—Terrorists hijacked a Belgian Sabena airliner to Lydda, where two men were killed by Israeli security guards. Two women were subsequently sentenced to life imprisonment.

May 30, 1972—Three Japanese gunmen belonging to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine killed 26 persons at Lydda Airport.

August 16, 1972—A booby-trapped tape-recorder exploded in the luggage compartment of an El Al plane, causing slight damage. Two Arabs were released by Italian authorities after a short detention.

Sept. 5, 1972—Members of an Arab guerrilla organization attacked the quarters of Israeli athletes in the Olympic Village in Munich. Eleven members of the Israeli Olympic Team were slain. Five of the terrorists were killed. Three others were later freed.

Oct. 29, 1972—A Lufthansa plane was hijacked to Zagreb, Yugoslavia, where it was released after Arab terrorists responsible for the attack on the Israeli athletes at Munich had been set free. The hijackers were never brought to justice.

March 2, 1973—Eight guerrillas invaded the Saudi Arabian Embassy in Khartoum, the Sudan, and killed three diplomats. The terrorists were taken into custody and are reportedly awaiting trial.

April 4, 1973—Two Arabs made an unsuccessful attempt to attack passengers of an El Al plane in Rome. They were arrested but later released and sent to Lebanon.

April 9, 1973—Arab terrorists attempted to attack an Israeli plane at Nicosia, Cyprus. Eight were arrested and sentenced to seven

years' imprisonment. They were quietly released later.

April 27, 1973—an Italian was killed in the Rome office of El Al by a Palestinian Arab who was later placed under psychiatric observation.

July 24, 1973—A Japan Air Lines jumbo jet was hijacked and blown up in Tripoli, Libya. None of the five terrorists was brought to trial.

Aug. 4, 1973—Two Arab terrorists killed five persons and wounded 45 in a machine-gun attack on passengers in the Athens airport lounge. Last week the terrorists were freed by the Greek government and given safe passage to Libya.

Sept. 28, 1973—Three Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union were taken hostage aboard a train for Vienna. Austrian authorities arrested two Palestinians who were then freed and flown to an Arab country.

Nov. 25, 1973—Three Arabs hijacked a KLM jumbo jet and flew it to Abu Dhabi. There is no record of an arrest by Abu Dhabi authorities.

April 11, 1974—Three Arab guerrillas killed a total of men, women and children in the northern Israeli border town of Qiryat Shemona before dying themselves in the explosion of their dynamite charges while under siege by Israeli security forces.

PUBLIC FINANCING OF CAMPAIGNS

HON. ROBERT P. HANRAHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. HANRAHAN. Mr. Speaker, public financing of campaigns has been a pertinent issue for quite some time. With Congress right around the corner from the campaign trail, this issue is getting bigger and bigger. I believe this article from the Chicago Tribune will be of interest to my colleagues:

A NOT-SO-POPULAR IDEA

In ramming public campaign financing thru the United States Senate, its supporters made much of a Harris poll which was taken last November and showed that 53 per cent of Americans were for public financing, 35 per cent opposed, and 12 per cent undecided.

At the time, public financing was being touted as a cure for the sort of corruption which was being spotlighted because of Watergate; President Nixon's "Saturday Night Massacre" had just shocked the country.

Since then, the American public has had a chance to give the proposal more thought. The results are predictable. The most recent Harris poll on the subject shows that support has fallen to 43 per cent, with 37 per cent opposed and 20 per cent unsure.

The reasons given for the growing opposition to public financing are compelling. People fear that the scheme would add to their tax burden, and they don't like the idea of having their tax money squandered on the kind of things politicians spend campaign money for. As one of those polled put it:

"A candidate ought to feel lucky getting my vote, but to also want my money to pay for his campaign is just carrying it too far."

Those polled in the latest survey were also asked their opinion of a compromise proposal sponsored by Mr. Nixon. It would not permit public financing but would impose strict limitations on private campaign financing, including a \$15,000 ceiling on Presidential contributions and a \$3,000 top on congressional contributions.

Despite Mr. Nixon's poor rating among the

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people, this proposal received the support of 57 per cent of those polled, with only 18 per cent against it.

The supporters of public financing are working relentlessly now to get their bill passed by the House. They will be deservedly frustrated by the fact that they can no longer claim the public's support.

PROBLEMS WITH FOOD

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, all of us are aware of the mounting world food crisis. A thoughtful editorial in the Washington Star-News of May 15, 1974, speaks to the magnitude of the problem. The editorial points out the important role this country must play if the literally millions of starving men, women, and children around the world are to obtain relief.

The editorial follows:

PROBLEMS WITH FOOD

Many frightening numbers are making the rounds in the perennial effort to get the world's affluent peoples worried about food shortages in the poorer countries. An estimated quarter of a million people have died in the drought-stricken, sub-Saharan belt of Africa. UNICEF is picturing 400 to 500 million children threatened with malnutrition or actual starvation as a result of acute economic problems, compared with the year-in, year-out quota of 10 million suffering kids. An all-encompassing view is that half of the world's 3.7 billion people are always hungry, and no one knows where the food will come from for a population of more than 7 billion at the end of the century.

It is hard to tell whether some of the figures are exaggerated for the purpose of piercing complacency in the more prosperous quarters. But there is no doubt that many signs point to the imminence of food crisis in various parts of the world, besides the already-present calamity in Africa.

Grain reserves are generally low, after the mammoth sales of American stocks to make up for Soviet crop failures and to add to the diets of the newly affluent elsewhere in the Western world. With the disappearance of surpluses, prices have zoomed upward, delighting American farmers but increasing the price of existence for countries that must import basic foods. Complicating the plight of the have-not nations is the simultaneous explosion of oil prices, damaging their ability to increase food production by using more fertilizer, much of which is made from petroleum.

India, most of whose 580 million people already are underfed, is expected to provide a huge example of a losing battle to feed an uncontrollably growing population. There, the once-bright hopes for the green revolution have been overshadowed by the grim arithmetic of a galloping birth rate, domestic inflation and high international prices of food and fuel.

As the country that accounts for 70 percent of the world's grain exports, much of the responsibility for meeting shortages will fall on the United States. A lot is riding on the expectations of large crops this year and in years to come. But the nation has only started to think about how to fulfill its obligations under the new set of circumstances.

The free "Food for Peace" program has atrophied as the surpluses have dwindled. With customers abroad ready to pay high

prices for all we can export, on what basis will we serve hungry people who do not have the cash? Will we supply foreign needs at the expense of tightening domestic supplies and aggravating our own inflation?

Secretary of State Kissinger has called for an international approach to the world food crisis and promised a greater American effort in the field. A United Nations-sponsored World Food Conference will be held in Rome in November, and a prime topic will be the possibility of an international food reserve to be drawn on in meeting shortages. Senator Humphrey contributed handsomely to the discussion with his recent call for a "world food action program" in which the United States would play the leading role.

America's performance in meeting the food crisis will be a key to the success of the country's diplomacy in years to come. The nation must be generous in answering whatever demands for relief might arise, even to the point of trimming the over-abundant American diet to more healthful proportions. And long-term solutions must be assiduously sought, to increase food production in the poor countries and bring population growth under reasonable control.

THE CONTINUED INCREASE IN THE COST OF DÉTENTE WITH THE SOVIET UNION

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the Export-Import Bank's approval of a \$180 million loan to the Soviet Union to finance a \$400 million foreign investment, coming as it does just a month before the President's June summit meeting in Moscow, will be viewed by many observers as another example of the administration's "checkbook détente." It should be seen not only as a direct affront to the American taxpayer, but to this Congress as well.

The feeling of this body was made clear on the subject of the administration's freewheeling trade schemes with the Russians when the Vanik amendment to the trade bill, which would withhold most-favored-nation status from the U.S.S.R. until their oppressive policies changed, was overwhelmingly adopted.

Despite the glowing pronouncements made by William J. Casey, Chairman of the Exim Bank, about the benefits of giving \$180 million of taxpayers' money to the Soviets at a low 6-percent interest, I doubt that many Members of this Congress can agree with the President's statement that the deal is a "contribution to the national interest."

I ask that the related news release and newsclipping follow.

[Export-Import Bank Release May 21, 1974]

U.S. EXPORT SALES OF \$400 MILLION PLUS ENERGY AND FERTILIZER BENEFITS PROMISED BY EXIMBANK CREDIT OF \$800 MILLION TO THE U.S.S.R.

William J. Casey, Chairman of Export-Import Bank of the United States, announced today that the Bank's Directors have authorized a credit of \$180 million to the Bank for Foreign Trade of the U.S.S.R. (Vneshtorgbank). This credit will not only assist in the export of \$400 million of U.S. goods, but also promises major additional benefits

in saving natural gas and bringing needed fertilizer to the United States.

Eximbank will be involved only in financing U.S. exports, but this transaction is part of a program between the Soviet Union and American companies under which superphosphoric acid, which the U.S. has in relative abundance, will be shipped to the Soviet Union and two nitrogen fertilizers (ammonia and urea) which are scarce here plus potash, will come to the U.S. The nitrogen fertilizer will be made with Soviet natural gas.

To manufacture the needed fertilizer here would require a drain on U.S. natural gas reserves in an amount large enough to heat a million U.S. homes a year.

The ammonia and urea imported into the U.S. will have an energy content equivalent to 25.2 million barrels of crude oil per year. For every BTU (British Thermal Unit) of energy used for the phosphates exported, ammonia, urea and potash requiring at least 50 BTU's of energy will be imported by the United States.

Occidental Petroleum or its affiliates plan to invest more than a half billion dollars in the U.S. to construct ships and to expand production facilities to mine and process phosphate rock in Florida. It is estimated that this will create two to three thousand jobs during the construction period until 1979, and 2900 permanent jobs thereafter.

In addition to the sale of at least \$400 million in U.S. equipment and supplies, the project should provide substantial balance-of-trade advantages for the U.S. resulting from the trade of commodities. The transaction contemplates that the U.S. would acquire needed fertilizer from abroad not for cash but in return for exporting materials in ample supply here, thus avoiding a net drain on American's trade balance.

The materials purchased from American companies with the assistance of this financing will be used in the construction of ammonia plants, storage facilities, pumping stations, railroad tank cars and a 1200 mile pipeline in the U.S.S.R. Private financing in the amount of another \$180 million will be provided by a consortium of U.S. commercial banks headed by Bank of America, without Eximbank's guarantee. The borrower will make a cash down payment of \$40 million, which is 10% of the balance of the U.S. costs.

Proceeds of the Eximbank and commercial bank credits will be applied against purchases from U.S. companies by Techmash-import and Promsyroimport of the U.S.S.R. Some of the possible major suppliers include: Babcock and Wilcox Company, New York, N.Y., Bechtel Corporation, San Francisco, Cal., Chemical Construction Company, New York, N.Y., Chicago Bridge and Iron Company, Oakbrook, Ill., General Electric Company, New York, N.Y., Honeywell, Inc., Minneapolis, Minn., Ingersoll-Rand Company, Woodcliff Lake, N.J., Kaiser Steel Corporation, Oakland, Cal., Occidental Petroleum Corporation, Los Angeles, Cal., Union Carbide Corporation, New York, N.Y., Union Tank Car Company, Chicago, Ill., and Westinghouse Electric Company, Pittsburgh, Pa.

The ammonia and urea plants which will be located at Togliatti and Kuybyshev, and the pipeline which will extend from the plant sites to Odessa, are expected to be completed by December 1978. U.S. exports of superphosphoric acid are expected to commence sometime in 1978. U.S. imports of ammonia, urea and potash will begin at the same time.

The credits are to be repaid in 24 semi-annual installments beginning May 20, 1979, with Eximbank's direct credit of \$180 million to be repaid out of the last 12 installments. The Soviet bank will pay interest on outstanding balances at an annual rate of 6% which was the rate Eximbank charged on its loans when a Preliminary commitment was issued on this transaction last year. The blended interest rate of Eximbank's loan and

the loans extended by the U.S. commercial banks to Vneshtorgbank will be, at present prime rate levels, approximately 7.8% per year. Repayment of Eximbank's credit is to be guaranteed by the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

[From the Washington Post, May 22, 1974]

SOVIET LOAN APPROVED BY EX-IM BANK
(By Dan Morgan)

The U.S. Export-Import Bank, ending months of delays brought about by fear of congressional disfavor, yesterday approved the largest low-interest government loan to date for American equipment sales to the Soviet Union.

The \$180 million bank credit will help finance a \$400 million deal to supply eight ammonia fertilizer plants, chemical storage facilities, pumping stations, railroad tank cars and a 1,200-mile pipeline for the Soviet Union.

The action is sure to raise controversy on Capitol Hill, where powerful groups in both houses are seeking to curtail government lending to the Soviet Union.

The bank's board of directors acted yesterday morning after President Nixon intervened personally to break the indecision at the lending facility. Some administration officials confirmed last week that the credit had been held up to avoid antagonizing Congress, which is now considering a measure to extend the bank's charter past its June 30 expiration.

There were some indications from officials that the administration was now satisfied that the project had sufficient support in Congress.

However, there was no explanation for the timing of the board's action. Some had felt the President might wait to announce final approval of the loan until his expected visit to Moscow next month.

In a letter to bank chairman William J. Casey, received Monday, Mr. Nixon said the project would result in balance-of-payments and trade benefits to the United States, would alleviate American fertilizer and energy shortages and would contribute to world food needs.

He added that the credit "makes exactly the kind of contribution to the national interest which I envisioned when I made the determination on Oct. 18, 1972, that it is in the national interest for the Export-Import Bank to finance U.S. exports to the Soviet Union."

A preliminary loan commitment for the highly complex project, which also involves a barter-type exchange of chemical fertilizers between the two countries starting in 1978, was granted by the bank last year.

In the last few weeks, Soviet officials have warned that if the United States did not go through with the promised credits, they would have to look to Western Europe, and Morocco to fulfill Soviet needs.

"It got pretty frantic," a bank spokesman said. "We had nothing but calls from all these (American) people who could lose their contracts (with the Russians) if the loan was not approved."

In Congress, the credit has become embroiled in the administration bill to extend the charter of the bank another four years and expand its lending authority from \$20 billion to \$30 billion.

Hearings on the bill have been completed in both houses. However, opponents of American economic concessions are seeking to block or limit further concessions as the price for approving the bank's charter.

Among them are supporters of amendments to the administration's trade bill which would prohibit any new government credits or non-discriminatory tariff treatment for the Soviet Union unless it permits free emigration. The main concern is for Soviet Jews seeking to move to Israel.

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Last year, the bank approved a \$153 million loan for purchase of equipment by the Russians for their Kama River truck plant.

The fertilizer deal was sponsored with the support of the administration by the Occidental Petroleum Corp.

However, Occidental's direct involvement will not begin until around 1978, when it will start to trade superphosphoric acid fertilizer produced in this country for nitrogen fertilizer produced in the new Soviet plants built partly with American equipment.

According to this barter arrangement, the Soviet Union will supply 1.5 million metric tons of ammonia, 1 million tons of urea and a million tons of potash in exchange for a million tons of superphosphoric acid refined from Occidental's phosphate holdings in Florida.

Occidental has announced it will spend about half a billion dollars in the mining of the phosphate and in constructing ships to transport the nitrogen fertilizers.

A number of American industries have provisional contracts to help build the fertilizer plants in the natural gas fields around Kuibyshev, on the banks of the Volga River.

A 1,200-mile pipeline from there to the Black Sea port of Odessa will transport the chemicals.

The United States now produces only 40 per cent of its total ammonia and urea needs.

American commercial banks are providing another \$180 million in credits, without government guarantee, and the Soviet Union will make a cash down payment of the remaining \$40 million.

LEE NELSON RETIRES

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to recognize Leland L. Nelson, Sr., on the occasion of his retirement from the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, District No. 93, San Jose, Calif. Lee has been associated with this organization since 1955, having joined the staff as a kind of second career upon the completion of 19 years service with the Continental Can Co. In both jobs, he earned the respect and friendship of literally hundreds of people from the Santa Clara Valley who had the privilege of working with him.

A native and continuous resident of San Jose, Lee has devoted a great deal of time not only to his work but to community activities. He served for many years as a Cub Scoutmaster and has frequently been a member of his church council. Together with his wife, Louise, he has also been very active in Democratic politics, giving unstintingly of his talents and energies to Governor Brown's reelection campaign in 1966, to the Humphrey presidential campaign in 1968, and to all my own campaigns as well as countless others. Over the years he has been a member of many local campaign committees and is as concerned about and interested in good local government as anyone in the Santa Clara Valley. The fairness and understanding which characterize all Lee's activities also made him an excellent choice for the Santa Clara County Selective Service Board on which he is currently serving.

I am sure that Lee's retirement will leave a "hole" at the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. However, I know that he will continue to be a vital and active participant in local affairs even while he devotes more time to his garden and stamp collection.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE: WE ARE MISSING THE BOAT

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1974

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an excellent article entitled "International Trade: We're Missing the Boat" by Prof. Kenn Rogers that was published in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, May 9, 1974.

Professor Rogers' analysis is perceptive and the article clearly describes the wide gap between goals and performance in the area of international economics trade development by those charged with this responsibility in Ohio, in general, and, especially, in Cleveland.

The emphasis of some groups, such as the Mayor's Advisory Council on International Trade on public relations, is typical of a trend in government which, on the national scene, was instrumental in undermining faith in government. Even high quality, clever public relations efforts are an inadequate substitute for quality, substantive programs and knowledge.

Dr. Rogers, formerly a professor of business administration at Cleveland State University, is currently a professor of psychiatry and organizational psychology at the College of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey.

The article is a result of a 6-month survey by Professor Rogers, and I urge my colleagues to read it.

The article follows:

INTERNATIONAL TRADE: WE'RE MISSING THE BOAT

(By Kenn Rogers)

Ohio, and especially Greater Cleveland, is desperately in need of jobs, a problem which undoubtedly will grow in seriousness as repercussions of the energy crisis spread throughout industry. Ohio cannot afford to pass up any opportunity. Unfortunately, the state seems literally to be missing the international trade boat.

Businesses in Greater Cleveland and Ohio are being exhorted to engage in international trade by the Ohio economic development department, Cleveland World Trade Association, Greater Cleveland Growth Association and other official bodies. Simultaneously, and at considerable expense, they are sending trade missions around the globe to advance Ohio's involvement in international trade. Some of our universities, too, are busily engaged in the development of academic programs in world trade.

But these efforts are not being conducted in a way to promise success.

In recent months I conducted a survey of the methods and their underlying rationales used to encourage Ohio, and particularly

Cleveland, firms to engage in international trade. In the course of this research I had a discussion with a leading member of Mayor Perk's Advisory Council on International Trade shortly before the latter left on a propaganda mission to the Far East, including Japan.

The planned sales pitch was stated simply as "Ohio, and particularly Cleveland's, people are superior human beings as evidenced by having produced John Glenn, the first American in orbit." When I somewhat incredulously asked whether this approach might not be less than useful, since interorbital feats seem hardly related to international trade and that, moreover, Asians might possibly consider this boast to contain a racial slur, I was met with a nonplussed smile and a suggestion that I could not be serious—or worse, that something might be wrong with my patriotism.

One indicator of the effectiveness of this approach emerged in an interview with Mr. T. Izuchi, of the Osaka Chamber of Commerce, who recently was quoted to have said: "For reasons unknown, we in Osaka have been less concerned with Ohio, and Cleveland in particular, in relations to trade . . . (I) had known Cleveland only because of the Cleveland Orchestra."

The essence of the interview unmistakeably implied that Cleveland is being ignored as a major market for Japanese investment. I am as proud as anyone of the magnificent Cleveland Orchestra and of John Glenn's accomplishment in orbit. However, it seems rather obvious that these able musicians as well as Glenn as astronaut can do precious little to promote international trade for our industry.

I then extended my inquiry to the Ohio Department of Economic and Community Development. I received a curt reply stating that "Our office is not aware of any survey of methods encouraging northeastern Ohio firms to export their products. We recommend that you contact the executive director of the Greater Cleveland Growth Association since he may know of such a survey." Following the suggestion, I contacted the association and was successively shunted among three executives, none of whom was aware of any such research, nor for that matter the need for it.

Shortly thereafter, I received an official report on International and Interstate Commerce in Ohio. The report stated in its introductory pages that "Certain regions or states in the United States rely more heavily

on international exports than does the nation as a whole. Ohio is one of these states in that the industries basic to its economy are more export-oriented relative to the industries basic to the United States. Development in international trade agreements are therefore of considerable significance to the Ohio economy."

Having made this point, the report provides a series of statistical tables and concludes by issuing a warning against pursuing efforts. It states:

"While international exports are significant for economic development and expansion, there are some inherent drawbacks of an economy heavily relying on foreign markets. The economy is made dependent on economic conditions abroad. Changes in these conditions will affect demand from abroad and therefore the economic activity of the economy in question. The greater the concentration of industries and the higher the export-manufacture ratio, the more vulnerable is the economy to instability in comparison to the East-North Central Region and the nation as a whole."

Considering the present domestic energy crisis, this bit of conventional wisdom could, of course, be equally applicable to the domestic business of these firms. One wonders what it is which this official Ohio state department wishes to warn business against. Perhaps a cardinal reality of business has escaped its attention—that business always operates under uncertainty and that this uncertainty represents one of the major reasons for legitimizing business' pursuits of profits.

Experiences of two students enrolled in my course on international trade tend to further enhance the suspicion that the various official organizations concerned with Ohio's exports might be less than well prepared for discharging their assumed responsibilities.

One student, a senior executive of a major Cleveland firm engaged in marketing and manufacturing precision tools, wanted to gather information related to his firm's intention to extend its marketing operation to Europe's Common Market countries. His experience in contact with the relevant Cleveland and Ohio agencies evokes reminiscences of the film *Rashomon*. In describing some rather exasperating encounters with a number of senior officials of these agencies whose right of existence is to provide information services for firms such as his, he summarized by stating: "Too many

different organizations compete in advising Ohio's industry about international trade and their advice tends to be all too often mutually contradictory and, worse, inadequate for the degree of detailed knowledge of markets and products which we and other firms in our industry need to know."

The other student, a middle-level manager of an industrial firm, wanting to obtain information about market conditions related to a popular household appliance in a major Latin-American country, approached the Greater Cleveland Growth Association. He could not get beyond a receptionist who, after listening to his request, "called someone in the office who advised me that my best bet would be to consult publications in Cleveland's public library."

Desirous of improving academic offerings on international trade at Cleveland State University by stressing special area studies important to Cleveland and Ohio industries, I also contacted the Greater Cleveland Growth Association. I was given a barrage of vagaries, more or less covering the globe but lacking the specificity of their importance to the present or potential future.

These experiences, among others, give cause for concern for the usefulness of the various organizations supposed to promote Ohio and Cleveland in international trade. It is impossible to ignore the conclusion that these officials are groping blindly in a maze of fantasy assumptions, rather than working with well-developed programs based on research into successful and unsuccessful trade strategies and the needs and attitudes of potential foreign partners in trade. It was alarming to learn that no one interviewed has sought to know the reasons for lack of success. They uniformly stressed their costly efforts to "put Ohio and Cleveland on the map of international trade." Yet, none of their sales campaigns was based on anything that can remotely be called systematic research designed for a reasonable chance of success.

It is time for Ohio government and industry to decide whether they are serious about promoting international trade; and if so, to engage in the necessary market and attitudinal research based on social and behavioral concepts tested in marketing research which will arm effective officials with essential information.

It is time, in other words, for Ohio and Cleveland to fish or cut bait in the matter of capturing world markets for the abundance of its industrial and agricultural product.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Thursday, May 23, 1974

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith.—II Timothy 4: 7.

O God, our Father, we thank Thee for Thy mercies which are new every morning, fresh every day and for this quiet moment when we may be still and know that Thou art God.

We thank Thee for the coming of another Memorial Day and for the sacred memories of valiant men and women who fought the good fight, who finished their course, and who kept the faith—all in the interest of the welfare of our country.

Give us valiant men and women today who will live and labor for peace, for justice, and for righteousness in our land and in our world. May a new spirit of

good will so come to life in our age that wars may cease, peace may come, and cooperation be established among the nations on our planet.

Grant us rest during this weekend and may we return renewed in body, mind, and spirit.

In Thy holy name we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

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

Without objection, the Journal stands approved.

There was no objection.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communica-

cated to the House by Mr. Marks, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House that on May 21, 1974, the President approved and signed bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 5035. An act to amend Public Law 90-335 (82 Stat. 174) relating to the purchase, sale, and exchange of certain lands on the Spokane Indian Reservation; and

H.R. 5525. An act to declare that certain mineral interests are held by the United States in trust for the Chippewa Cree Tribe of the Rocky Boy's Reservation, Mont.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Sparrow, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate disagrees to the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 2830) entitled "An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for greater and more effective efforts in research and public education with regard to diabetes