

June 11, 1974

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## HONORING FRED FARLEY

## HON. FORTNEY H. (PETE) STARK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 10, 1974

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, on June 22, the California Association of Real Estate Brokers will hold their special awards luncheon in Oakland. Fred Farley, president of 1974, will be honored for his service to the association, and for the invaluable contribution he has made to real estate and the issue of housing needs during his long career.

It is a special pleasure to review the accomplishments of a man who has done as much as Fred Farley to help his community and advance the goals of his profession. An understanding of the business aspects and social consequences of the real estate industry is a rare combination, and Fred Farley exhibits both. As a leader in the California Real Estate Brokers Association he was responsible for organizing the State chapter of the Real Estate Appraisers Society. He saw to it that an equal opportunity officer was appointed by the industry in Sacramento. And as a spokesman for his industry he founded "Housing Affairs," a series of public service spots aired in the Bay area with facts on housing.

Of perhaps even more note is Mr. Farley's unusual contribution to the educational aspects of his profession. He has attempted to generate interest and support for redevelopment in Oakland, as well as to bring minority students into real estate through a scholarship fund.

It is with these qualifications in mind that I take this opportunity to include in the RECORD a resolution honoring Mr. Farley to be presented him by his association this month. For a man who is such a pride to his profession, this is really insufficient praise, but perhaps all that can be said.

The resolution follows:

## RESOLUTION

Fred Farley's total involvement with the community is serious and studied. He understands the complexities of the business world and how they interrelate with general associations throughout the community. In documenting his various activities and affiliations, it is worthy of note, that his efforts were important in establishing:

1. Redevelopment in East Oakland, an effort to bring redevelopment to East Oakland, before the neighborhood went completely down.

2. Supported the sickle cell anemia drive and was a participant as a basketball player in the fund-raising game.

3. Involved in negotiations with the United Black Oakland Business and Professional Organizations.

4. Sponsor of "Salute to Black Women in Real Estate", while president of the Associated Real Property Brokers, Inc.

5. Appeared on "Minority Report", local TV morning show, giving helpful facts and basics, the general public should know about the real estate industry.

6. Founder of "Housing Affairs" (public service announcements) which is aired on broadcasting stations throughout the bay area, with the facts on housing.

7. Founder—California Chapter of National Society of Real Estate Appraisers of which he is the first vice president of on the national level.

8. Organizer of the Northern California Chapter of Property Management Institute of which he is regional vice president of on the national level.

9. The Virgil Smith Scholarship Fund (to help young blacks who are interested in the real estate industry) during his administration as president of Associated Real Property Brokers, Inc.

10. Responsible for having an equal opportunity officer in the real estate industry in Sacramento, appointed by Real Estate Commissioner, Robert W. Karpe.

11. \$1000 give-a-way (during his administration as president of California Assoc. of Real Estate Brokers) winner Mr. Ivan Canady of Los Angeles, Ca., drawing held at the Consolidated Realty Board in Los Angeles.

12. Hosted the National Association of Real Estate Brokers' Convention in Los Angeles at the Biltmore Hotel in August 1973, attended by people from all over the United States.

13. Led the largest voting delegation at the Nareb Convention, held at the Biltmore Hotel in Los Angeles, August 1973.

14. Instructor, "Fundamentals of Appraising", University of Real Estate at the Nareb Convention, August 1973.

15. As President of the California Association of Real Estate Brokers, was special guest of California Real Estate Association at their convention in San Diego, September 1973.

16. The National Association of Real Estate Brokers each month out of its huge membership, selects a "Broker of the Month", in March, 1973, Mr. Farley was honored, by being chosen "Broker of the Month", which was printed in the national magazine and distributed all over the country to its members.

17. Co-founder, of the Color Blind Industry Real Estate Profession. A move to make the real estate industry color-blind was instituted in San Diego, California with members of California Real Estate Association and the State's Real Estate Commissioner, Robert W. Karpe. We now have the white and black leadership in the real estate industry in California in agreement on a practical plan of action to bring the two groups closer together over the next several years.

18. Joint legislative meeting(s) with California Real Estate Association, providing for a unity industry voice with the legislative, with the use of a single legislative office in Sacramento.

19. Educational programs—carry out further educational programs through the existing sales conference machinery of CAREB and other pertinent area. Begin to work jointly for the development of practical training programs for improved operational efficiency of licensees and to help warrant a more professional image with the general public.

20. Professionalization plan—participated in setting up the revised plan for the professional development of real estate industry in California, evolved by the Department of Real Estate in consultation with CAREB and other industry groups.

cloud of Watergate have been the topic of many editorials and commentaries, but I should like to invite attention today to a particularly imaginative poem by a northern Californian, Helen Fletcher Collins:

WATER GATE—A VIEW FROM HUMBOLDT BAY  
I am chilled with apprehension,  
Marrow congealed in my bones  
Cannot stiffen my knees,  
I peer at the dim outline  
Of wind-bent cedars across the misty bay,  
No circling beam discounts my dread.  
In the boat basin fishing craft  
Huddle, sails furled, engines stilled;  
Outside the narrow channel  
An ocean freighter swings at anchor . . .  
No pilot answers the call  
That wails through the fog and dusk.

SECRETARY CALLAWAY PRAISES  
"NEW" ARMY

## HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished former colleague, Howard "Bo" Callaway has just completed his first year as Secretary of the Army. He has held that position during a critical time for the Army, a time of transition to an all-volunteer force.

These first years as an all-volunteer army are the ones in which the Army is under special scrutiny. Whether the concept will succeed in the long term rests in large part on the kinds of policy decisions and the measure of support provided at the top. Bo Callaway has provided the guidance, leadership and support that are needed.

What are his perceptions of the all-volunteer Army after 1 year on his job. Simply put, he says, "It's working." Secretary Callaway describes our Army today as "sharp, ready, well-trained, well-equipped, and moving in a positive direction."

The following two articles, from the May 14, 1974, Columbus (Ohio) Evening Dispatch and the May 19, 1974 Atlanta Journal and Constitution, discuss Secretary Callaway's insights into today's Army. I commend them to your attention:

## ARMY CHIEF PRAISES VOLUNTEER PROGRAM

(By Ned Stout)

Howard H. Callaway, U.S. secretary of the army, is highly pleased with what he called the "tremendous success" of the volunteer recruitment plan.

Callaway was in Columbus Tuesday for Armed Forces Day observances including a noon speech at the Neil House and awards to outstanding area servicemen.

Callaway said the volunteer Army today is "far more combat ready than it was the day the war ended in Vietnam." He said the volunteer recruiting program is going "far better than anyone thought, and our recruits are getting better every month, not only in number but in quality."

The secretary said the "toughest job I've got is making the Army realize how different a volunteer Army is from a draft army."

## WATERGATE

## HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. President, moods of anxiety and concern under the dark

He explained that in a draft Army a soldier was regarded as serving, "because he had an obligation to his country and because of this he was subjected to substandard pay, substandard quarters, expected to leave his wife and family, do as he was told because 'I said so,' pull KP, and things like that."

The Secretary said these things have changed with the volunteer Army, although he cautioned "anyone who enlists thinking we're permissive has got another thing coming."

Callaway said the key to the success of the volunteer Army "turns on the first term soldier . . . it's as important that he have job satisfaction as it is to a worker at General Motors."

"When the soldier is made to understand his mission, we can have the finest, best trained and best disciplined Army in our history."

Callaway said morale, training, discipline, and equipment have all improved among the slightly less than 200,000 Army troops in Europe. He acknowledged, however, that drug addiction continues to be a problem overseas because of the easy availability of narcotics.

He said this problem was confined to soldiers who became homesick in an alien land and he believes the Army is doing a better job in its drug control program than is being done in the civilian sector.

[From the Atlanta Journal and Constitution, May 19, 1974]

#### CALLAWAY BUOYANT OVER "NEW" ARMY (By Maurice Fless)

WASHINGTON.—Army Secretary Howard H. "Bo" Callaway celebrated his first anniversary in the Pentagon last week by being out of it—out of the Pentagon, that is.

Callaway was, in fact, very much "with it" as he whizzed about at a dizzying pace, carrying the message of the "modern, all-volunteer Army" to audiences in five midwestern states.

Aides described the schedule as perhaps a trifle more hectic than the norm for his first 51 weeks as the Army's top civilian boss, during which time he has logged more than 100,000 miles in trips to Europe (three), the Far East (one), Panama (three), the West Coast (10) and to an untold number of other places in the U.S.

More buoyant than ever about the future of the 782,000-person volunteer force, the super salesman of the Army began this past week with an excursion to Indianapolis.

He toured Ft. Benjamin Harrison, rapped with soldiers, held a press conference, addressed a civic luncheon and spoke to an Armed Forces Day dinner.

There, as elsewhere, he made like the fellow in the television commercial who bathes with an anti-perspirant soap in the morning and in the evening is moved to proclaim to one and all: "It's working. It's working."

Callaway, of course, was talking about the concept of a draft free Army, an odious subject to many critics and skeptics.

After the round of personal appearances in Indianapolis, hopefully convincing a few doubters that the all-volunteer Army is indeed working, Callaway traveled Tuesday to Columbus, Ohio. He inspected the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) detachment at Ohio State University, as well as a recruiting headquarters in the Ohio capital city. Following another press conference and luncheon speech, it was on to Ft. Knox, Ky., and a first hand look at a reserve unit there.

Wednesday was Callaway's actual anniversary date, having been sworn in on May 15, 1973. The Army secretary celebrated by attending briefings, a tank-firing exhibition and a luncheon of Association of United States Army (AUSA) at Knox, flying to St. Louis to tell a group of businessmen that the Defense Department has become a scapegoat for congressmen wanting to get federal

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funds for non-military purposes and journeying late that night to Ft. Leavenworth, Kans.

On Thursday, he spoke to students at Leavenworth's Command General Staff College, then scurried off to Ft. Leonard Wood, Mo., for a swing through the training center and discussions with recruits there, culminated by a speech before the Ft. Wood-Missouri chapter of AUSA.

The work week ended for Callaway in Cleveland—another stop on the fried chicken circuit, a television interview, a press conference before scholastic editors and a meeting with the editorial boards of the Cleveland Press and the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

He caught a commercial flight back to Washington that night. And for the first time in a week, he was able to relax with his wife and family in their northwest Washington apartment.

But for the 45-year-old former Republican congressman from Georgia, all of the energy expended, all of the days away from home will have been worth it if the all-volunteer Army turns out to be the long-term success he is now predicting.

As he put it in an interview here, "The challenge to the Army (during his first 12 months as secretary) was as great as any year in its history. I am proud to have been part of it."

Callaway cited recruiting experiences as an example.

"When I first came on board, I hear recruiters talking in terms of 'bodies.' 'We need 24 bodies this month,' they would say. Now the talk is about 'quality individuals'—Eagle Scouts, class presidents, etc. The recruiters are highlighting the challenges, the educational possibilities (in the Army)—the chance to do something important. We want to make the Army something that a young man can tell his girlfriend, with pride, that he is part of."

He revealed that the Army has been quietly cracking down on recruiters who have been promising prospective young soldiers more glamour than a highly disciplined Army could ever deliver. In the most recent 15-month reporting period, 60 recruiters were relieved of their duties for "malpractice," a Callaway aide reported.

Callaway also disclosed that the Defense Department is considering whether to eliminate the quota system for recruiting commands. He acknowledged that quotas spawn pressures which in turn produce abuses.

"Obviously, we'd like to be able to motivate our recruiters to the extent where we'd no longer need quotas," the Army chief said.

But even short of that reform, he insisted that today's recruiters "possess a deep sense of integrity. They are committed to telling it like it is—the hardships as well as the challenges and the excitement. This is helping to build a credible Army, even at the expense of losing some sales."

Picking up slowly but steadily, recruiting is currently running roughly 92 per cent of quotas. Enlistments for infantry, armored and artillery—spurred by a \$2,500 inducement for high school graduates signing up for four years on active duty—are averaging about 83 per cent of over-all combat arms requirements.

Callaway and other high-ranking Defense Department types maintain that since the caliber and motivational levels of the incoming soldiers are so high, the military can remain solid although lacking 100 per cent of its manpower objective. The phrase "lean and mean" is heard around the Pentagon these days.

"Without a doubt," Callaway said firmly, "the Army is far stronger today than it was" on Dec. 27, 1972, when the last civilian was inducted into the service. And it is not repeat, not—the mercenary force some observers had feared, he stressed.

"We are getting a good cross section of America," Callaway reported, including an increasing number of young men and women from suburban homes.

The West Point (class of '49) graduate and Korean War veteran also painted a favorable picture of the re-enlistment scene.

He said the number of soldiers taking another hitch has jumped from 12 in 100 two years ago to 40 in 100 at the present time. Better pay, improved living conditions and more meaningful jobs in the military—plus high unemployment in the civilian economy are responsible.

Callaway said the re-enlistment program has proved especially successful in West Germany, where every U.S. Army command has met its goal, often doubling it.

"Seventy per cent of the troops there are re-upping for the same slot, proving they're happy with their jobs," he pointed out.

Just back from his third inspection tour in Germany, Callaway also reported that the drug problem among America's NATO contingent is on the decline, and that morale is climbing.

"You get a good feeling when you talk to the troops," he said. "Oh, they don't run up to you and say, 'Gee, I'm excited because I'm in your wonderful Army.' But you can see it, feel it. That's just the way the Army is now: Sharp, ready, well-trained, well-equipped and moving in positive direction."

In other words, he said, "It's working."

#### DELAWARE AIR NATIONAL GUARD FATHER-DAUGHTER TEAM

#### HON. WILLIAM V. ROTH, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, Delaware is proud to have a father-daughter team in its Air National Guard and Delaware's General Assembly recently took note of this fact by passing a resolution of congratulations to Maj. Robert F. Petry, Jr., and his daughter, medical services specialist, Margaret Petry.

I join in congratulating them for this service to the State of Delaware and request unanimous consent to print the Delaware General Assembly resolution in the Extensions to the RECORD.

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

#### RESOLUTION

Congratulating Major Robert F. Petry, Jr., and medical services specialist Margaret Petry for becoming the first father-daughter combination in the history of the Delaware national guard.

Whereas, it has been established that Delaware, the First State, has another first among its midst, namely, the first father-daughter combination in the history of the Delaware Air National Guard; and

Whereas, Major Robert F. Petry, Jr., Commander of the 166th Communications Flight of the Delaware Air National Guard, a veteran of nine years of service with the Delaware group, has been joined by his daughter, Medical Services Specialist, Margaret "Marge" Petry, a 1973 graduate of Newark Senior High School, who is one of twenty-nine members of the 166th Tactical Clinic of the Delaware Air National Guard; and

Whereas, the Senate wishes to congratulate Major Bob Petry, his daughter, Marge, soon to be a student at the University of

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Delaware; his proud wife, Karen; and four other children, who reside at 714 Colgate Lane, Newark; on this unique occasion.

Now therefore, be it resolved by the Senate of the 127th General Assembly of the State of Delaware that a message of congratulations and appreciation for services rendered be forwarded to Major Robert F. Petry, Jr. and his daughter, Margaret, for becoming the first father-daughter pairing ever to serve simultaneously with the highly-acclaimed Delaware Air National Guard.

Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be forwarded to Major Petry and his family with additional copies to Colonel William F. Hutchison, Commander of the 166th Tactical Airlift Group, Delaware Air National Guard, and to Major-General Clarence E. Atkinson, Adjutant-General of the Delaware National Guard.

## CAMPUS TAKES REAL SHAPE

HON. JOHN P. MURTHA

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. MURTHA. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my fellow colleagues an article which appeared in the May 30 issue of the *Spirit*, a newspaper published in Punxsutawney, Pa.

The article, written by Mrs. Elaine Light, vividly points out what can happen in a community when the people unite for a common cause.

At a time when it appeared that the future of the Punxsutawney campus of Indiana University was in doubt, the people from the "Groundhog" town joined together and fought to keep the campus in Punxsutawney.

Today, the people are working to help furnish and complete a student union building. I know that the residents of the area will once again support the Punxsutawney area college trust and make the student union building another landmark to which the residents can point with pride.

The article telling the story of this community effort follows:

## CAMPUS TAKES REAL SHAPE

I hate to be so upbeat because I know people would rather read a good roast of something than a boast but things are going uncommonly well at both ends of town.

The Punxsutawney Campus of Indiana University is suddenly beginning to look like one for the first time since it all began back in 1962.

It's a triumph for the people of Punxsutawney who established the branch campus here with their donations amounting to \$114,000, every penny of which was used to completely renovate the abandoned West End School.

Never were moneys more carefully or better spent and I can say it because I did not become a member of the Punxsutawney Area College Trust until long after the work was completed. The money even built an addition that was used as a student lounge until the expanding library threatened to break through the second floor. The library moved into the lounge creating a critical need for recreation space that is only now being met with the completion of the Student Union Building.

For too long a time the college needs were furnished by the Trust but in 1966 Indiana began to assume more than responsibility for the building. The Trust deeded the school building and the seven acres adjoining it to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania because the state would not put money or buildings on land it did not own.

When the Student Union Cooperative, a private corporation, agreed to put a Student Union Building here and needed a piece of the deeded land, a special bill had to be introduced in Harrisburg to get that portion of the land back.

Under conditions of the deed, the building and land revert back to the Trust if it is ever not used by the state for educational purposes. Both the building and the land were deeded to the Trust by the Punxsutawney School Board.

Recently tennis and basketball courts were completed and they seem to be in constant use.

Within a year or two after the Campus opened with a class of 32, it became apparent that it could not survive as a school strictly for local or commuting students. It needed out-of-town students and out-of-town students had to have dormitories.

To meet that need, E. D. Fry, local businessman and banker, constructed two dormitories, one in 1965 and the second in 1966. College attendance hovered around 200 although lack of two-year courses caused almost complete student turnovers every year.

Two years ago, Punxsutawney got a scare when the Governor's Management Review Committee recommended the phasing out of the Punxsutawney Campus as a means of saving the state money.

The entire community rallied around its school and sent a blitz of letters, petitions and pleas for mercy to Governor Shapp. State Secretary of Education John Pittenger came to call one torrid summer day and Indiana University and the Punxsutawney Trust presented its case.

Maybe it didn't have anything to do with it, but things have been moving along ever since. For the first time the branch campuses are offering a two-year course in criminology, available only at the branches. Enrollment figures at the Punxsutawney Campus are up when they are down elsewhere including the main campus.

It is even whispered that, given a choice, students are taking Punxsutawney over the Kittanning branch.

Now Mr. Fry has decided to sell the dormitories to the Trust at terms they can meet since it involves no money. The building will be paid for out of accumulated revenue and they will be managed for the Trust by the capable director of the Punxsutawney Campus Robert Dain and his enthusiastic assistant Norman Storm.

There is only one small cloud. The student Union Building is just that—a building sans paint, floor tile, carpet or furnishings. There are some moneys in a Memorial Fund started by Mrs. L. R. McCauley in memory of her husband, Dr. L. R. McCauley, who was one of the founders of the Trust and Chairman at the time of his sudden death in 1971. These will be used for the building.

But you, the public, can help again. Remember the Punxsutawney Area College Trust when you want to send memorial gifts or if you want to do special honor for a birthday or an anniversary. Contributions should be sent care of Robert Dain, campus director. He will see that families of those so honored receive an appropriate card.

Education is a living memorial. Punxsutawney has been getting steady dividends on its college investment since the first local high school student enrolled there 12 years ago.

June 11, 1974

## WARNINGS OF CHAIRMAN OF FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. HARRY F. BYRD, JR. Mr. President, the June 4 edition of the Northern Virginia Daily of Strasburg, Va., included an excellent editorial about the recent economic warnings voiced by Dr. Arthur F. Burns, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

Chairman Burns warned that—

If the past is any guide, the future of our country is in jeopardy from inflation.

The editorial commands Dr. Burns for this timely warning, and points out that if the battle against inflation is to be won, then Congress must take the initiative and cut runaway Federal spending.

I agree. We will not get the cost of living under control until we get the cost of Government under control. Continued huge deficits will insure that inflation will go on—with all the risks which the Federal Reserve Board Chairman has cited.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the editorial, "Dr. Burns Does Not Waste Words," be printed in the Extension of Remarks.

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

## BURNS DOES NOT WASTE WORDS

It is probably safe to say that without the ruinous inflation which occurred in post-war Germany, from 1918 to 1923, there would not have been an Adolf Hitler.

Is this statement madcap guesswork or is it a sobering assessment based on historical perspective? Unfortunately, it's the latter. A frightening recollection of what runaway inflation can bring lends a special urgency to the recent warning of Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur F. Burns that "if the past . . . is any guide, the future of our country is in jeopardy from inflation."

During the five years immediately following Germany's defeat by the Allies in 1918, money became virtually worthless in that country. It took a basketful of paper marks to buy a loaf of bread.

The professional classes, having no other source of income, turned to speculation, selling and laboring jobs. The entire so-called middle class, dependent on small, fixed income was virtually wiped out.

Enter Adolph Hitler, the "savior" who promised to avenge Germany's humiliation and restore its prosperity. The rest is tragic history.

Moving forward 56 years we ask ourselves if such a financial disaster could overtake us in the 1970s.

Arthur Burns, in our opinion, is not a man who is likely to get carried away in overstatements. Listen to what Mr. Burns had to say recently:

"The gravity of our current inflationary problems can hardly be overestimated. Except for a brief period at the end of World War II, prices in the United States have of late been rising faster than in any other peacetime period of our history . . .

"No country I know of has been able to maintain widespread economic prosperity once inflation got out of hand. And the un-

happy consequences are by no means solely of an economic nature. If long continued, inflation at anything like the present rate would threaten the very foundation of our society."

Despite the fact that our present predicament has been augmented by such factors as the energy crisis, the primary blame for record high inflation must be laid at the doorstep of Congress.

In the short run, the country cannot stand the tax cut which has been suggested by some members of Congress. Nor can our fiscal system endure a continued inflationary spiral without endangering our economy.

In the long run, Americans have got to let their congressmen know emphatically that the people will no longer stand for expensive programs we can no longer afford.

Congress must understand that the people know that the major root cause of inflation is reckless government spending in a debt-ridden philosophy of deficit financing. If this understanding gives Capitol Hill a guilt complex so much the better.

Perhaps we will then begin to get the kind of congressional discipline that could bring results.

#### GROUNDBREAKING CEREMONIES

##### HON. ED JONES

OF TENNESSEE

##### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. JONES of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, recently, I have had the privilege to participate in the groundbreaking ceremonies for a new instruction building at the Naval Air Station Memphis in Millington, Tenn. This particular occasion is a high-water mark of a \$58 million, 8-year facilities improvement program which will be completed by 1976.

The building will become an important addition to the Naval Technical Training Command which is headquartered on the base and commanded by Rear Adm. A. M. Sackett, chief of naval technical training. His command is a nationwide network from which approximately 680,000 men and women are graduated each year, with about 25,000 of these students passing through the Navy's largest individual schoolhouse command, the Naval Air Technical Training Center Memphis.

The Naval Air Station Memphis, commanded by Capt. G. K. Gregory, Jr., hosts 18 tenant activities including the headquarters of the Naval Technical Training Command and the Naval Air Technical Training Center Memphis, commanded by Capt. J. L. Girard.

These naval officers deserve much of the credit for the outstanding contribution being made by this naval complex to our national defense effort. At the same time they have turned special attention to their responsibilities to the civilian community in Millington, Memphis, and Shelby County. Through mutual cooperation between the military and civilian leaders, both communities are benefiting.

I want to take this opportunity to congratulate Admiral Sackett for the leadership he is providing and to thank him for inviting me to participate in this groundbreaking ceremony. Without a doubt, the Naval Technical Training Command will continue to serve us well under his guidance.

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

##### FEDERAL CONTROL OVER LAND USE MAY BE THE ANSWER

##### HON. DICK SHOUP

OF MONTANA

##### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. SHOUP. Mr. Speaker, land-use planning is an issue we all must concern ourselves with. I feel that one of my fellow Montanans has very clearly expressed a basic philosophy toward a federally regulated policy of land planning. We are now voting on such legislation which will be setting a course for the future generations.

The following letter from Nick Golder of Forsyth, Mont., expresses some inherent values and the need to keep a continual watch on the groundwork we lay.

The letter follows:

FORSYTH, MONT., May 1, 1974.

Representative RICHARD SHOUP,  
U.S. House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Land use legislation seems to have quite a number of advantages when it comes to ironing out the growing pains of the nation. Instead of the hit and miss hope-for-the-best practices of the past, this legislation could be a big help for states, individually or collectively, to function much smoother. People, sane or insane, also function much smoother in straitjackets . . . for certain restricted functions.

Proponents of this legislation might quite reasonably ask where the straitjacket is. At first there may not be one that is hardly noticeable. But the groundwork for tight control will be laid. Men of good will in positions of authority might cause little or no problem. But it is pointless to defy all of history and daydream about a continued series of men of good will in positions of authority.

There are men who say openly we need a straitjacket for our country. Perhaps. But look where our past "insanity" (sans restrictive controls) has taken us compared to the rest of the world.

As I understand it, the original legislation under consideration in the House said the federal government could grant or deny money to states according to whether or not the individual states develop and administer their land use planning processes. Who would be sufficiently naive to think there would be no men in the federal government who would use these funds as a lever to pressure state's planners into line? So this power play didn't sell. Its proponents had to settle for a foot in the door for now with much more intended later.

The legislation still under consideration lays the groundwork for federal control over local land use throughout the nation. Quite simply, that is nationalization. Taking nationalization of the land to its extreme, we already know the said futility of how it works in Russia. There is no need to set the stage for an endless stream of never-completed five-year plans here, or some of the other treadmill schemes that go hand in hand with land nationalization.

Our forebears created a climate in government where *private* ownership and control, spurred by a *personal* profit motive, caused this nation to outstrip anything in the recorded history of all the nations of the world. We've gained more freedom, food, clothing, homes, etc., etc., than anyone anywhere in history. And, in the same hectic but effective fashion we will continue to figure out ways to grow and prosper.

But, hamstrung by nationalization of the land and the ensuing, and inexorably sti-

fling, effect of government controls (stifling due to a distant government unable or unwilling to tailor its edicts to local situations), we as a nation will wilt on the vine. Gone will be the challenge and the thrill of individual initiative and hope, for meaningful personal gain when Big Brother says, "do this . . . do that" with private property. Our vibrant nation will be castrated and the hope of the world will be eviscerated.

Overly dramatic? I wish it were. The U.S. has grown into being the hope of the whole world because it is a place where men are free to do their best with their own physical, mental and spiritual gifts, constrained only by allowing others the same chance. Trading this in for the theoretical (never *actual* for a sustained period) efficiency of a centralized government would leave no choice but to create some of the same sad effects as when others before us have tried it. The business of government is to govern, and the age-old practice of governing more and more is facilitated by centralization. The world "control" gradually seems to fit better than the word "govern." And, as the people become more controllable, the men in control turn their talents on each other in a chilling king of the mountain game that knows no happy ending.

Even doing nothing has to be better than federal land use and planning.

Yours truly,

NICK GOLDER

#### CONGRESS BALKS AT REFORM

##### HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

##### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I want to draw the attention of my colleagues to the Milwaukee Journal's June 9 editorial comments about the Democratic caucus' sandbagging of the House reforms proposed by the Bolling-Martin committee. The Journal's references to "the baronial power of certain committee chairmen," to "the House Democratic caucus, cravenly voting in secret," and to "some liberals, who—were as much to blame as anyone for this deviousness behind closed doors" testify to the disrepute the Democratic caucus has brought upon itself, and by extension upon the House as an institution. I hope my Democratic colleagues, especially those on the Hansen committee, will carefully consider the views reflected in the Journal's editorial as they ponder what to do with the select committee's proposed reforms:

##### CONGRESS BALKS ON REFORM

When it comes to correcting its own shortcomings, Congress is often like a capricious basketball team that battles back, seems on the verge of going ahead and then, with a whoosh, collapses again in disarray.

Consider the fate of the laudable plan to reform the House's chaotic committee system for the first time in nearly three decades. Spearheaded by Rep. Bolling (D-Mo.), a committee spent months carefully drafting and refining the plan. It is a chance to group committees more logically, balance workloads, focus the attention of members, end the confusion of overlapping mandates. Last year, 14 of the 21 House committees held hearings on energy legislation, each competing for custody of the subject. "We spend more time squabbling over jurisdiction

tions than we do over issues," Bolling right-  
ly laments.

However, the Bolling plan also erodes the baronial power of certain committee chairmen—notably Rep. Mills of the sprawling Ways and Means Committee—and sends anxiety shivers through influential lobbying groups that have long since learned how to turn jurisdictional rivalry to good advantage.

Result: The House Democratic caucus, cravenly voting in secret, has shunted the plan to a subcommittee, which is supposed to report back in July but may also try to give the whole idea a quiet burial. Sadly, some liberals, who take pride in their progressive records, were as much to blame as anyone for this deviousness behind closed doors.

The Bolling plan may not be perfection, but it is a thoughtful attempt to modernize a creaky Congress. At the least, it deserves to be debated and voted upon openly by the full House.

Congress is not held in high public esteem. Many members believe that the Watergate era gives them an excellent opportunity to make Congress a more responsive, respected institution. It probably does—if members can just stop double dribbling on breakaways.

#### LITHUANIA

#### HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, on June 15, 34 years ago, the Soviet Union forcibly annexed Lithuania and sent thousands of Lithuanian citizens to Siberian concentration camps. It is most appropriate that we take time this week to focus in on the Lithuanian experience and Russia's domination of the Baltic nations. In just a few weeks the President will be going to Moscow to meet with Chairman Brezhnev, and it is most important that the Soviet leadership know that the House of Representatives is fully aware of their past and present strategy for world domination.

At the present time the people of Lithuania are denied the right of national self-determination, suffer continual and political persecution, and are denied their basic human rights.

The Soviets are now seeking détente with the United States, as well as most-favored-nation status. This desire on the part of the U.S.S.R. provides the United States with a unique bargaining tool to ease the plight of the Baltic nations.

We have recently been told that the United States has no right to interfere in the internal policies of the Soviets. But the Soviets operate under an entirely different standard. They have not only interfered, but have used military force to bring about political, economic, and religious change in most Eastern European countries.

It is time that the United States firmly resolve, and make clear to the Soviet leadership, that Russia's continuing oppression cannot continue any longer if the world is to live in peace and freedom. Détente cannot be a one-way street, it must be practiced and honored by all parties, and the Soviets have not shown that they are about to practice détente.

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

They would rather talk a good game, rather than play one.

It is imperative that the U.S. delegation to the European Security Conference not agree to the recognition of the forcible conquest of the Baltic nations by the Soviet Union.

#### RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF RHODE ISLAND

#### HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, on June 3, 1974, the House adopted the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 271) expressing the sense of the Congress that "the Government of the United States shall cease forthwith all consideration of aid, trade, diplomatic recognition, or accommodation with the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam or the Provisional Revolutionary Government until such time as "those governments comply with the provisions of the protocol to and the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace to Vietnam pertaining to missing in action.

Today I am submitting to the RECORD a copy of Resolution 74-H-7262 adopted by the Rhode Island General Assembly at the January session, A.D. 1974, and approved by Governor Noel on May 8, 1974, entitled, "Resolution Memorializing Congress To Maintain a Vigorous Search for All Americans Who are Missing in Action in Southeast Asia." It is my hope that the Congress will see fit to abide by this resolution.

The resolution follows:

[State of Rhode Island, &c. in General Assembly, January Session, A.D. 1974]

#### RESOLUTION MEMORALIZING CONGRESS TO MAINTAIN A VIGOROUS SEARCH FOR ALL AMERICANS WHO ARE MISSING IN ACTION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Whereas, It has been one year since the American military withdrawal from Southeast Asia and there remains an estimated 1300 men whose fate is still unknown; and

Whereas, Among those unaccounted for are the following Rhode Island men: Air Force Colonel Curtis Eaton, missing since 1966, Army Captain Kenneth Goff, Jr., missing since 1967, Air Force Captain Frederick Mellor, missing since 1966, Navy Lieutenant O. J. Pender Jr., missing since 1972, Army Staff Sergeant Louis C. Walton, missing since 1971, and Air Force Senior Master Sergeant Samuel Adams, missing since 1965, and

Whereas, All these men courageously and selflessly struggled in an unpopular and lonely war in the belief that it was their duty as American citizens; and

Whereas, It is now our duty to not only these men but to their families who suffered immeasurable hardship to expend all our energies and resources to discover their whereabouts; and

Whereas, Their sacrifice should never be forgotten as it seemingly has been by a majority of Americans especially the congress of the United States; now therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the congress of the United States be and it hereby is memorialized to maintain a vigorous search for all Americans who are missing in action in Southeast Asia; and be it further

June 11, 1974

*Resolved*, That the Rhode Island delegation in congress be at the forefront of this search; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the secretary of state be and he hereby is authorized and directed to transmit a duly certified copy of this resolution to the Rhode Island delegation in congress.

#### THE BATTLE OF THE SEAT BELT INTERLOCK CONTINUES

#### HON. ROBERT J. HUBER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Speaker, in spite of the fact that the new interlock system for seat belts in our automobiles has low public acceptance and has already caused much grief, to say nothing of adding to the slump in new car sales, the Feds go merrily on their way thinking of new ways to add to the cost and discomfort of owning an automobile. An amusing, yet ironic article on this subject recently appeared in the Washington Star-News on Sunday, June 2, 1974. I commend the article to the attention of my colleagues and suggest they consider cosponsoring Representative WYMAN's bill to stop this nonsense—H.R. 10663:

#### A BLOW TO THE BELT

(By Elinor Horwitz)

When I told my husband one night last week that I had attacked the ignition-lock seat belt feature of my beautiful 5-month-old Checker Marathon with a hatchet, he thought I was being a bit flamboyant.

"This may be an historic first," I told him, "first law abiding American to strike a blow—so to speak—against the tyranny of the Department of Transportation."

When I first read that all 1974 cars would be equipped by law with a new safety device which would make it impossible to start the engine without putting on your seat belt, I was incredulous. I had always assumed that my right as an adult American citizen to wreak destruction on my own body was inviolate. Not that I object entirely to the role of government as hovering parent or that I'm opposed to good health and long life.

Quite the contrary. I'm willing to be informed that I'm breathing foul pollutants and gobbling carcinogens and had better stop—right this minute! Warnings on cigarette packages are a seemingly show of concern. Cautionary advice on not stuffing the turkey the day before Thanksgiving is most welcome.

But making seat belts compulsory in this fashion seemed a clear and simple case of violation of freedom of expression. Someone will bring it to the Supreme Court, I thought smugly as I purchased the Checker.

In actual fact, when I committed my act of violence I was impelled less by idealism than by frenzy.

That morning I had rushed from the house to drive to an important appointment. I popped my key in the ignition and was greeted by the familiar bossy buzzing.

"Shut up," I said, in a friendly fashion, as I obediently reached for the seat belt. The seat belt refused to unreel. I tried greater pressure, lesser pressure, sweet words. No luck. ("Expletive deleted!") I shouted in distinctly unfriendly fashion, kicking the soft underside of the dashboard. I envisioned the belt oddly tangled on its reel and I fished a screwdriver with which to pry off the study plastic cover.

Failure.

I went back inside in a state of intense frustration to find a more effective tool—and there it was—a nice sharp hatchet we use for splitting fireplace logs. The casing came off—somewhat mangled—and the reel stood exposed, and rigidly locked. As I forcefully attempted to budge it a tightly wound metal spring flew out hitting me sharply between the eyes. That did it.

Although the ignition interlock system is far from mute, it is totally deaf and blind. I started the car by reaching in the window and turning the key in the ignition without putting any warning pressure on the seat. Then I sat down inside and drove—buzzer shrieking all the way—three miles to the dealer.

I recalled my father's constant advice to temperamental daughters that "a low voice is a beautiful thing in a woman." (I thought it was an original sentiment; he thought he was quoting scripture; I was 17 before I discovered he was misquoting King Lear.)

But when the service manager greeted me with a smile—I shouted, "The (expletive deleted) seat belt is stuck. Disconnect the buzzer. Disconnect it at once! I'm hours late!"

He patiently urged me to leave the car—I think he actually patted me on the head. "We'll fix the belt—no charge. It's illegal to disconnect the buzzer."

That's when I told him about my hatchet and reached towards my oversize pocketbook to indicate that it still lay within and tried out this scary maniacal laugh.

Needless to say, many people are more serene in dealing with commonplace annoyances, and this is a good thing. Many people are also more mechanical than I and have calmly and efficiently torn assunder buzzer systems which automobile manufacturers have wrought for their own good. Others are trying to alter the situation legislatively.

In the days when manufacturers first started offering to put airplane seat belts into automobiles as a rather exotic and expensive bit of additional equipment for the super-cautious, a memorable cartoon appeared. It showed a car stalled on a railroad track with a train rapidly approaching. The passengers—a middle-aged man and wife—were frantically pulling at seat belts which wouldn't release. The husband was glowering at his wife with an expression that bespoke decades of hostility, and the wife was staring back and saying belligerently, "Well, usually they save lives."

Rep. Louis C. Wyman, R-N.H., tells of a similar story—without a trace of humorous intent:

"Let's say a car is stuck on an icy railroad track and it's headed uphill. What if the man gets out to shovel sand under the wheels and when he gets back in he can't get the seat belt to fasten. What he'll have to do is abandon the car and let it get hit by a train." (This sounds like a true life New Hampshire story what with the ice and the sand and the shovel in the trunk and all—except that there are no trains north of Boston these days).

Wyman has many more for-instances:

"What about a woman who's being chased by a man in a parking lot and she outruns him and then she jumps in her car. Only she can't get it started in time because she has to keep fussing with the seat belt. Think what could happen."

I am thinking. And shuddering.

"Or if by chance a car goes off a bridge into the water and in this case you have a seat belt on and it jams and you can't get out." He pauses to let the dreadful vision linger awhile.

Wyman is the author of a bill which would prohibit seat belts being tied in with ignition. "I don't think Congress ever intended

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

to grant the Department of Transportation the right to go so far."

The congressman poises his fingertips against each other and rests his gaze on the framed color photograph of Lake Winnepesaukee. He raises his voice slightly:

"The ignition interlock feature is idiocy. It makes the use of seat belts compulsory although we know that many times people die in accidents because they're wearing a belt. Enforcing such a system is simply an extension of bureaucratic extremism—an interference with the private rights of citizens. Most people today are being forced to pay extra to have the device put in their cars and then they're paying more dollars to get it disconnected."

Wyman believes that everyone should have the right to wear or not wear a seat belt. "There are many instances in which it can be dangerous." To the train story (come to think of it, couldn't he have let the car slide backwards downhill off the tracks?) and the woman attacked in the parking lot and the victims drowned in their car, he adds hypothetical cases of fire, rear end collision, unusual weather conditions. His eyes return to the soothing New Hampshire scenes which decorate the wall.

"My bill has 70-100 cosponsors. I've lost count. I wrote Congressman Moss, chairman of the subcommittee on Commerce and Finance demanding that they bring the bill to a hearing but his view is that my bill would be contrary to saving lives. Big Brother demands seat belts."

Philip Lemov, counsel to the committee chaired by Rep. John Moss, D-Cal., recites safety statistics.

"The Department of Transportation estimates that 10,000 lives will be saved annually if everyone wears seat belts. So far four million new model cars have been sold—all with the ignition interlock. The Department has received only 504 nasty letters, which is very few. Analysis of these letters shows that most people who oppose the interlock do so because they say it violates freedom of choice, the right to risk life and limb."

Ah ha!

"Listen," he says. "They're beating a dying dinosaur anyhow. It's only an interim measure. In 1976 it will be replaced with the air bags. We just don't want it pulled out before then."

*Compulsory air bags?*

*Mais oui.*

It is important to note that the American Civil Liberties Union is not ignoring the intrusion of seat belt laws. In a statement on a proposed compulsory seat belt law submitted to the D.C. City Council's Committee on Highways and Transportation, chairman of the National Capital Area ACLU, David Isbell, wrote:

"As a civil liberties matter, we do not believe the government has the right to legislate on matters affecting the individual's behavior when the consequences of that behavior affect only that individual and not the safety or health of the general community."

Here is a sampling of some further community opinion:

Salesman at Ralph Brown Buick: "I'd say about 75 percent, maybe more, of the people buying new cars are opposed to the ignition interlock. The government's just going to have to come up with something else."

Sales Manager at Loving Chevrolet: "About 50 percent object and the other 50 percent accept it okay."

Friendly neighborhood Amoco station attendant: "Lots of people ask me to disconnect the whole business and I do it. I feel like if they want to have it done, it's their car and it's their right."

Friendly neighborhood Exxon station attendant: "Sure I do it if someone asks. I

used to drive a tow car and I saw as many people killed in crashes because they had the seat belts on as because they had them off."

Another Exxon station attendant: "I don't blame people for wanting to get it detached—it's a hassle—but you're not supposed to do it and I just feel like I don't want to." (The law reads that the manufacturer may not disconnect the device nor may the dealer—prior to the first sale of the car.)

Call Carl: "It's against the law. We don't do it."

Maryland housewife stopped between saucers and pickles at the Arlington Road Giant: "I feel like it's a big pain in the neck but it's a good idea when you have kids that drive. It makes them buckle up."

Gulf Station attendant: "Don't ask me to do it but you can do it easy. Just look under the front seat and where you see what looks like an extension cord, pull it out. I tell customers that all the time—you don't like it, just pull it out. It's your constitutional right."

D.C. housewife between gourmet foods and ice cream at Connecticut Avenue Safeway: "Listen, I hear a lot of people say it's unconstitutional but you know what I tell them? I tell them about the accident that happened right in front of my house and how she wasn't wearing a seat belt. I say to them, 'So just try going after your precious pursuit of happiness when you have your head through a windshield!'"

## RESOLUTION SUPPORTS PRESIDENT

### HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, I include the following resolution in the Record, adopted on June 1, 1974, by the Massachusetts State Republican Pre-Primary Convention.

This resolution is a timely remainder that there is substantial support for President Nixon in every congressional district and State throughout the country, including Massachusetts which did not cast its electoral votes for Mr. Nixon's re-election in 1972. The resolution follows:

#### RESOLUTION

Be it resolved by the delegates of the Massachusetts Republican Pre-Primary Convention of 1974:

That we re-affirm our support of President Nixon and our confidence in the President's ability to continue to lead this great nation and to fulfill the mandate given him by the voters of the United States of America in the only poll of legal significance—that of November 7, 1972;

That we believe in the right of due process of law that is due every citizen and that the same standards of justice should apply to the President of the United States as to any other citizen and that he is innocent until proven guilty of an impeachable offense;

That we abhor the state of emotional frenzy and hatred that has been generated and which now permeates this land against the President, faced with possible political assassination at the hands of those who have already inferred his guilt of charges as yet neither formally declared nor proven against him;

That, above all, we appeal for fairness to the President and to his office in this time of crisis especially from the ranks of the communications media and the Congress of the United States.

## WOMAN OF THE YEAR

## HON. BILL NICHOLS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, last month the Pilot Club of Camp Hill, Ala., named as "Woman of the Year" Mrs. C. B. Sullivan. Mrs. Sullivan has been a resident of Camp Hill since 1913 and during her long and honorable residence there, she has distinguished herself as an active participant in community services, business activities, church work, and as an educator.

It is of particular note that this outstanding woman was at one time the teacher of one of our own colleagues here in the House of Representatives. I am referring to our honorable friend from the State of Florida, Congressman CLAUDE PEPPER. Representative PEPPER tells me that Mrs. Sullivan played an important role in shaping his own life in those formative youthful days and no doubt she inspired the Congressman from Florida toward a deeper, more meaningful conception of his role in life.

I would like to submit to the RECORD of this body, two articles which appeared in the Dadeville Record, one of Alabama's finest weekly newspapers, and hope that it brings to mind those important people in our own lives:

[From the Dadeville Record, May 2, 1974]

## MRS. SULLIVAN HONORED BY PILOT CLUB

A very inspirational meeting Friday evening at the Methodist Church planned and put on by Camp Hill Pilot Club, honored Mrs. Catherine Sullivan for her outstanding service to our town.

The Rev. W. W. Flournoy, of United Methodist Church in Richland, Ga. made the principle address.

Rev. L. C. Prater introduced Mrs. Sullivan to the congregation paying tribute to the high quality of her contribution to the enrichment of our church and community life.

Mrs. Paul Strozier, who was master of the ceremony presented Mrs. Sullivan with a beautiful orchid corsage.

Rev. Paul Morgan, of the local Methodist Church gave the benediction.

Sunday morning at the close of the worship service a special service of recognition for long and loyal service to the church was given honoring Mr. and Mrs. Odell Meadows.

Oscar Chester made the principle address giving considerable thought to some early history of the Methodist Church in Camp Hill. Then he presented a beautiful silver tray to Mr. and Mrs. Meadows. A number of members of the Meadows family were present. Out of town visitors were Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Creel, Talladega; Ben Charles Meadows of Atlanta; Col. and Mrs. George Taafe, Auburn; Mr. and Mrs. Billy Meadows, Opelika; Mr. and Mrs. Richard Kirkland, Selma.

Dennis Davis sang a solo in the service.

Women of the Wesleyan Guild and other church women were in charge of the meeting.

The Seniors of Tallapoosa Academy made an interesting trip by bus the 22nd to the 26th to Washington, D.C. They toured the nation's capital, stopped by Natural Bridge in Virginia and Gatlinburg, Tenn.

Miss Louise Ellis, sister of Mrs. Sullivan and Mrs. Irma Reel of Washington, D.C. are visiting Mrs. Sullivan and were present for the Pilot meeting honoring her Friday night. Also present Friday night were Mrs. John L. Denney, Alexander City and Mrs. W. G. Wood of LaFayette.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Others present at the Methodist Church Sunday morning honoring Mr. and Mrs. Odell Meadows were Mr. and Mrs. J. T. Green, Lanett and Mrs. Larry (Lisa) Blocker of Statesboro, Ga.

Miss Katherine King, Mrs. May Adams, from Birmingham, Mrs. Jack Auld, of Springfield, Pa. visited Dr. and Mrs. Bernard Garlington and Miss Lea Landrum last Thursday.

Guests of Mr. and Mrs. Sellers Trimble this weekend were Mr. and Mrs. Floyd Trimble, Birmingham, Mr. and Mrs. D. C. Williams, Birmingham, Wayne Gurley, Montgomery, James Parker and son, Tallasse, Mrs. Dorothy Webster, Tallasse, Mrs. Jay Rearden, and Mrs. Lucile Seegers, Opelika and Mrs. Jimmie Lou Langley.

Rev. and Mrs. L. C. Prater drove to Louisville, Miss. for Homecoming at the Louisville Universalist Church. They returned home Monday afternoon.

Mrs. Irma Gabbett was hostess to the Universalist women Monday afternoon at her home. The program was a review of some Camp Hill history as it was made by the W.R. J. Slaughter family.

## MRS. C. B. SULLIVAN HONORED FRIDAY NIGHT

Mrs. Charles B. Sullivan was honored by the Pilot Club of Camp Hill Friday night as its distinguished woman of the year. Continuing the tradition begun last year by honoring an outstanding woman whose selection by a special committee was based on recognition of her participation in several categories such as church work, community service, public affairs, business and professional achievements, and outstanding contributions, to the community.

Mrs. Sullivan received the Pilot Club award for her aspirations and achievements in all these fields.

The Reverend L. C. Prater gave a short biography of the honoree which revealed some interesting facts about the life of Mrs. Sullivan who had moved to Camp Hill from Arkansas in the early 1900's. Mrs. Sullivan had worked as a teacher, a volunteer for needy causes and had remained active until recent years in community, church and social activities.

Mrs. Sullivan recounted some of her early years, remarking with a smile how prospective students were at first awed at having such a tall teacher, explaining her hair fashion, as was everyone's of the day, made her look much taller than she actually was.

Mrs. Sullivan was gracious in her appreciation for receiving such an honor from the Pilot Club and retold of how several in the audience had affected her life in Camp Hill.

Mrs. Sullivan introduced several guests, among them, her sister, Mrs. Louise Ellis, Washington, D.C., Mrs. Erma Reel, Washington, D.C., Mrs. W. G. Wood, LaFayette and Mrs. Denny from Alexander City.

The Award and an Orchid was presented to the honoree by Mrs. Paul Strozier before a V.I.P. audience at the First United Methodist Church, climaxing an hour of excitement and entertainment.

Guest speaker for the occasion was the Rev. W. W. Flournoy who spoke on Women Worth Knowing. Reverend Flournoy was introduced by Mrs. Paul Strozier.

Mrs. Barto Amason welcomed the guests and special entertainment was provided by Mrs. Ramona Reece who rendered several musical selections accompanied by Capt. John Struck of Lyman Ward Military Academy at the organ.

Following the invocation by Rev. Paul Morgan, Mrs. Hubert Conine read the Pilot Code of Ethics. Reverend Louis Lambert gave the benediction.

A reception in the church parlors followed the program. Mrs. Marcus Moreman was in charge of the arrangements and she was assisted by Mrs. W. T. Handley and Mrs. Ramona Reece.

June 11, 1974

## INTERNATIONAL FINANCIERS HOLD SECRET MEETINGS LOBBYING FOR MORE FOREIGN AID

## HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, a recent newsletter by the Liberty Lobby, a nonpartisan organization for better government, has been brought to my attention in which it is alleged that news accounts of meetings of international financiers for increased foreign aid at their Bilderberg group meetings have been suppressed.

An investigation into these meetings has been conducted, and this most recent account of Liberty Lobby's findings is most revealing.

Because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this matter, I place in the RECORD herewith a copy of the Liberty Lobby newsletter.

The article follows:

[From the Liberty Lowdown, June 1974]

## THE CONSPIRACY THEORY OF HISTORY

In the last issue of *Homefront*, the organ of the Institute for American Democracy, the editor says, in discussing Liberty Lobby:

*The zealots are fighting against a "conspiracy." This, you must admit, is a much handier explanation for the state of things than (sic) the hard-to-face fact that we have problems for which there are no reasonable, short range solutions. They all look for whipping boys to rally against.*

Students of the intellectual perversion known as Marxism will recognize the above as a statement of the orthodox Marxist view that the historical movement toward socialism is inevitable, and proceeds ponderously according to vast and impersonal forces which cannot be denied. Unfortunately, this opinion has been absorbed by American "intellectuals" as standard liberal doctrine. Those who have dared to contradict openly this orthodoxy have paid for their courage by being immediately labeled by the press with such terms as "paranoid," "extremist," "fascist" and, of course, "anti-Semitic," the standard imprecations hurled as witches' crosses against the luckless few who dare to challenge the official "line."

Innumerable Americans have thus been intimidated from professing the "conspiracy theory" and those who have not been so intimidated have oftentimes wasted their time and effort in trying to explain it to others because of the obvious difficulty involved in trying to expose something which, by its very nature, is secret and hidden.

The tremendous difficulties involved have therefore seriously prevented popular assignment of the responsibility for why America and the West have reached such a state of pronounced decline. Obviously, without such assignment, any hope for the survival of the West is fatuous.

Is there any way to prove the existence of a great conspiracy to despoil the West—a relatively easy way to lay out the facts in such fashion that no fair-minded person can possibly deny that such a conspiracy exists?

Thanks to the facts that are now known about the Bilderberg Group and the astounding control that this organization exercises over the so-called "free press" in Europe and America such proof is now simple to establish for anyone who will devote 15 minutes to the subject.

Please note that this argument is not concerned with the subjects the Bilderbergers discuss in their secret conferences. Of course,

the content of their discussions is the core of the controversy, but all this issue of Liberty Lowdown addresses is the fact that the meetings are unreported by the press. In other words, for the purposes of this analysis, it is unimportant whether they get together once each year in secrecy to play pinochle, have a party or to discuss plans and strategems to money and the wealth of the world to their bank accounts. The mere fact that they do get together and that their meetings are protected from any and all publicity is what is germane to this discussion, and what is, in itself, proof of a conspiracy. The *nature* of the conspiracy is another matter worthy of inquiry but one that cannot be intelligently explored until the *existence* of the conspiracy itself is recognized as an incontrovertible fact.

## CONSPIRACY STATED

Because of what is known about the Bilderberg Group and the control it exercises over the so-called "free press" of the West there is no explanation save that of conspiracy to account for the fact that the entire press of the world has suppressed all mention of the Bilderberg meetings and all recognition of the existence of the Group.

The simple statement in the paragraph above is far too much for the average American to comprehend, be he conservative, liberal or neuter. It is totally at odds with the Great American Myth—that America is a free Nation, resting on the bulwark of Freedom of Speech, and that the newspapers and other media are free and uncontrolled.

To accept the paragraph above requires the average American to destroy the image of America he has held since infancy. Yet, *the image must be destroyed if America is to survive. The image is as false as the decline of America is factual.*

To understand that a conspiracy exists, begin with two undeniable facts:

1. A meeting of very important world figures took place at Megeve April 19-21, 1974;

2. The fact that this meeting took place was not reported in any major newspaper in the world, covered by any wire service or reported on radio or television anywhere except in the immediate vicinity of the meeting.

There are only three possible explanations for these two facts:

1. The event was really not "news" in the accepted journalistic definition and consequently unworthy of notice, or

2. The press did not know of the meeting and so could not report on it, or

3. Every wire service in the world, including AP, UPI, Reuters and Tass, and hundreds if not thousands of professional journalists and their employers in Europe and the U.S., leftists, liberals and "responsible conservatives" knew of the meeting and conspired together to suppress it.

There are no other possibilities. One of them has to be true. Let us examine them:

As for the first, Lesson Number One in all journalism classes is that "names make news." This is not only known by all dewy-cheeked high school freshmen who work on their school paper but by experienced journalists who work for the New York newspaper which promises "All the News That's Fit to Print." Every year, somewhere in the world, the Bilderbergers get together to discuss concerns of mutual interest. His Royal Highness Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands, the chairman of the Bilderberg Organization, arrived at Kennedy International Airport on April 22, 1971, en route to Woodstock, Vt., from Holland to attend the Bilderberg meeting scheduled for that weekend. He was met by dozens of reporters, and additional dozens surrounded the Woodstock Inn during that meeting. Before this meeting, as well as prior to the Megeve meeting, during the meetings and afterward newspapers printed thousands of tons of paper for readers containing ad-

vice to the lovelorn, horoscopes, crossword puzzles, recipes, features on giant pandas, African voodoo and Common Cause, advertisements for and reviews of pornography and other garbage.

But not one square inch in this Sahara of newsprint is ever given to a Bilderberg meeting. No news coverage. No features on the personalities, their love lives or their riches. No human interest. No photos of them at work or play or alighting from their private jets or riding in their heavily-guarded limousines.

And most important of all, nothing—absolutely nothing—about what they talked about. No speculation, predictions, analysis. No interviews, no halfbaked syndicated philosophy, witticisms or moralizing editorials in the Los Angeles Times. No cartoons by Herblock, Conrad or Parrish. No screams of rage from Jane Fonda, William Kunstler or the ACLU. No threats from the SLA. No wisdom from Eric Sevareid, Howard K. Smith or David Brinkley. No excited exposés from Jack Anderson or biting sarcasm from Nicholas von Hoffman. Not even a peep from Time—even though its managing editor, Henry Grunwald, attended the 1974 meeting, just as Osborn Elliott, president of Newsweek, attended in 1971. Total silence.

## HARD-WORKING REPORTER MYTH

The second excuse is equally preposterous. One of the great legends of America (taught to us by the press) is that of the honest, hard-working reporter who, by dint of effort, comes up with a great story exposing an evil plot. It is true that once his boss puts him on the trail of a story he wants, a reporter will not easily give up—so long as he continues to draw a salary and expenses, that is. There must be a hundred thousand reporters in Europe and the U.S. The Bilderbergers have been meeting for years at roughly the same time every year. Virtually any reporter, if he had wanted to, could have found out when and where the 1974 meeting was going to be held. Liberty Lowdown did, with a budget of pennies compared to the Associated Press, UPI or CBS-TV.

In addition, all newspapers, radio stations and TV stations subscribe to a wire service and possess at least one teletype that connects them with the world. By their contract they are obligated to inform the agency of local news. This is the way the agency normally learns of floods, airplane crashes and earthquakes—from feedback from a local newspaper or radio station. In 1971 the Rutland Herald carried a small news story on the Bilderberg meeting at Woodstock, Vt.—a small town next door with no daily newspaper of its own. It had to because all the local people knew about it and therefore the story could not be locally suppressed. By the Herald's contract with UPI and/or AP, it was compelled to report the story to New York City. But the story was never carried anywhere else.

## CONSPIRACY THE CONCLUSION

The conclusion therefore has to be that the third possibility—conspiracy—is the only possible explanation of the facts. The Rothschilds, Rockefellers and other super-rich internationalists at Megeve merely told their underling publishers—the Sulzbergers, Schiffs, Newhouses, Knights, Chandlers, Pulwams, Buckleys, etc.—that there was to be no news of the meeting.

## HERB HOFFMAN—A PROFESSIONAL

## HON. HENRY P. SMITH III

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to join with Herb

Hoffman's many friends, both in and out of Congress, in wishing him the best of luck in his so-called "retirement."

Private practice of law, 4 years in the military, 23 years with the Justice Department, and 3 years with the House Judiciary Committee apparently are not enough of a career for this able, conscientious, and energetic lawyer. And so he has taken on a new challenge as director of the Governmental Relations Office of the American Bar Association. The ABA could not have found many people better qualified to serve as its top official in Washington. By training, experience, temperament, and personality, Herb is eminently right for the job.

Congratulations and good wishes to Herb, my friend of many years, and congratulations to the American Bar Association on selecting this fine lawyer and administrator for a job for which he is ideally suited.

## LAND USE

## HON. EDWARD R. MADIGAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. MADIGAN. Mr. Speaker, in recent years this country has rushed into new programs with inadequate concern for both the costs and benefits such programs produce. As a result, we have too often fostered conflict rather than progress.

In the near future the Congress will debate legislation designed to be a first step toward land-use planning. Undoubtedly, a national land-use planning policy is our No. 1 environmental priority.

Current land-use trends give little cause for satisfaction to any reasonable man. Valuable agriculture land is being destroyed. Unique natural assets have been swallowed up by commercial and urban growth. Just as importantly, however, powerplant and refinery construction has been substantially halted by concerned environmentalists.

In sum, both economic growth and the environment have suffered from the absence of an intelligent land-use planning process. That has happened primarily because of the absence of governmental processes for harmonizing the sometimes conflicting values of economic growth and environmental protection.

I would hope that reasonable men can still recognize that both of these values deserve priority in Government. Absent either, the human experience will be less satisfying.

Thus, the question becomes one of devising processes which accommodate both. Unfortunately, neither the Steiger bill nor the Udall bill does this. Computer inventories of land characteristics can be valuable tools. But they are not processes for accommodating equally important and sometimes competing values.

Grants to the States for implementing such inventories with or without Federal guidelines and sanctions regarding their use will not create the local government processes, mechanisms, and leadership

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

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for bringing together advocates of economic growth with proponents of environmental protection.

Any businessman who believes that environmentalists can be silenced by the stiff upper lip approach is out of touch with political reality. Similarly, any environmentalist who believes that the public will do without adequate public services is equally shortsighted.

The consequent political need is to compel these interests to meet and systematically compromise their demands. The concept of compromise does not entail each side accepting half a loaf. What it does require is that both interests sincerely explore the objectives of the other in order to achieve mutual accommodation of their goals.

In essence that means that environmentalists must begin to articulate defined, positive objectives, and that businessmen must begin to explore ways to accommodate those objectives and still produce power, homes and jobs. The local land-use authority should cease to be a forum where environmentalists oppose all change. And it should cease to be an agency that business interests feel they must dominate.

Both attitudes and structures must be altered to facilitate systematic accommodation. Legislatively that requires an approach which encourages local experimentation. In some areas some land-use decisions should be made by smaller units of Government than now make them. In other areas, there is a need for metropolitan area and regional structures to address specific types of land-use problems.

Authority for regulating small land-use changes in existing communities must probably be handled differently than authority for protecting greenbelt and natural area uses of land.

My point is that we are more likely to arrive at an efficient, democratic process for managing their decisions with a Federal effort which places emphasis on two factors: first, maximum feasible joint participation by environmentalists and businessmen; and second, maximum affirmative experimentation at the local level.

Therefore, I will oppose both the Steiger and the Udall bills. Both seem too likely to crystallize business-environment conflicts. Neither is adequately affirmative in framing strategy for transforming these conflicts into constructive, cooperative action. Inventing tools before we fashion the democratic processes for using them is most assuredly not a formula for progress.

What I believe is needed is a Federal effort which assists model local experiments in resolving the business-environment impasse. It should not bear a "Made in Washington" label. Rather, it should be an example of Washington turning to local government for creative solutions to a problem Washington has had a role in creating.

## RESULTS FROM ANNUAL POLL

## HON. DAVID W. DENNIS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. DENNIS. Mr. Speaker, results are in from my annual poll of voters of the 10th Indiana Congressional District, and I believe that this typical mid-America area has furnished some returns of general interest and significance.

First. On the burning legal-political issue of the day 65 percent of those replying believe that the House of Representatives should not impeach the President of the United States; 84 percent believe that the President ought not to resign.

Second. The great domestic issue of the day is inflation. I put to my constituents the following tough political question:

9. In order to fight inflation and high prices, would you be willing to sharply cut the expenditures of the Federal government, including all forms of Federal grants of aid, raise Federal taxes, bring the national budget nearer to balance, reduce money supply, and generally tighten the national economic belt, even if it means an adjustment period of temporary economic recession accompanied by increased unemployment?

A significant number on both sides qualified their answer by objecting to any raise in Federal taxes, but 69 percent answered this question in the affirmative. While we all know that people tend to want to save money on the other man's program I nevertheless consider a 69-percent "yes" answer to an austerity program of this kind highly significant, and something to be pondered by the advocates of big government and the welfare state.

Third. A slight majority—53 percent—opposed any form of national health insurance; and a wide margin, 92 percent, favored use of the private insurance industry and retention of an individual choice of physician, if any plan is adopted.

Fourth. Wage and price controls were opposed 58 to 42 percent, except for a "rollback" in the price of crude oil, which was favored by the same margin; 95 percent oppose gasoline rationing; and a narrow margin—53 percent—favored ending Federal regulation of the wellhead price of natural gas.

Fifth. Despite political scandals 78 percent still oppose the financing of political campaign by public funds. An overwhelming 94 percent feel that any campaign reform legislation should apply equally strict provisions to labor union and corporate contributions.

Sixth. In military and related matters the returns indicate to me that 10th District people are patriotic, nationalistic, and in favor of cutting fat but not muscle; 91 percent oppose any surrender of control over the Panama Canal; 74 percent favor developing an American naval base on the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. Rather to my sur-

prise 74 percent oppose a unilateral troop withdrawal from Europe. On the other hand 54 percent favor a 5-percent across-the-board cut in the defense budget, and 58 percent oppose continued military and economic aid to South Vietnam.

Seventh. Answers were split almost exactly 50-50 on the creation of a new Consumer Protection Agency.

Eighth. Ninety-two percent favor compulsory restoration of the land after strip mining, but 68 percent are against the abolition of strip mining; 77 percent favor temporary relaxation of clean air standards in order to conserve energy and promote the use of coal.

Ninth. In the field of foreign trade a narrow 53 percent majority favors granting the President the power to negotiate reciprocal trade agreements with foreign countries; but 64 percent oppose "most-favored nation" trade with the Soviet Union; and a surprising 67 percent of those replying stated that they favored control and restriction of American agricultural exports. It is in this general field, and particularly as to this last item, that I find myself in the most disagreement with the majority. Presumably this answer indicates widespread and natural concern with high food prices; but I disbelieve fundamentally in governmental regulations of this character, and I am convinced both that American agriculture has to export in order to prosper, and that the general economy cannot prosper if American agriculture is seriously depressed.

As always, I found these answers of my constituents interesting, enlightening, and full of food for thought. More answers came in this year than ever before, and it is encouraging to know that the people at home are interested and concerned in these important national and international affairs.

I am personally indebted to, and wish to sincerely thank, each resident of the 10th Indiana District who took the time and trouble to send me a reply.

The complete results of the questionnaire are as follows:

1. In your opinion, should the House of Representatives vote to impeach the President of the United States? (Note: Impeachment means bringing charges of "high crimes and misdemeanors" which, if proved after trial by the Senate to the satisfaction of two-thirds of the Senators present and voting, would result in the President's removal from office.) Yes, 35%. No, 65%.

2. If the President is impeached by the House of Representatives, should the United States Senate thereafter convict him of high crimes and misdemeanors and thereby remove him from office? Yes, 33%. No, 67%.

3. Should President Nixon resign from his office? Yes, 16%. No, 84%.

4. Should the Congress pass a law attempting to "roll back" the price of crude oil? Yes, 58%. No, 42%.

5. Should the price of natural gas at the wellhead be deregulated, so far as Federal regulation is concerned? Yes, 47%. No, 53%.

6. Should gasoline rationing be imposed? Yes, 5%. No, 95%.

7. Should wage and price controls be ended? Yes, 58%. No, 42%.

8. Should the United States, now or in the

future, surrender its jurisdiction and control over the Panama Canal? Yes, 9%. No, 91%.

9. In order to fight inflation and high prices, would you be willing to sharply cut the expenditures of the Federal government, including all forms of Federal grants in aid, raise Federal taxes, bring the national budget nearer to balance, reduce money supply, and generally tighten the national economic belt, even if it meant an adjustment period of temporary economic recession accompanied by increased unemployment? Yes, 69%. No, 31%.

10. If campaign reform legislation is enacted, should equally strict provisions apply to political contributions by corporations and to political contributions by labor unions? Yes, 94%. No, 6%.

11. Illegilities and scandals in political fund raising have created a drive for campaign funding reform, including the idea that campaigns for public office ought to be paid for in whole or in part by public tax funds. Do you favor or oppose the financing of political campaigns by means of public funds, drawn from the U.S. Treasury? Favor, 22%. Oppose, 78%.

12. Do you favor or oppose some form of national health insurance? Favor, 47%. Oppose, 53%.

13. If a national health insurance program is adopted, should it be entirely publicly managed and financed by Federal tax funds, or would you favor a plan which made use of the private insurance system and preserved an individual choice of doctor:

Public System—Favor, 27%. Oppose, 73%. Private insurance and doctors—Favor, 92%. Oppose, 8%.

14. Do you favor or oppose relaxation or temporary suspension of clean air standards, in order to conserve energy and promote the use of coal instead of fuel oil? Favor, 77%. Oppose, 23%.

15. Do you favor or oppose the abolition of strip mining? Favor, 32%. Oppose, 68%.

16. Do you favor or oppose Federal law or regulation which will permit the continuance of strip mining but will require the mining companies to restore the land they have used? Favor, 92%. Oppose 8%.

17. Do you favor or oppose the withdrawal of American troops from Europe without waiting for corresponding withdrawals on the part of the Soviet Union? Favor 26%. Oppose, 74%.

18. Do you favor or oppose a five per cent across the board cut in the \$92.6 billion proposed defense budget? Favor, 54%. Oppose, 46%.

19. Do you favor or oppose the control and restriction of American agricultural exports—such as exports of wheat, meat, soybeans, etc.? Favor, 67%. Oppose, 33%.

20. Do you favor or oppose the extension of power to the President to negotiate reciprocal agreements with foreign countries respecting tariffs and imports and export quotas? Favor, 53%. Oppose 47%.

21. Do you favor or oppose the extension of "most favored nation" treatment to the Soviet Union—that is do you favor or oppose trade with the Soviet Union on the same basis as with any other country, including the extension of credits? Favor, 36%. Oppose, 64%.

22. Do you favor or oppose continued economic and military aid (not U.S. troops) to South Vietnam? Favor, 42%. Oppose, 58%.

23. Do you favor or oppose the creation of a new Federal Consumer Protection Agency, which will be empowered to intervene on behalf of the consumer in proceedings before other Federal regulatory agencies? (For example, if the Federal Trade Commission brought proceedings against Company X, appeal if it disagreed with the decision.) Favor, 49.51%. Oppose, 50.49%.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

24. Do you favor or oppose the development of a U.S. Naval base on the island of Diego Garcia, in the Indian Ocean, in order to counter Soviet naval power and political influence in that area? Favor, 74%. Oppose, 26%.

### RAISED FLAG ON IWO JIMA

#### HON. JOHN P. MURTHA

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. MURTHA. Mr. Speaker, Sgt. Michael Strank, one of the men who raised the flag on Iwo Jima was born in the 12th Congressional District of Pennsylvania. His mother, Mary Strank, still lives in the district and I had the privilege of sharing the speaking platform with Brig. Gen. Ernest R. Reid whose eloquent speech commemorating Sergeant Strank I present for the RECORD:

Sgt. MICHAEL STRANK

Today, we are here to honor the name of Sergeant Michael Strank for whom your VFW Post was named, and his mother, Martha Strank, who is with us today. Vasil, also known as Charles, and Martha Strank came to this country from Czechoslovakia. Michael was born on 10 November 1919, and came to this country with his parents when he was 2½ years old. He attended the schools of Franklin Borough, Pennsylvania and was graduated from high school in 1937.

Michael Strank enlisted in the Marine Corps for four years at Pittsburgh on 8 October 1939. On 17 January 1941 Michael, now a private first class, sailed for Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, arriving on the 23d. On 8 April he returned to the States and proceeded to Parris Island, South Carolina. In September, Michael moved with the new First Division to New River, North Carolina, now known as Camp Lejeune. He was promoted to corporal on 23 April 1941, and was advanced to Sergeant on 26 January 1942. He sailed from San Diego, California on the 12th of April and on 31 May he landed in the Wallis Islands. In September, after a short tenure with the 22nd Marines, he was transferred to the 3rd Marine Raider Battalion. With the raiders, he participated in the landing operations and occupation of Pavuvu Island in the Russell Islands from 21 February until 18 March, and in the seizure and occupation of the Empress Augusta Bay area on Bougainville from 1 November until 12 January 1944. On 14 February, he was returned to San Diego for rest and reassignment.

Upon return from leave, Sergeant Strank was assigned to Company "E", 2nd Battalion, 28th Marines, 5th Marine Division. After extensive training at Camp Pendleton and in Hawaii, Michael Strank landed on Iwo Jima on 19 February 1945.

After the fall of Mount Suribachi, he moved northward with his unit. On 1 March, while attacking Japanese positions in northern Iwo Jima, he was fatally wounded by enemy artillery fire. He was buried in the 5th Marine Division Cemetery with the last rites of the Catholic church. On 13 February 1949 his remains were reinterred in Arlington National Cemetery.

Sergeant Strank was entitled to the following decorations and medals: Purple Heart, Presidential Unit Citation with one star, American Defense Service Medal, American Area Campaign Medal, Asiatic Pacific Campaign Medal with four stars, and the World War II Victory Medal.

On occasion I have heard that the flag rais-

ing that Sergeant Strank participated in was a reenactment of the original flag raising. It might be well for me to take a few minutes to describe the events that took place on the slopes of Suribachi on Iwo Jima the 23rd of February 1945.

Early on this date, which was four days after the landing, on "D" day on Iwo Jima, a small patrol started to reconnoiter suitable routes to scale the slopes of Suribachi. The patrol leader reported as he went along that the Japanese were holed up.

The battalion commander decided to send a 40-man combat patrol and a handful of men from battalion headquarters under command of First Lieutenant Harold G. Schrier, the company "E" executive officer, to seize and occupy the crest. Sergeant Louis R. Lowery, a photographer for Leatherneck magazine, attached himself to the patrol to record in detail the attempt against Suribachi. After the battalion commander had outlined the mission, he handed Lieutenant Schrier a flag to be raised if the patrol gained its objective. This small 54 x 28 inch flag had been brought ashore from the attack transport *Missoula* by First Lieutenant George Wells, the battalion adjutant.

The patrol reached the rim of the crater about 10:15. As the Marines scrambled over the lip, a small defending force challenged the patrol and a short, hot fight developed. Even while this skirmish was in progress, some of the men located a length of Japanese iron pipe, secured the small American flag to one end, and raised the stars and stripes at 10:20. It was an inspiring sight for thousands of Americans on Iwo as the flag waved bravely from the summit. The event was photographed by Sergeant Lowery.

Shortly after the raising of this flag, an unidentified Marine went aboard LST 779, beached near the base of the volcano, to obtain a larger set of colors. As this second and larger 96 x 56 inches flag was being carried up the slope of Suribachi, Associated Press photographer, Joe Rosenthal, noticed it and instantly started in close pursuit. Sergeant Michael Strank from Franklin Borough, Pennsylvania; Corporal Harlen Block from Yorktown, Texas; Private First Class Franklin R. Sousley from Flemingsburg, Kentucky; and Private First Class Ira H. Hayes from Sacaton, Arizona were the four members of the patrol that carried this set of colors up Suribachi's slopes.

When the men arrived at the top, Lieutenant Schrier decided that the new flag should be raised as the original one was lowered. Sergeant Strank and the others fastened the larger colors to a second pipe and then tried to set the makeshift staff in the rugged ground. Since the four men appeared to be having difficulty getting the pipe firmly planted, two onlookers, Pharmacist's Mate Second Class John H. Bradley from Appleton, Wisconsin and Private First Class Rene A. Gagnon, from Manchester, New Hampshire, came to their aid. The latter two are the only survivors. Bradley resides in Antigo, Wisconsin and Gagnon in Manchester, New Hampshire.

All six were struggling to raise the flag when Rosenthal snapped a picture of the scene. According to Rosenthal, luck played an important part in the taking of his photograph. The AP photographer arrived at the summit just as Lieutenant Schrier was prepared to take down the first flag. At first, Rosenthal hoped to photograph the lowering of the first flag together with the raising of the larger one. When he discovered that he would not have time to line up both pictures, he decided to concentrate in the second flag raising. He backed off about 35 feet, only to discover that because of the sloping ground he could not see what was happening. He piled up some loose stones, mounted them, and focused on the band of Marines,

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Just as he was training his camera on the men, Lieutenant Schrier walked into his line of vision. Fortunately, the officer stepped out of the way in time for the picture to be made.

Rosenthal took 18 photographs on Iwo Jima that eventful day, among them was a shot posed by men of the 28th Marines around the flag. When queried a few days later by his wire service picture editor as to whether the flag raising picture had been posed, Rosenthal, unaware of which picture had had the sensational reception in the United States, thought the editor meant the one which had actually been posed. Out of Rosenthal's affirmative reply to the editor grew the misconception that the flag raising picture was really a fake.

The testimony of Rosenthal himself and of the eyewitnesses who survived the battle, however, attest that the photograph was in no way rigged. As Rosenthal put it: "Had I posed that shot, I would, of course, have ruined it. I'd have picked fewer men . . . I would also have made them turn their heads so that they could be identified for AP members throughout the country, and nothing like the existing picture would have resulted."

As it was, the picture became the most famous single photograph ever taken. It was used as a symbol of the 7th war loan drive. It appeared on literally millions of posters and on a three cent postage stamp. And it was forever immortalized in the largest bronze statue in the world, the Marine Corps War Memorial in Arlington, Virginia. Incidentally, the flag itself is displayed at the Marine Corps museum at Quantico, Virginia.

I talked to Joe Rosenthal earlier this week (by-the-way, Mr. Rosenthal asked to be remembered to the members of the Michael Strank Post of the VFW, as he recalled very fondly of being present at the dedication of this post). In discussing the events of 23 February 1945 and remarking on the National Fame of the Flag raising picture, Mr. Rosenthal made the observation: "A photographer is only the recorder of an event. The subject, their actions, and the context of the actions recorded are responsible for the greatness of a picture as perceived by the viewer."

The flag raising at Iwo has become one of the events in the history of our Republic that is instantly recognized. As we near the bi-centennial of our Nation, I am reminded of the painting of George Washington crossing the Delaware and its symbolic portrayal of the actions of brave men in establishing our Nation. As it depicts the determination at the birth of our country, the Iwo flag raising depicts to posterity the symbol of the same Nation some 170 years later, its brave men again triumphant in a war that meant survival to our still relatively young Nation.

Yes, to me this symbolic picture serves to remind that our country has been built and *maintained* by the deeds of our past heroes. In this respect the great State of Pennsylvania has had and has many. Take for example your own Lieutenant Colonel Murtha, United States Marine Corps Reserve, who volunteered—no, insisted that he be allowed to fight in South Vietnam with a Combat regiment for a year—even though it meant leaving his business of 18 years. And as another example, the 344th Medal of Honor Winner accredited to Pennsylvania.

On this Memorial Day weekend, we here today, by our respect to the memory of the deeds of Sergeant Michael Strank honor all of our country's heroes that have fallen and by paying homage to Sergeant Strank's mother—Mrs. Martha Strank—so honor the families of those heroes past.

## LOOKING AT PEORIA

## HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, the old cliche, "How will it play in Peoria?" has been getting quite a workout these days, and I am sure many of the non-Peoriens who have seen and read some of the various "special reports" on our city that have been presented recently, have wanted to ask, "Will the real Peoria please stand up?"

The Peoria Journal Star has some thoughts on this that ought to interest anyone who has wondered "how will it play . . . ?" What they boil down to is, as the Journal-Star says, that Peoria—

Is a vigorous town, more than any other single thing in all our diversity. Someday, somebody will capture that, and perhaps get a glimmer along the way that this effects how we think. It involves results, not just the transcendent beauty of the idea itself suspended in space all by itself.

## LOOKING AT PEORIA

Visitors from other media across the nation have put in about 75 man-days so far in the past year trying to come up with some kind of report on "How it plays in Peoria?" and some sort of basic idea of what is the particular character or personality of our part of the world.

David Frost of British television tried a kind of "town meeting" set-up with Frost stimulating a dialogue from an assembly of about 100 people in a TV studio.

CBS hit the high spots and ended up with its original idea—that Peoria is a rock-ribbed Republican stronghold, regardless of the evidence of mixed results in past elections.

The Associated Press did a cross-section kind of thing, as did the Christian Science Monitor. The Atlanta Constitution took a very quick look and not a very penetrating one.

The Philadelphia Inquirer produced an impressive report in which Jim Main learned a great deal about this town in a very short time, and something of its real diversity.

ABC's Ron Miller and crew spent some time here Memorial Day week, and they presented a crisp report of what they found with pictures that actually looked like Peoria even to Peoriens. When one considers how many hours of work must be compressed into a couple of minutes, they did an amazing job of picking things that were fair and representative.

Both ABC and the Associated Press refused to make a cliche pitch, in favor of a glimpse of reality. As the AP put it, "Peoria has much to be proud of."

Nor are we finished with this activity. The Japanese Broadcasting corporation team is due in town next.

As all this activity makes us think on the subject, we would suggest that somebody, sometime, talk to people who are not Peoriens but who know this part of the state.

For example, the opinion of Warren Butter of Washington, D.C. would be worth checking. He has been involved with hundreds of cities—including Peoria—from his executive position in community development with the U.S. department of housing and urban development.

He has had experience with Peoria in action, and his comments here were probably the best measure we've had in period.

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He said flatly that the Peoria plan is getting full support and funds from Uncle Sam because "it will work!"

On "How will it play in Peoria?" he said: "Watching your mayor, your stage manager, your directors, you've got a long run ahead."

What he was interested in was Action, and he saw it here where it has been harder to see in too many places.

I suspect that in a comparative basis, this down-to-earth orientation to action is what is more characteristic of Central Illinois, comparatively, than many places. We are still bigger on "doing" than on theory.

We think that way, by and large. It is reflected in our leisure as well as the humming factories and farms.

There would have to be more than 500 golf courses in the city of Chicago to have anything resembling the per capita availability of that action recreation that exists in the tri-county area.

Bowling alleys have a similar density here greater than the norm. Almost one tenth of the whole population are hunters and fishers.

The kind of pay-your-money-and-sit-in-your-chair entertainment for transients that marks the Big Town is scarce here. We have been ridiculed for it.

But what visitors do not stay around long enough to realize is that we have a lesser spectator industry but a much greater participating recreation activity.

If I were doing a TV short on Peoria, I would have a fast pan from a gyrating chorus line of a Caterpillar musical show to fast moving violin bows in the symphony orchestra and then: Caterpillar machines building something with power and force; a sweep of busy multiple bowling lanes; boats on the river; duck hunters; construction workers hard at it; etc. And I'd get the same guy at work and at play, again and again. Action, action, action!

This is a vigorous town, more than any other single thing in all our diversity.

Someday, somebody will capture that, and perhaps get a glimmer along the way that this effects how we think.

It involves results, not just the transcendent beauty of the idea itself suspended in space all by itself!

C. L. DANCEY.

## THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN ROONEY

## HON. JOHN M. SLACK

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. SLACK. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, June 6, we marked the 30th anniversary of the first election of Congressman JOHN ROONEY of New York to the House of Representatives. It has been my privilege to serve as a member of his Appropriations Subcommittee for some 14 years, where I could observe at close range his unsurpassed legislative ability.

It is my conviction and belief that no person in this Government had a greater command of the matters within the jurisdiction of his subcommittee than Chairman ROONEY. I will say more on this subject at a more appropriate time in the near future when the State, Justice, Commerce, Judiciary appropriations bill for fiscal year 1975 is brought before the House for consideration.

FATHER PAUL BARTLEWSKI

HON. ELLA T. GRASSO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mrs. GRASSO. Mr. Speaker, on June 16, Father Paul Bartlewski, a dear friend and a loving man of God, will celebrate his golden anniversary in the priesthood. This is an auspicious occasion, a splendid milestone in the long and distinguished career of a holy and dedicated individual.

Father Paul—as he is affectionately called by a host of friends—has long served as a boundless source of inspiration for all those whose lives he has touched. His deep love of God and commitment to his fellowman are evident daily in diligent efforts to make life a beautiful experience for all.

Father Paul sang his first Mass in Fribourg, Switzerland in the summer of 1924. Since that time the comforting and colorful melody of his life has been heard and appreciated by thousands of people throughout our State. He has provided counsel, advice and direction to many. Through his enthusiasm and active drive for what is right, he has shown the way for countless people—young and old alike, of every faith and creed.

After serving as a curate at churches in Willimantic and Meriden, Father came to what must be referred to as his working home on Earth—St. Adalbert parish in Enfield, Conn. He became pastor of St. Adalbert's in 1934—in the midst of the great depression—and he retired several years ago after officially shepherding his flock for 38 years. Retirement is in fact a misnomer, for he has been busy with civic assignments and hours of counseling to the troubled and the sad.

Upon arriving at St. Adalbert's, Father Paul set to work to revitalize the parish. Together with the parishioners, he labored diligently to bring the church out of heavy debt by organizing fund raising banquets and parties and keeping a sharp banker's eye on the parish purse. One such fund raising affair—a special banquet at Thanksgiving time—is now an annual event.

Father Paul's efforts over the years in organizing church groups such as the Holy Name Society and the CYO reflect his firm belief that a parish needs to develop a sense of community—of sharing common goals and experiences. Indeed, to Father Paul, the people of St. Adalbert's were not merely his charges, but were like members of his family. For many years Father has made it his duty to visit each and every family in the parish every year. He has also performed countless acts of love and mercy in caring for the spiritual and physical needs of the sick.

Certainly one of Father Paul's special concerns grows out of his deep love for children. Living by the motto "there is never a bad boy," he refuses to ever turn away a child in need, and for many he actually becomes a second father.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

His concern that children be properly educated is reflected in tireless efforts which led to the construction of St. Adalbert's school and of the convent for nuns teaching there. These important additions to parish life have had a far-reaching effect on his parish and its people.

Father Paul is perhaps best known to those outside his parish for his hard work in the Polish community in Connecticut. His affection for the cherished traditions and culture of his Polish heritage is evident. He is loved and respected in Polish circles in our State, and has long been a source of great encouragement and fellowship for his fellow citizens of Polish descent who are proud to call him brother.

Father Paul's service to the community includes praiseworthy work on the State Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities, an important force in our State ensuring equality of opportunity for all. He has performed admirably as chaplain of the Veterans Council and the Health Planning Commission in Enfield.

Clearly Father Paul's long and diligent efforts in the vineyards of the Lord have earned him the respect and admiration of all. A true servant of God, an active participant in the activities of his community and his church, Father truly understands what Christ meant when he told his apostles to "teach ye all nations."

This Sunday Father Paul will be honored at a concelebrated Mass presided at by the Most Reverend John F. Whealon, Archbishop of Hartford. I would like to add my prayers and praise to the Archbishop's holy chant, and to wish Father Paul continued fulfillment, joy, and happiness in fulfilling God's mission.

## LABOR STUDIES PROGRAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Dundalk Community College under the leadership of the Reverend Everett G. Miller, Sr., has begun a labor studies program to focus on the rights of the workingman.

One of the products of this study is a simple statement of the rights of workers under the Occupational Health and Safety Act. This statement, being provided to interested workers, is one more way in which the labor studies program and the college continue their very active involvement in community life and concerns.

The statement follows:

## YOUR BILL OF RIGHTS UNDER JOB SAFETY ACT

The Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970, which covers an estimated 35 million wage earners, spells out at least 16 "rights" for American workers.

These "rights" are:

1. The right to have dangerous substances identified by labelling or posting in the workplace.

2. The right to have safety and health inspections made on the job.

3. The right to accompany inspectors when they inspect your job.

4. The right to have copies of inspection reports and complaints.

5. The right to have records made and kept of your exposure to dangerous substances.

6. The right of access to records of your exposure to dangerous substances.

7. The right to have HEW monitor dangerous substances on your job.

8. The right to have violations found by HEW inspectors posted in the plant.

9. The right to have public transcripts made of advisory committee meetings.

10. The right to have extremely accurate records made of injuries and job-related diseases.

11. The right to have the HEW secretary set exposure levels for dangerous substances so that no worker suffers impaired health or diminished life expectancy.

12. The right to see published an annual list of toxic substances with safe exposure criteria.

13. The right to see published annually studies of the long-term effect of low-level exposures to industrial materials.

14. The right to be protected in all rights under this law.

15. The right to sue the federal government for an imminent danger cause.

16. The right to know the health and safety gap each year.

## ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, I would like to append for the information of our colleagues material from the American Civil Liberties Union entitled "A Report on the Costs and Benefits of Electronic Surveillance—1972" by Herman Schwartz, professor of law, State University of New York at Buffalo.

The material follows:

## THE COSTS AND BENEFITS OF ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE—1972

INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

The Electronic Eavesdropping Act has now been in operation some four and a half years. Hundreds of wiretaps and bugs have been installed, numerous court cases have been decided, millions of dollars have been spent, but the controversy over the value and dangers of electronic surveillance continues. In 1968 Richard M. Nixon promised to reverse Ramsey Clark's policies and use wiretapping to reduce crime—what kind of crime, and how that would be done, was not made clear. Four years, much money, and many crimes later, electronic surveillance is still being touted by its supporters as, in Frank Hogan's phrase, "the single most valuable weapon in the fight against organized crime." Wiretapping is given credit for major

<sup>1</sup> This study was made possible by a grant from the Playboy Foundation. I should like to thank Marc Chodow, who assisted in the statistical compilation and analysis.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

convictions in the drug area; Brooklyn District Attorney Eugene Gold promises to break the back of organized crime with his million and a half feet on a Canarsie junk yard trailer. Nevertheless, grave reservations about electronic eavesdropping continue.

One of the more useful features of the rather porous statute pushed through in the wake of Robert Kennedy's death in 1968 by Senator John L. McClellan and his friends, is a requirement that prosecutors and judges involved in authorizing court-order wiretapping and bugging make annual reports on this surveillance which would set forth the type of surveillance (telephone tap or microphone bug), where and how long it was in operation, the crimes it was installed for, the number of people and conversations overheard, how much it cost and the results. These reports are published every May by the Administrative Office of the United States Courts. Four of these reports have been issued so far.

In the Spring of 1971, Senator McClellan announced he would hold hearings on the reports and what they showed. These have not yet been held or even scheduled; as of this writing (February 1973); one can only guess at the reasons.

The reports have nevertheless been available, and though it is still too early to fully assess the results, certain conclusions have become clear. Some of these were published in December 1971 in report prepared by this writer for the American Civil Liberties Union on the 1968-1970 statistics. The 1971 figures became available in 1972 and it seems worthwhile to update that report, and also to add some statistical and other information that has come to light since December 1971. Again, it may still be too early for definitive conclusions—the 1972 figures available in May 1973 will be particularly useful since they will probably contain fairly complete results on the heavy federal tapping and bugging in 1970. But, as noted, certain conclusions are beginning to take shape.

The 1971 ACLU report opened with a disclaimer about the incompleteness of the reported figures, which omitted the so-called national security eavesdropping and the consent variety. Neither of these requires a court order, and thus neither is reported to the Administrative Office. It was therefore necessary to make an educated guess at the former, with no information at all as to the latter.

Those disclaimers are still in order, particularly as to the amount of electronic surveillance involving agents wired for sound. As to these, all we have are informed guesses that this is very widely practiced on both the federal and state levels.

Thanks to data obtained and published by Senator Edward F. Kennedy, we now know something about the national security surveillance, however, and some of that will be discussed here. In addition, there have been some crucial legal developments in this area and they will also be reviewed.

This paper will consist of the following: (1) an introductory section containing a summary of the various findings, as well as certain methodological caveats and qualifications; (2) a discussion of national security surveillance; (3) a summary of the statistical data on court-authorized electronic surveillance that is contained in the annual reports from 1968-1971, broken down into:

(a) the scope and variety of electronic surveillance, *e.g.*, number of installations, people and conversations overheard, length of time of overhearing, and types of offenses involved;

(b) the costs of such surveillance, both totally and broken down by offenses;

(c) the results so far in terms of convictions, arrests and incriminating conversations.

Throughout, information gleaned from the many court decisions already handed down, will be referred to where relevant; relevant information used in the 1971 report will also be worked in.

## I. SUMMARY AND METHODOLOGY

## A. Summary

## 1. Amount of Surveillance

a. Court-Ordered: There is a vast amount of electronic surveillance of the American people, on both the federal and state levels. A great deal of this is performed in the name of national security, and is completely uncontrolled. Much of this surveillance lasts for very long periods of time; on the state level, it is concentrated in just two states.

The bulk of this wiretapping and bugging is now used for gambling offenses, despite the original claims that it was necessary primarily for serious crimes like homicide, kidnapping and espionage: in three years, there has been only one federal device installed for kidnapping and none for either homicide or espionage; gambling installations accounted for about 90% of all the federal installations in 1971.

The figures are as follows:

## TOTALS—COMBINED FEDERAL AND STATE

	Orders	Installations	People	Conversations
1968 (6 mo).....	174	167	4,250	62,291
1969.....	302	290	14,656	186,229
1970.....	597	590	25,812	373,763
1971.....	816	792	32,509	496,629
Total.....	1,889	1,839	77,227	1,118,912

## Federal

In 1969-71, federal officials overheard 29,513 people in 442,157 conversations over 491 installations, as follows:

	Orders	Installations	People	Conversations
1969.....	33	30	4,256	41,929
1970.....	183	180	10,158	143,508
1971.....	285	281	15,099	256,720
Total.....	501	491	29,513	442,157

## State

In 1968-71, state officials overheard 47,714 people in 676,755 conversations over 1,348 installations. The overwhelming bulk of this was in New York and New Jersey, with the major share in New York. To some extent, this is an estimate, but only to a very minor extent.

	Orders	Installations	People	Conversations
1968.....	174	167	4,250	62,291
1969.....	269	260	10,400	144,300
1970.....	414	410	15,654	230,255
1971.....	531	511	17,410	239,909
Total.....	1,388	1,348	47,714	676,755

## Comments

1. These figures differ somewhat from the ACLU 1971 Report because they are based on calculations derived from the reports of the individual installations and authorizations, rather than from the overall averages and summaries as in the 1971 Report.

2. Although the federal average was some

13.5 days per installation, a very high percentage of the New York installations lasted for many, many months.

3. Although the states, (which means largely New York and to a lesser extent, New Jersey) originally used the technique largely for drugs and non-gambling offenses, by 1971, the states had shifted to overwhelming concentration on gambling. Despite the pleas of need for serious offenses, the federal usage concentrated on gambling right from the start, and indeed increased that concentration at the expenses of drugs and others. The breakdowns are as follows:

## FEDERAL INSTALLATIONS

	Gambling	Drugs	Homicide <sup>1</sup>	Kidnapping	Other
1969.....	20	4	0	1	5
1970.....	120	39	0	0	21
1971.....	248	21	0	0	12
Total.....	388	64	0	1	38

## STATE INSTALLATIONS

	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
1968.....	18	68	20	1	60
1969.....	78	80	19	1	82
1970.....	204	84	20	0	95
1971.....	304	104	18	1	84
Total.....	604	336	77	3	321

<sup>1</sup> Includes attempts, threats, solicitations and conspiracy to commit homicide (including manslaughter) as well as a few occasional instances of consummated murder.

4. During the four year period, only 2 applications were denied, (In 1969); there is also some independent evidence of judge-shopping. For this and other reasons, there is reason to doubt that the court-ordered system is imposing meaningful controls, particularly on the state level.

b. National Security: Figures released by Senator Edward F. Kennedy indicate that at least the following number of national security wiretaps and bugs were installed:

6-12/68: 56 (50 taps and 6 bugs).

1969: 94 (81 taps and 13 bugs).

1970: 113 (97 taps and 16 bugs).

1. On the basis of classified information provided the Senator, his staff has calculated that the average national security installations lasted from 78.3-209.7 days, or about 6 to 15 times the court-ordered variety of 13.5. During 1969-71, the latter caught an average of 56 people and 900 conversations per installation lasting an average of 18.5 days. If the court-ordered averages are roughly comparable to the national-security type—and there is no reason to think otherwise—then the 100 national security surveillances annually may well have been intercepted: from 31,000 to 84,000 people per year; from 546,000 to 1,350,000 conversations per year.

2. Electronic surveillance for domestic security purposes allegedly accounted for very little of the national security total since the Department of Justice claims it found it necessary to shut off less than 10 devices as a result of the Supreme Court's decision banning such electronic surveillance without a warrant. Thus, this vast amount of surveillance is likely to continue.

3. This known surveillance may not be all there is, since it does not include electronic surveillance by the Army (which was revealed last summer) or possible surveillance by the CIA and other agencies, or interception of teletype messages.

4. According to Ramsey Clark, such surveillance rarely produces anything of value. He has testified that if all were shut off, "the impact on our national security . . . would be absolutely zero."

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## 2. Costs

a. Court-Ordered Surveillance: The State figures are approximations, but are fairly close since the state cost reporting approached but was not equal to 100%.

## TOTAL COSTS

	Federal	State	Total
1968	\$200,000	\$200,000	
1969	440,287	470,000	910,287
1970	2,116,266	938,000	3,054,226
1971	2,114,216	1,502,340	3,616,556
Total	4,670,769	3,110,340	7,781,069

b. National Security: Using the same 6-15:1 time ratio of national security: court ordered surveillance as earlier, and on the premise that most of the costs are manpower costs which vary with time, one can roughly estimate the costs of an average national security installation as about 6-15 times the \$9,500 of the 1969-71 federal installations, or about \$47,000-\$142,500 per national security installation.

Since there have been about 100 national security installations each year, a rough estimate of the annual costs of national security surveillance is from \$5.7 million to \$14.3 million annually.

## c. Comments:

1. These figures do not include the very substantial amount of judges' and lawyers' time necessary to prepare the court-ordered applications, and the lawyers' and FBI time for the national security authorizations by the Attorney General.

2. (a) There are inexplicable differences among the different types of offenses for which federal surveillance is used, particularly between drugs on the one hand, and gambling and the other offenses on the other. Moreover, there are startling fluctuations in costs from one year to the next for, e.g., the drug surveillance: from \$61,825 per installation in 1969, to \$26,035 in 1970 and \$12,772 in 1971. The gambling average remains relatively stable and relatively low, whereas the "Other" category drops steadily from \$9,212 in 1969 to \$5,794 in 1971.

(b) The state figures vary and fluctuate so greatly, that no pattern is even discernible. Thus, the gambling average rises slightly, but drugs, and Other rises very steeply, while Homicide jumps up and down and kidnaping falls sharply. These fluctuations are so inexplicable that the only conclusion is that the reports are unreliable.

## 3. Results

Because it takes close to two years for cases to be disposed of, at least on the federal level, the figures for convictions are still incomplete, except perhaps for 1969 convictions and the 1969-70 arrests; the incriminating conversations are likely to be fairly complete. So far, the results seem to be as follows:

## a. State:

## PERSONS CONVICTED, BY OFFENSE

	Gambling	Drugs	Homicide <sup>1</sup>	Kidnaping	Other	Total
1968				2	16	2
1969	33	32	3	0	99	167
1970	212	65	1	—	55	333
1971	117	55	8	—	30	210
Total	362	152	12	0	200	726

<sup>1</sup> Includes all types of homicide-related offenses, including attempts, threats, solicitation, conspiracy, manslaughter, etc.

May be the result of incomplete reporting.

So far, only 194 out of the 1,348 installations have been directly associated with convictions; a small additional percentage may have been related thereto. For 1969, the year

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

where most results are probably in, 55 out of 260 installations were associated with a conviction. As noted below, it is uncertain when and whether "associated with" involves a causal connection.

## PERSONS ARRESTED, BY OFFENSE

	Gambling	Drugs	Homicide	Kidnaping	Other	Total
1968	69	97	6	7	83	262
1969	302	86	41	2	218	645
1970	930	228	19	—	152	1,329
1971	1,380	346	27	—	211	1,964
Total	1,681	757	93	9	664	4,200

These arrests are probably fairly complete for 1968-1970.

## Incriminating Conversations, Based On Prosecutors Reports:

In 1968, 22% were incriminating. In 1969, 28% were incriminating. In 1970, 30% were incriminating. In 1971, 53% were incriminating.

## b. Federal:

## PERSONS CONVICTED, BY OFFENSE

	Gambling	Drugs	Kidnaping	Other	Total
1969	101	24	0	2	127
1970	123	99	—	10	232
1971	76	21	—	18	115
Total	300	144	0	30	474

In 1969, 12 of the 30 installations were associated with a conviction; 9/20 of the gambling installations, 2/4 Drug, and 1 out of 5 Others.

The only year for which figures seem relatively complete is 1969. The overall reported cost for this surveillance—omitting the unreported lawyers' and judges' time costs—was \$440,287 or about \$3,500 per person convicted, and \$37,000 for each of the 12 installations with which convictions were associated.

## PERSONS ARRESTED, BY OFFENSE

	Gambling	Drugs	Kidnaping	Other	Total
1969	217	57	—	80	354
1970	730	280	—	26	1,036
1971	676	116	—	25	817
Total	1,623	453	0	131	2,207

For 1969 and 1970, the figures are probably close to complete. During this period, 92 out of 140 gambling installations were associated with an arrest, 26 out of 43 drug installations, 0 out of 1 kidnap installation, and 13 out of 26 other, for a total of 131 out of 210 total.

## Incriminating Conversations

The overall federal figures as reported are quite high: 82% in 1969, 70% in 1970 and 71% in 1971. But the non-drug and non-gambling installations produce very few incriminating conversations.

## c. Comments:

1. There is good reason to conclude that the electronic surveillance was not necessary to at least some of the convictions obtained; indeed, in some cases, courts and prosecutors found or admitted as much.

2. The arrest figures are of little significance to this issue. Not only are arrests subject to manipulation, of which there is some evidence, but wiretaps and bugs may not be installed unless there already is probable cause to arrest at least someone, and the reported court cases confirm this.

3. Much of the federal wiretapping and bugging is on small-time gamblers; Justice Department figures and reported cases so indicate. Despite claims of high value and

effectiveness for organized crime, law enforcement authorities have sharply reduced their usage for every offense but gambling since 1968.

4. At least in one case a court has found that the federal government's reports of "incriminating" conversations was overstated many times. In any event (1) the definition and application of "incriminatory" is highly subjective, rarely testable, and often self-serving; (2) also, there is a good deal of evidence that very little effort to minimize non-"incriminatory" interceptions is made on the state level, and not too much more on the federal level.

5. Few of the major industrial states, which could be expected to "need" this authority, have adopted it. Indeed, most state (and much federal) wiretapping is in New York, and New Jersey, California, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Ohio and other states with major crime problems have not even bothered to give their police this authority; many states which have created such authority don't bother using it.

6. There is no indication that the heavy law-enforcement effort has substantially reduced the drug or gambling problems, or that it ever can. Causality is particularly difficult to trace for the increase in electronic surveillance has been accompanied by a very heavy increase in men and money for all other law enforcement operations.

## B. Some Methodological Notes

The figures for court-authorized surveillance that are analyzed in this study are drawn from the Annual Reports issued by the Administrative Office of the United States Courts for the years 1968-71. These Reports contain data relating only to court-authorized surveillance; so-called national security and one-party consent surveillance are not done pursuant to court orders and therefore are not included in the Annual Reports. Whatever information we have as to the national security surveillance and consent eavesdropping is from other sources.

The figures in the Annual Reports on judicially authorized surveillance are broken down into three sections:

(1) Summary tables, which contain both summary figures and averages; for some reason, totals for certain categories such as total persons or conversations overheard, are not published, perhaps because the averages are based on less than the total number involved since in several instances, the prosecutor or court omitted the relevant information. The Tables are identified by numbers.

(2) An Appendix containing individual data for each installation, relating to identity of judge and prosecutor, type of offense, type and place of surveillance, length of surveillance, number of persons and conversations overheard, costs and results; these appear in the Appendix in Tables A (judge reports) and B (prosecutor reports).

(3) Follow-ups on surveillance of prior years, set out both in summary form and individually (Table C) in the Appendix.

The 1971 ACLU report depended largely on the summary tables for its overall figures. The averages were multiplied by the total number of installations to obtain totals for persons and conversations overheard, and overall costs. For this report, an effort was made to work directly from the individual application reports in Tables A and B (and C where follow-ups were concerned) in the Appendix rather than from the summary figures in the numbered Tables at the beginning of the reports. In a few cases, there were startling and inexplicable differences between the averages and other figures in the Administrative Office Report (hereafter referred to as "Admin. Off. Rep."), and the results from analyzing the individual installation reports in the Appendix. These discrepancies will be noted and discussed where relevant.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

It should be noted that because the reporting authorities often omitted to send in important information as to persons or conversations overheard, or costs, the total figures given here are often estimates, obtained by multiplying the average for those installations that were submitted, by the total number of installations. Since full data were in fact provided for almost all federal and most state installations, the estimate seems reliable.

Certain other methodological caveats may be worth noting at this time, though they will be specifically noted where they come up. The specific offense classifications are geared to the classifications made by the Administrative Office; where there were doubts because more than one offense was indicated for an installation (as was often true for New York City authorizations) the exact classification was obtained from the Administrative Office which used a system whereby a multiple-offense authorization was classified according to the Office's judgment as to the most serious offense among those listed.

Finally, the offenses are divided into five groups: Gambling, Drugs, Homicide, Kidnapping, Other. The first two are chosen because they are the offenses for which electronic surveillance is most frequently used; Homicide and Kidnapping are the offenses for the solution of which such surveillance is most frequently said to be necessary; all the other offenses can be conveniently lumped together. "Homicide" includes every type of homicide-related offense, such as solicitation to commit homicide, attempt, conspiracy, threat and manslaughter as well as actual murders, of which there are very few instances in the Reports.

## COLORADO RIVER BASIN SALINITY CONTROL ACT

## HON. WAYNE OWENS

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, the Colorado River Basin Salinity Control Act is necessary to accelerate the program of salinity control in this basin.

The salinity and mineral content of the Colorado River has been on the rise during the last decade. Unless control measures are instituted now, the increase in salinity will become even worse in future years. Increased salinity levels have an adverse economic effect on agricultural, municipal, and commercial sectors, both in the United States and in Mexico. High salinity levels reduce the useful lifetime of water distribution facilities and increase water treatment costs. Farmers using high salinity water for irrigation are faced with lower crop yields, crop damage, and higher fertilizer costs.

This legislation will authorize the construction, operation, and maintenance of certain works in the Colorado River Basin to control the salinity of water used both in the United States and Mexico.

Salinity control projects are planned for areas downstream from the Imperial Dam, which are of benefit only to Mexico and will permit the United States to meet its obligations under a 1973 water quality agreement with that nation. Proj-

ects planned for areas upstream from Imperial Dam will benefit both the United States and Mexico.

Included in the latter group is the Crystal Geyser salinity control project on the Green River in Utah. Crystal Geyser is an abandoned oil test well. Saline water erupts from the well approximately every 5 hours and contributes 3,000 tons of salt to the Colorado River every year. The control plan involves a dike and pipelines which would prevent the entire 3,000 tons from entering the river. The estimated cost will be \$500,000.

Future salinity control projects in Utah are envisioned for Ashley Creek, Uintah Basin, Price River, San Rafael River, Dirty Devil River, and LaVerkin Springs. However, these projects would have to be authorized by subsequent legislation.

Almost half of the State of Utah lies in the Colorado River drainage area. The waters of that great river and its tributaries have a profound impact on the economic well-being of Utah and the rest of the basin States. Enactment of this foresighted legislation will enable those who use the Colorado's waters to continue to reap the benefits of that use without destroying the river's potential in the process.

## SOCIAL SECURITY QUESTIONS

## HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, according to a recent series in the Washington Star-News, there is a "time bomb" facing social security.

Beginning in 2010—less than 40 years from now—the babies born in the post World War II boom will reach retirement age. All of a sudden, the number of people living on pensions will have gone from 29 million to 45 million—an increase of 55 percent.

The grim predictions of the system's critics may reflect elements of exaggeration and overextended trend lines, but they do represent increasing concern about social security and its role in American society.

An editorial in the Washington Star-News, June 9, 1974, indicates that a report by the trustees of the social security system "points up the need for basic decisions affecting the long-term future of the program." The editorial follows:

[From the Washington Star-News, June 9, 1974]

## SOCIAL SECURITY QUESTIONS

This year's report to Congress by trustees of the Social Security system points up the need for basic decisions affecting the long-term future of the program. Included is the most fundamental of all questions: the overall purpose of the massive payroll taxes levied on working people and employers, channeled into benefits for the aged and disabled.

It is hard to believe that, almost 40 years after its birth in the desperation of the nation's struggle with depression, the goal of Social Security is not clearly defined. But this

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is truer now than it was in 1935, as expansions of coverage and related tax increases have come with dizzying rapidity, and as public reliance on the system has grown. There are warning signs that the habit of revising the program in piecemeal fashion, with more of an eye on election-year goodies than on actuarial realities and without any firm philosophy of what Social Security should do and how, must give way to some hard-headed, long-term planning.

Such planning has to take account of the growing criticism of the flat payroll-tax financing of the Social Security funds, now at a rate of 5.85 percent of wages up to \$13,200 for both worker or employer, or a maximum of \$772.20 for each. Even considering inflation, that is a far cry from the 1-percent rate and \$30 maximum with which the program started, and many taxpayers are unhappy about paying a Social Security levy exceeding their federal income-tax bite. There are cries to scrap the "regressive" flat rate and finance benefits from general revenues raised in a more progressive way, which would be a regrettable step blurring the distinction between Social Security and welfare. But thought must be given to the ultimate limit of public tolerance for the payroll deduction, especially among younger workers facing many years of such payments before retirement.

Another complication, stressed by Social Security officials and detailed in a recent series of Star-News articles, is the projected decline of the proportion of active workers to retired persons. The change will be spectacular early in the next century when the post-war bumper crop of babies reaches retirement age, their benefits to be provided by a work force slimmed with the nation's approach to zero population growth. If the numerous senior citizens use their political power to overburden their taxpaying juniors, it could produce some unfortunate social stresses.

To complicate the planning for Social Security in coming decades, it must be dovetailed with other developing government programs—on private-pension reform, national health insurance, welfare. From all this effort on social legislation there might emerge a consensus on the extent to which government can and should protect every last American from the rigors of poverty, a task for which the present level of Social Security payments is plainly inadequate.

There is no doubt about the permanence of Social Security, which for millions of Americans is the one source of income they can count on in old age or in the event of disability. The unplanned evolution of the program has been, in the main, more beneficial than could have been hoped. It now needs a steady guiding hand, which must be provided by Congress, to navigate the difficult course ahead.

## 11500 BANANAS ON PIKE'S PEAK

## HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, both surface coal mining regulation bills, H.R. 11500 and H.R. 12898, will effectively mandate the reclamation of mined land.

But only one of these bills, H.R. 12898, will also permit the needed amount of coal to be dug to satisfy the Nation's energy requirements.

The other bill, the notorious H.R. 11500, which people say makes about as much sense as trying to grow bananas on

Pike's Peak, is so environmentally one-sided that it would seriously abet the energy deficit.

**RESOLUTION ON NORTHERN IRELAND**

**HON. MARIO BIAGGI**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, the tragic conditions which continue to prevail in Northern Ireland continue to represent one of this world's greatest living tragedies. Of particular significance has been the ruthless deprivation of basic rights for the citizens of Northern Ireland by the British nation.

A stark example came last week when a young man, imprisoned by the British, died after conducting a hunger strike to protest his inhumane treatment at the hands of his British captors. This tragic event threatens to bring about renewed violence in Northern Ireland.

As we view these tragic events, let us, as the great advocate of the rights of oppressed peoples, begin to champion the effort to have basic civil rights restored to the people of Northern Ireland. Recently, the New York City Council unanimously passed a resolution calling upon the United Nations to:

First. Request the Government of Great Britain to cease and desist its barbaric practice of force feeding Irish political prisoners.

Second. Of keeping them confined in institutions far removed from their homes, contrary to recognized practices and rules of civilized society.

Third. To restore civil rights to its minorities in northeast Ireland and particularly the writ of habeas corpus.

Fourth. To restore the right of its minority to be openly confronted by their accusers.

Fifth. To restore trial by jury.

Sixth. To inquire into the prison conditions in England and Northern Ireland and particularly the women's prisons in both countries.

Seventh. To require the Government of Great Britain to immediately release all political internees and prisoners whether in Northern Ireland or Great Britain.

I commend the city council for the adoption of this important resolution. I feel it is time that we in the Congress acted upon an equally important resolution which I introduced in January of 1973, House Resolution 161, which states:

Resolved: That it is the sense of the House of Representatives of the United States of America that: "The Irish people ought to be permitted to exercise the right of national self-determination thus returning the disputed six countries to the Irish Republic, unless a clear majority of all the people of Ireland, in a free and open plebiscite, determine to the contrary."

Mr. Speaker, if peace is ever to become more than an elusive dream for the people of Northern Ireland, it is our re-

**EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS**

sponsibility to help initiate a meaningful effort to achieve it. I urge my colleagues to listen to the pleas of the innocent men, women, and children, who have seen their families and loved ones die, and who fear for their own lives as well. Their voices are loud and clear and deserve our most serious attention.

**FLAG DAY**

**HON. GILBERT GUDE**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, a fine reminder of the importance of Flag Day and the great symbolism of the American flag appeared in the column of Charles C. Heaton in the Advertiser newspaper in Montgomery County June 5.

Each year, around Flag Day, I have sponsored a ceremony on Capitol Hill for area residents, as well as my colleagues and their staffs. This year's program will include a pageant produced by the Marine Barracks here. Flags of various periods will be carried by Marines in the uniforms of these flags' periods, accompanied by a narration and drum and bugle corps.

The program will be Thursday, June 27, at 8 p.m. in the Caucus Room.

Flag Day, of course, is June 14, and Independence Day comes soon, so I commend to you Mr. Heaton's column on our "red, white, and blue security blanket":

**SOMETHING TO HANG ON TO**

Watching the same motion picture over and over again gets monotonous; repeats on television manage to get monotonous; listening to the same old story can get monotonous and going over the same old philosophies could become monotonous, unless those philosophic words could be the basis for giving us something to hang on to.

One of the most important, yet seemingly least respected, days of the year comes around again on June 14 . . . that's Flag Day. Waiting impatiently for the arrival of July 4 and Labor Day and all the other days which mean a day off or a long week-end, is a happy traditional experience, but we should exhibit the same enthusiasm in a less selfish, more restrained manner when Flag Day rolls around.

At first glance, the flag is only a bright piece of cloth, yet men and women would die for it, immigrants cry at the sight of it, and millions revere it as the symbol of justice and freedom. To those who love life and the opportunity to carve their own destiny, it offers a representative form of government based on the dignity of the individual. The Washington Monument, the White House, the Jefferson and Lincoln Memorials are all recognizable in dedication to leaders of our country or as material witness to the existence of our nation's Capital and our governmental activities.

Nothing substitutes for the symbolism of our flag. If there's one thing which says "That's us . . . that's America . . . that's something to respect and to fight for," it's Old Glory . . . our Stars and Stripes. Personal, individual, political and national scandals may recur through our years of national growth, yet the strength, loyalty and determination of our people remains stoically inside each of us. What represents our own patriotism and fortitude more completely,

more directly and more permanently than a unilateral, mass respect for one thing we can all hang on to together?

This country has been built on spirit and nothing is a more forceful reminder of that great American spirit than the flag under which so many have fought. On June 14, let's display the flag in our homes and at our business locations; just as importantly, let's all take a few moments out during the day and think about our country and ourselves in relation to it. Let's mentally recognize the importance of our symbolic flag of the United States and quietly review our Pledge of Allegiance.

When all the Watergates have been overcome and have been replaced by problems which might be much more pertinent, all of us must display a distinct alliance and maintain a unification which can be stabilized by using our Flag as something to hang on to. What's wrong with a red, white and blue security blanket covered with the stately stars of our country?

**CANCER CENTERS DESERVE FULL SUPPORT IN FISCAL YEAR 1975 BUDGET**

**HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, over my years in Congress, I have come to appreciate fully the tremendous medical advances which are being made in research hospitals, particularly in seeking a cure for the scourge of cancer.

Since 1898, the search for a cancer cure has been conducted continuously and with considerable success at the Roswell Park Memorial Institute in my home city of Buffalo, N.Y. This is the world's oldest institution established to focus on cancer research.

Roswell Park's credentials are well known to all in the medical profession. It was one of the three centers initially designated as comprehensive by the National Cancer Institute.

Within the next 2 weeks, the Committee on Appropriations is scheduled to act on the fiscal 1975 budget for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. This includes funds for the National Cancer Institute and in particular for the establishment and operation of cancer treatment centers.

In recent testimony before the Subcommittee on Appropriations for Labor—Health, Education, and Welfare, chaired by our colleague from Pennsylvania (Mr. FLOOD), impressive background on these centers and the budget need was presented by Dr. Gerald P. Murphy, Institute Director of Roswell Park.

I include Dr. Murphy's testimony as part of my remarks:

**STATEMENT BY DR. GERALD P. MURPHY**

Mr. Chairman, I am Dr. Gerald P. Murphy, Institute Director at Roswell Park Memorial Institute at Buffalo, N.Y., one of the three centers initially designated as "comprehensive" by the National Cancer Institute. I am a member of the President's National Cancer Advisory Board as well as Chairman of the National Cancer Institute's Cancer Control Advisory Committee. Also, I am President-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

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elect of the American Cancer Society of New York State.

In my testimony today, I wish to urge more fiscal support for cancer centers and to emphasize that the National Cancer Institute and responsible cancer physicians and scientists in the U.S.A. are in favor of the establishment of additional centers.

In 1971 when the National Cancer Act was passed, a number of exploratory, or planning, grants were awarded to institutions and regional groups to determine the advisability of the establishment of a cancer center. Many of them, such as in your own community, are evaluating their need for a cancer center.

These review and planning efforts themselves have already led to considerable benefit to the American public—for such assessments in many cases have critically defined both the needs for cancer patients as well as the methods and means of serving them and the public better.

If one considers the current distribution of the 12 cancer centers in the United States, one can realize that many Americans may be far from such centers. The population in states near existing, designated, comprehensive cancer centers is 86 million, or approximately 7.2 million persons on the average for each of the presently designated 12 centers.

## MILLIONS WITHOUT ACCESS

However, taking 7.2 million persons as the average center's geographic service area, our deployment of these comprehensive units would still leave at least 117 million persons in some states with no such opportunity for referral or benefit from such a center. Even if we maintain the minimal coverage now found in some fortunate states, the remaining 39 may well have a need for at least 16 additional centers. This of course could mean that several sparsely populated states might be sharing one center in some sections of the country.

In fiscal 1975 there are estimates that \$107 million will be spent on cancer centers. It has been announced that six new comprehensive centers will be designated before the end of fiscal 1974, that is, in another six weeks. We may still need another ten centers just to achieve the population ratio which has been established in other parts of the country in states where centers are now located.

This ratio, as mentioned, should not be considered ideal. For example, an additional ten centers, if funded at the current minimal average level of existing centers would cost about \$80 million. Therefore, the \$107 million presently budgeted for cancer centers covering all types, including comprehensive, community, and specialized centers would hardly accommodate such a burden.

Clearly there is a need for an \$80 million addition, in my opinion. However, I am aware that the Citizens' Budget, in the interest of moderation in a rapidly growing cancer program, requests only an additional \$15 million to make the total cancer research centers request for fiscal 1975 only \$150 million.

## MOTIVATIONS VERSUS RESULTS

Mr. Chairman, scientists are subject to the same motivations as most other humans and it would be natural for members of the Appropriations Committee to assume that part of our request for over \$150 million for new cancer centers could be motivated by a desire to work in excellent conditions and in large, new expanding institutions.

However, I believe if we take a look at what is happening to patients treated at cancer centers that the \$150 million does not appear to be an inflated request. For example, the so-called "End Results" data from National Cancer Institute epidemiological reviews for the years 1965 to 1969, show that only 12 to 16% of adult patients with acute leukemia were alive one year after diagnosis.

In the best cancer centers the rate is now running about 70% as a result of combined chemotherapy worked out particularly at cancer centers. To carry this further, in 1956, no children with acute lymphatic leukemia survived longer than 15 months. In a recent study from several cancer centers and cooperative groups studying nearly 2000 children with acute lymphatic leukemia under combined chemotherapy, it appears today that half the children will survive 5 years.

Of greater significance is the observation that 17% of such children have already survived *untreated*, 5 years after the completion of all their therapy. Not all such achievements can admittedly be attributed to superior treatment in cancer centers. However, in the years since 1969 results have improved generally, but not nearly to levels seen at some cancer centers.

I do not believe that anyone in the medical world doubts that many improvements take place first in the cancer centers and then spread out to the rest of the medical community.

## CHEMOTHERAPY FOR SOLID TUMORS

The cancer center influence that has demonstrated that chemotherapy was most successful in acute lymphatic leukemia and advanced Hodgkin's disease must also be translated to common solid tumors that are the major cause of cancer mortality throughout the United States and the world.

Cancer centers are currently mapping overall strategies for integrating chemotherapy into combined modality approach for the primary treatment of solid tumors. These types of combined modalities of treatment for increasing the cure rates in solid tumors, can best take place initially at cancer centers.

Once a defined and well evaluated therapeutic strategy for solid tumors is worked out at cancer centers, it will then permit delivery to other components of the medical community. However, more money is needed for this effort.

The actual money now devoted by the National Cancer Institute to clinical trials of experimental therapy particularly for solid tumors is very small.

For instance, the entire expenditures in fiscal 1974 for clinical trial on head and neck tumors are \$3,890,000; on stomach tumors \$5,279,000; in the lung (one of the most devastating solid tumors) \$16,594,000; the colon-rectal tumors \$9,334,000; and for one of the areas where disease is rapidly increasing in incidence, pancreas tumors, only \$1,866,000.

The total to be spent this year on clinical trials which does not consider drug development costs are currently about \$15 million. This certainly should be doubled or increased.

Mr. Chairman, such work is not a line item in the National Cancer Institute budget. I strongly suggest that you make it possible for the Institute to double this figure.

Mr. Chairman, comprehensive cancer center core grants do not constitute by any means the bulk of the money needed by centers. In my written testimony is a table which shows that core grants to new comprehensive centers ran about \$7.3 million this year. This is less than a million per newly designated center.

All the rest went into many other direct research grants or for contracts on projects that National Cancer Institute's programmed scientific work demanded. More funds are needed for these and other centers in my opinion.

Mr. Chairman, I am sure that this Committee is aware that some additional construction money for cancer centers is needed as well.

The first 12 comprehensive cancer centers were awarded construction grants averaging \$4 million each. Of the 16 possible additional centers mentioned, if only 8 were designated in fiscal 1975 the construction awards, according to the old average, would be \$35

million. Present budget construction estimates call for \$22 million in cancer construction money.

I believe that is only enough for about one third of what is needed for new comprehensive centers and would leave nothing at all for the quite important "community" and "specialized" centers as well as specialized basic science facilities, many of which need updating, renovation, or laboratory space for new projects.

The Citizens' Budget requesting \$77 million (Table I) would call for such cancer center projects to proceed which have been awaiting space, and would put, I believe, the best care closer to cancer patients and their families.

Mr. Chairman, implicit within the National Cancer Control Program is the urgent need to better educate the public and the medical profession.

## KEEPING MEDICAL PERSONNEL INFORMED

The results of research and study in cancer prevention, detection, therapy, rehabilitation and continuing care must be communicated in an appropriate form to the physicians, nurses, and paramedical personnel who see and treat, at some point, some 90% of this country's cancer patients and as well to the lay public who must play an active role in preventing and detecting cancer.

Greater emphasis must be undertaken by Cancer Centers to reach the practicing physicians who undertake the primary care of the cancer patients. These physicians therefore should not only be informed of the most up-to-date and effective techniques in cancer prevention, detection and treatment, but they should also be motivated in turn to educating their patients in methods of prevention and detection.

The success of the cancer control program hinges on how well we outreach and as well coordinate our efforts with other established voluntary and federal health agencies. Cancer centers are in some present aspects in the best position to outreach by sending out teams to community hospitals and providing consultative service to office based physicians and by such centers establishing effective use of established media, i.e., press, radio, television, films, brochures.

At Roswell Park Memorial Institute, we are doing this but need to do it at a greater level. We and other centers need funds to expand and enhance our programs in these directions. Therefore, I support the Citizens' Budget of \$50 million for cancer control activities. I regard this as a minimal level, however, in consideration of the awesome tasks for this newly mandated program.

My last point, Mr. Chairman, I feel is also important. Whereas cancer centers and the academic world at large are responsible for developing new knowledge and for training cancer specialists, we have seen funds, particularly for training, greatly curtailed. There are recognized shortages of certain cancer specialists on all levels.

The Citizens' Budget provides \$26.5 million for education and training. This is a much more reasonable amount than \$14.2 million currently estimated. We all realize that we need all types of cancer specialists to effectively implement the National Cancer Act.

Mr. Chairman, thank you for allowing me to express my views.

## HELP JIMMY CARNEY

## HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, in Bayside, Queens, within my Sixth Congressional

District, there lives a young lad, Jimmy Carney, who is a victim of hemophilia, the dread blood ailment that causes the afflicted to bleed profusely even from the most minute scratch.

Jimmy, a normal boy in all other aspects, who attends school and enjoys many of the activities and pursuits of his peers has a good chance to outgrow the acuteness of his ailment. But, he needs time and he needs help now.

On Saturday, June 29, 1974, the community of Bayside will rally to help this unfortunate lad by conducting a drive for the blood so desperately needed to keep Jimmy alive. The Blood Bank, to be conducted by the American Red Cross, will be stationed at the Methodist Church, 38-20 Bell Boulevard, Bayside, from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m. in an effort to realize sufficient life-giving blood.

Mr. Speaker, I ask you and my colleagues to join me in urging the participation of Bayside residents to once again assure the success of this blood drive. Jimmy will always be grateful for their generosity.

**MORE THAN 60 MEMBERS  
COSPONSOR H.R. 14392**

**HON. IKE F. ANDREWS**

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. ANDREWS of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, this morning a young woman from Greensboro, N.C., telephoned my Washington office. She was in tears.

A teacher, she had just received one of those tax-due notices which are becoming infamous in my State.

The Internal Revenue Service had, very abruptly and without warning, dunned her \$418, which the IRS claims she owes in back taxes because the loan she obtained contained the forgiveness provision for repayment, and the IRS is now maintaining that such loans represent taxable income.

This young woman is to be married later this month, and so this retroactive tax-due notice represents a really severe financial setback to her.

She is not alone. In recent months, a large number of students and former students in North Carolina who are recipients of educational loans with the forgiveness provision have likewise been shocked to receive these notices.

My office has been advised today by Ms. Jan Proctor, administrator, educational loan program, North Carolina Department of Human Resources, that these assessments have ranged from \$200 to \$1,000 per year.

These tax-due notices were sent out following an IRS ruling that appeared, little-noticed, in the Federal Register in June of last year, and that ruling maintained that these particular educational loans amounted to taxable income. Among these are the national defense student loans, national direct student loans, the health professions loans, State teaching loans, State medical education loans and the law enforcement educational loans.

Apparently, young people in North

**EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS**

Carolina are among the first to be hit with these tax-due notices. I am told that the IRS in my State is especially aggressive, and while this spirit is certainly commendable, I would suggest that, in this case, it is misdirected.

According to information my office has received, the IRS in North Carolina copied the records of the North Carolina Department of Human Resources, from which they obtained the names and addresses of loan recipients and thereby sent them the tax-due assessments.

Mr. Speaker, it is my view that these revenues were unanticipated by budget officials and constitute, in effect, a windfall profit to the Government.

The IRS ruling was arbitrary and unfair in that it hit persons with retroactive tax-due notices dating back 3 years, or as far as the statute of limitations will permit. Loans cancelled between 1954 and June 1973 were not considered taxable income and recipients were not required to pay taxes on them. The fact that a relatively large number of recipients were within the 3-year limit should not, in my opinion, make their loans any more taxable than the thousands before them which were not. I feel that the administering agencies should have time to learn that the loans they are contracting now are taxable and so be able to inform the applicants.

These persons are being or have been trained in health professions and as teachers, and the forgiveness provision in their educational loans means that repayment may be forgiven through service in inner-city, rural and other areas experiencing a shortage of teachers and health professionals trained in critically needed specialties.

Among those affected are students and graduates in nursing, medicine, teaching, dentistry, pharmacy, medical technology, physical therapy, optometry, and other critical professions.

According to the information my office has received, neither the students nor the administering agencies had any idea that educational loans with the forgiveness provision were subject to being considered taxable income.

There may be some merit in treating all educational loans, regardless of the repayment provisions, as taxable income. However, that is an issue separate and apart from the one of permitting the IRS to surprise several hundred thousand persons with retroactive tax-due notices.

What is at issue is the retroactivity and on April 25, I introduced a bill, H.R. 14392, which, if enacted, will eliminate the necessity of paying these retroactive taxes and will enable those who have already paid their taxes to file for a refund.

My bill was referred to the House Committee on Ways and Means, and my distinguished colleague, the Honorable WILBUR MILLS, chairman of that committee, has advised me that his staff has already requested departmental reports on this bill.

In addition, members of my staff and I in the past several weeks have continued our efforts to enlist additional support for this legislation.

Today, I am pleased to reintroduce H.R. 14392 with more than 60 cosponsors,

and to these colleagues, I would like to express my thanks and the thanks of those persons adversely affected by these tax-due notices for supporting this measure. Also, one Member has introduced an identical bill. Additionally, we have:

First. Obtained the backing on this bill from five national organizations: The American Nurses Association, the National Association of Student Financial Aid Administrators, the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, the American Council on Education, and the Association of American Medical Colleges, and from three groups and agencies in North Carolina, including the State's nurses association, the physical therapy association and the department of community colleges.

Second. Written the Commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service, urging that this matter be corrected administratively.

Mr. Speaker, although I take some degree of satisfaction that this bill bears my name, such considerations are very secondary to the problems confronting the many young people who are struggling to cough up enough money to pay the IRS at the same time they are completing their education or are just beginning their chosen careers.

The Congress will not need to enact my bill if the IRS acts to correct this situation administratively, and that would be fine with me.

However, if the IRS does not so act as I have requested it to do, I will continue to enlist support for this measure among my colleagues and among the many educational and health organizations across the Nation.

**THE ETHICS OF WASHINGTON,  
D.C.**

**HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, the other day the Peoria Journal-Star took an editorial look at ethics and morality in Washington, D.C., and came up with some conclusions that I would like to share with my colleagues in the Congress. The article speaks for itself:

**THE ETHICS OF WASHINGTON, D.C.**

(By C. L. Dancey)

If there is anyplace where we need a new morality and new and higher ethical standards it is Washington, D.C.

But I confess that I continue to find no evidence of such a higher standard in the mere act of breast beating or moralizing that too often goes on these days. Moralizing and morality are two different things, altogether.

The lawyers engage in statements fully as prejudicial as the politicians although Mr. Archibald Cox, for one, precedes his damning remarks with such phrases as "there is a possible inference" and Mr. Jenner, of the House Judiciary Committee legal staff, performs in a similar manner, saying, "It is reasonable to assume..."

This is, indeed, a new moral and ethical standard. What can people, for example, possibly infer from the circumstances of Chappaquiddick, if such is a moral and decent approach to such events? What can one rea-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

sonably assume from the sums laid out to members of the House committee by the milk fund if such methods are equally applicable to Congressmen and Presidents?

The lawyers are, at least, precise.

They label their assumptions and inferences as assumptions and inferences. The politicians do not. Neither do too many commentators. And, apparently, nobody asks whether the path of assumptions and inferences is either moral or just, itself, much less due process.

Some wonder why so many incumbents of both parties are in trouble, and why Congress polls so low in public esteem.

The people of this land have been trained for the past year in the fine art of making assumptions and inferences based on expecting the worst. People in Washington may do it selectively—to others but not to themselves. The people apply the same method to all!

## COMMEMORATION OF ANNEXATION OF LITHUANIA

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, June 15 sadly marks the 34th annual commemoration of the forcible annexation of the Baltic Nation of Lithuania by the Soviet Union in 1940.

We have a responsibility not to forget this violation of human liberty and not to forget the courageous struggle by Lithuanians to free themselves of foreign domination. This is a struggle which is close to the hearts of all Americans for it is similar, in a way, to our fight nearly 200 years ago.

At the present time, the people of Lithuania are denied the right of national self-determination, suffer continual religious and political persecution, and are denied their basic human rights. In addition to this, people who wish to visit their relatives still living in Lithuania are severely restricted from doing so, and Lithuanians wishing to emigrate are denied this right which has become part of customary international law.

This is an era in which the Soviet Union and the United States seek détente, and détente seems to be the best means of achieving peace in the world. However, the United States' search for a means to establish world peace is equally as strong as our commitment to freedom and to people struggling against oppression. For this reason, I would urge that the official U.S. position at the current European Security Conference should be one of not recognizing the annexation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania by the Soviet Union.

Recognition of the annexation would greatly dishearten these brave people and would add strength to the argument that this is strictly an "internal matter" of the Soviet Union.

I join with Lithuanian-Americans and Lithuanians throughout the free world in remembering the events of June 15, 1940, and hope for the continuation of our current policy toward Lithuania and all of the Baltic nations.

## PHARMACEUTICAL COMPANIES DENY INVOLVEMENT IN TURKISH OPIUM POLICY

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, there have been reports alleging involvement of the three pharmaceutical companies licensed to import opium with encouraging the Turkish Government to terminate their ban on the growing of opium poppies.

As the demand for codeine rises—95 percent of the opium imported to the United States is used for codeine and other medicinal purposes—in this country, there has been a persistent argument by the pharmaceutical companies of a shortage of opium to meet the demand. Unfortunately, all of the data and information utilized to determine demand is supplied by the pharmaceutical companies. In order to provide additional input on the medicinal demand, I have requested the General Accounting Office to determine the present and projected demand for the next 5 years.

Two of the three licensed pharmaceutical companies, Mallinckrodt Chemical Works and S. B. Penick & Co. have sent me their response to the reports alleging their involvement in influencing the Turkish Government to terminate the opium poppies ban. I insert the responses of these companies for the information of my colleagues in the RECORD, as follows:

## MALLINCKRODT CHEMICAL WORKS,

St. Louis, Mo., May 15, 1974.

Hon. CHARLES B. RANGEL,  
U.S. House of Representatives, Cannon House  
Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. RANGEL: This letter is prompted by recent newspaper stories concerning the current opium shortage in the United States and by reports from our Washington attorney, Mrs. Jane L. McGrew, regarding discussions that you have held with her on the opium supply situation. Mrs. McGrew tells us that you have expressed an interest in the Mallinckrodt policies governing our activities as an opium processor, and I would like to state them for your consideration:

As a registered importer and processor of opium, Mallinckrodt has an obvious interest and responsibility in assuring an adequate supply of opium to meet the legitimate demand for its medicinal derivatives. This interest necessarily entails a concern as well for the problems of the diversion of such supplies, at any stage, into illicit drug traffic in this country and elsewhere. Although there has never been any problem of diversion of such supplies, at any stage, into the illicit drug traffic in this country and elsewhere. Although there has never been any problem of diversion of opium from the licensed manufacturers to the illicit traffic, we at Mallinckrodt recognize that our interest in broader issues relating to drug control requires more than merely keeping our own house in order. Our policy has been, and is, to observe and support those measures adopted by our Government to eliminate the serious problem of illicit drug use in this country.

In particular, I refer to the situation in Turkey and the possibility that that country may resume cultivation of the opium poppy. We have read and heard that diversion of

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opium from the Turkish fields occurred in the past. We recognize that this was the basis for the decision of the United States to enter into an agreement with Turkey pursuant to which that country ceased production. This being the United States' policy, Mallinckrodt never has sought, or in any way encouraged, any abrogation of that agreement, and would not be party to any conduct intended to undercut that policy. In short, we state categorically that under no circumstances, and at no time, will Mallinckrodt seek or agree to purchase or to import any crude opium from Turkey unless the explicit approval of the United States Government is secured. As you know, the U.S. Government's regulatory system requires importers of opium to obtain a permit for each shipment from the Drug Enforcement Administration, and this provides a mechanism whereby Mallinckrodt's commitment can be monitored effectively.

We are disturbed by reports in the press and from Mrs. McGrew that you and certain other Federal officials believe that insufficient information about the opium supply situation is being provided to the Government by the pharmaceutical manufacturers. Mallinckrodt submits detailed reports to the DEA on a quarterly basis concerning the Company's manufacture and sales of controlled substances. From time to time during the past year, we provided additional supplementary information to the DEA regarding the Company's inventories of narcotics. Mallinckrodt will in the future continue to furnish all required data to the DEA and to offer to the agency such supplementary information as seems necessary and pertinent.

We note in the *Congressional Record* of May 9 that you and Senator Mondale have expressed concern about the possibility of the opium poppy being cultivated in the United States. Mallinckrodt currently has little interest in such a project because we believe that opium cannot be produced economically in the United States.

As Mrs. McGrew has reported to you, Mallinckrodt is experimenting with growing *Papaver bracteatum*, a different species of poppy, which contains no morphine or codeine, but does contain thebaine, a substance that is chemically convertible to codeine. Thebaine is a toxic substance and could not be used as such to support addiction. It is so difficult to convert thebaine to morphine or heroin that we believe there is no risk of clandestine traffic in thebaine.

I hope that the information provided above answers your questions regarding Mallinckrodt's opium processing activities. If additional questions should arise, please let me hear from you.

Sincerely,

STANLEY H. ANONSEN.

S. B. PENICK &amp; CO.,

New York, N.Y., June 4, 1974.

Hon. CHARLES B. RANGEL,  
U.S. House of Representatives,  
Cannon House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. RANGEL: The depth of your concern for the problems of heroin addiction has become increasingly apparent to us at S. B. Penick & Company in the past few months. As a registered importer and processor of opium, this company is necessarily concerned as well about the problems created by the diversion of licit opium from the legitimate market into illicit traffic. The focus of our mutual concern is currently on Turkey as it weighs the possibility of resuming the production of opium. In this context, we feel it is important for us to assure you that it is our policy to abide by all measures supported by our Government with the objective of curbing the terrible problems of drug abuse in this country.

In particular, we wish to clarify the fact that Penick has never offered any encouragement to Turkey to re-enter the world opium market. Nor will it do so. We are cognizant of the problems created in the past by diversion of opium from the legitimate Turkish fields and are aware that this was the basis for the United States agreement with Turkey whereby that country abandoned the production of opium. In view of this history, we assure you that Penick has no intention of acting contrary to the policies of the United States Government as they apply to the possible future availability of Turkish opium. The system of import permits which is administered by the Drug Enforcement Administration provides further assurance to you that this commitment by Penick will be honored.

Finally, in consideration of your recent statements relating to the nature of the ongoing opium shortage and the demand for legitimate opium derivatives, we invite you to scrutinize the inventory and manufacturing reports which we and all other manufacturers supply on a quarterly basis to the Drug Enforcement Administration.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES J. VERDE,  
Vice President, Chemical Group.

**TRIBUTE TO HON. JOHN J. ROONEY  
UPON HIS RETIREMENT FROM  
HOUSE AFTER 30 YEARS OF DISTIN-  
GUISHED SERVICE TO THE  
PEOPLE OF BROOKLYN, N.Y.**

**HON. MARIO BIAGGI**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed my distinct honor and privilege to pay tribute to one of our most distinguished colleagues, JOHN ROONEY, who has announced his intention to retire at the end of this session.

The people of the 14th Congressional District in Brooklyn, N.Y., have been ably and effectively represented by JOHN ROONEY for 30 years. These people have been represented by a man who has the unique distinction of being able to trace his family roots in Brooklyn as far back as 100 years. They are served by a man whose love and service to his constituents make him one of Brooklyn's most respected Members of Congress.

Besides being respected and admired by his constituents, he is equally respected by his colleagues in the House. He will be best remembered for his work as chairman of the Subcommittee on State, Justice, and Commerce. In this prestigious position, he wielded great power in the Congress, but always exercised it with prudence and the soundest of judgment.

JOHN ROONEY was particularly helpful to those of us who served with him as a Member of the New York congressional delegation. I remember fondly of an instance in 1970 when Congressman ROONEY, demonstrating his great concern for the elimination of ethnic stereotyping in this Nation, joined me in a meeting with the late Director of the FBI J. Edgar Hoover. In this meeting we discussed the Agency's use of the word Mafia and Cosa Nostra to describe organized crime.

**EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS**

As a direct result of that meeting, the use of these words by the FBI was ended. The Italo-American community and I were and continue to be deeply grateful that Congressman ROONEY took this personal and strong interest in this problem.

Much more can and will be said about JOHN ROONEY in the coming months by those of us who were fortunate enough to serve with him in the House. All I can add is that I am proud to have worked with JOHN ROONEY and am especially honored to call him a friend.

Mr. Speaker, this beloved body is losing one of her finest members, in JOHN ROONEY, a man whose retirement represents the end of an era. The people of Brooklyn are losing one of their most exemplary public servants. I extend to JOHN ROONEY the fervent hope that his retirement will be spent in good health and happiness.

H.R. 14753

**HON. LINDY BOGGS**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mrs. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues legislation recently introduced by Congresswoman ABZUG, H.R. 14753, which would provide cost-of-living increases for the Federal supplemental security income (SSI) program. Her remarks explaining the thrust of the legislation can be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 14, 1974.

The major maintenance of effort provisions in her bill guarantee that the SSI recipient will receive a cost-of-living increase in his SSI payment when there is a similar increase in social security benefits, and also guarantees that those SSI recipients who receive social security awards will not be denied any cost-of-living increases in either SSI or social security payments.

In addition, it allows the readjustment of the State adjusted payment levels to reflect increases in State public assistance programs between January 1972 and December 31, 1973, and finally, provides a cost of living increase in the cash bonus value of food stamps in States which have opted to "cash out." States which have opted to give their SSI recipients food stamps rather than cash payments may continue to do so.

I cannot stress enough the importance of this legislation. The aged, blind, and disabled citizens of our country are being neglected in this time of rampant inflation, and it is our duty to come to their assistance. Soaring living costs hit hardest at the bottom of the economic ladder, and unless we take measures to alleviate this situation, it will only become more serious.

Therefore, I urge your support of this vital legislation in order to correct the inequities and injustices now being suffered by SSI recipients. Unless the program is bolstered with these essential cost-of-living increase clauses, it will

simply sink into the quagmire of numerous other ineffective Federal aid programs that have not met the needs of recipients.

**STEWART ALSOP—AN EXAMPLE OF  
THE COURAGE OF MAN**

**HON. CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR.**  
OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, we all were saddened to learn of the passing of Stewart Alsop, the noted columnist and writer.

He faced death squarely, eyeball to eyeball, wrote a book about what it was like and then, as we all ultimately will, departed this world. A truly civilized man, Mr. Alsop was a superbly articulate commentator whose prose and observations will be missed.

Jim Fain, editor of the Dayton Daily News and a columnist himself, expressed it very well in a signed piece which ran in his newspaper on May 30, 1974. For the edification of the readers of these pages, Mr. Speaker, I insert Mr. Fain's column at this point in the RECORD:

**STEWART ALSOP—AN EXAMPLE OF THE  
COURAGE OF MAN**

Stewart Alsop was a gallant man, possessed of a full measure of the quiet, unostentatious courage Ernest Hemingway defined as "grace under pressure."

Like many of his generation, Stew Alsop was deeply troubled by Hitler's conquest of Europe in the Nazi blitzkriegs, first through Poland and later across France and the low countries. Unlike most, he did something about it.

He was among the handful who volunteered to fight with the English. He joined the British King's Royal Rifle Corps and was promoted to captain before being transferred to the U.S. Army in 1944.

Alsop served in the Office of Strategic Services, warning forerunner of the CIA, and parachuted behind German lines in France soon after D-Day. He fought with the French resistance.

Those actions were typical of Stewart Alsop. Where others postured, he acted. He expressed his convictions in deeds as well as words. If these required putting his life on the line, so be it.

As a person, Stew was warm and human, much different from his patrician brother Joe, who is the nearest thing to a mandarin this side of Hong Kong. Beside Joe, even Henry Cabot Lodge could be mistaken for the great commoner.

After World War II, the brothers began writing a column together, a venture that was lively but, given the personalities of the two, not destined to live. After a while, they parted, amicably, they both said in any event, they remained close. During Stewart's three-year bout with an obscure form of leukemia, Joe always was on hand to give blood for transfusions.

Stewart was never the rigid hard-liner for the military, and for whatever was current U.S. diplomacy, that Joe became. Still, like most of us who grew up in the Munich era, he never bought the idea, either, that we could make peace with Soviet Russia simply by trusting the Kremlin or by buying out the USSR's expansionist ambitions.

Stewart himself explained in 1971 that "Joe's and my mindsets are very much alike,

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

June 11, 1974

except that from the start I was dubious about the Vietnam war, where Joe wasn't. But once we made the decision, I, too, felt we could not just sneak out."

I have no idea how a mathematician would figure the odds on Stewart Alsop's ending up sharing a room at the National Institutes of Health with a man who lived on one of the Marshall Islands affected by fallout from a U.S. hydrogen bomb test in 1954. The man, a year old when the bomb was tested, was now dying a slow death.

Stewart put it all down in a book, "Stay of Execution," in which his reporter's mind recorded in clinical and moving detail what it was like to be under sentence of death with cancer and how the treatment, symptoms and emotions affected the person under the condemnation.

It was a pleasure to know Stewart Alsop, a man who combined most of the qualities I admire. He had a sophisticated sense of humor, and, with it, the ability to laugh at himself. He did what he could to make the world a more liveable place.

## THE ENERGY CHALLENGE

HON. BILL ARCHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, as a result of the recent shortage of petroleum and petroleum products, occasioned by the Arab oil embargo, there have been extensive discussions and debate in governmental circles, in the press, and by the general public with regard to the problem this Nation faces in satisfying its ever increasing needs for energy for the immediate period and for the longer term.

It is well recognized that the energy requirements of our Nation and of the world will continue to increase. It is also recognized that reserves of petroleum and natural gas are limited and that there will eventually come a day when oil and gas will have to be replaced as the primary sources of energy.

Because of the importance of energy to America's security and to our citizens' economic opportunity, I would like to commend to the Members of this body for their thoughtful consideration a paper entitled "The Energy Challenge."

In this commentary it is pointed out, that between now and 1990 the world's population will have doubled and that by 1985 the population in the United States will be 235 million, up from today's population of 212 million. Increased capital investment and energy consumption will be necessary to provide the additional jobs required, both domestically and on a worldwide basis, to satisfy the population growth. For example, the report points out that to achieve adequate domestic energy production by 1985, the oil industry will have to spend \$26 billion per year in 1974 dollars. The ability to raise this amount of capital will not be possible if industry cash flow and profitability are restricted through continuing crude oil and gas price controls, increased taxes, or other economic disincentives.

Mr. Speaker, I include at this point in the RECORD the paper entitled "The Energy Challenge":

## THE ENERGY CHALLENGE

The disappearance of surplus quantities of cheap oil and gas is the result of two trends, each accentuating the impact of the other:

1. Rapid population growth.
2. Declining success in finding large new reserves of low-cost oil and gas.

## POPULATION

During the 20-year period, 1950-1970, the world's population grew at an unprecedented rate, adding 1.2 billion people for a 50% increase. From 1970 to 1990, another estimated 1.8 billion people will be added. In 35 years, the world's population will have doubled. This growth, coupled with increased living standards, has dramatically increased the demand for all raw materials, including food and energy.

In the United States, even assuming new births will remain at the replacement level of 2.1 per family, the population will increase from today's 212 million to about 235 million by 1985. The age group undergoing the most rapid increase will be 20 to 49 year olds who will increase by 18.7 million individuals, or an increase of 23%. Thus, numerically, almost all of the population increase will be in the age group which will form new households, and will require new jobs. In excess of one million new jobs per year will have to be established. This can be achieved if the economy grows steadily and appreciably. Increasing capital investment and increasing energy consumption are mandatory in providing for the additional jobs, even with no further increase in the standard of living. To increase the standard of living in uninflated dollars will require further capital investments and increased energy use.

## OIL AND GAS SUPPLIES

Non-Communist world oil consumption grew from 8.8 to 39.5 million B/D from 1950 to 1970, or 30.7 million B/D. Today, non-Communist world production is 46 million B/D. At today's per-capita consumption, 63 million B/D of oil will be needed by 1985 just to provide for population growth.

It is estimated that by 1985 the non-Communist world could produce 90 million B/D, given no restrictions on exploration and production. However, if Saudi Arabia alone limits its production growth to 5% per year, and all other areas produce at projected capacity, production will be:

	Production, million barrels per day	
	1974	1985
United States	9	11
Other Western Hemisphere	7	9
North Sea		4
Africa	6	11
Far East	2	5
Saudi Arabia	8	14
Other Middle East	14	26
Total	46	80

Consumption at 80 million B/D would provide an annual average increase in per capita energy consumption of only 2.2% per year. It should be noted that only Saudi Arabia has the potential to increase production further; it currently has 1/4th of the non-Communist world's proven reserves, is second only to the U.S. in current production capacity, and accounts for 55% of the increased production capacity through 1985.

For the U.S. to increase production by 2 million B/D through 1985 will require a tremendous effort—exceeding the expected volume of North Slope oil due to the declining production in existing wells. This is emphasized by the following data for the 5-year period 1968-1973.

	U.S.	Foreign (non-Communist)	U.S. percent of total
Wells drilled	165,000	46,700	78
Annual capital expenditures (billion dollars)	6.8	6.0	53
Increased (decreased) production capacity (million B/D)	(1.7)	13.1	
(Percent)	(16.0)	55	

Despite the huge capital expenditures and large number of wells drilled in the U.S. over the past five years, as compared to the rest of the world, U.S. production, and reserves, have declined. In fact, U.S. production declined from 33% of the world's oil in 1968 to only 20% today, even though today the U.S. has 87% of the world's operating oil and gas wells (504,000), whereas the rest of the non-Communist world produces 80% of the oil with 15% of the wells (72,000). Obviously, U.S. wells are low in volume and high in cost.

## U.S. ENERGY OPTIONS

The U.S. has three energy supply options:

1. Limit imports, moderate growth in domestic energy supplies. This is unacceptable. It would result in lowered living standards and increasing unemployment.

2. Increasing imports, moderate growth in domestic energy supplies. This is dangerous. It would put the U.S. economy, employment and security at the mercy of a few oil exporting nations. It would also be highly inflationary. Last year's import volumes at this year's prices will add \$16 billion to our outflow of funds. This is equal to the nation's total monetary reserves and 20% of the total exports. Further devaluation of the dollar would be of little help, since foreign oil prices are increased automatically to offset such devaluation.

3. Maximum growth in domestic energy supplies, moderate import volumes. This is the only viable alternative.

## CONSERVATION

Each of the above options assumes, and will require, extensive and continuing conservation in the use of energy. From 1960 through 1973, U.S. energy use grew at a rate of 4.2% per year. Should this rate continue, even with maximum development of domestic energy supplies, the cost of oil imports in 1985 would be \$36 million—at today's prices. By limiting growth to 3.3% per year, and with maximum development of domestic supplies, 1985 could be held to \$11 billion at today's prices—an amount 15% greater than the 1973 import bill. This lower growth rate is essential—and some imports will be required indefinitely.

## INCREASED DOMESTIC ENERGY PRODUCTION

To achieve the 3.3% energy growth, and maintain imports at reasonable levels, will require that by 1985 all of the following be accomplished (NPC, Case II):

[In percent]

Domestic crude oil production increase over 1970	23
Domestic natural gas production increase over 1970	19
Domestic coal production increase over 1970	92
100,000 B/D shale oil plants	4
50,000 B/D oil-from-coal plants	16
250 MMSCF/D gas-from-coal plants	16
New 1-million KW geothermal plants	9
Additional 1-million KW nuclear plants	360

To accomplish the above will involve probably the largest industrial program in the history of the world. In today's dollars the new plant investment alone is estimated to cost over \$600 billion, with an additional \$100 billion needed for working capital. This sum

dwarfs the \$25 billion dollar cost of the entire Apollo Project, or the \$60 billion dollar cost of the Manhattan-A.E.C. programs from their inception to date.

Such a vast program can only be accomplished in the time frame—or in any reasonable time frame—through the intensive efforts of industry, through industry earning adequate profits to provide the needed capital, and through industry and the government working together constructively. Traditionally oil companies have reinvested more than they have earned, and particularly in the United States. Data for the past five years are:

[Dollar amounts in millions per year]

	Profits	Capital expenditures	Expenditures over profits (percent)
United States.....	\$3,800	\$6,800	80
Rest of world.....	4,100	6,000	48

To achieve adequate domestic energy production by 1985 will involve expenditures by the oil industry in the U.S. of \$26 billion per year in current dollars—or more than triple the recent rate. This will not be possible if cash flow is restricted due to continuing crude and gas price controls, increased taxes or other punitive measures.

To the extent that domestic energy production falls short of these goals, imports will increase, fueling inflation, and creation of needed employment will be restricted. The \$600 billion energy program will create approximately five million new jobs directly in the operation of these facilities, and another 10 to 15 million new jobs in supporting engineering, fabrication, construction, servicing and transportation activities. This is a number of new jobs comparable to the 18.7 million new jobs required through 1985 due to the population growth patterns.

#### THE GOVERNMENT'S ROLE

The future energy situation will involve more government regulation of the energy industries and an improved government capability to develop and administer an effective energy policy. Regulation must provide industry with adequate flexibility to get the job done. Inflexible and punitive regulation will only insure failure in achieving the goals of adequate energy production and employment. The following are major components of a government energy program:

1. A national energy council to evaluate and recommend energy policies and programs.

2. A separate Federal bureau to collect, compile and issue needed energy data and information. Data confidentiality, when valid, should be maintained.

3. A Federal Energy Administration to administer that energy policy enacted by the Congress.

4. An Energy Research and Development Administration and an Energy Development Bank. The government role would be to plan, set priorities and jointly fund research and demonstration programs. Industry would share in the funding and operate research projects. Prototype commercial synthetic fuel projects should be built and financed by industry, with guarantees or price subsidies provided by the Development Bank.

5. Industry must be permitted to generate the capital funds needed.

6. A Federal Oil and Gas Company, or similar government operating participation would be totally inadequate to make a meaningful contribution, would preempt massive tax revenues needed for other government programs, and would siphon-off personnel and supplies from private industry. No such government participatory action should be initiated.

7. Leasing of federal oil and coal lands

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

18859

NOMINATION OF MR. JESSE HOLLIE FOR THE OUTSTANDING HANDICAPPED POSTAL EMPLOYEE OF THE YEAR 1974

### HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1974

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to announce that Mr. Jesse A. Hollie, of Parkville, Md., has been honored as the Postal Service's 1974 Outstanding Handicapped Worker of the Year.

Mr. Hollie, who lost an arm, a leg, and a portion of his remaining foot in an electrocution accident at the age of 10, has shown determination, strong spirit, and great faith in not only his abilities, but the willingness of his friends and family to allow him to achieve on his own merits, and to develop his potential by himself.

Mr. Hollie's work record with the Postal Service is exemplary. I should like to share with you comments made by the Postmaster of Baltimore, Mr. Warren Bloomberg, in nominating Mr. Hollie for this honor, and congratulate Mr. Hollie, his family, and his friends on his achievement and his gracious acceptance of the role he will assume in representing not only handicapped postal employees but all handicapped Americans.

NOMINATION OF MR. JESSE HOLLIE FOR OUTSTANDING HANDICAPPED POSTAL EMPLOYEE OF THE YEAR, 1974

#### JOB PERFORMANCE

Mr. Hollie was appointed as a Schedule A (700 hour) temporary employee in the Baltimore, Maryland Post Office to give him an opportunity to demonstrate his ability to perform postal duties. He was converted to an unlimited, Schedule A appointment in August 1971 and was later converted to a Career Distribution Clerk, Part-Time Flexible Schedule effective July 21, 1973. On February 16th of this year, this employee will become a full-time Distribution Clerk. In spite of Mr. Hollie's handicap, he has adapted to postal operations. He has demonstrated that he is capable of meeting and exceeding the standards of productivity.

His work performance is well above average and there is every indication it will continue. He is self-sufficient in sweeping mails, thereby providing himself with mail so he does a full day's work. When a task is completed he voluntarily seeks additional work.

At the outset of his employment he hung a wooden tray around his neck and shoulders. This enabled him to sweep case separations with his left hand and place the mail in the tray resting on his chest. Presently, he places the tray on the ledge of a distribution case, sweeps the separations with his left hand and because of his desire to work independently and through muscular coordination he is able to grasp the tray in the center with the left hand and carry it to a desired location.

While performing case distribution he places the mail on the ledge of the case, picking up each piece separately and distributes it to a separation. In a recent evaluation, his supervisors advise that Mr. Hollie distributes mail equally as fast and accurate as other employees of his unit.

Mr. Hollie can handle sacks of mail only with the aid of another employee, however, he is able to distribute small parcels and all paper mail. His job requires continuous standing, walking and throwing packages to

### MONEE CELEBRATES 100TH ANNIVERSARY

#### HON. GEORGE M. O'BRIEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. O'BRIEN. Mr. Speaker, this week the citizens of Monee, Ill., are celebrating the 100th anniversary of the incorporation of their village.

The name Monee has its origins in Indian lore and there is still some debate over whether it was the name of an Indian princess or a great chief. Like so many small communities in our country, Monee was founded by hard-working, God-fearing pioneers. As the descendants of these original settlers married and raised families, the village grew and prospered.

The completion of the Illinois Central Railroad in 1853 accelerated this growth and as Monee's population increased, village government became a necessity. On November 9, 1874, the citizens cast their votes at the public schoolhouse and Monee was incorporated.

One hundred years have passed since then, yet Monee has retained its rustic charm. Rich, fertile farmland stretches out from pleasant homesites shaded by maple, oak, and elm trees making Monee one of the most beautiful villages in Illinois. An air of serenity and friendliness pervades the town offering a refreshing change from our often hectic world.

A Monee resident, Muriel Mueller Milne, has documented and preserved the full history of the village in her recently published book, "Our Roots Are Deep."

The week-long Centennial Celebration will be presided over by Mayor Elmer B. Richert and will feature numerous events highlighting Monee's rich heritage and promising future.

This weekend, I will have the pleasure of attending some of these events and at this gala time, I would like to congratulate the industrious citizens of Monee for working to make this anniversary celebration possible.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

box number separations, stretching to empty sacks and reaching to all parts of the distribution case in sorting. To see Mr. Hollie perform, one would never realize his handicap.

Mr. Hollie has been rated excellent in initiative, work habits, appearance, adherence to reporting schedules, assigned duties, attitude and acceptance of supervisory instruction. He has passed all scheme examinations taken, staying within required time limits. His last examination indicated a 98% score of a possible 100%. Recently, a request for a single position letter sorting machine operator was posted. This machine requires a degree of concentration with visual and manual dexterity and coordination for sustained periods. The machine contains a keyboard with thirteen keys, whereby the operator reads the box number on a letter and strikes a two digital code directing mail to one of a hundred sortations. The keyboard can be operated with one hand. Mr. Hollie applied for this assignment, and feels that he can operate the machine with maximum efficiency due to the confidence he has in himself. He will receive training for determination of manual dexterity in the near future.

Mr. Hollie was born in Person County, North Carolina on February 1, 1941. At the age of ten, he and another child were playing near the railroad tracks. Two older boys pursued them and in order to escape he climbed to the top of a nearby boxcar. Mr. Hollie's right hand touched a wire sending 11,000 volts of electricity through his body. As he was still clinging to the wire, his friend sought help and fortunately some railroad attendants grabbed his leg and pulled him free from the wire, which probably saved his life. He fell to the ground unconscious, and it was expected that he would not survive. He was transported to the Maryland General Hospital of Baltimore where his entire right arm to the shoulder, his right leg below the knee and a portion of his left foot was amputated. This traumatic experience and physical disability resulted in at least seven operations. Mr. Hollie was confined to a wheel chair until he was fourteen years of age, however, because of his desire to move about and live a normal life, he was quick to adapt to an artificial leg. Being a right-handed person, he had to overcome the loss of his arm and is now dexterous with the left arm.

Mr. Hollie attended the William S. Baer School for Crippled Children for three years and the Samuel Gompers General Vocational School until he reached Grade 11. Not seeking sympathy and in an effort to become self-supporting, he worked at low paying jobs to help sustain himself. These jobs included being a night clerk at various hotels, picking up and making deliveries of specimens for a research laboratory and being the proprietor of his own newsstand.

## OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS

Mr. Hollie participates in all of the programs initiated by management and is recognized as a true dedicated, inspired employee who continually looks for the best way to accomplish a job without seeking assistance. He is a willing worker who constantly assists others. Mr. Hollie volunteers information to newly assigned employees, helps other employees in meeting dispatches and even aids in pushing mail-laden nutting trucks to the dock area.

## OTHER PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Mr. Hollie is unmarried, living with his mother at 1635 Lyle Court, Baltimore, Maryland, a home recently purchased by him. He is an avid fan of baseball and ice hockey and actively participates in swimming and horseback riding. He does not feel that he is handicapped. Each day presents a new chal-

lenge to him which he inevitably overcomes. He receives self-gratification knowing he can do things on his own and being a part of the normal pattern of life. This employee drives his own automobile without the aid of additional mechanical devices.

His leave record must be considered excellent in spite of the fact that he has a low sick leave balance. A bone in his upper right leg protrudes periodically causing skin breakage, bleeding and unbearable pain.

It gives me a great deal of personal satisfaction and pride to nominate Mr. Jesse A. Hollie as the "Outstanding Handicapped Postal Employee of the Year", as he is not only a loyal and dedicated employee, but in his keen desire to excel has demonstrated a spirit of cooperation and perseverance far beyond the average employee since his entry into the Postal Service.

## POSTAGE-FREE ABSENTEE VOTING ACT OF 1974

## HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to share with the other Members of Congress a resolution which was introduced by Mr. Robert McLachlan, city clerk of the city of Dearborn, Mich., and was adopted by the International Institute of Municipal Clerks supporting a bill I introduced on March 5 of this year, the Postage-Free Absentee Voting Act of 1974.

Mr. Speaker, my bill would authorize the agency or official of a State or a political subdivision thereof which administers the election laws to mail postage-free absentee ballots and instructions to any voter requesting such material. Further, this measure provides for the free return mailing of the ballot to the designated official or agency for tabulation.

It is estimated, Mr. Speaker, that about 5.7 percent of the total votes cast in the 1972 general election were by absentee ballots. Many persons who for reasons of infirmity or proximity to their legal place of voting were unable to reach the polls on election day and voted by mail. In my district, over 8,000 absentee ballots were counted in the general election. This would include the elderly, students, as well as civilian and military personnel stationed overseas.

Mr. Speaker, my proposal will encourage and promote a greater participation in the electoral process. Citizens have no greater power or expression of sentiment than through their vote, and as their representatives, it should be one of our primary responsibilities to evoke an even greater interest in our democratic system.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly believe my bill would accomplish this. Similar legislation has also been introduced in the other body.

At this point I insert into the RECORD the resolution adopted by the International Institute of Municipal Clerks at their conference in Norfolk, Va., on May 15 of this year:

June 11, 1974

## RESOLUTION NO. 7

Resolution Confirming Resolution Passed and Approved by the IIMC Executive Committee, May 10, 1974, on Free Postage for Absentee Voting Ballots To Be Approved by the U.S. Postal Service

Whereas, the municipal clerks responsible for election administration have encouraged the fullest participation by qualified electors in the election process; and

Whereas, many of our citizens are absent from their permanent domicile on election day because of travel, business, education, or hospitalization; and

Whereas, some voters may be disenfranchised by not having sufficient postage or ability to obtain postage for mailing absentee ballots; and

Whereas, absentee voting matter is mailed free to military personnel; and

Whereas, the International Institute of Municipal Clerks, at its 1969 Conference, endorsed the proposition that all absentee applications and absentee ballots receive free mail privileges available to national governmental functions for the prompt processing of voting material; and

Whereas, the Executive Committee of IIMC, meeting in regular session, May 10, 1974, passed and approved a resolution on Free Postage For Absentee Voting Matter to be provided by the U.S. Postal Service; and Furthermore that such voting matter carry the Air Mail priority on the envelope to and from the individual, and that this support be conveyed to its membership, congressional leaders, and appropriate authorities; and

Whereas, the IIMC Executive Committee feels that the action taken by them should be confirmed by the membership of the IIMC at the 1974 Norfolk, Virginia Conference:

Now, therefore, be it hereby resolved by the membership of the IIMC at the 28th annual conference, Norfolk, Virginia:

That the Resolution passed and approved by the IIMC Executive Committee, meeting in regular session, May 10, 1974, on "Free Postage For Absentee Voting Ballots to be Provided by the U.S. Postal Service", is hereby approved.

## LOSS OF JOHN A. TERESI

## HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I was saddened to learn on May 24, 1974, of the death at the age of 74, of John A. Teresi, of Buffalo, N.Y.

As a personal friend, I admired him as a man, a hard-working individual, a civic-minded member of the community, and a congenial, kind person.

He began his career of hard work operating a newsstand in Buffalo while still a teenager, and was one of the few survivors of the Newsboys Benevolent Association of Buffalo. He paid his own way through St. Bonaventure College and the University of Buffalo Law School. At one time an insurance broker, he served his country during World War II as chairman of the local Selective Service Board, and received a citation from President Truman.

Following some years in private law practice, he joined the Buffalo City Law Department in 1937, when his work as a legal investigator was highly respected

through his retirement in 1969. He served in Democratic Party posts in Erie County for 40 years, yet found time for active participation in Knights of Columbus, Holy Name and Ushers Societies of St. Joseph's New Cathedral, Crippled Children's Guild of Buffalo, Retired Civil Service Employees Association, and the Courier-Express Good Fellows.

Men like John Teresi are an asset and an inspiration to community life, and he will be greatly missed. My deepest sympathies go to his wife, Virginia; his son, Paul; his brothers, William and Frank; his sisters, Mrs. Josephine Gaglione and Mrs. Anna Pollino; and his grandchildren.

BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS  
TRANSITION AND THE INTER-  
MOUNTAIN SCHOOL OPPORTU-  
NITY

HON. GUNN MCKAY

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. MCKAY. Mr. Speaker, a crucial stage in the course of Indian education has been reached with the confirmation of Morris Thompson as the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The Bureau of Indian Affairs now has a permanent Director, and Bureau education policy can now be reformulated in an atmosphere of Federal concern for the Native American exemplified by the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Reform Act and new education provisions under the Indian Education Act. After many months of Bureau uncertainty, confusion, and misdirection under temporary leadership, the time for responsive and realistic decisions about the future of Indian education is now at hand.

A review of Commissioner Thompson's statement before the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee indicates that these imminent decisions may well be constructive.<sup>1</sup> Among the Commissioner's comments were four key points relevant to Indian education:

- (1) American Indians have a right to expect an effective and efficient Bureau of Indian Affairs;
- (2) Indian people have a right to determine what the Indian priorities will be and how they are to be met;
- (3) Indians have a right to direct and administer programs developed for them; and
- (4) Of the many programs developed and administered for the benefit of Indians today, none is more important than Indian education.<sup>2</sup>

The new BIA administration clearly places great emphasis upon education, and is concerned with responding to Indian desires as a matter of right. Ef-

<sup>1</sup> United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indian Education Resources Center, *IERC Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 8, "Statement of Morris Thompson before the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee's Nov. 14, 1973 Hearing on the President's Nomination of Him to Be Commissioner of Indian Affairs," p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ficiency and responsiveness will apparently be primary Bureau concerns in the years ahead and paternalistic administrative independence and inefficiency are now presumably problems belonging to the all-too-recent past.

Transition in the Bureau of Indian Affairs will not be simply a matter of incremental shifts of policy if the Commissioner's laudable goals are to be met. Many decisions representing insensitive or inept reasoning on the part of previous Bureau administrations are intruding into the new administration due to the bureaucratic inertia that has plagued the BIA since its inception. An excellent example of this kind of destructive inheritance can be found in the Intermountain Boarding School situation.

Essentially, the Bureau of Indian Affairs some months ago decided to discontinue operations at the Intermountain Boarding School at Brigham City, Utah, on the premise that the facility was unneeded and unwanted by Indian students. "Documentation" supporting this position was provided by the Bureau in a voluminous report which has since been effectively refuted by numerous groups with respect to its accuracy and spirit.<sup>3</sup> Yet the decision for discontinuance at this time remains tragically unchanged in spite of the apparent determination of the new Bureau administration to avoid such unfounded and destructive acts.

The senseless inconsistencies inherent in the Bureau's position on this matter are so obvious that the briefest of discussions will illuminate them. The BIA assertions that the school is unneeded and unwanted are simply false.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has stated that the Intermountain School should be phased out, because "adequate facilities exist at schools—to serve the needs of Navajo students without the continued operation \* \* \* of Intermountain." The Bureau document goes on to conclude that the demand from other tribal groups is insufficient to justify continued operation of the facility.

It is ironic that the Bureau is maintaining this position at the same time it is desperately calling for funds for new facilities to meet space requirements for Indian students. The March 1974 IERC Bulletin—published by the Bureau of Indian Affairs—states that "the Indian population is among the most deprived and isolated of the minority groups in the Nation," and that "the need for a program of educational assistance for Indians is illustrated by—statistics \* \* \*". The statistics cited by the Bureau in this document include the following:

First. Available estimates of the number of school-age children vary, increas-

<sup>3</sup> See Utah Federal Research Committee, "Review of Evaluation and Audit Reports" for a full discussion of these documents.

<sup>4</sup> United States Department of the Interior, Indian Education Resources Center, Division of Evaluation and Program Review, "Intermountain Evaluation Task Force: A Report."

<sup>5</sup> United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indian Education Resources Center, *IERC Bulletin*, Vol. 2, No. 3, "Priorities in Indian Education, Office of Education: Indian Education," p. 7.

ing as they become more recent. Official 1968 estimates placed the school-age population at that time at over 150,000. More recently, in its fall 1973 survey of Indian children enrolled in public schools, the Office of Indian Education found 270,000 students.

Second. The number of children "not in school" has been estimated to be as high as 16,000, with about half the cases due to a lack of school facilities which can serve these children.<sup>6</sup>

The Bureau of Indian Affairs is responding to this demand for facilities through an extensive program of school construction. As of February 1974, the BIA listed some \$35 million in current construction projects for secondary schools alone, and this figure does not include the cost of furnishing and equipping the facilities. All projects listed are at least in the design stage.<sup>7</sup> It seems quite apparent that the Bureau's earlier suggestion that the excellent Intermountain facility is unneeded stands as a contradiction to their own estimate of facilities demand. The assertion, in fact, seems preposterous.

Is the Intermountain School unwanted by the Indian people? Once again, the BIA should evaluate the information that it already possess concerning Indian desires in the realm of education. It is particularly fortunate and appropriate at this time of transition that the Bureau has undertaken a survey of these desires and the first results of that survey are now available. Native American input has been called for, and this survey data constitutes an initial response.

The survey results appear in volume 1, No. 8 of the *IERC Bulletin*—December 1973.<sup>8</sup> While these results report the character of the response in some detail, four general goals are offered in summary:

First. Develop, conduct, and support adequate training for Indian students so they may enter vocational schools and/or institutions of higher learning.

Second. Provide the highest quality of education possible for Indian children, youths, and adults, including culturally relevant curricula, adequate counseling and guidance, bicultural bilingual curricula, vocational, and college preparation, and early childhood education.

Third. Develop, conduct, and support programs that are designed to meet the special education needs of physically and/or emotionally handicapped children and youth.

Fourth. Provide programs in off-reservation boarding schools for Indian youth who desire to attend this type of school.<sup>9</sup>

These "goals" were derived from specific responses to statements about which the respondents were asked to agree or disagree. Some of these statements along

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Division of Facilities Engineering, "Current Construction Projects and Costs," Dec. 10, 1973.

<sup>8</sup> United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indian Education Resources Center, *IERC Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 8, "Goals for Indian Education," p. 4.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

with the percentage in agreement are listed here:

1. (97%) Provide training for students desiring to enter special schools and institutions of higher learning.

4. (94%) Develop in Indian students basic academic skills.

5. (83%) Give students an understanding of the social and economic world and to help them secure improved standards of living.

6. (93%) Provide vocational training which will qualify youth for gainful employment on or off the reservation or village.

10. (90%) There should be education programs in the BIA that are designed to meet the special education needs of physically and/or emotionally handicapped children and youth.

52. (28%) Close boarding schools which established criteria indicate are no longer needed.<sup>10</sup>

It is quite obvious that parents, guardians, school board members, and tribal leaders—the people included in the sample—are quite concerned with the quality and variety of Indian education, and are not opposed to the continuation of off-reservation boarding schools as long as these schools provide a valuable service. The fact that the boarding school assertion was concurred with less frequently than all other statements is indicative of the relative unimportance of geographic location compared to educational quality.

In addition to this BIA data, the Bureau may turn directly to the Indian people for an indication of the desirability of the facility to the people who will use it. By way of resolution and letter, various tribes, regional associations, and national groups—including the National Congress of American Indians and the National Tribal Chairmen Association—are vehemently objecting to this Bureau move as being unrepresentative of Indian desires. At a meeting held at Intermountain School in January of 1974, 26 representatives of tribal organizations from many regions of the United States condemned the phaseout decision and signed a resolution requirement requesting Indian involvement in any final determination concerning the future of the facility, and specifically called for an all Indian task force to study the matter.

It is not difficult to understand why this resistance exists. The variety and quality of the Intermountain program, from academic and vocational offerings to home living experience to job and university placement, is unsurpassed elsewhere in the Bureau system; the living environment is excellent at Intermountain; and special education equipment and curriculum are superior at the facility. Above all, the Indian people are far more aware of the existence and likely future of those 16,000 school-age people who are not in school due to a "lack of school facilities" than the authors of the Bureau decision to close the school due to a lack of statistical demand.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs now has a new commissioner who is apparently dedicated to responding to Indian desires in an efficient way; the Bureau now has the results of a national survey of Indians that suggests that Intermountain

School offers an education program that is greatly desired; the Bureau now realizes that thousands of Indian students are not receiving an education due to a lack of facilities; and the Bureau now has letters and resolutions from Indian organizations in all parts of the United States confirming that the Intermountain facility should be appraised by the Indian people before any final decision is made.

To the Bureau's credit, Commissioner Thompson has responded to the desires of the Indian people to some degree by authorizing and funding the requested all Indian task force. The willingness and ability of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to achieve the goals established by Commissioner Thompson concerning Indian rights in the area of education will unquestionably be tested by the Bureau's final actions in this matter. It can only be hoped that the Bureau of Indian Affairs will act quickly and appropriately to restructure Intermountain School in a way consistent with the findings of that task force and the desires of the Indian people.

## MEETING THE NEEDS OF OLDER AMERICANS

## HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, the concerns of older Americans deserve the highest priority and our continuing attention.

More than 21 million elderly citizens form the most rapidly growing minority in the Nation. It is a minority of people with diverse backgrounds, wide-ranging problems, and a common bond of age.

There are seven times as many older citizens in America today as there were in 1900. Over half a million live in Indiana alone.

Older Americans will become an even larger and more important minority in our society in the future.

By the year 2000, the number of older Americans is expected to be 29 million or 10.6 percent of the population, a 46-percent increase.

Too often the elderly and their problems have escaped our notice. The elderly have been shunted aside, and their concerns have been given insufficient attention.

Only in the last years has the Nation begun to recognize what older Americans have always known: That they are individuals who deserve the opportunity to live their lives as fully as possible.

Older Americans have special needs, to be sure, but basically, their needs and wants are the same as those of all of us. Elderly Americans seek a dignified, meaningful life.

We should give top priority to what older Americans generally consider their overriding concerns: income, health, housing, and transportation. They are the key to the well-being of Older Americans in this society.

June 11, 1974

## INCOME

Income is central to the concerns of the elderly.

Older Americans have on the average less than half the income of younger people.

There is no substitute for income if people are to be free to exercise choice in their style of living and if they are to lead decent lives.

## INFLATION

Inflation is one of the older American's greatest foes, and the impact of inflation is felt with special severity by older Americans.

Prices are rising faster than the relatively fixed incomes which most elderly people live on.

Too many older Americans are forced to cut back on necessities such as clothing, transportation, and food, as the actual buying power of their incomes is eaten away by inflation.

Inflation cannot be allowed to exact a toll of hardship, sacrifice, and despair from the elderly.

As prices go up, an elderly person's income should rise automatically with cost of living increases.

It is important that we have firm leadership on the economic front to slow price rises and achieve the goal of a balanced economy with reasonable price stability, moderate economic growth, and full employment.

The Government should encourage increased production and vigorous competition, educate and protect the consumer, and use an appropriate mix of fiscal and monetary policies to control demand and get its own spending under control.

## SOCIAL SECURITY

Social security is the basic source of income for most retired workers and their families.

Older Americans who are covered by social security will receive improved benefits as a result of a number of major recent changes:

First. Congress passed a two-step 11-percent increase in social security benefits that has already taken effect.

Second. Older individuals under age 72 can now earn \$2,400 a year instead of \$2,100 and still receive the full social security benefits to which they are entitled.

Third. Beginning in June 1975, social security benefits will increase automatically to reflect increases in the cost of living.

More improvements are needed:

Social security benefits should reflect the country's rising standard of living, as well as the cost of living;

Social security recipients under age 72 should be able to earn at least \$3,000 a year without forfeiting any of the benefits to which they are entitled;

And the social security system should be equitable, with the tax schedule made more progressive, and insured men and women workers treated equally.

## SUPPLEMENTAL SECURITY INCOME

Aged, as well as blind and disabled individuals, who are in financial need, became eligible for cash payments under the new supplemental security income program at the beginning of 1974.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, p. 10.

This new program is a welcome step toward addressing the needs of millions of older Americans.

We must learn from the initial experience with the supplemental security income program and continue to make adjustments and improvements as they become necessary.

#### VETERANS' BENEFITS

Veterans' retirement and disability benefits provide an important source of income for older veterans and their families.

Congress passed a 10-percent increase in veterans' pensions near the end of 1973 that means a significant rise in income for veterans and their families.

Other recent veterans' legislation widens the scope of treatment VA hospitals may provide and expands medical services for veterans' dependents.

Congress also established a National Cemeteries System, authorized a special \$150 burial plot allowance, in cases where veterans are not buried in a Federal cemetery.

In addition, Congress should act to grant increases in compensation rates and DIC rates for widows and children comparable to the recent increase received by those receiving pension benefits, should raise the income limitations for VA benefits, should prevent increases in social security or railroad retirement benefits from lowering veterans' pensions benefits, should prevent military retirees from losing length-of-service pay when they receive disability compensation, and should insure that the Veterans' Administration is responsive to the needs of older veterans.

#### RAILROAD RETIREMENT

New legislation provides that railroad employees with 30 years of service may retire at age 60 with full benefits and that if social security benefits are further increased in 1974, railroad retirees will receive an automatic equivalent increase.

We must insure that retirees covered by railroad retirement are in no way disadvantaged in comparison with fellow retired workers who are covered by social security.

#### PRIVATE PENSIONS

Retired Americans are having a number of problems with private pensions, many of them with catastrophic consequences.

After years of study, Congress is making steady progress on landmark legislation to improve private pension and protect the rights and retirement security of both working and retired Americans by setting equitable standards for employees' "vesting" rights, by requiring that all pension plans be run on a sound financial basis, by insuring pension plans against losses, and by allowing self-employed individuals without pension plan coverage to receive special tax deductions in order to set up their own retirement accounts.

Pension reform deserves top legislative priority.

#### EMPLOYMENT

Older Americans who want to work and are capable of working confront a number of employment barriers.

Too many prospective employers make

the false assumption that younger employees are more desirable than older ones. As a result, capable, and productive older Americans are forced from their jobs or have trouble finding work that is meaningful and pay that is adequate.

Congress has passed manpower and training legislation that authorizes training, development, and public service employment programs for elderly citizens and others needing employment assistance, in areas with 6.5 percent unemployment or more.

For older Americans holding jobs, the minimum hourly wage was recently raised to \$2, and minimum wage coverage was extended to 6.7 million additional individuals.

Federal programs which provide older Americans with useful jobs on a wage or volunteer basis need to be continued and expanded.

All forms of age discrimination in employment must be stopped and older Americans should have maximum freedom of choice in determining whether and where to work.

#### TAXATION

Taxes have a tremendous impact on the income of elderly Americans.

Not only are taxes too high for many older Americans, but approximately one-half of all elderly taxpayers pay more taxes than they should.

It is important that we simplify the tax statements and calculations older Americans must make to claim rightful deductions, make available special tax counseling assistance, increase the retirement income credit limitation to the maximum social security benefit level, and insure that the tax burden on the elderly at all levels of government, including property tax, reflects the older American's ability to pay.

#### HEALTH

Health problems are a burden for senior citizens.

Although older Americans have less than half the income of younger Americans, they pay almost three and a half times as much for their greater health care needs.

#### MEDICARE

Despite the major health care assistance medicare provides, coverage is inadequate and too costly for all too many older Americans.

Supplementary medical insurance has risen from \$36 to \$75, while the hospital deductible has jumped to \$84.

The medicare system must be expanded and improved to meet the unfulfilled needs, the rapidly rising costs, and the growing complexity of adequate health care.

The monthly premium for supplementary medical insurance should be eliminated, and prescription drug, dental, hearing, and vision needs, related professional services, and catastrophic illness protection should be included under medicare coverage.

#### NUTRITION

Proper nutrition is basic to the health of elderly Americans, many of whom do not have the food they need, as their incomes are overwhelmed by rising food prices.

Congress has recently extended the

food stamp program and authorized semiannual cost-of-living adjustments and has extended programs under the Older Americans Act that provide low-cost meals to elderly citizens.

We must see to it that every elderly American enjoys a nutritious diet at an affordable cost.

#### COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH CARE

Older Americans' health care will be inadequate until it is put on a comprehensive basis.

Until a new system of national health care is adopted, it is important that the existing system be expanded and improved at all levels.

During the 93d Congress, the following programs have been enacted: Hospital construction, comprehensive services, community mental health centers, regional medical centers, health maintenance organization development, community medical services, fire protection loans for nursing homes, and others.

Special emphasis should also be given to research into the prevention and treatment of strokes, heart disease, cancer, and other diseases that hit the elderly particularly hard, and we need to develop a much greater understanding of the very process of aging.

But, of course, money, commitment, and effort, not just scientific breakthroughs, are needed.

We need to insure an adequate supply of well-trained doctors and health personnel.

Existing health care facilities should be improved, where necessary, and new facilities, and other health care delivery innovations should be developed.

Most importantly, we must recognize the basic right of all Americans to comprehensive health care regardless of their age or their ability to pay.

#### HOUSING

Housing is the third principal concern of older Americans.

Many elderly Americans do not have a safe, decent place to live at a cost they can afford.

Available housing is often limited, inconvenient, and unsuitable for the special transportation, recreation, and health needs of elderly Americans.

Unfortunately, the recent record on housing is not encouraging.

It is distressing that the administration has undercut most progress on housing for the elderly both before and since its January 1973, declared "moratorium" on housing.

The Congress has continued to work for better housing for the elderly, although most of its efforts have been opposed by the administration.

It is highly important that we get housing moving at the Federal level and at all levels throughout the economy.

In order to improve housing for the elderly, we must enable older Americans to remain in their own homes, if they choose, make it easier for elderly Americans to buy homes, provide multifamily housing for older Americans, increase production of federally assisted housing for the elderly, see that older Americans are protected against fraudulent and exploitative housing practices, and secure

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

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housing and neighborhoods for the elderly against crime and accidental loss through fire and catastrophe.

In sum, we must make sure that every older American has a decent place to live.

## TRANSPORTATION

Along with income, health, and housing, transportation is one of the most important concerns of older Americans.

Inadequate or inaccessible transportation deprives millions of elderly citizens of mobility, the ability to acquire basic necessities such as food, clothing, employment, and medical care.

Transportation is access to opportunities and the ability to participate in the social, spiritual, and cultural life of one's community.

In many areas, older Americans have no alternative; they go by car or they do not go at all.

When and where it is available, public transportation is often unsuited to the special need of the elderly who may have trouble climbing stairs, opening doors, standing, seeing, or hearing.

Those elderly Americans without transportation are in effect restricted to their homes or immediate neighborhoods. Everything else, perhaps even a movie theater just a few blocks away, is in another world.

Some progress is being made on the transportation problems of the elderly.

The Federal Aid Highway Act stimulates mass transit and requires that buses and transit vehicles receiving Federal funds be designed for use by elderly and handicapped passengers, and other legislation authorizes a wide-ranging study of the transportation problems of the elderly and improved Amtrak rail passenger service.

Transportation for the elderly should be designed to take into account their special needs, and it is imperative, above all, that the world's most mobile society provide elderly citizens with inexpensive, accessible, and safe transportation.

## A NEW ATTITUDE

In order to make real progress toward a good life for older Americans, society must view elderly individuals from a fundamentally different perspective.

We must see them as people, important people, people with ability, people with needs and aspirations, and people with human dignity and great worth.

Above all else, we need to get away from the callous notion that older Americans are "nice," that they have done their part, and that they should now be put on a shelf, or sent to Florida, or stashed away and forgotten in an old-age home.

We must also acknowledge and make use of the important contributions the elderly can make and appreciate that older Americans face difficult problems in an increasingly complex society that caters to the working and to the young.

We need a new attitude, an approach that places human needs at the top of our priorities, places both young and old in the decisionmaking process of this Nation, makes their opinions and their energy felt at all levels, avoids pain and

poverty for all, allows dignity in dying as well as in living, and offers safe, enriching, and hospitable environments for young and old alike.

We must realize that older Americans, through years of dedication and hard work, have earned a right to our respect and a continuing share of the great abundance of this Nation.

Finally, we must respond to the challenge posed by the many needs of the older Americans, and we must get on with the job of meeting those needs with vigor, with dedication, and with the attitude that we do so because it is right.

## THE POPPIES OF ANATOLIA

## HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, with good reason, Congress is deeply concerned about heroin addiction in the United States. In the words of Dr. Thomas E. Bryant, president of the Drug Abuse Council:

It is clear that destructive drug use continues to be a serious national problem concentrated in our urban areas.

Since Turkish opium production was banned by the Turkish Government in 1971, the rate of heroin addiction in the United States has declined. Nobody wants that rate to go up again. And we all want to do something to keep it from going up again.

A resolution aimed at the reinstatement of Turkish poppy cultivation for opium has been introduced by a majority of Representatives in the House and by Senators MONDALE and BUCKLEY in the Senate. I am in full agreement with part one of the Resolution which states that the President should:

First, immediately initiate negotiations at the highest level of the Turkish Government to prevent the resumption of opium production;

But I am alarmed at the possible consequences of part two of this resolution:

Second, if such negotiations prove unfruitful, the president should exercise the authority provided by the Congress under the Foreign Assistance Act, to terminate all assistance to the Government of Turkey.

A New York Times editorial of May 27, 1974 points out that—

The Turkish government has already shown readiness to remove one irritant to Turkish-American relations; an amnesty measure has reduced the life sentences passed on several young Americans arrested in possession of drugs, though the remaining prison sentences may still seem excessive to many in this country.

This is evidence of Turkey's willingness to respond to U.S. concerns in a drug-related matter.

The editorial also points out problems experienced in Turkey with the U.S.-financed opium production ban.

Turkish farmers feel that the American aid program has failed and they

have heard that the United States is encouraging opium production for pharmaceutical purposes elsewhere.

Some Turkish nationalists reject a program they see as dictated by a foreign superpower. Our task ought to be revising and strengthening the program in Turkey. It should not be abandoned. Turkey does have legitimate concerns. We must respond to those concerns and attempt to save the program or, at least, salvage the idea behind it—effective control of poppy production no matter where it occurs.

The Drug Abuse Council reported May 30, 1974 that—

While heroin use may be leveling off or declining on the national level, there is widespread agreement that heroin dependence remains a significant problem in the inner-city areas. Further, recent studies on the use of heroin would suggest that its use did not peak simultaneously across the country and may be just now emerging as a problem in a number of medium-sized cities.

This was reported in the Washington Post of the same date. It is clear that the Turkish ban is only one reason the rate of addiction declined in some areas.

In the same report, Dr. Bryant indicates that—

Although some law enforcement efforts in the drug area have been helpful, surely history has taught us that overreliance on law enforcement cannot provide a panacea for our Nation's drug concerns.

Let us consider all aspects of the drug abuse problem in this country. Surely, closely controlling Turkish production of opium is important if an outright ban is not possible. Rupturing relations with the Turkish people and, in effect, abandoning our control program in Turkey would be a very high price to pay. The result would not be a solution to the problem of Turkish production of poppies. The alternatives should not be to ban production or end all U.S. assistance.

The Times editorial "The Poppies of Anatolia" follows:

## THE POPPIES OF ANATOLIA

A totally unnecessary confrontation is brewing between the United States and Turkey; unless it can be talked out in terms of reason and good will, serious resentment could erupt to jeopardize Western security interests in the eastern Mediterranean.

The issue is the cultivation of poppies for opium, banned by the Turkish Government since 1971 after lengthy discussions with the United States. Under nationalistic political pressures at home, the new Turkish Government is giving serious consideration to lifting the ban. Against such a possibility, demands are being raised in Congress to suspend all economic aid to Turkey, a drastic move which could weaken the Turkish commitment to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Both sides have a grievance in this complex misunderstanding. For American authorities the Turkish ban is central to the increasingly successful campaign against heroin addiction. United Nations and Federal Government drug enforcement authorities point to a dramatic decrease in the amount of illicit heroin reaching the streets of New York and other Eastern seaboard cities, an estimated 80 per cent of heroin formerly came from Turkey through the illicit "French connection" network. Though there are other potential sources of raw opium—particularly

Southeast Asia—international efforts there have scored notable success in disrupting new illicit channels of supply.

From the Turkish point of view, however, the ban has been a deprivation for some, for others a provocation. Poppies are a traditional and legitimate crop for a small but real segment of Turkey's farm population—not for opium but for the edible oil, seeds and stalks. The \$36-million American aid program to compensate Turkish farmers for lost income has, by all accounts, failed—little of the money ever reaching the farmers themselves. Turkish anger has been aroused by misleading reports that the United States is encouraging opium production elsewhere, for pharmaceutical needs. Fortunately an official plan to cultivate poppies in this country for that purpose has been definitely shelved. Some Turkish politicians have turned the ban into an emotional issue of national pride.

The way out of this apparent impasse lies not through threats and acts of national defiance by either side. If the American aid program has been ineffective so far, it should be revised and strengthened—not necessarily with more money, but by better implementation, including small-scale industrial projects to convince the Anatolian farmers, and their mentors among the politicians, that they have something to gain by abandoning their poppy crop.

The Turkish government has already shown readiness to remove one irritant to Turkish-American relations; an amnesty measure has reduced the life sentences passed on several young Americans arrested in possession of drugs, though the remaining prison sentences may still seem excessive to many in this country.

With a modicum of good will, and recognition of each other's legitimate concerns, there is no reason why both sides cannot benefit from continuation of the Turkish poppy ban.

#### TRIBUTE TO BARNETT M. ROSSOFF

#### HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, recently Mr. Barnett M. Rossoff, the father of my good friend Arthur L. Rossoff, passed away. A moving and stirring tribute to him was sent to me, and I wish to place it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a tribute to Mr. Rossoff and his life:

#### IN MEMORIAM

BARNETT M. ROSSOFF—1889-1973

Barnett Rossoff worked hard all his long life. He walked erect with his head held high and was the soul of integrity in his personal and business relationships.

He came to America as a boy and immediately shouldered his pack as an itinerant peddler in the deep South. He became a citizen and served his adopted country as a volunteer in World War I. After the war, he came North and went into business with modest success until the great depression. Never admitting defeat, he picked himself up and reestablished himself as an ample provider to his family.

He had little formal education, but was self-taught and had a very sharp mind. To his last day, when his tired heart expired, his mind remained keen and alert and full of thoughts for the welfare of his family.

Several years before his passing, his entire family and many relatives had the joy of helping him to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of his marriage to his loving wife,

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Minnie, who was his constant companion and friend.

He also leaves his son, Arthur, and his wife, Constance; his daughter, Doris Pogue and husband Robert; five grandchildren, Marilyn, Michael, Matthew, Andrew and Suzanne; and two young great grandsons, Mark and Neil—all of whom will remember him dearly.

APRIL 1, 1973.

#### U.S. RESOLUTIONS AT THE GENEVA DIPLOMATIC CONVENTION

#### HON. CHARLES WILSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. CHARLES WILSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, at your direction, I left Washington on March 7, to attend the Diplomatic Conference on the Laws of War in Geneva, Switzerland. At this time, I would like to report to you and to my colleagues on the progress of the talks.

First, a little background is in order. The 1974 Geneva Conference is the first since 1949, and only the third in history since 1929. It was called by the Swiss Government and the International Red Cross in order to update the Geneva Conventions relating to the protection of victims of international armed conflicts—also known as the Laws of War. It is the first attempt at revision of the Geneva Conventions since 1949, and more than 100 nations sent representatives to the conference.

The chief of the U.S. delegation, George Aldrich, is Deputy Legal Adviser for the State Department and was Secretary of State Kissinger's special counsel at the Paris Peace Talks. The delegation also included three other State Department officials, 16 representatives of the Department of Defense, and Congressman GEORGE O'BRIEN.

The United States sponsored two resolutions at the conference, which we believe will serve the interests of all nations. The first deals with the treatment and accounting of POW's, MIA's, and the bodies of dead soldiers. The second resolution asks that more automatic enforcement procedures be established to insure that the laws of war are followed.

I am happy to report that both of these proposals were very favorably received by the other delegates to the meeting. In accordance with usual procedure at conferences of this kind, no final action was taken on any of the amendments at the March meeting. All of the participating nations will be allowed a year's time to carefully study the proposals. The next conference, tentatively scheduled for March 1975, should see the enactment of amendments agreed to by all of the delegates.

My primary interest in this meeting was directed toward the resolution dealing with prisoners of war and the dead and missing in action. I was privileged to speak to the entire convention on March 14, and introduce the U.S. resolution on this subject. At this time, I would like to insert into the RECORD a copy of that speech, which explains more fully the U.S. position on the necessity for

accurate accounting of POW's and MIA's by all combatant nations in a conflict.

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN CHARLES WILSON  
OF TEXAS

Mr. President, I appreciate the opportunity to introduce the draft amendment on the subject of the missing and dead and graves in armed conflicts. I recognize that the time for full discussion of this amendment will come later on the agenda of this Committee. As a member of the United States Congress, I have been privileged to participate in the work of this Conference. However, my schedule requires me to leave later today, so I appreciate this opportunity to speak now.

The subject of this Article is that of accounting for the missing and dead in armed conflicts, and identifying and caring for the graves of the dead. As a newcomer to the subject of international humanitarian law, I was surprised to realize that there exists no general, overall requirement on this subject in the Geneva Conventions of 1949. The purpose of this amendment is to fill that gap.

Every country that has experienced armed conflict is aware of the heartbreak that comes during and after hostilities as families experience the anguish of not knowing the fate of their relatives. This problem has existed for generations. It has taken on even greater importance in recent years as a result of the wide-ranging and protracted nature of modern armed conflicts. As a member of Congress, I am personally aware of the suffering of parents and wives who have not been able to learn the fate of their loved ones. Lacking definitive information, families cling to the hope, even against the odds, that their relative may somehow have survived. We may remember the pictures of relatives at railroad stations, airfields, and ports—as POWs return—with signs asking, "Has anyone seen my son, husband, or father?" as the case may be. All would agree, I believe, that the certain knowledge of death is preferable to the endless uncertainty of not knowing the fate of a loved one.

Although this subject was not covered in the draft Protocols submitted to this Conference by the meetings of government experts, it follows as a logical step from the resolution adopted unanimously by the International Conference of the Red Cross at Tehran this past November, which called on parties to armed conflicts to help account for the missing and dead in armed conflicts.

As the Tehran resolution indicated, there is nothing political about this amendment. Its purpose is the simple, human one of accounting for the missing and caring for the graves of the dead. To do this is in the national interest of every country, and serves the cause of humanity.

I hope this Commission and this Diplomatic Conference will consider this subject sympathetically and act to make it part of international humanitarian law applicable in armed conflicts. I regret that I will not be here personally to assist in those deliberations and again express my thanks for this opportunity to address the Conference.

IF YOU THOUGHT THE LAND USE POLICY BILL WAS A MONSTROSITY THEN THE SURFACE COAL MINING BILL WILL REALLY DRIVE YOU UP THE WALL

#### HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, any Member whose eyebrows were raised by the

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

provisions of the land use policy bill which was today denied a rule because Members believed it to be one sided will really be driven up the wall by the surface coal mining bill H.R. 11500.

That bill's single-minded focus on environmental values to the exclusion, and even the degeneration of energy and other values has made it an unworthy vehicle for consideration.

We need a good stiff bill regulating surface coal mining. H.R. 11500 is that all right, but it goes so far you cannot dig coal with it. It is an extremist vehicle.

But, H.R. 12898 lays on just as much environmental protection, requires effective reclamation of surface minded land, yet does it in a manner which also allows coal to be dug and the Nation's energy requirements to be met.

H.R. 12898 will serve the Nation and should be substituted for H.R. 11500 which will disserve the Nation.

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SUBURBAN ACTION CALLS ON CITY  
TO CHALLENGE SUBURBAN SEG-  
REGATION

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**HON. BELLA S. ABZUG**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Ms. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, testifying before the New York City Commission on Human Rights on May 15, Paul Davidoff, executive director of the Suburban Action Institute, called on the city to "stop holding still for the (expletive deleted) being given to it by the surrounding suburbs." In a statement before a special hearing of the commission on "Dismantling Discrimination: Problems and Possibilities for Northern Urban Integration," Davidoff attacked what he defined as "de jure" residential segregation. He said:

We would be more comfortable in continuing to call it de facto segregation because that would imply that there was very little we could do about it. But it is the laws, permitted by the State and applied by the growing suburbs of the region that have zoned out the poor, the working class, the non-white, and increasingly the middle class. Through discriminatory zoning devices, these suburbs have taken away from the citizens of the inner cities their constitutional right of freedom to travel and to locate in a place of their choice. And by so restricting the movement of the less affluent, have imposed on the inner cities all of the economic costs attendant on the provision of public services to families that cannot pay enough in taxes to cover the costs of meeting their needs.

Davidoff, whose nonprofit agency is actively engaged in a wide-scale attack against exclusionary zoning in the suburbs, told the commission that New York City's government could do far more than it has to cut the noose that has been placed about both its citizens and itself by the outlying suburbs. He recommended the following sets of actions:

First. To see that the Tri-State Regional Planning Commission, which now has only 1 of its 15 members representing New York City, recognize the principle of one person, one vote and add

members to the commission representing New York City. Further, to see that Tri-State discontinue supporting Federal funding of activities in discriminatory suburbs. Tri-State should withhold approval of grants to communities practicing public discrimination through zoning.

Second. To develop a plan for the end of segregation in the region. New York City's planning commission has failed to examine the consequences on the city of suburban exclusionary zoning. The city planning commission should amend its master plan so as to include planned actions to make all parts of the region open to all its citizens. As the dominant municipal force in the region, New York City should be playing a far stronger role in directing the planning of the region and protecting the rights of minorities.

Third. Because of the immense social, economic, and political harm done to the region and New York City by publicly sponsored economic and racial segregation imposed by suburban zoning, New York City should take the lead in attacking the present State zoning enabling legislation which empowers localities to practice residential discrimination. The city should both attack that unconstitutional act in the courts and seek to have it repealed by the legislature.

Fourth. The city should challenge the right of corporations fleeing the city to relocate to communities where their minority work force cannot find housing. The move of corporations to such places is in direct violation of title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which prohibits employment discrimination. The city should seek to maintain the corporations in the city, but if they are to move, then they should act so as to enlarge the ability of their nonwhite work force and their moderate income work force to find means of remaining employed without having to travel great distances at high time and dollar cost.

Davidoff concluded by stating that the city has historically been the defender of economic and racial minorities. It must assert that role now, throughout the region. For what happens to the non-whites and to the economic minorities seeking residence in Suffolk, Bergen, or Westchester, is of immediate concern to the well-being and future of New York City.

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THE TRAGIC TOLL OF HIGHWAY  
ACCIDENTS

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**HON. PETER N. KYROS**

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Clarence W. Collins of Freeport, Maine, has been deeply concerned for most of his life with the tragic toll of highway accidents, both in terms of human lives and in property. In a recent letter to me, he said:

I seem to hear a cry from the grave. It seems to be a message for me to pass on, so that other young will not be sacrificed in vain. If I can carry this message to enough people, we can all work together and bring

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more pleasure and less tragedy on our highways.

Mr. Collins asked for my help in bringing his message to the people, and I can think of no better way than bringing his words to the attention of my colleagues and their constituents:

ONE-TENTH OF 1 PERCENT

On my way home from school one day in the year 1910, our local doctor stopped beside me and offered me a ride home. I quickly accepted and tried to act casual but I suspect the good doctor knew my heart was pounding hard and fast. You see, in those days nobody ever thumbed a ride, the phrase was to be unknown for many years to come. Anyway the thrill of sitting up there with that venerable gentleman and hearing the throb and chug of that wonderful two lunger was the most exciting thing that had happened to that ten year old boy.

We hit the big hill wide open doing around twenty miles per hour. She gradually lost momentum and in the middle of the steep part she ground to a stop. The good doctor did some clutch and gear grinding and she was ready to tackle the really steep part. He revved up and with a little chattering she took off and purred smoothly up and over the hill top at five miles per hour.

Needless to say I rode on and on until he asked where I wanted to get off, and I replied, still casual, "oh anywhere," so he let me off and I walked the two miles back to my home. I poured out the exciting story to my family and kept up a running chatter until I finally dropped exhausted into slumberland.

The years passed swiftly by and I had many opportunities to watch and to listen to the talk of the trade at local garages. I learned to take up motor bearings, grind valves and reline brakes and became familiar with model T transmission bands.

By 1920 I had saved enough money to try to buy my first model T car. A school chum owned a darned good coupe so I walked the three miles to his home and the deal went something like this.

Hi Joe, I heard your car is for sale.

Answer. You heard right, I want to sell it.

Question. I haven't much money but can we talk it over?

Answer. I want to sell it, you don't need much money.

Question. What kind of shape is she in?

Answer. Oh she's in good shape, lets take a ride, you drive.

Question. Oh no, you know your own car, you drive?

Answer. Alright, get in—lets go.

The car had a self starter and she started right up and he drove at a comfortable speed down through the village and when we pitched down over the long steep hill he let her roll at will. I became concerned but knowing Joe to be a level headed boy and familiar with his own car I tried to tell myself that he was in control.

At this point I will tell you what condition was ready to trap us at the bottom of the hill. In those days of dirt roads you would always find deep loose sand and gravel which was washed down from the hill. This was always a hazard in the dirt road era.

We rolled into that loose sand doing twice the speed we should have and we flipped from left to right in rapid succession which absorbed some of our speed and we came to a stop on our own four wheels, then I began to breath again.

Very little was said but I was busy thinking.

Joe's comment after this terrifying episode was, if I don't sell this car I'll kill myself. I was full of enthusiasm and to be able to own a car seemed to me the most wonderful thing that could happen to anybody but this experience had shown me that

the judgment, "or lack of it," could make all the difference in the world. Now I could see and understand what Joe had said in the beginning. "You don't have to have much money." Now the point had been driven home to me for all time.

The point was this, Joe was a bright boy and had worked hard and saved to buy that car, only to find out that his lack of judgement make it a dangerous weapon in his hands.

My interest in cars kept me in automotive repair work for many years and in fleet maintenance the practice of preventive maintenance paid off. I tried to help the young drivers with now and then a word of caution—always remember when you are rolling, the best friend you have is the distance between your vehicle and the one ahead.

And so in the 1940's, a daughter of my employer was instantly killed when her car crashed into a tree and later on I lost a nephew in the same way and there have been too many other instances where young people who have only had their drivers license for a short time have gone out of control.

You say these kids are taking dope and drinking and you are partly right but not wholly right. I am talking about one tenth of one per cent. It is time we recognized the fact that we are not screening our applicants for this specific point and until we do, we are putting a deadly weapon in their hands, with which in times of stress they cannot cope.

I believe that with a simulated test the applicants needing special help could be singled out and given that help.

We are talking about human lives and I believe that our loss in young people alone can be cut down at the very least one tenth of one per cent.

We are told that cancer and heart disease are our biggest killers and we know that research is constantly working toward a break through.

On the other hand our highway crashes are going on at an ever increasing rate and our highway and safety people are increasing their research and police personnel which is all good but we are still overlooking a vicious loophole.

I believe that in these days of changing old ideas and modernizing laws and systems in many categories, that now is the time to bring about this modernizing of vehicle driving aptitude.

If we can cut down on these crashes one tenth of one per cent we will be on the right road.

#### WILD TRAFFIC—AND ITS ANTIDOTE

For as many years as I can remember it has been illegal to follow a vehicle too close and for just as many years, people have "tailgated," until today it has got out of hand.

Many years ago, we received from the State when we were issued a driver's license; a pamphlet which clearly stated the braking distance at different speeds and the number of seconds required to take your foot off the gas and put it on the brake pedal and push down. Just how far you traveled in those few seconds but, alas, we have failed to get the message across.

Tailgating has become such an obsession today that a defensive driver does not have the margin of safety which he tries to maintain.

We have talked defensive driving for so long and failed, it's pitiful. Our well trained and efficient police are doing a commendable job but if we carry on the same way for another fifty years we will not improve our driving habits one iota. Why? Because we are snoozing along, feeling safe and warm and snug in our false security, but we are over-looking the obvious.

The National Safety Council keeps giving us figures on how many deaths and injuries to expect for each weekend and, of course, Labor Day weekend is the worst. Well, now

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

we are getting set to do something about the old statistics. A Maine man has come forward with a new idea in traffic safety which is designed to explode the old theory that a certain number of crashes must occur in order to maintain the proven statistics.

In this new system, each one of us will have real incentive to improve our driving habits and we will put Maine at the top of the list and keep her there. This new idea is on the drawing board and is subject to suggestions, criticisms, changes, corrections, and even ridicule, but we will still fight. Why? Simply pause a few seconds and ask yourself which path to take. According to the present statistics, I will have a child or grandchild killed in a highway crash. On the other hand, if I start to fight now my children and grandchildren will be assured of living a normal life span. I'll fight.

This new blue print is going to need experts and study and testing but we will work the bugs out and make it pay. We, already, have police in unmarked cars. Increase this fleet and equip them with a camera and speedometer in the rear deck which will be opened to a fixed position (one inch to 1 1/2") to allow the camera to focus properly. The camera to be "clicked" by the driver and the camera to turn automatically to the next frame. The speedometer to be fixed at the proper angle and what do you have? You have a tailgater, you have a closeup of him with his registration and rate of speed. You could take him to court but don't do it now; wait.

Simply have a printed form prepared for him. Fill in his name, address and phone number. Explain to him that this picture proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that he has broken the law and could be taken to court and fined. Explain to him that we are conducting a new safety pilot program and that the penalties for this offense will be announced in the newspaper at a later date.

I suggest, instead of court that we set up traffic schools and have the "repeater" come in in groups "they pay the cost". I am sure we can make this work when we put vim and vigor into it. The cost will be high but it still will not cost half what we are now losing in life and property. The many benefits we will reap are beyond imagination.

We must have enough men "and women" in the field to keep these pictures coming so fast that Mr. John Q. Public will say to himself, "they have got me licked, there is no way to ignore this one. If I am going to continue to drive and keep my license I have got to drive like a human being. There is no escape, they get those pictures all day long from the early morning rush to the rush home after work".

People will give serious thought to this new situation and the only conclusion will be: "I'll start ten minutes earlier and be sure".

When this frame of mind has been brought about, we will be ready for our new set of statistics.

The Highway Safety Man—Clarence W. Collins.

#### REDUCING OUR DEPENDENCE ON FOREIGN OIL

##### HON. ALPHONZO BELL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, as many of my colleagues are aware, I have devoted a good deal of time and effort to the policies of the United States in developing its energy resources. The severity of this problem has received considerable attention since last fall's oil embargo.

One method of reducing our dependence on foreign oil that I have advocated is the development and production of oil from our Naval Petroleum Reserve at Elk Hills in California. This became an extremely controversial proposition and in March I initiated an effort to discharge a resolution from the House Armed Services Committee to authorize production at Elk Hills during the shortage.

I would like to add to the RECORD some further explanation of my position on the Naval Petroleum Reserves since that time. Following is an article that appeared in the New Republic on March 23, 1974, my reply to that article, and my testimony before the House Armed Services Committee on April 11, 1974.

The material follows:

#### STANDARD OPERATING PROCEDURE

The President and three congressmen from California, Alphonzo Bell, James Corman and William Ketchum, are leading a campaign to open the navy oil reserve at Elk Hills to private—not public—development. Under existing law, written to prevent a repetition of Teapot Dome scandals, it can't be exploited except during a national emergency, and Mr. Nixon tells us the "crisis has passed." The last time anyone opened Elk Hills other than in wartime was during Warren Harding's administration, when the reserve was leased fraudulently to oil magnate Edward Doheny. (His leases were subsequently cancelled.) But in 1970 Mr. Nixon began promoting a plan whereby oil companies would give the government certain leases of doubtful value in the Santa Barbara Channel, some of which proved unusable after the famous blow-out that soaked the beaches with oil, and in return the government would give the companies either money or an equivalent in oil to repay their losses in Santa Barbara. Either way, fabulously rich Elk Hills was to be tapped to finance the transaction. Congress was not impressed by the plan and it was set aside. What was not set aside was the President's request for immediate authority to open Elk Hills. The navy was persuaded that an emergency exists, approved the request and passed it on to the Senate, which quickly drafted legislation.

The legislation might have been approved by Christmas if the meddlesome House Armed Services Committee hadn't interfered. Rep. Edward Hébert (D. La.), chairman of the committee, has a literal mind: no one would open Elk Hills until Hébert was convinced there was a national emergency. He turned over the Elk Hills proposal to a subcommittee "for study," which is to say, for burial. On March 5, however, Rep. Bell, former president of Bell Petroleum in California, and Rep. Ketchum, whose district includes Elk Hills, announced they were filing a "discharge petition" to force Hébert to release the bill. They have since been joined by about 25 cosigners, including Reps. Corman, Drinan and Conte. The petition needs 218 signatures to prevail.

Who would benefit? Consumers would barely feel the effect, for the legislation would allow production of only one percent of the amount of gasoline used each day in the United States. But the effect on California oil companies would be tremendous, the chief beneficiary being Standard Oil of California (SoCal), the largest oil company in the state, which owns about 20 percent of the land inside the navy reserve. In 1944 SoCal signed a special contract agreeing not to remove oil from its part of Elk Hills without the navy's consent; that is, only in the event of a national emergency. SoCal also runs the reserve for the navy, because it owns the only pipeline in the vicinity.

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When the administration wanted to trade the Santa Barbara leases for Elk Hills four years ago, Richard Kleindienst, then Deputy Attorney General, advised the White House against it. His confidential memo, released on March 7 by Rep. John Moss, shows that from the beginning both the White House and the Justice Department were aware of the flaws in the Santa Barbara deal and of SoCal's monopoly position in Elk Hills. Kleindienst, writing to Robert Mayo in the budget office, pointed out that SoCal had large investments in the troubled Santa Barbara Channel, and that an increase in Elk Hills production would probably damage the reserve. He described SoCal's monopoly in the clearest terms: ". . . the question is whether the navy can sell the oil on the open market at a fair market price. While the navy could, of course, purport to make the oil available on arms length competitive bids, lack of opportunity for effective competition with respect to oil on the reserve would prevent establishment there of a fair market price. Standard Oil Company of California is in a controlling position with respect to such oil sales . . . Standard owns the only pipeline connected to the field, which any purchaser of Elk Hills oil must use for the first link in transportation to any refinery. The Standard line, however, is a private carrier, handling only oil owned by the company. Consequently, in order to move the oil, any purchaser must make arrangements for sale to Standard and repurchase from it at the delivery point. These factors constitute a serious limitation of the opportunity of competitors of Standard to bid."

That warning went to the White House in April 1970, but didn't stop the administration from pushing the Santa Barbara trade-off. Nor did it stop the President from approving a special contract with Shell Oil for the sale of excess oil coming out of the two bids for that contract, tendered by Shell and SoCal. They were identical.

Rep. Moss has released another batch of confidential memos that give us a glimpse of SoCal's inner workings. They reveal that SoCal executives in San Francisco have been trying since 1970 to find a way to tap oil pools under its property which run into the reserve. If they were tapped they would cost the navy not only oil, but extra maintenance fees paid to SoCal. Most of the discussion in these memos turns on the problem of how to drill close to Elk Hills without alarming the navy or exciting the interest of its legal team. A company recommendation of June 21, 1973 says, "This play [exploratory drilling] should be given further detailed review from an operating standpoint to determine how far away from the boundary of the reserve drilling and production could be kept, and how long a time might go by before evidence of potential drainage of the reserve might become evident." A memo in July written by John Thacher, then assistant to the chairman of the SoCal board, warned against drilling too close to the reserve: "I think we should exercise extreme caution before drilling locations to the south of the initial well. . . ." In another memo written just before SoCal made up its mind to drill near the reserve, Thacher proposed defending the action, if challenged, by saying that the drill site at "7-R" was chosen because SoCal thought it would do the least damage of several sites being considered. Thacher was overruled by the president of the company, Harold J. Haynes, who argued that SoCal might want to bite deeper into the reserve later on. SoCal wanted to move discreetly; it also wanted to move quickly, as one memo said, because this "could allow considerable production before government reacts."

The game plan was a success. With negligible exploratory and legal costs, SoCal sank 10 wells next to the reserve last year and

removed 1.5 million barrels of excellent crude oil before it was stopped. At the free market rate that oil was worth \$15 million. After proving that the company was draining the reserve, the navy went to court and won an injunction against SoCal on February 14.

Why does the President believe that Elk Hills must now be opened? As noted the bill in Congress if passed would supply only 70,400 barrels of gasoline a day in a country that demands between six and seven million barrels a day. It wouldn't lower the price of gas, because under present regulations the Elk Hills oil would be sold at the free market rate, about \$10 a barrel. But it would help the California oil industry and some of the President's friends at SoCal. They kicked in about \$163,000 for his campaign in 1972.

If the Arab embargo is soon to be lifted, as reported last week, the President's rationale for quick action on Elk Hills may be rendered "inoperative." But basic decisions still have to be made. As panic subsides Congress can more coolly consider whether there are not better ways to dispose of public-owned oil than by dumping it into the tanks of the nearest monopoly. A public corporation of the sort envisioned in Sen. Adlai Stevenson's energy bill (S2506) is the appropriate instrument to explore, maintain and exploit federal oil lands. The bill, now in markup before the Senate Commerce Committee, would set up an oil and gas company that reports to but is independent of the federal government. The FOGC, as it is called, would be entitled to 20 percent of all federal oil and gas leases offered each year, and it would become the prime contractor for all work on the reserves. It would end SoCal's stranglehold on Elk Hills and prevent similar monopoly exploitation at other reserves.

APRIL 11, 1974.

MR. ELIOT MARSHALL,  
*The New Republic*,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MARSHALL: A short time ago I telephoned you regarding your article in *The New Republic* dated March 23, 1974 entitled "Standard Operating Procedure".

I felt the article, though well intended, was inaccurate in both fact and implication.

You very courteously offered your column for my reply, for which I thank you. Even though the energy crisis has now eased and the long lines waiting for gasoline have disappeared for the most part, I do feel a fuller discussion of the matter would be in the public interest, if for no other reason (God forbid) than that the Arabs or others could force another shortage upon us.

Please find enclosed: (1) a speech I made on the Floor of the House of Representatives on March 6, 1974, which was during the height of the Arab embargo, and is self-explanatory, (2) a further discussion of why the discharge petition introduced by Congressman Corman, Congressman Ketchum, Congressman Conte and Congressman Bell, during the energy crisis, should have been supported.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,  
ALPHONZO BELL,  
*U.S. Congressman.*

## ELK HILLS DISCHARGE PETITION

There were three issues involved (at least one of which is still very much alive) in the Elk Hills production controversy.

First is the need for this sources of energy by both the military and the civilian economy, and the stifling of this need by the House Armed Services Committee.

Second is the apparent inability of the Navy to efficiently operate and assess the Elk Hills Oil and Gas Reserves, thus inadvertently rendering the field incapable of meeting its maximum efficient rate of production to satisfy the needs of an emergency situation as prescribed by law.

Third is the need for a long range study plan in order to develop a sensible policy as to the control and operation of our government-owned oil and gas reserves.

I will take the points that you raised in your article, "Standard Operating Procedure" in order, one at a time. At the outset, you imply that Elk Hills is to be opened "to private—not public development," and in saying this, you raise the spectre of another Teapot Dome scandal.

When the phrase "open up to private development" is used, one would be led to believe that at least 51% of the oil field is owned or controlled or would be owned or controlled by private operators. This is not the case at Elk Hills! Approximately 80% of the new-unitized Elk Hills field is owned by the Navy or publicly owned. True, Standard Oil of California (SOCAL) owns slightly less than 20%. So if Elk Hills production were to be increased or "opened up" as you say, you would be opening it up much more to public than private production. I suppose the Navy could, and perhaps should, have bought or condemned SOCAL's 20% of the Elk Hills field. The fact remains, however, that this was not done.

The proposed trade of the Santa Barbara oil leases for Elk Hills, which you mention in your article, is a long dead issue and need not be belabored. Actually, in my opinion, this proposal had little prospect of passage and had doubtful merit.

As I described in my speech before the House of Representatives on March 6, the President, during the height of the energy crisis, requested that Congress increase the production and development of the Elk Hills Oil Fields to assist in easing the energy shortage of our Nation. The Senate Armed Services Committee reported out such legislation which was ultimately passed by the Senate body on December 19, 1973. Because of the inefficiency of the Navy and the lack of action by the House Armed Services Committee, the field was not ready or capable of producing at its Maximum Efficient Rate or M.E.R. and, therefore, could not immediately produce enough oil and gas to meet the needs of an emergency as was the intent and purpose of the oil reserve. But within a year, if the Navy had acted expeditiously, a pipeline could have been built and controlled by the Navy that would have been capable of shipping at least 200,000 barrels a day of production to several refineries in Bakersfield.

In March, some experts were predicting a gasoline shortage for at least five years. The long gasoline lines were prompting Americans to demand answers to this energy shortage, and within a year, if operated expeditiously and efficiently, Elk Hills production alone could have made the State of California self-sufficient in oil production and could have provided 10% of the needs for our Nation.

This then would not have been a veritable drop in the bucket, but rather a substantial aid in solving the energy crisis. When one realizes that California produces approximately 900,000 barrels a day while the demand is nearly 1,200,000 barrels a day, Elk Hills could have eliminated California's self-sufficiency problem, thus easing the gasoline difficulty for other states.

The purpose of the discharge petition was to get 60,000 barrels a day production (this converts to approximately 1,890,000 gallons of gasoline) started immediately. The Navy would then have built, or would have arranged to have built, a pipeline to Bakersfield. This could be done! The oil and gas could then be sold at the pipeline end, to the highest bidder. The likelihood is that independent oil companies would be willing to pay "bonuses" for oil and, therefore, could be the most likely winners. Most of the

time majors carry on a practice of not paying bonuses because it tends to cause trouble in competing with other major companies elsewhere in the world.

As to SOCAL's control of present pipeline facilities, SOCAL is in no position to get difficult with the Navy, either at Elk Hills or at the end of its pipeline. The Secretary of the Navy has the power to cancel its operating agreement with SOCAL in six months, not to mention certain condemnation powers that could be used if necessary.

If the Elk Hills production were stepped up to 160,000 barrels a day or more, (some engineers say that full development of the Elk Hills field would sustain an M.E.R. of 350,000 barrels a day) eventually Standard, with 20% of the field, would make money. But the taxpayers of this Nation, with 80% of the field, would make a great deal more! My understanding is that the money from the sale of oil is deposited into the national treasury. Therefore, at approximately \$7.50 per barrel, this money from the sale of such oil could be used to solve a great many social and environmental problems, or to aid in controlling our huge national debt.

Relative to the statement that the oil reserve would be lessened by increased production, this is true—true in any oil field. The Navy, however, has more than 36 billion barrels of oil in Alaska and in their oil shale reserves in Colorado and Utah. The development of the methods of extraction of oil from oil shale is nearly a reality. With these reserves plus Elk Hills, Buena Vista Hills and Teapot Dome, the Navy has enough barrels of oil reserve to last it for 80 years.

Such reserve is particularly sizeable in view of the Navy's gradual process of conversion to Nuclear Power, and the fact that in time of emergency, either a civilian or military emergency, the Navy relies heavily on "civilian" sources of energy rather than on their "own."

Your article implies that major oil companies, particularly SOCAL, would be in a position not only to control the price of the Elk Hills oil and gas at the well head, but also at the end of the pipeline into, I presume in this particular case, Bakersfield. The article also implies that Standard has already taken advantage of the Navy and presumably will continue to take advantage through drainage.

I have previously stated that the Navy has adequate control machinery over SOCAL. It is necessary, however, that the Navy be alert enough to exercise such control. If they are not, then I would suggest that a more efficient government agency take over the Elk Hills operation.

With respect to price controls, I would refer you to the possible bidding proposal involving "bonuses" that I mentioned earlier in this report.

The remainder of your article deals with the question of drainage. The "cloak and dagger" concept of drainage that I find in the article I believe, however, borders on the ridiculous. I am no defender of major oil companies. In fact, the reverse is true. I have spent a large part of my business life in disagreement with majors. It is highly unlikely, however, that a major oil company could surreptitiously drill and produce neighboring land. Such actions would be listed in the State of California Division of Oil and Gas Reports which are made by all operating companies in California. The Navy, through its unitization contract with Standard, is in a position to demand such information.

There is also court action that one abused partner could take against another. I understand that at present time there is such litigation pending between Navy and Standard. Furthermore, if drainage is proven, Navy has the power to bring new property under its jurisdiction.

If the Navy should delay too long before

reacting to drainage, then I hold that it is the Navy's fault. Nearly every small underfinanced oil company that I know reacts to possible drainage by offset production. Why? Because production close to one's borders usually means proven production. At approximately \$7.50 per barrel a company must react rapidly.

This whole argument merely strengthens the view that the Navy is terribly inept and inefficient. Your article says SOCAL sank 10 wells next to the reserve and the Navy allowed 1.5 million barrels to be drained. With the controls the Navy has at its disposal, the taxpayers truly have a right to demand better protection of their oil reserves.

If the Navy can justify operating its own oil reserves, then why shouldn't the Army, the Air Force, and the Marines have reserves as well? Under those circumstances it seems that one federal agency would be in a better position to control all public oil reserves.

Even today, with the Arab embargo lifted, it makes sense to discharge the Elk Hills resolution from the House Armed Services Committee. Your fears of drainage and the inefficiency of the Navy's procedures would be allayed if our discharge petition were to be adopted. This will take the issue from the hands of a few and bring it out before the entire Congress. Only in this way will the issue be debated and resolved, hopefully, to the benefit of all the American people.

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN ALPHONZO BELL  
BEFORE THE HOUSE ARMED SERVICES SUB-COMMITTEE ON MILITARY INSTALLATIONS AND FACILITIES, MAY 16, 1974

Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank you and the other members of the Committee for allowing me the opportunity to present my views on the Naval Petroleum Reserves.

For the record, I want to say that my active participation and interest in the oil business numbers approximately twenty years. I am a former President and Chairman of the Board of Bell Petroleum Company of California, and while I am not at the present time directly involved in the management of the company, I continue to own substantial stock in the corporation.

There is absolutely no business or personal advantage to me or to Bell Petroleum in a revision of government policy at Elk Hills or any of the other Naval Petroleum Reserves. My views about the operation of these reserves transcend personal or business associations and deal solely with the public interest.

I am not here today to dwell on the subject of opening the Elk Hills Reserve to full production. In March, I initiated an effort to discharge House Joint Resolution 846 from this Committee and bring it to the House floor for debate. Since that time, I have made several public statements about my position on this issue.

I will discuss, instead, what I believe should be the policy of the federal government toward the Naval Petroleum Reserves and how I feel this policy should be carried out.

To begin with, I have no quarrel over the need for oil and oil shale reserves. A clear fact brought out by the recent fuel shortage is that our known and developed petroleum reserves are being depleted. The government must take steps to insure that new sources of petroleum products and other energy sources are found and made available for our future needs.

On the other hand, we should not use this future need as an excuse to reserve our known sources of petroleum without adequate development, so that when faced with a serious need for energy we are incapable of making adequate use of our reserves. The embargo has now been lifted but we should not be fooled into believing that our energy crisis is over. This country is still dependent

on foreign petroleum and we have no guarantee that we will not be subjected to further actions of this kind.

What can be done to guarantee the United States an adequate supply of oil for both present and future needs?

First of all the federal government desperately needs to formulate an overall policy with regard to the exploration, development and production of domestic petroleum resources. This policy should take into account the projected demand for petroleum in this country over the next several decades and determine to what extent we should rely on imports. Also, encouragement should be provided for exploratory efforts to find new sources of petroleum and other energy forms.

As part of the overall policy, the government should determine how it will handle its own reserves to meet our oil needs during an emergency so that we can avoid, if possible, total dependence on the actions of foreign nations.

The concept of insuring that America's military forces have an adequate supply of petroleum during an emergency is commendable but I am afraid that should a real military emergency occur, American military forces and the American public would be sadly disappointed in the actual capability of these reserves. The Navy now controls seven reserves. Four are conventional petroleum reserves and three are oil shale reserves. Of the seven, only three are developed to the point where they could be placed in production within one year and two of these three have been depleted to the extent that they are virtually useless as reserves.

The one remaining reserve, Elk Hills, is currently capable of producing a maximum of 60,000 barrels a day within 60 days. After one to three additional years, the reserve could be operating at its maximum efficient rate which is between 200,000 and 350,000 barrels a day. One can easily see that if this situation continued to exist a war or another emergency situation could be over, before Elk Hills could be brought up to the point where the benefits of its maximum efficient rate (MER) of production could be felt.

Even this highest maximum efficient rate would not produce enough oil to supply half the military's daily requirements during peacetime. In wartime this production would supply less than one third of the military's estimated requirements. Clearly the naval petroleum reserves, if the military were to depend upon them, would not be adequate in a time of emergency.

As a nation, if we are to have reserves, and I believe that we should, then they should be developed and maintained in the most efficient manner possible. This is not currently the case with the Naval Petroleum Reserves. The Navy and the Interior Department have allowed the reserves to be drained by private oil companies. As I mentioned earlier, two of the four petroleum reserves have been almost completely depleted through drainage. It appears that some of the Navy's resources at Elk Hills are being drained and the Navy has taken the matter to court. I am not sure at this point in time as to whether these matters have been fully adjudicated by the courts. Even though there has been almost no development of the Navy's vast reserves in Alaska, there is already a controversy over possible future drainage.

I believe that Congress must also share the blame for the condition of the reserves. There has not been enough attention and monetary wherewithal given to the development of the reserves at Elk Hills. I was encouraged by the recommendations made in the report of the Armed Services Investigating Subcommittee on November 13, 1973. That report recommends that immediate action be taken to bring the reserves to a

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suitable condition of readiness and that Congress give favorable consideration to funding for exploration and development. This action is long overdue and it is a step in the right direction.

Now I would like to focus my attention on the question of having Naval Petroleum Reserves. Though these reserves are intended to be used for national defense purposes and not strictly limited to Navy use, it is apparent that they would not be capable of fulfilling the military's needs. The military needs. The military services would still draw more than half of its petroleum supplies from the civilian economy. During conflicts in the past, the civilian market has always rallied behind the defense of our nation and provided the necessary petroleum supplies, and I am sure that this will continue to be the case in the future.

I might also add that since the Navy does not own or operate any refineries, it is totally dependent on the private petroleum industry. The Navy must sell its oil to a commercial refinery and then buy its supply of refined oil or products on the commercial market. The fact is that the Navy owns oil lands but in an emergency it would still be buying all of its petroleum supplies from private industry.

In establishing petroleum reserves, we should look toward the development of National Petroleum Reserves which would be capable of immediate production during a national emergency. This, of course, would include national defense purposes. I believe that this would be a more rational overall policy than having individual agencies holding reserves for their own use.

Another point that I wish to make is that we need to determine what resources are best suited for short term reserves and which are desirable as long term reserves. In making such a determination we should realize that we should be, and probably will be, constantly developing new and more efficient sources of energy. This may eventually reduce our dependence on conventional oil and gas discoveries and development as we know them today.

I feel strongly that we should either produce the oil that we now have located in underground conventional deposits or at the very extreme, hold it as a short term reserve. It is not a good practice to hold back production of proven oil fields for a long period of time without adequate development. Corrosion and drainage are a constant problem that one would face under such circumstances. An oil operation is a dynamic type business, not static. The best answer to preserving oil reserves for emergency use, and for future use, is to adequately develop known reserves, and then constantly explore for new reserves.

Oil shale or coal, on the other hand, are much more suitable as a long term rather than short term energy reserve. Oil shale will remain intact in the ground over an extended period of time and it cannot be drained. At the present time we lack the sufficient technology to retrieve this oil in an economically and environmentally sound manner. Extensive research is being conducted on the production of oil shale and I am confident that we will have the necessary technology within the next few years. I believe that for the long term, oil shale, coal and nuclear and solar energy resources should be developed to their fullest potential.

In summary, I have a few suggestions to make as to specific and in general.

First, I believe that the Navy should see to it that its facilities at Elk Hills should be improved and brought up to date for possible emergency use.

Second, that it proceed to arrange for the building of a pipeline facility from some point on its Elk Hills properties to the city of Bakersfield, or at some point easily marketable to local refineries or other pipelines.

Third, that this pipeline be of sufficient size and capacity capable of handling substantially increased production.

Fourth, that the Navy place itself in the position of controlling this pipeline outlet.

Fifth, that the Navy proceed to stake out locations for the drilling of additional development wells, to adequately explore and develop the Naval Reserve at Elk Hills.

Sixth, that the Navy consider seriously terminating its operating agreement with Standard of California to the extent that the Navy with the 80% interest becomes the operator and actively direct the operations at Elk Hills Naval Reserve.

In general, I believe that the Federal Government has long neglected the need to establish a policy for the development and reserve of our nation's petroleum resources. It has taken an energy crisis and an Arab oil embargo to bring this matter to the attention of the American people and the Congress. We learned that the government's oil reserves are owned and operated by the Navy and that these reserves, for the most part, are not capable of supplying the necessary oil production in a national emergency.

The Congress should take immediate action to evaluate the need for the Naval Petroleum Reserves. If we determine that they should be retained in their present form, then we should proceed as quickly as possible to develop them for emergency use. If it is determined that they should become part of a larger overall National Petroleum Reserve (which incidentally is my belief), then we should proceed swiftly on this course. In any event, we cannot afford to sit by and do nothing. Thank you.

## ENERGY FOR TOMORROW

HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month, I had printed in the RECORD a report on oil shale prepared by Mr. Gerry Reiner of the Bonneville Power Administration while he was interning in my office under the Interior Department management development program. I extend to my colleagues the second of his reports, entitled "Energy for Tomorrow." This report surveys the overall scope of America's future energy needs and discusses the problems and promises of our major energy alternatives. I found it most interesting, and hope you find it likewise.

The report follows:

## ENERGY FOR TOMORROW

As the U.S. begins grappling with the now visible problem of energy shortages it may be appealing to assume that some easy answer is just around the corner. There isn't any. Any real solution can be, at best, supplying demand in the eighties and then only with unrelenting planning, unyielding priority, and unpleasant persuasion.

A convenient unit of energy, the British Thermal Unit or BTU, is the amount of heat energy which will raise the temperature of one pound of water one degree Fahrenheit. One quadrillion BTU, that is ten raised to the fifteenth power, can be labeled Q. Total U.S. consumption for 1970 was 68.8Q.

In the past, consumption has doubled every twenty five years: 1985-5Q, 1900-10Q, 1925 over 20Q, 1950-almost 40Q, 1975 say 80Q. There is every reason to believe that for the year 2000 energy of 160Q or more should be forecast.

## WHERE DOES IT ALL GO?

In 1968 a total of 60.6Q was divided on a percentage basis as follows: industrial 21.2%, transportation 25.2%, residential 19.2%, commercial 14.4%. An itemized breakdown is shown in table 1. Items flagged with an asterisk are non-energy uses of petroleum such as lubricants, cleaning solvents, and chemical ingredients of plastic products. By 1970 this amount had reached 4.2Q and has been estimated to become 9.2Q in 1985.

TABLE I.—ENERGY CONSUMPTION IN THE UNITED STATES BY END USE, 1968

	Consump- tion, Q	Percent of total
Industrial:		
Process steam	10.1	16.7
Direct heat	6.9	11.5
Electric drive	4.8	7.9
Feed stock <sup>1</sup>	2.2	3.6
Electrolytic processes	.7	1.2
Other	.2	.3
Subtotal	25.0	41.2
Transportation:		
Fuel	15.0	24.9
Raw materials <sup>1</sup>	.1	.3
Subtotal	15.2	25.2
Residential:		
Space heating	6.7	11.0
Water heating	1.7	2.9
Refrigeration	.7	1.1
Cooking	.6	1.1
Air-conditioning	.4	.7
Clothes drying	.2	.3
Other	1.2	2.1
Subtotal	11.6	19.2
Commercial:		
Space heating	4.1	6.9
Air-conditioning	1.1	1.8
Feed stock <sup>1</sup>	1.0	1.6
Refrigeration	.7	1.1
Water heating	.7	1.1
Cooking	.1	.2
Other	1.0	1.7
Subtotal	8.8	14.4
Total	60.5	100.0

<sup>1</sup> Entries are rounded so totals may not sum.

WHERE DOES THIS ENERGY COME FROM? A breakdown for 1970 shows: natural gas—24.3Q, petroleum—23.9Q, coal—13.5Q, hydroelectric—2.7Q, nuclear—0.2Q. An additional 4.2Q of petroleum went for lubricants, etc.

Proven 1970 crude oil reserves for the U.S. were 215 Q. With no increase in present consumption, and no imports this would supply our oil needs for about eight years. The entire addition of the Alaskan North Slope oil fields is but 55.7 Q of the 215 total.

Natural gas is at a similar disadvantage. The 1970 known reserves were 265 Q, of which 26.8 Q are contained in the North Slope. This could last for 22 years with no increase in present use.

## WHAT ABOUT INCREASING THE EFFICIENCY OF RECOVERY AND EXPLORING FOR NEW ADDITIONS?

These actions will indeed expand our energy reserves and should be undertaken but should not mask the fact that we are swiftly running out of oil and natural gas. Sufficient reserves must be left "on deposit" for future non-energy use. Even with a complete disregard for the generations to come, present usage would squeeze out the last drop of all our oil in 50 years, natural gas in 39 years.

But the simple truth is that U.S. consumption has been doubling every twenty five years for the last hundred years. Economic growth is energy dependent. The ratio of energy cost per dollar of gross national product (GNP) has not varied much during the 1900's. With the 1958 dollar as a reference this ratio has dropped from a high of 140,000 BTU per GNP dollar in 1920 to a low of 86,000 BTU per GNP dollar in 1965. While

a mathematician could project this trend to a possible 80,000 BTU per GNP dollar as achievable some time in the future, there are three reasons to expect this trend to reverse. First of all the efficiencies of electrical generation and mass production have been improved to the point where significant gains can not be expected. Secondly the concern for environmental quality has begun to reduce the efficiency of such things as automobile engines, plants burning high sulfur coal or oil, and industrial output in general. The third element to consider is the cost of energy itself. Have not the easily found and recoverable sources of oil, gas, and hydroelectric power been exploited? While there is oil in Alaska it cost more to find and will cost more to tap and ship than the fields of Texas. As an example the relative price (1958 dollars) of electricity dropped 27.5% from 1950 to 1970. In this time the price of wholesale oil products declined 26.4%. These decreases turned into increases in 1970. When available, oil from the Persian Gulf will show drastic price increases with time. All things considered the costs, (1958 dollars) of energy in any form will be going up-up-up.

**IF THE USE OF OIL AND NATURAL GAS MUST INEVITABLY COME TO AN END WHAT ARE WE GOING TO USE?**

Before the end of oil and natural gas it is to be expected that their usage will increase! Short range solutions will include adding refinement capacity, off-shore exploration, and increased production from all sources. A crash program may permit supply to catch up with demand. Demand, that is, for expensive energy since the era of low cost power has ended. During this period of time we have the opportunity to plan for and begin guiding the country towards alternate energy inputs.

The first intermediate step away from oil and natural gas is a return to coal. There are three reasons for this approach: quantity, access and control, and adaptability. Huge amounts of coal are available for our present and future needs. A fair estimate is 4,400 Q of usable coal within the U.S. When compared to our proven oil reserves of 215 Q and natural gas of 265 Q the quantity of coal resources is reassuring. The second favorable aspect is the location of the coal within the U.S. A return to energy self reliance must begin with increased coal production. Coal is adaptable. Today we use heating oil in our furnaces, electricity in our lights, and gasoline in our cars. Coal can be used to generate electricity; it can be processed into oil and gasoline. But it does not stop here. At low cost and high efficiency coal can now be processed into hydrogen. Hydrogen, in some form, will be the basic burnable fuel of the next century.

As a supplement to other sources of oil the U.S. also has a sizeable quantity of usable oil shale. Economic recovery of 464 Q is possible with more than 70% located on Federally managed public land.

These interim steps must eventually yield to more permanent solutions to the energy problem. Those holding the most promise are nuclear, solar, and geothermal. It is reasonable to expect a combination of these forms to balance the future supply-demand equation. Total reliance on one method alone is analogous to the horse player backing the favorite entry, a go-for-broke venture which the prudent provider takes steps to avoid.

Each of these energy forms has its share of advantages and disadvantages. Perhaps the single largest factor inhibiting development of each is the economic element. It has been cheaper and less risky to burn oil, natural gas, and coal. Economic realities will always dictate use of the least expensive energy resource. Should the cost benefits of fossil fuels retain their historic advantage a

complete changeover to nuclear, solar, and geothermal sources will be postponed with disastrous results. For any planned changeover to proceed on schedule it may be necessary to create economic benefits which are not there to begin with. Possibilities include subsidizing research, construction, and operation of the new sources. On the other hand taxes could be increased for the use of oil, natural gas, and eventually coal to coincide with the planned phasing out of fossil fuels. These methods can anticipate the higher energy costs of the future and accommodate the new forms on a "pay as you go" basis. A bitter pill to swallow now when natural gas, for instance, is so cheap to obtain and easy to use.

What can we expect from nuclear sources? There are three types of nuclear plants which are discussed but often mistaken for each other. Conventional fission reactors are the kinds in operation today. The fuel is U235 which is only 0.7% of uranium ore. Over 99% of the ore is U238 which is useless in this form as a fuel for conventional fission reactors. Radioactive wastes from these reactors must be isolated for about 500 years. Estimates of 500,000 cubic feet in isolation are made for the end of this century.

Breeder reactors take advantage of the fact that U238 can be converted into plutonium (Pu239), another fissionable fuel. Although conventional fission reactors may convert 2% of the U238 uranium to plutonium, a breeder reactor designed for this purpose may convert up to 70%. Breeder reactors do not make their own fuel, as is widely believed. But they could increase the world's usable uranium by a factor of 30 to 50.

Technical problems of the breeder include radioactive wastes and temperature control. Waste materials contain plutonium, which requires an isolation period of several hundred thousand years. Without high energy levels the breeding process is quenched. To maintain the desired breeding level, coolants such as liquid sodium or its equivalent are necessary. Technological advances in high temperature insulation, control, and material strength are beneficial to breeder design.

Whereas conventional and breeder reactors work on the principle of fission, breaking down the atom to release energy, the possibility of releasing energy by combining atomic particles and converting the leftovers to energy is the principle of fusion. Although fusion reactors would duplicate the activity of the sun itself, it is a challenge to duplicate and contain the sun's temperature which is a condition of the process. One of the rewards offered by fusion is the almost complete harmlessness of the waste products. At best, controlled fusion can be termed a long range possibility. Current research is directed towards designing a system which satisfies the mathematical requirements of controlled fusion. These solutions are all dependent upon materials and engineering techniques which are, themselves, yet to be discovered. For the near future nuclear fusion is a long-shot.

Solar forms of energy have been proposed because of the absence of both material wastes and thermal pollution. This energy can be harnessed in many forms, all of which are "run" by the sun. These include power from wind, ocean temperature differences, organic growths and wastes, solar heat conversion, and electric generation by solar cells.

Of these possibilities the one which stands out as the easiest to design and cheapest to try is the windmill generator. Details of this technique have been recently published by Professor William Heronemus, University of Massachusetts. One drawback of this method is the storage requirement for maintaining output during times of little or no winds. A way to overcome this objection may be to introduce it to a predominately hydro-powered system.

Ocean thermal gradients, or temperature differences, can be used to run a solar sea plant when water temperature differences of 20° C or more are available together with sufficient water currents to maintain the cycle. Suitable locations for the U.S. can be found near the Florida coastline. A refrigerant such as ammonia is circulated from a boiler, thru turbine generator, to a condenser, and then returned to the boiler. This closed system circulation is pumped by warm water (25° C intake, 23° C exhaust) at the boiler and returned by cold water (5° C intake, 7° C exhaust) at the condenser. Since more water must drop 2° C at the boiler than raises 2° C at the condenser the net effect is a slight cooling of the ocean itself.

In addition the downstream current has acquired a more uniform temperature, which is known as entropy.

Organic growths and wastes can be used to produce oil, gas, and fertilizers. Although the cost of farm land may prohibit its use for growing fuel crops such as corn or potatoes which are later fermented for alcohol, there may be enough sewage ponds to support algae production for a similar purpose. Organic wastes have also shown their ability to yield oil and gas by fermentation, chemical reduction, or pyrolysis methods. Perhaps the main impediment is that urban organic wastes are found mixed with other matter from which they are not easily separated. Because waste disposal is itself a problem, these methods may become more appealing but for now the cost is too high for the fuel produced.

The sun shines upon the earth with the immediate consequences of light and warmth. Successful designs have demonstrated that this sunshine can be used for heating buildings and for hot water production. The problem is again economic—there is no inexpensive way to save heat for night use or cloudy day use. Even with high costs, solar heat may yet prove competitive especially in the southern U.S. since it can also be used to run air conditioners which continue to take larger portions of the nation's energy.

A similar but different concept is the conversion of sunshine to electricity by solar cells. Although the cost and operating time difficulties are similar to solar heating, there are many electrical loads in the electro-processing industries which would not suffer from intermittent power cycles. The cost of construction, operation, and maintenance of such a system is not yet competitive with other forms. Maintenance of any solar system may prove to be so technical that the smallest unit would be a community plant supplying either heat or electricity.

Geothermal power can be obtained from natural sources of steam, high pressure hot water, and hot rocks. Heat from these supplies is used to spin electrical turbines. A limited number of these plants are operating throughout the world including 184MW of capacity at The Geysers, California.

Removing large quantities of water or steam from underground reservoirs raises five environmental questions. These are the mineral content, ground settling or earthquake dangers, noxious gas release, well blow-out, and heat rejection. As a comparison ocean water contains 3.3% of dissolved minerals by weight. Geothermal sources vary from nearly fresh water to a mineral level of 30%. Not only do the salty waters cause corrosion problems on metal turbine parts but waste water disposal involves reinjection through a separate deep earth hole.

As the water or steam removal from a geothermal plant continues, the earth may settle in the area near the activity. This has always been a problem for oil extraction and the mining industry so this problem is not new. Water removal from deep underground

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sources may additionally involve the earth in some earthquake activity.

The extraction of deep earth water is often accompanied with noxious gases. Carbon dioxide, methane, hydrogen sulfide, and ammonia flow from The Geysers in California. Stainless steel linings are used to control corrosion. If output at The Geysers was increased to 1000MW, about 100,000 pounds of hydrogen sulfide would be released daily. This is comparable to the sulfur problem of a similar size fossil plant using low-sulfur oil. Although technology is available to reduce exhaust levels it is a matter of cost. Expensive pollution controls result in high cost energy.

Control of the well during drilling and subsequent production can be difficult. Wells do blow-out but are controlled with the methods of oil fields. Capping the escaping fluid may cause it to erupt nearby.

The last consideration is the amount of heat released by a geyser operation. Heat rejection accompanies any thermal energy production which includes nuclear, fossil fuel, and geothermal. Because the pressure and temperature factors of geothermal plants are lower, the overall efficiency is also lower. Waste heat is higher by a factor of three in comparison to a similar size fossil fuel plant. Whether or not heat loss is a major detriment to the environment is debatable.

As previously stated, energy is presently used in the form of gasoline, fuel oil, natural gas, and electricity. Future development and reliance on nuclear, solar, and geothermal sources to power our homes and industries will inevitably result in more available energy but in what form? Most of these techniques produce heat which is used to turn electrical generators. Some heat could be used directly for heating and cooling of the producer and user were neighbors. Or we could continue to use more and more energy in the form of electricity until the nation was 100% all electric. There is reason to believe that a portable, storable form of energy should be developed to complement electricity. The one candidate which is most often proposed is hydrogen.

To compete with electricity, hydrogen should be a cost-effective alternate. Recent studies have shown that hydrogen may have three cost saving features which electricity lacks. These are the cost of long distance transmission and distribution, a much smaller disruption of the environment because of the narrow underground pipeline right-of-way, and the portable fuel use for aircraft and ground transportation which electricity would be challenged to duplicate.

There is nothing new about hydrogen, which is the lightest of all molecules and atoms. In its basic form the hydrogen atom has one proton and one electron. As a gas hydrogen atoms are found in pairs. When ignited it burns readily with a hot flame as it combines with oxygen. After oxidation the united hydrogen and oxygen are none other than water. There are several ways to reverse this process, that is to break water down to its hydrogen-oxygen ingredients. These methods depend on forcing energy upon the water molecule so that it becomes "disassembled."

This energy is retrieved when the hydrogen is burned. An endless cycle of burning hydrogen and breaking down water is therefore an alternate to electricity for supplying the output of nuclear, solar, and geothermal plants to the user. It should be clear that electricity and hydrogen are vehicles of energy, and as a practical matter, consume more energy during their production than what is yielded at the point of use, according to the efficiencies of the cycle processes.

Before describing the usual list of advantages and disadvantages which the hydrogen prophets draw up, it should be noted that many economic studies comparing hy-

dogen with electricity are unfair. Electricity levels of 115, 230, 345, 500, and 1500 KV are used for long distance transmission. Test lines at the 1200 to 1500 KV level are being erected for energization and analysis. It has been found that the higher the voltage of transmission, the greater has been the economic benefit. There may be limits to the general rule but right now the operating 750 KV lines deliver more power at less cost per kilowatt than any of their lower voltage predecessors. When the first 115 KV lines were built, technology did not permit the construction of 500 KV lines because the circuit breakers, transformers, and insulators for this higher level had not yet been developed. Where the known or anticipated load can be supplied with one lower voltage line, it is so constructed. Like freeways, the higher voltage lines have more carrying capacity, but like two lane country roads, the lower voltage lines also properly perform the limited service for which they are built. Eventually household electricity is reduced to the 230/115 volts which is present in the electric dryer or lamp outlet in the home. Electric service is available and used in almost every house in the U.S., from the heart of New York City to the ranch in Montana. For a valid economic comparison then, a new hydrogen system should be compared to a new, equivalent electric system, designed economically for similar capacity. The errors in hydrogen thinking come from comparing a huge proposed hydrogen pipeline servicing selected end points, with the existing electrical network servicing the nation. More correctly the analysis should be cost comparisons of moving a large block of energy from point A to B, and from B distributing the energy in smaller blocks to points C, D, E, etc. This type of comparison escapes many writers who compare electricity and hydrogen on unequal terms.

The properties of hydrogen which are desirable include storability, portability, cleanliness of combustion, and pipeline conveyance. Nuclear plants are most efficient when operating with a constant load. Presently the up and down nature of the load is compensated for with hydro, oil and coal fired generators. Solar plants are also incapable of timing output with load demand. What is necessary, then, is a method to store surplus energy. Hydrogen can be stored in tanks and underground caverns and used when needed.

As a fuel for air and ground transportation, hydrogen has shown that it will burn clean. NASA is prepared to demonstrate the feasibility of hydrogen as an aircraft fuel with military airplanes. The success of the hydrogen powered space shots is evidence that hydrogen is a fuel which can be packed-up for trips.

In addition hydrogen can be supplied inexpensively through underground pipes which need less right-of-way and do not alter the visual aspects of the landscape. Although modern electrical facilities include low voltage underground distribution cables for household use, the costs of high voltage underground transmission lines are exorbitant. Future improvements in electrical insulation materials and cable operating losses are not expected to soon overcome this detriment.

Besides the many pluses which hydrogen offers, there are a few drawbacks. Precautionary steps are necessary to prevent the hot hydrogen flame from producing nitrogen oxide in the adjacent air. As a heat source it would be preferable to use within a closed catalytic heater rather than an open flame.

Natural gas contains about three times more heat energy, per standard cubic foot, than hydrogen. Although actual pipe sizes for equal energy delivery are comparable, the hydrogen system would need about three times as many compressors for pumping. This shortcoming could be overcome by hydrogen

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in a liquid form, were it not for the -423° F temperature at which it boils. Liquid hydrogen implies expensive refrigeration and extensive insulation.

Automobile use of hydrogen fuel is presently facing a similar obstacle. The difficulties of hydrogen in liquid form eliminate this as a possibility. As a compressed gas hydrogen has nowhere near the energy content of gasoline which can usually take a car 200 miles before refueling. A special magnesium-alloy hydride or other metallic hydride, which soaks up hydrogen like a sponge, may prove to have the necessary storage capability, but there remain several unsolved technical difficulties.

Widespread use of hydrogen is perhaps dependent on one item more than any other—production costs. The most direct and easiest method of decomposing water is by electrolysis. This technique gives electricity a head-start in the economic comparison between the two since some electricity is necessarily wasted in the process. Hydrogen must prove to save enough during transmission and distribution to overtake this deficit or a different production method is called for. The alternates available today include natural gas or coal consuming processes which are cheaper. Production costs of mass produced hydrogen were recently computed in the 10-15/lb neighborhood with fossil feedstock. About 2.23 lbs of hydrogen is equivalent to one gallon of gasoline, which costs about 20-25c/gallon to produce. The necessary conclusion is that for today gasoline is more economical.

With the recent popularity of hydrogen as a modern energy form, scientists have devoted attention to heat dependent methods of production. The thermal process of Marchetti is workable at temperatures around 700°C. This temperature is not obtainable from today's reactors, solar converters, or geothermal sources. A recent article in Science by Abraham and Schreiner describes a process which may operate below 500°C. It works on paper and may or may not prove to be practical. But once research has shown that a practical cycle works at solar or reactor operating temperatures the intermediate steps in the heat-electricity-hydrogen chain are eliminated. A direct heat-hydrogen process is the key to low production costs and economic benefits.

In conclusion the immediate prospects indicate an energy shortage and higher prices. Swift development of coal and oil shale will shorten the time of shortage but can not be expected to roll prices back. The GNP will reflect these shortages and costs because it is energy dependent. Were the nation to continue burning the cheapest available fuel with no plans for changeover a greater crisis would develop. Coal, solar, and geothermal energy sources need the status and funding which, until recently, have been exclusively reserved for nuclear. While the age of hydrogen, just as nuclear fusion, is not yet upon us, the possibilities demand more than the present commitment.

#### PREVENTING FOREIGN CONTROL OF VITAL U.S. RESOURCES

**HON. FRANK J. BRASCO**  
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, it is a fact that in recent years, and in increasing numbers this year, foreign investors have been invading America in order to purchase significant segments of our economy. These investors, attracted by

bargains made available because of the current economic slump, have used surplus capital to buy some rather attention-getting industries, companies, and land areas. Among these people have been British, Japanese, and most ominously, Arab buyers and investors.

Here are a few of the prizes foreign investors have captured recently, and some of the buys they have made. Kuwait has bought an island off Charleston, S.C. for \$17.4 million in cash. Kuwait also put up funds for a project in downtown Atlanta, Ga., which includes a new Hilton hotel. A Dallas builder is using about \$200 million in Middle East financing for a St. Louis apartment development. Saudi Arabian investors have just bought an Oakland, Calif. bank. A chain of New York State service stations has been bought by Arabs. A British company has purchased Grand Union stores. Canadian interests have just recently bought a huge tract of land in New Jersey. The Swiss-based Nestle Co. has bought Stouffer's and Libby's. Foreign banks are expanding their network here in quantum jumps.

Yet the U.S. Government has no idea of the full extent of foreign investment in our economy, even though that commitment is growing accordingly. The last survey by the Department of Commerce into this situation was undertaken in 1959. Present law makes it simple for a foreign investor to hide his true identity by using third party agents and other techniques in conjunction with brokerage houses and banks. Clearly, we cannot allow such a syndrome to gather momentum without control and information as to what is the true state of affairs.

It is vital to bring into being legislation which would expressly prohibit foreign investment control or foreign management control of our Nation's vital interests and industries. Two measures in the Congress, which I have joined in sponsorship of, would go a long way toward bringing this situation under control. The first is the Foreign Investment Control Act. The second is the measure to establish a Joint Congressional Committee on Foreign Investment Control in the United States.

The first bill would establish a commission in the executive branch to monitor and control foreign ownership of real property, resources, and industries in the United States, while precluding foreign ownership control or management control of industries and resources deemed vital to our economic security and national defense.

That commission would be empowered to order any foreign person or entity determined to have a controlling interest in an area vital to our national security as determined by the commission to divest himself from all or a portion of his holdings.

The second measure would provide a single source of data on foreign investment in America by setting up a registry of foreign investment. Foreigners owning security or property directly or indirectly would have to provide to the registry information as to the nature and size of their endeavors here, amounts of secu-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

rities held or other ownership interest, and similar pertinent data.

Inevitably, such initiatives as are envisioned and encapsulated in this legislation will evoke a shrill outcry by those well-meaning people who see the "one world" theory as mankind's sole hope for peace and brotherhood. Yet I do not believe they are correct, nor will they be for some time to come. Other countries sharing this concept of control of foreign investment have created similar watchdog entities to control foreign control of their economies. These countries have already enacted, or will enact, similar laws prohibiting noncitizens from acquiring investment control, management control, or even acquiring securities in certain areas of national interest. And further, we must pay attention to the fact that with devaluation of the dollar and a depressed stock market, America has become a thrift shop for foreign bargain hunters with money to spend.

While most of these people are simply looking for profit, some of them wish our country no good in a political sense, especially certain Arab countries. It is essential that we be able to keep tabs on their economic activities here, with a view to preventing any entry into areas where their country's foreign policy could create a conflict of interest for them. If the United States, for example, comes into vigorous disagreement with an Arab country in a foreign policy sense, and that nation's nationals own a share of a critical industry, what economic decisions will they make? Will those decisions benefit or harm the United States? We cannot take the chance.

### A MOTHER'S CONCERN ON THE TOPIC OF AMNESTY

#### HON. RONALD A. SARASIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. SARASIN. Mr. Speaker, at the request of one of my constituents, Mrs. John F. Crowley of Bethany, Conn., I am presenting for my colleagues' information the account of her son's decision regarding service in the U.S. Armed Forces during the Vietnam era:

#### AN OPEN LETTER ON AMNESTY

BETHANY, CONN.

He was eager to begin living after twelve years of confinement in a school system that was obedient to the wishes of parents who equated a successful life with money and a profession, a school system that stifled creativity and sought only conformity. He was capable of their kind of success and he wasn't averse to intellectual pursuits, but he loved his work on a farm. He loved the real world around him and real people, and he learned a lot from them.

After his graduation from high school he tried various jobs and spent a semester in college participating in R.O.T.C. and living with his brother who was a Lieutenant in the Army Artillery in Oklahoma. Anxious to step out in freedom—a freedom he was beginning to realize might be short-lived—his thoughts turned to the wider world he had always hoped to explore. He purchased a round-trip ticket to England, unaware that he might never be able to go home again.

Three months after he arrived in England I forwarded his induction notice to him.

Long before most of us realized it here, people outside the United States knew the Vietnam war was a tragic mistake. The doubts with which Tom left Bethany resolved themselves in England, and he wrote, "I want to live here. I'm not coming back to join an Army." It seemed unreal the day my phone rang and a voice said, "This is the F.B.I."

Later he wrote, "When I left the States I wanted to be alone—to think. In England my mind has grown some. I've succeeded in finding myself—the intention for coming here. In the meantime I've evaded the draft, something I didn't intend to do on coming here. I refuse 'To give my body as a weapon of the war.' Donovan Lietch, in his song 'Universal Soldier' says:

He's a universal soldier  
And he really is to blame.  
His orders come from far away no more.  
They come from here and there,

And you and me  
And brothers can't you see  
This is not the way to put an end to war.  
He's a universal soldier  
And he really is to blame.  
Without him all this killing can't go on.

I wish I had listened and understood it when it was written about four years ago. It is how I feel."

He was proud of our space program and wrote, "The moon-shot was incredible. The English could never match it." He was able to earn a living in England, but soon he was writing about meeting us in Canada. With a girl who shared his loneliness, he flew to Toronto where the sympathy, kindness, and trust of the Canadian people toward the young, and his own ingenuity, enabled him to own a small, successful roadside snack-bar and crafts business.

His friends, who drew high numbers in the draft lottery and weren't inducted moved freely back and forth across the border. We, his parents and brothers, were able to visit one a year. But three years away from the home he had loved, was a long time, and with uncertain intention he drove across the border with his wife and baby in the hope of spending a Thanksgiving holiday at home. A New Hampshire policeman, seeing a long-haired, bearded young man with Canadian license plates, stopped his car and radioed the F.B.I. He was taken to a New Hampshire jail where he was stripped and put in solitary confinement for thirty six hours with a tin of water and four slices of bread, then dragged down two flights of stairs to have his hair cut and beard shaved. The jailkeepers accepted notes from his wife, but never gave them to him. After six days, alerted by Tom's wife, my husband contacted authorities in our home state, and they were able to extradite him to prison in Connecticut where justice was less arbitrary.

Released on his own recognizance, he decided to put himself and his beliefs before the court, but was told by his lawyer that he didn't have a chance of obtaining conscientious objector status, and a long prison term was a certainty. For the sake of his wife and daughter, he returned to Canada.

Again I encountered a hostile F.B.I. This time, in our living room, flanked by pictures of two sons in army uniforms, I was warned, "If your son comes here again, you'll be arrested for harboring a fugitive."

Tom's two older brothers had chosen to enter the Army. Tom had decided not to. The fourth of our seven sons was caught, like so many others, in that hopeless limbo between choosing to fight an immoral war or suffering the pain of exile that he saw his brother suffering.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Like so many others, he postponed life and waited in apathy, seeking escape in drugs. He narrowly escaped death as a direct result of those drugs; he was crippled physically and mentally, and eventually died from a motorcycle accident. A few hours before his death Dan wrote to Tom in Canada, ". . . the ties between most of us have kind of degenerated or broken up. What happened to the family that prayed together? . . . I feel kinda sorry about a lot of things, like Vietnam, the draft, the Republican party and working for the man here in the U.S.A. . . . Mary and I want to get out of what seems to be a labyrinth pattern. . . . We'd sure like to buy land so we can build on it and farm it. Maybe Vermont where you can even put the rocks to work for you. . . . Back to the land is what sounds beautiful. . . . We brothers have lacked communication. Getting together could be the best thing that could happen for us. . . . This Sunday I'll be twenty-two years old. . . . I guess I've still a lot to be happy about. I want to close this letter in the words of Teilhard de Chardin, that beautiful yet complex servant of God:

The age of nations is past.  
The task before us now,  
If we would not perish,  
Is to build the earth.

At 7:00 A.M. the next morning, eight hours after he had entered the hospital in a coma, the doctors of Yale New Haven hospital decided to pull the plug on the life support systems that had kept him alive—another casualty of the Vietnam war.

The F.B.I. put in another appearance, this time at our church rectory, asking the priest if Tom had come down from Canada for his brother's funeral. We were told that they had made several inquiries around town about us at various times.

When the first prisoners of war came home, five years after he bought his round-trip ticket Tom wrote again, "I realize that the war isn't over but the start is good to see. I listened and saw the greetings and homecomings. I saw them desperately trying to cover up the sin. I waited as they called all the prisoners limping in—listening, waiting for my name to be called. Nothing yet. Then I saw the 'enemy,' they let them go too, then I realized they forgot me, and inside" was torn. He said, "Peace with honour." I guess I was naive, but I felt some honour when I saw his yellow and orange face on the color T.V. I fought for that peace but he forgot. Didn't he realize that the patriotic power of those who didn't go to war played a part in its ending? I didn't get any medals for my wounds. Did he forget me?

"No he didn't. He knows the war isn't over yet. Mr. Nixon, I have to tell you that I'm still fighting and I'm a prisoner, too. I'm bleeding a little now and then and my rations are low. I'd like to visit my family and friends and the place I once called home. My wife and child have left. They were scared of this battle. They didn't understand why we couldn't all go home."

President Nixon says, "We will not forgive them." Mr. Eisenhower, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Johnson, have you been forgiven? President Nixon—all who made decisions about that war—how old were we then? How much experience did we have of life? How much education did we have? With all this, did we make any mistakes? Did we commit any sins? Are we sure that everything we ordered our young men to do was right? Did we expect a boy to be less fallible than we? Have we nothing to ask forgiveness for? Would we find it terrible if we as individuals and as a nation were to confess, "We have made mistakes. We have sinned. Father, and brothers forgive us"? How can anyone dare to say, "We will not forgive them"?

ANNA CROWLEY,  
(Mrs. John F. Crowley).

## PUBLIC REPORT ON THE MISSOURI TRAINING SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

HON. JAMES W. SYMINGTON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. Speaker, on several occasions in the past I have shared with my colleagues in the House reports on the work of the Youth Advisory Council of the Second Congressional District in Missouri. I established this council, which is composed of representatives of all high schools in the Second District, upon entering the Congress.

The following report discusses a study made by the Committee on Juvenile Justice of the Council on the Missouri Training School for Girls at Chillicothe, Mo.:

MISSOURI TRAINING SCHOOL FOR GIRLS  
AT CHILlicothe

## FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

"This group of high school students can view the problem of juvenile justice as only young people can; they allow us to see the problems of youth through young eyes."

—Congressman JAMES W. SYMINGTON.

MARCH 31, 1974.

This report was compiled by the Committee on Juvenile Justice of the Second Congressional District Youth Advisory Council. The Council, created in 1971 by Congressman James W. Symington, is a non-partisan organization of students representing each high school in Missouri's Second District. The opinions expressed herein are those of the undersigned:

Committee on Juvenile Justice—Mark D. Whitener, Chairman, Webster Groves High School;

Anne Dempsey, Visitation Academy;

Kathy McKean, Con Jesu Academy;

Douglas E. Phillips, Consultant, Princeton University.

It is easy to pass judgment on an institution without having seen it. Problems are static, clean-cut, and very simple. Solutions are obvious and eminently sensible: "modify" the institution, "phase it out," or simply "bulldoze it." Develop "alternative forms of treatment" (what they will actually consist of can be figured out later). *In absentia* analysis is so popular—probably because it requires so little attention and concentration—that a number of "experts" and public officials have used it on the Missouri Training School for Girls at Chillicothe. The Governor has endorsed a proposal by the State Board of Training Schools that Chillicothe be "phased out," despite the fact that, according to Chillicothe Superintendent Janet Van Walraven, neither the Governor nor any member of his staff has set foot on the grounds of the Training School for Girls at any time during his administration. Furthermore, the Board of Training Schools has not even toured the institution since its new treatment program was initiated two years ago.

We realize that superficial judgments, while they're temptingly easy to make, are convincing only until they're tested. We have opted, therefore, for an informed judgment. On March 26, 1974, we went to Chillicothe and saw the Training School for Girls. We had a long talk with Ms. Van Walraven, lunch with some of the girls, and a complete and thorough tour of the facilities. We were always free to ask questions, and we did. We talked to staff members and saw them at work. We reviewed all the available written material on the institution and its treatment program, as well as literature on its theoretical foundations. We attempted to

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approach the issue with an open mind as well as an open mouth, keeping in mind that you can go "inside" an institution and still remain largely "outside" of what's really happening there and that sometimes things aren't even as simple as they seem from the inside.

Our findings and recommendations are presented as a first step to stimulate critical analysis, especially by those with public responsibility in this area.

## TREATMENT: BEHAVIOR MODIFICATION

The Training School for Girls calls its treatment program "MANDATE," for "Modification and Accountability Training Endeavor." The chief element of the program is a "behavior modification" system, emphasizing positive reinforcement. According to Ms. Van Walraven, "as much as possible (staff members) ignore the negative aspects of a girl's behavior and reinforce the positive." Girls receive points for good behavior, and the points can be exchanged for room, board, recreation, clothing, and other privileges. This "token economy" is similar to a credit card system; girls carry cards which are punched with points as immediate reinforcers of good behavior. Points contribute not only to material privileges, but also to ultimate release from the institution. Based on the number of points she earns in a four week period, a girl is classified in one of four "phases." Higher phases carry higher privileges and more responsibilities, and each girl must move through the entire progression of phases before being released.

It is very important to note that the purpose of this system is merely to "tranquillize" the girls so that their behavior conforms to social norms. Reinforcement is given for working, studying, completing assignments, dressing appropriately, being on time, being clean, and not misbehaving. This modifies the girls' social behavior in the institution, but behavior modification techniques are not generally being used to shape new patterns of behavior for application to unique problems in the home environments of individual girls. For example, a girl who ran away from a noxious home environment and became pregnant (a not atypical case) does not learn how to cope with a negative environment or pregnancy merely by making her bed and going to school. The goal of the Chillicothe system is to create a positive, peaceful environment in which larger "problems" can be handled by other means. Clearly, this is a departure from behaviorist principles.

The reinforcement approach is not too difficult for the staff to understand and employ, and they seem to accept it enthusiastically. It is consistent with a *quid pro quo* sense of justice, and therefore "makes sense" to staff and girls alike.

## TREATMENT: GROUP THERAPY

Group therapy at Chillicothe is patterned after the "Guided Group Interaction" technique, transactional analysis, and reality therapy. A group leader (staff) exercises "subtle control," according to Ms. Van Walraven, but the girls take the leadership in "solving problems." The behavior modification system is extended to group therapy by offering points to girls for solving their own problems or helping others. Each girl spends seven and a half hours a week in group therapy, and it is here that individual problems receive special treatment. Analogies are made between events at the institution and similar events in the child's home community. Ms. Van Walraven insists that "groups are not supportive of gripe or bitch sessions—not are they to become an avenue to complaints to be formalized or acted upon." Groups are also distinct from the "Positive Peer Culture" groups in operation at other state institutions as peer pressure is not as formalized.

Group therapy tends to give direction to

the treatment program, in the opinion of Ms. Van Walraven. It provides individual girls with specific person goals in addition to the general material goals shared by most of the girls in the institution. Reinforcement of positive behavior in groups may encourage girls to generalize such behavior and act more positively in group situations outside of the Training School in the Superintendent's opinion. One form of group interaction that is not technically therapeutic is the interaction experienced when girls attend Sunday church services and visit with local families. These experiences give the girls an opportunity to have genuine, positive relationships with people and to receive spontaneous and natural reinforcement.

The girls with whom we spoke seemed to have favorable attitudes toward the group therapy program. They viewed it as an integral part of the institution and noted that it provided opportunities to earn points while also "getting things off of their chests." Although a few were cynical about the groups, most seemed to take them seriously and positively.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

1. *The Missouri Training School for Girls at Chillicothe should remain open and functional, at least until proven viable alternatives are available and functioning*

The overriding spirit of Chillicothe is positive—as an institution it is nearly ideal. The facilities are humane and adequate for the treatment program. The location, while a drawback with regard to parental visits, is highly preferable to an ultra-urban setting. The girls themselves have expressed a strong preference for the quiet, rural environment, which enhances behavioral calmness and provides a sense of liberation from the pervasive problems associated with unfavorable home environments. The people of Chillicothe have accepted the institution and participate enthusiastically in activities at the school and with the girls.

The treatment program is preferable to previous ones and to those offered elsewhere in the state. While it could be improved, these improvements would best come within the existing framework. Our specific recommendations for changes in the treatment program will come in following recommendations.

We agree with the State Board of Training Schools that community based treatment is preferable when possible; however, we believe that most of the girls who are now at Chillicothe simply must be treated outside of their homes. We fear that "community based treatment" may become synonymous with "community based institutions" which would be just like Chillicothe except that they would have ten foot high fences around them and would not have the advantage of an established, well-oiled plan of treatment. Group homes and halfway houses are not sufficient for those children who need at least a brief exposure to a controlled environment.

We are reluctant to favor the continuation of any institution unless we are positive that it is actually helpful to the people who are sent to it, not only enhancing their docility while they are there, but enhancing their lives after they are released. We firmly believe that the Training School for Girls is such an institution and enthusiastically recommend that it receive the confidence and support of Missourians.

2. *Governor Bond should visit and tour the Training School for Girls at Chillicothe before making any further decisions or recommendations regarding the continued operation of the school*

No more *in absentia* analysis. No more remote control recommendations. If he's going to pass judgment, he ought to take a good look at the place. Anything less than a careful look is unfair and unwise.

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

3. *All members of the State Board of Training Schools should tour the training school for girls at Chillicothe before making any further decisions or recommendations regarding the continued operation of the school*

It is especially troubling that the Board of Training Schools, which has direct responsibility for the Training School at Chillicothe, has not actually toured the institution in two years. It is not enough to have meetings there; they ought to find out what's going on. To do less is not only unfair and unwise, it is dereliction of duty.

4. *Present staff members should be retained but given additional training in new fields so that the school's education and vocational program can be expanded*

The Training School for Girls has facilities for a widely varied program of vocational training, but lacks sufficiently trained staff members to make full use of these facilities. The present staff is performing its job efficiently and enthusiastically, but with extended training such vocations as home mechanics and use of machinery, for which Chillicothe has facilities, could be offered and would broaden the choices available to the girl as to her vocation.

5. *The "positive reinforcement" program of behavior modification should be maintained, but differential behavior classifications should be made upon reception of students and differential treatment should be undertaken to deal with individual differences. Non-reinforced trust sessions should be further developed*

The behavior modification approach, although in a limited version, is being employed effectively at Chillicothe. We have noted that it creates a positive and friendly environment at the Training School, and that it makes possible a calm and reasoned effort to solve personal problems. We have attempted to show how the system at Chillicothe is based on learning theory but does not hold to that theory dogmatically. We do believe that differential behavior classifications, made upon reception at the institution, would facilitate improved individual treatment. We realize that standard behavior classification tests for girls are not as well developed as those for boys, but we believe that the reception staff could develop an informal set of classifications that would give staff members a better idea of the general approach that would be most effective for a particular girl.

Our only reservation about the reinforcement approach is that; it may place too great an emphasis on material reinforcement, rather than the reinforcement of personal satisfaction. An intricate token economy may tend to suggest that one need do only what one is paid for. Dependency on material incentives can be over-stressed. Many of these girls will return to environments in which the greatest reinforcement will be for criminal behavior. Therefore, they need to develop a certain resistance to external pressures and a greater sense of individual independence. Experiences in group therapy are helpful in revealing to the girls the satisfaction to be gained from positive social encounter but even these experiences carry monetary value. Sunday activities in the community are true trust sessions, where the reinforcement is entirely non-material. More such sessions are needed. Wilderness experiences, such as hiking, rock-climbing, canoeing, and camping should be undertaken. These experiences should not be governed by any material reinforcement schemes but should enable the girls to develop genuine trusting relationships.

6. *A research component should be added to the Chillicothe program to identify the program's goals and evaluate its success in achieving those goals*

We recognize that even our serious study of the institution, or the study of any citi-

zen group, cannot provide the scientific evaluation necessary for truly well-informed judgments and policy decisions. A built-in research arm of the Training School could provide scientific analysis which, combined with the impressions and observations of citizens like us, might lead to more fruitful approaches to the institution and to the problems it is charged with meeting.

7. *A Missouri behavioral science advisory board should be established to advise the public and the government on behavioral science principles and their application in state institutions and programs*

Along with scientific research we need scientific interpreters who can enable citizens to understand the principles and mechanisms involved in the programs of institutions such as Chillicothe. Leading behavioral scientists in Missouri, representing various points of view, could fulfill this function. Additional sources of advice and opinion never hurt and can be especially valuable in making policy.

#### GUAM LEGISLATURE SUPPORTS SOUTH PACIFIC GAMES

#### HON. ANTONIO BORJA WON PAT

OF GUAM

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. WON PAT. Mr. Speaker, next year Guam will be proud to host the 1975 South Pacific games. Contestants from many of the South Pacific Islands, such as American and Western Samoa, Fiji, and, of course, Guam, will gather to test their prowess in much the same manner as do athletes in the Olympics.

Since this is the first time that the South Pacific games will be held on American soil, next year's games will offer a unique opportunity for young people from Guam to work with young people from at least 14 other Pacific areas. As an American citizen, I am proud that Guam will play host to the South Pacific games as I firmly believe that personal communication is the best route to better understanding between peoples.

Consequently, I have long supported bringing the games to Guam as an excellent opportunity to show our fellow Micronesians and other residents of the South Pacific how Guam, as an American territory, has progressed in recent years. In this day of rapid change, it is crucial that the future leaders of these areas meet so as to better understand how the destinies of Micronesia and other South Pacific regions are often intertwined with one another.

Joining me in support of the South Pacific games is the 12th Guam Legislature, which recently enacted a resolution reaffirming its wholehearted support for the event which is scheduled to be held next summer.

The legislature has been most interested in bringing the games to Guam and providing assistance. I salute the speaker of the legislature and his colleagues for giving their support for the games.

Planning and bringing together the people and the resources for an activity as complicated as the games is, of course, not the work of one man. It has taken the unceasing activity of many individuals on Guam and has required

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the support of the people themselves. Two men who have donated countless hours of their time to bring the games to Guam in the face of tremendous adversity are Mr. Joseph F. Ada, president of the Guam Amateur Sports Association, and Mr. Theodore Nelson, president of the Fifth South Pacific Games Council.

I am also pleased to note that the military establishment on Guam has announced its willingness to make available some of its excellent sports facilities for the games since Guam does not currently possess adequate sports facilities. Admiral Morrison, the Marianas naval forces commander, is to be congratulated for his interest in improving the fine relations between the military and the civilian community.

The origin of the South Pacific games is credited to Dr. A. H. Sahu Khan of Fiji, who made a proposal for the international sports competition at a meeting of the Fourth Pacific Conference at Rabaul in 1959, according to informed sources.

The first South Pacific games were staged in Fiji in 1963, with competition from 13 areas. The second games were held in New Caledonia where contestants from 14 regions, including Guam for the first time, participated in a number of events such as tennis, football, swimming, and volleyball.

The latest games were hosted by Tahiti in September 1971. Fourteen territories competed in 17 events.

Hosting the South Pacific games will mark a major effort on the part of Americans from Guam to participate in the life of their fellow residents of the Pacific. For this reason, I am pleased to introduce into the RECORD the text of Resolution No. 258. I trust that my colleagues in Congress will note with interest the efforts of their fellow Americans in the Pacific to bring the many peoples of that vast area into closer community through sports.

The resolution follows:

[Twelfth Guam Legislature, 1974 Second Regular Session]

RESOLUTION No. 258

Relative to reaffirming the wholehearted support of the Twelfth Guam Legislature for the 1975 South Pacific Games to be held on Guam

Be it resolved by the Legislature of the Territory of Guam:

Whereas, the invitation to hold the 1975 South Pacific Games on Guam was extended by the Speaker of the 11th Guam Legislature to the members of the South Pacific Games Council in Tahiti in September, 1971; and

Whereas, the Games having been awarded to Guam on the basis of this invitation issued in good faith by the people of Guam acting through its Legislature; and

Whereas, Public Law 11-189 established a South Pacific Games Commission which led subsequently to the naming of the Guam Recreation Commission to comprise said Commission which in turn appointed the members of the Organizing Committee; and

Whereas, the Executive Branch of the government rescinded its earlier desire to cancel the games on the basis that funds ex-

pended for facilities will not be for the games alone, but for the continuous and long-term use of the people of Guam; and

Whereas, the Speaker and other supporters of earlier South Pacific Games were convinced at the time of the bid and remained convinced that facilities both athletic and logistical on Guam are entirely adequate to stage the games on par with, if not superior to all prior games; and

Whereas, the 12th Guam Legislature never waived in its support for the South Pacific Games and continues to stand ready to assist in any way possible the Organizing Committee of the duly appointed South Pacific Games Commission; and

Whereas, the Organizing Committee is being asked to justify its original bid and show cause that Guam can hold the games, before the South Pacific Games Council in Fiji on the 30th of May; now therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Twelfth Guam Legislature does hereby reaffirm its support of Guam's intention to hold the games in the territory in July and August of 1975; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the representatives of the Organizing Committee will carry this resolution to the conference in Fiji and give every assurance to the member nations that the people of Guam will consent that the 1975 games will be staged in a manner befitting the reputation of the Territory of Guam for hospitality, friendship and friendly competition; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Speaker certify to and the Legislative Secretary attest the adoption hereof and that copies of the same be thereafter transmitted to the President, South Pacific Games Council, to the Secretary of the South Pacific Games Council, to A. B. Won Pat, Guam's Delegate to Congress, and to the Governor of Guam.

Duly and regularly adopted on the 22d of May, 1974.

F. T. RAMIREZ,  
Speaker.  
G. M. BAMBIA,  
Legislative Secretary.

THE WAR AGAINST KISSINGER

HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, I was somewhat surprised to read an article from Richard Wilson calling for candor from Kissinger. I have read Mr. Wilson's column for many years and have usually found him to be fair. However, in the present article, he became one of the carping critics.

As we all know, the National Security Council is composed of the President, the Vice President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense and advisers and is charged with the security of our country which most of us love, have defended, and will continue to defend. I submit, Mr. Speaker, that any man on the National Security Council or who is an adviser to that Council who reveals secrets is guilty of treason and should be tried for this offense. According to such information as we have at the present time, Mr. Kissinger did submit

the names of those who had information which had been leaked. For this I wish to commend the distinguished statesman. He did exactly what he should have done.

The fact that the wiretaps which were made did not reveal the person who was guilty of the offense only means that the culprit was not found. Someone must have betrayed the secrets of the United States, and to condemn Secretary Kissinger for his actions in trying to find the traitor is beyond the realm of reason. This great statesman, picked by the administration, was able to lift the oil embargo which threatened the economy of the United States. Anyone with one eye and half sense knows that we would have been in the deepest depression of this century if the oil embargo had not been lifted.

Let us give thanks to this able man and to the administration for accomplishing this very desirable purpose.

It is refreshing to note, Mr. Speaker, that one of the most respected senior columnists in the United States, Marquis Childs, takes issue against the war on Kissinger in his article in the Washington Post today. I enclose for perusal of the Members parts of the editorial by the distinguished columnist, Mr. Childs:

THE WAR AGAINST KISSINGER

(By Marquis Childs)

Throwing out the baby with the bath is likely to be the end result of the expanded warfare directed at Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. The baby in this instance is the Nixon foreign policy opening the way to at least the chance for a peaceful world and an abatement of the nuclear arms race.

The squalid bath water of Watergate may finally drown everything good and bad. If that happens, the loss may be irreparable and the opening to a peaceful understanding between East and West closed for a long time to come.

Returning from the Mideast hailed as Super-K and a miracle worker, Kissinger faced a press conference bent on establishing his guilt in the wiretaps of his co-workers the National Security Council and certain newspaper men. The persistent question was whether he had proposed those wiretaps or whether he had merely supplied a list of names of those who had had access to secret information. The question was never satisfactorily answered as reporters playing Mr. District Attorney bore in.

In the long view of history, it may be determined that he sacrificed too much, cut too many corners for personal power. But for those of us living in this precarious moment, the verdict of history is at the end of a long dark and perhaps impassable tunnel. If the nuclear arms race between the two superpowers goes on and still other nations get the potential of the weapon of annihilation, there may be no history.

The assumption of some reporter-commentators who direct their fire at Kissinger is that diplomacy should be treated like the police beat. You score if you get the bad guys and you better believe there aren't any good guys.

Above all, no secrecy—with the diplomat, the Secretary of State, exposed to the fierce light of the police line-up. This is a dangerous distortion of the reporter's function. Any protracted and difficult negotiation, such as that in the Mideast, has elements which cannot in the first stages be disclosed. Those ele-

ments, which one must assume do not violate the national interest, are an essential part of the diplomat's trade.

In the Mideast negotiation, President Hafez of Syria could privately tell Kissinger that he would do everything possible to prevent Palestinian terrorists from infiltrating into Israel. But he could not put this in writing nor could he advertise it publicly if a disengagement on the Golan Heights was to be achieved. In his turn, Kissinger would pass this on to the Israeli negotiators.

What this comes down to is trust. The trust that Kissinger inspired in his shuttle diplomacy was an important ingredient in his success. Should that trust be destroyed in one way or another we shall be the poorer.

What disturbs one observer is the way each new blow at the Nixon administration brings an almost-gleeful gloating. *Hah we've got the evil-doers on the run.* My own reaction to the plight of the nation caught up in the Watergate whirlpool is one of profound sorrow. How can this have happened to my country to which my forbears came long ago?

It is a looking glass world. The speech that President Nixon made to the midshipmen at Annapolis was a solid, persuasive exposition of what could and could not be accomplished through a detente with the Soviet Union. If the name of a Hubert Humphrey or an Adlai Stevenson had been attached to that speech, the liberals would have been on their chairs cheering.

Let me venture one precarious prophecy. If Nixon is removed from office by resignation or impeachment, we shall see a sterner, harsher and perhaps even a more dangerous period ahead. The stable will have been cleaned out and that will be a satisfaction. But what comes after in a battered and bruised system appears to be of little concern to those crying loudest for blood.

#### NEW RESEARCH REPORT ON RHODESIAN CHROME

#### HON. EDWARD G. BIESTER, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 11, 1974

Mr. BIESTER. Mr. Speaker, this week the United Nations Association published an updated version of its 1973 research report "Rhodesian Chrome," taking into account the developments on that issue since original publication of the report in May of last year. The new report—with detailed factual documentation—cites the political and economic cost that the United States is paying by continuing to violate United Nations economic sanctions against Rhodesia under the Byrd amendment which allows importation of Rhodesian chrome ore and ferrochrome.

Last December, the Senate passed S. 1868 which would restore the United States to full compliance with U.N. sanctions against the minority regime of Ian Smith in Rhodesia. The bill is now pending in the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

I hope our colleagues in the House will take a close look at the facts in the UNA report which show how harmful the Byrd

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

amendment is to our national interests. I include the summary of the 1974 supplement to the report in the RECORD at this point:

##### SUMMARY—MAY 1974 SUPPLEMENT "RHODESIAN CHROME"

(A Research Report\*, Students and Young Adult Division, United Nations Association of the U.S.A.)

The Byrd Amendment, permitting importation of chrome ore and other strategic materials from Southern Rhodesia in defiance of a mandatory UN embargo, has been on the U.S. statute book since November 1971. S. 1868, a bill to repeal this law, passed the U.S. Senate last December and is now under consideration in the House of Representatives.

Repeal of the Byrd Amendment has been urged by, among others, Secretary of State Kissinger, UN Ambassador John Scali, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs David Newsom, and Representative John Buchanan, who served as a U.S. delegate to the UN General Assembly in 1973. In addition, Peter M. Flanigan, Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs, stated in June 1973 that Rhodesian chrome is not "an important element in U.S. security or in our overall foreign economic policy."

Following, in summary, is an analysis of the arguments for and against the Byrd Amendment, as presented in the supplement.

National security: The facts do not support the main assertion of the original proponents of the Byrd Amendment, i.e., that imports of chrome ore from Southern Rhodesia had to be renewed for reasons of national security. This argument—

Ignored the availability of a U.S. strategic stockpile of high-grade chrome ore nearly 12 times what the Government now considers a safe level for both defense and essential civilian needs. In 1973 it began selling off most of that stockpile.

Depicted the Soviet Union (for many years the main U.S. source of chrome ore) as likely at any time to shut off the chrome supply for political reasons. This ignored the many aspects of Soviet dependence on economic and political cooperation with the U.S. Soviet chrome exports to this country have continued undisturbed since the 1950s, through crises over Berlin, Cuba, the Middle East and Vietnam.

Pictured Southern Rhodesia as a vital alternative source to the USSR, ignoring imports from South Africa, Turkey, Brazil, Greenland, India, Iran and Pakistan which, in 1973 alone, exceeded the present stockpile requirement of the Department of Defense. In fact, the small chrome ore imports from Rhodesia under the Byrd law have been at the expense of third countries—not to the Soviet Union, whose share of the U.S. import market has actually increased and is over half the total.

##### ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL CONCERN

A second major set of arguments alleges that U.S. industry needs cheap Rhodesian chrome. However rising prices for chrome ore in the years preceding the Byrd Amendment, and price declines thereafter, cannot be tied to the cutoff and resumption of imports from Rhodesia. Those imports have been far too small to affect the price trends. The upward pressure in the 1960s came primarily from a long-term, global increase in stainless steel

\*UNA originally published *Rhodesian Chrome* in May 1973. The May 1974 edition contains the entire text of the original and a new 16-page supplement. Additional copies are available from UNA-USA, 345 East 46th Street, New York, New York 10017.

manufactures; the recent downward trend is traceable mainly to reduced demand in the U.S. ferrochrome industry and to the stockpile sales.

Ferrochrome producers in the U.S. did not, as predicted, find in Rhodesia an attractive new source of metallurgical chrome ore. Since the Byrd Amendment, Rhodesia has accounted for only 10 to 11 percent of a sharply declining volume of metallurgical chrome ore imports. What has come instead from Rhodesia—unheralded by advocates of the Byrd bill in 1971 but admissible under its broad language—is a growing volume of *high-carbon ferrochrome*. It is manufactured in that country under low wages and no pollution controls and competes here with domestically-produced ferrochrome. Rhodesia's share of rising U.S. ferrochrome imports rose from zero in 1971 to 41 percent in 1973.

A 1971 assertion that a certain shipment of chrome ore from the Soviet Union "may" have originated in Rhodesia is still occasionally cited as if it were fact—even though it was discredited at that time by experts in the U.S. Geological Survey.

The recently established role of imported Rhodesian ferrochrome in supplying the U.S. stainless steel industry is minor, comprising 10 percent of U.S. ferrochrome consumption in 1973, it could quickly be replaced by other sources should renewed sanctions cut off the Rhodesian supply.

##### LEGAL OBLIGATION

Enactment of the Byrd Amendment placed the United States in open violation of its UN Charter obligation to conform to binding decisions of the Security Council. Arguments have been made that the Council had no power to impose mandatory sanctions in the Southern Rhodesia case, or that the President had no authority to comply with the sanctions program, but such arguments do not stand up to scrutiny. The American Bar Association called on Congress in 1972 to repeal the Byrd Amendment, declaring "the rule of law to be the only alternative to the rule of force" and that "the good faith fulfillment of treaty obligations is central to the rule of law."

##### EFFECT ON RHODESIAN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

The all-white minority regime in Rhodesia is in a complex "fight-talk" situation, fighting against an escalating Black insurgency while talking with the chief African negotiator, Bishop Muzorewa. Although the white leadership still balks at necessary concessions on Black political rights, major pressures for such concessions arise from insurgent activity and from the UN sanctions program, even in spite of widespread clandestine violations. Repeal of the Byrd Amendment, bringing new vigor to the UN sanctions, would strengthen the hand of both Black and white advocates of a negotiated rather than a military, solution, and thereby improve hopes for peace in southern Africa.

##### RELATIONS WITH AFRICA

The Byrd Amendment, with its implication that the U.S. places commercial considerations above African rights, has dealt a blow to our relations with African countries whose friendship and commerce are important to our interests and to U.S. imports of petroleum, manganese, tantalum, cobalt and other strategic minerals. Its impact has been strongest among African youth. The longer it lasts, the more likely it is to be remembered with bitterness by a future majority government of Southern Rhodesia.

##### U.S. POSTURE IN THE U.N.

The Byrd Amendment has compounded U.S. difficulties in gathering support among the UN's 41 African member nations on issues important to Washington.