

1973, pursuant to section 439(k), title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965, as amended (20 U.S.C. 1087-2(k)); to the Committee on Education and Labor.

2522. A letter from the Chairman, Federal Power Commission, transmitting a copy of the publication entitled, "Natural Gas Act, March 1, 1974"; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

2523. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting a copy of the order suspending deportation in the case of Benito Palafox-Gutierrez, pursuant to section 244(a)(2) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended (8 U.S.C. 1254(c)(1)); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2524. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting copies of orders suspending deportation, together with a list of the persons involved, pursuant to section 244(a)(1) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended (8 U.S.C. 1254(c)(1)); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

RECEIVED FROM THE COMPTROLLER GENERAL  
2525. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the implementation and impact of reductions in civilian employment during fiscal year 1972; to the Committee on Government Operations.

## REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. PERKINS: Committee of conference. Conference report on S. 3203 (Rept. No. 93-1175). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. HOLIFIELD: Committee on Government Operations. H.R. 15233. A bill to establish an Office of Federal Procurement Policy within the Office of Management and Budget; with amendment (Rept. No. 93-1176). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. PATMAN: Committee on Banking and Currency. H.R. 9989. A bill to further the national housing goal of encouraging homeownership by regulating certain lending practices and closing and settlement procedures in federally related mortgage transactions to the end that unnecessary costs and difficulties of purchasing housing are minimized, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 93-1177). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. PATMAN: Committee on Banking and Currency. H.R. 15578. A bill to amend the

Small Business Act, the Small Business Investment Act, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 93-1178). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. STAGGERS: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. S. 1728. An act to increase benefits provided to American civilian internees in Southeast Asia; with amendment (Rept. No. 93-1179). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

## PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina:  
H.R. 15789. A bill to regulate commerce by establishing a nationwide system to restore motor vehicle accident victims and by requiring no-fault motor vehicle insurance as a condition precedent to using a motor vehicle on public roadways; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CARNEY of Ohio (for himself, Mr. TEAGUE, Mr. DORN, and Mr. SATTERFIELD):

H.R. 15790. A bill to amend section 802 of title 38, United States Code, so as to increase Veterans' Administration assistance to seriously disabled veterans in acquiring specially adapted housing; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. DIGGS (for himself, Mr. FRASER, Mr. FAUNTROY, and Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia):

H.R. 15791. A bill to amend section 204(g) of the District of Columbia Self-Government and Governmental Reorganization Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. ERLBORN (for himself and Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin):

H.R. 15792. A bill to amend the National Labor Relations Act to extend its coverage and protection to employees of nonprofit hospitals, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. FRENZEL:

H.R. 15793. A bill to amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to impose overall limitations on campaign expenditures and political contributions; to provide that expenditures made by a candidate may be made only by the central campaign committee designated by him; to provide for a single reporting responsibility with respect to receipts and expenditures; to change the times for the filing of reports regarding campaign expenditures and political contributions; and for other purposes; to the Committee on House Administration.

H.R. 15794. A bill to amend chapter 17 of

title 38 of the United States Code to require the establishment of comprehensive treatment and rehabilitative services and programs for all veterans suffering from alcoholism, drug dependence, or alcohol or drug abuse disabilities; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. OWENS:  
H.R. 15795. A bill to amend title 5, United States Code, to regulate certain activities of Federal employees, and for other purposes; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. RIEGLE (for himself, Mr. CORMAN, Mr. DANIELSON, Mr. DRINAN, Mr. HAMILTON, Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia, Ms. HOLTZMAN, Mr. MALLARY, Mr. PREYER, Mr. ROSE, Mr. TRAXLER, and Mr. VANDER VEEN):

H.R. 15796. A bill to amend the Employment Act of 1946 with respect to price stability; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. ROE (for himself, Mr. BAFALIS, Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT, Mr. McSPADEN, Mr. MOLLOHAN, and Mr. STUCKEY):

H.R. 15797. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide assistance for programs for the diagnosis, prevention, and treatment of, and research in, Huntington's disease; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SYMMS:

H.R. 15798. A bill to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Interior to study the feasibility and suitability of establishing a Hells Canyon National Recreation Area in the States of Idaho and Oregon; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. WYLLIE:

H.R. 15799. A bill to provide for protection of franchised dealers in petroleum products; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ROGERS:

H. Con. Res. 558 Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the President exercise his authority to suspend assistance to the Government of Turkey; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. FUQUA:

H. Res. 1221. Resolution expressing the sense of the House regarding the reclassification of servicemen listed as missing in action in Southeast Asia to presumptive finding of death status; to the Committee on Armed Services.

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

Mr. GUDE introduced a bill (H.R. 15800) for the relief of Victor Henrique Carlos Gibson, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

"AMERICA"

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1974

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. Speaker, as we pause to celebrate the 198th anniversary of America's independence, it seems appropriate to point out what is right about our great country. When confronted with so many crises, it is often difficult to sit back and reflect on the positive aspects of America.

Just recently a poem entitled, "America," was brought to my attention by a good friend. The poem is by a young man

from Los Angeles who has a deep and abiding sense of the greatness of America and what must be done to preserve our democratic way of life. I was so impressed with the maturity of his poem and the message it conveys that I want to share it with the Congress and the Nation. Therefore, I include this very moving and prophetic poem by Mr. James Bruce Joseph Sievers:

"AMERICA"

If you think you feel badly  
You can be happy you are able to think  
When you are walking about sadly  
How fortunate you are able to walk  
Or when you dent your car  
Think how many have no car to dent  
Or your golf's not up to par  
What a luxury it is to golf

In a country such as ours  
With its trees and its flowers  
And its days and its nights  
Full of freedoms and rights  
Can't we see what it means to be free?

There's no country on earth  
Like the land of our birth  
We're Americans and we're proud to be.  
But if you had a dollar  
How you'd scream and you'd holler  
If someone tried to take it away.  
Listen to me stranger  
Your freedom's in danger  
Look around at our country today.  
The left is too left  
And the right's too right  
And the middle can't make up its mind  
It's not others we should fear  
Look into your mirror  
A traitor in there you might find

He comes in many forms  
 Dwells offices and dorms  
 And forgets that American is his name  
 Or he elects a man  
 Then does what he can  
 To put his representative to shame  
 Or he feels that it's wrong  
 For a nation to be strong  
 And a uniform is no way to be free  
 If we complacently  
 Ignore America's plea  
 We'll lose her and be unable to see  
 That our enemies, of course  
 Won't need to use force  
 Because our enemies are already here  
 And as with Greece and with Rome  
 We'll soon give up our home  
 If we don't realize that with every year  
 Our youth can't see  
 What it means to be  
 An American in love with his land  
 So our example must show  
 That we're proud to know  
 We're Americans and we understand  
 That the bruises and scars  
 On our stripes and stars  
 Are proof for the youth to see  
 That Americans must strive  
 To keep America alive  
 For freedom can never be free.

JAMES BRUCE JOSEPH SIEVERS.

## EMERGENCY LIVESTOCK ACT—THE BANK BILL

HON. PETER A. PEYSER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1974

Mr. PEYSER. Mr. Speaker, opposition to the Emergency Livestock Act continues to mount. Some of this opposition is coming from the very people whom this legislation is alleged to help.

I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues two pieces of communication which I received from cattle feeders who are voicing their objections to this ill-conceived legislation:

ALTA VERDE INDUSTRIES, INC.,  
 Eagle Pass, Tex., June 29, 1974.

HON. PETER A. PEYSER,  
 House of Representatives,  
 Washington, D.C.

SIR: As a major cattle feeder with a one-time capacity of 25,000 head of cattle, I would like to voice my position on the proposed legislation relating to guaranteed loans for the livestock industry.

It is my honest opinion and observation that in spite of the heavy financial losses over the past nine months, the rank and file cattle feeders are not in favor of the government guaranteed loans.

As I see it, this bill is designed to bail out or benefit the banks instead of the producers. Why should the federal taxpayers be used to guarantee funds to banks which in turn will come back to haunt us?

Over the years, the beef industry has operated clearly under the law of supply and demand. Please let us continue to operate without government interference.

Thanks, but no thanks.

Yours Sincerely,

LEON MILLER,  
 President, Alta Verde Industries, Inc.

IDAHO CATTLE FEEDERS  
 ASSOCIATION, INC.,  
 Boise, Idaho, July 1, 1974.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PEYSER: Attached is a copy of a press release issued only moments ago. I am sending it to you at the request of our President, Robert Rebholz.

TONY ASHABAL, Secretary.

## PRESS RELEASE

AMERICAN FALLS, IDAHO, June 28.—President Robert Rebholz of the Idaho Cattle Feeders Association released the results of a telephone poll of the Officers and Directors of the Association as well as a number of Idaho cattle feeders concerning the current legislation relating to guaranteed loans for the livestock industry. This legislation has passed the Senate and is now before the House.

In spite of their heavy financial losses over the past ten months, none of the feeders polled indicated they were in favor of government guaranteed loans. A number of emphatic negative replies to this proposal were voiced. Rebholz stated that the industry was of the opinion that the only government help needed was to have the import quotas of the 1984 Meat Import Law re-instituted.

The Idaho Congressional delegation, the American National Cattlemen's Association and other state Cattle Feeder Associations were informed of the Idaho action.

Robert Henderlider, Executive Vice President of the Idaho Cattlemen's Association, stated that a poll of their Officers and Directors revealed the same feeling and that the Idaho Cattlemen are in agreement with the Idaho feeders.

Meeting in Boise, the Idaho Dairy Products Commission endorsed this idea, and stated that they agreed with their friends, the cattle feeders. In passing a resolution opposing guaranteed loans or further government intervention through subsidies, the Dairymen stated that what they really needed was for the government to put a stop to the inferior grade dairy imports coming into the United States from exporting nations that subsidized such exports.

## MANAGED NUCLEAR WAR: AN UNSETTLING IDEA

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1974

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, in a recent article in the Los Angeles Times of June 27, 1974, William C. Moore writes about the consequences of nuclear war. Our thoughts and rationalizations about nuclear power have never been so demanded upon as now when every day another nation achieves nuclear status.

William Moore's article about the logic of limited strategic nuclear war demand attention by every Member of Congress. I commend the article to you.

The article follows:

## MANAGED NUCLEAR WAR: AN UNSETTLING IDEA

(By William C. Moore)

For centuries, man has been trying to "manage" the intensity and gravity of his wars.

This effort—which we have come in recent years to term "arms control"—more often than not has failed, either because the agreements designed to constrain war resulted in one side gaining a military advantage which was then used aggressively to achieve political objectives, or because the constraints reduced the consequences of war to the point that war became an acceptable gamble.

For the past few years, despite repeated failures throughout history, arms control has again been beguiling the idealists. The diplomatic magic of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and the euphoria of detente have led many to hope that the pattern of previous arms control efforts can be avoided. President Nixon's current trip to Moscow,

from which can be expected only minimal movement toward further arms control, is little more than an extension of their expectation.

So far, however, the first two sets of strategic arms limitation talks are not particularly reassuring—history is apparently repeating itself once again. SALT I gave the Soviet Union significant numerical advantages over the United States in some categories of weapons; SALT II has for some time appeared to be foundering, partly because the Soviet Union is jockeying to achieve additional advantages.

Against this background, it might be wise to examine the proposals allowing for the possibility of limited—that is, managed—strategic nuclear war which are now being voiced in official circles. In such a war, each side would attack the other with nuclear weapons—but would be limited to only a few, isolated, strategic military facilities to indicate intent.

As Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger told a Senate foreign relations subcommittee, a limited strategic nuclear war between the Soviet Union and the United States, involving "a couple of nuclear weapons," is conceivable. The idea behind such an "exchange" of bombs is that a demonstration of intent would discourage escalation to all-out war.

Schlesinger brought forth the concept of a managed war to support his proposal to improve the accuracy of U.S. weapons so that they can be aimed at hard-to-hit Soviet military weapons and facilities.

Many American strategists contend, however, that tying accuracy to a limited-nuclear-war strategy places Schlesinger in a paradox—and puts a strain on the so-far-successful policy of using the threat of nuclear war to deter it.

They agree with his assessment that improved, more accurate weapons would tend to increase deterrence because the Russians could perceive the consequences of war to be that much more certain and dreadful. Certainly a weapon which can hit its target with the precision of a deer rifle is more useful and more deadly than a blunderbuss.

On the other hand, these American experts argue that the advantages are far outweighed by the faults in the proposal. The concept of limited strategic nuclear war, they contend, dangerously dilutes deterrence because of these worrisome questions:

Does not the concept suggest that the United States is attempting to find an acceptable way to fight a nuclear war if only somehow it can be "managed"?

Does this not, in turn, suggest that the grand strategy to deter war is being subordinated to an operating strategy designed to make war less harmful?

Does this not imply that the United States believes nuclear war is conceivable, perhaps inevitable—that, in short, the unthinkable is thinkable?

Does not the concept remove many uncertainties about the dreadful consequences of war? Will not aggressors perceive that the United States is weakening its deterrent to a point where more daring and less caution is possible in international affairs because the consequences of war have been markedly reduced?

Is not the concept based on a slim hope that both sides will not escalate; that each will forgo the objectives for which a war was started; that each will remain calm and rational while suffering the loss of large numbers of men, great quantities of materiel, and substantial numbers of nuclear weapons?

Once before the idea of "managed war" intrigued U.S. leaders. Presidents Kennedy and Johnson tried to "manage" conventional war in the 1960s. Their concept—known as flexible response—failed. Why? Because the whole concept smacked of how to reduce the consequences of war, not how to deter or win it.



The Communists correctly perceived that, under the restraints of flexible response, war by proxy, wars of national liberation, risky political probes and other gambles were worth the candle. Witness the Berlin wall, the subsequent Berlin crisis, the Cuban missile threat, the Dominican affair, the Pueblo incident and finally Vietnam, where managed war became an unmanaged, prolonged nightmare. All occurred after Kennedy decided on flexible response.

Despite all the polemic explanations about what has prevented nuclear war for nearly 30 years, the prevailing situation has not been managed conventional war, parity, sufficiency, counterforce, countervalue or any other esoteric strategy. Rather, it has been overwhelming American superiority to nuclear weapons and the dreadful consequences they portend.

This is the grisly logic of deterrence. It is this grisly logic which many strategists believe can eliminate war as an instrument of policy.

Gen. Douglas MacArthur, commenting on the awesome power of nuclear weapons, said war could no longer be viewed in the traditional sense as a continuation of policy by other means. War would no longer serve any useful purpose. The consequences were too catastrophic. Any political economic or social objective for which a war might be started would be lost in a swirling, mushroom-shaped cloud.

President Eisenhower successfully exploited the power of the atomic bomb to counter aggressive policies. He threatened nuclear war in Korea to achieve an armistice. A similar threat purportedly made Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev forgo his threat to take over Berlin in 1957. And Eisenhower used the term "parochial" to describe those who would remove the "balance of terror" from international affairs.

Kennedy described the atomic bomb as a sword of Damocles hanging dangerously over the world. Nevertheless, in the final hour, he was forced to use the threat of nuclear war against the Soviet Union to resolve the Cuban missile crisis.

The sword of Damocles, as Kennedy said, does hang over the world by a most slender thread. But is this so terrible a risk? Does anyone doubt that the sword has tempered diplomacy, curbed daring, made world leaders more cautious about flirting with war?

This balance of terror involves some risk of nuclear war, but the risks become infinitely greater if world leaders start rationalizing the logic of limited strategic nuclear war.

#### METHADONE AND PROFITS DO NOT MIX

#### HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1974

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, many people in this country consider methadone treatment the panacea to heroin addiction. While I disagree with this conclusion, I do believe methadone maintenance has made a significant contribution to the health and welfare of the hardened heroin addict.

But like any other new products with a ready market, the American free enterprise spirit notwithstanding the social consequences, has found ways to exploit this situation for a fast buck. Mounting evidence of such exploitation recently spurred this Congress to pass the Narcotic Addict Treatment Act which increased Federal control over the dispens-

ing of methadone. Today, Mr. Speaker, I wish to share with you and my colleagues the fact that the city of New York is planning to go one step further. Councilman Carter Burden, after extensive investigation, has introduced legislation that would remove the profit motive from methadone treatment. I commend Mr. Burden for this action, and submit for your information a WABC-TV editorial on the subject:

[WABC-TV editorial, 1974]

#### THE CITY SHOULD PUT AN END TO PROFIT- MAKING METHADONE CLINICS

New York City Councilman Carter Burden's special committee on methadone has found a lot wrong with the way the drug is distributed. As a result of the committee's extensive field investigations, Burden has introduced legislation to improve the handling and distribution of methadone.

First of all, the bill would phase out all profit making methadone clinics, putting private clinics under closer scrutiny by authorities.

Secondly, the new legislation would set guidelines for the location of clinics around the city. We consider this to be very important.

New York City has 156 of the 450 methadone clinics in the country. According to the Councilman, the bill would not tell doctors how to treat patients, but it would make sure that the addicts are actually getting treatment and not just getting free narcotics.

Methadone is a dangerous drug, just like heroin. It is addictive, it's very powerful and it can kill. We support stricter control over its use.

#### FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

#### HON. WAYNE OWENS

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1974

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, on July 1, 1972, when running for election to the House of Representatives, I made public a statement of my personal and political finances. At that time I pledged that, if elected, I would continue to release such a statement each year. On June 29, 1973, I entered such a disclosure at page 22441 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I support legislation to require this disclosure by Members of Congress, candidates for Congress, Federal judges, and public officials of the executive branch, and regret that such a requirement is not already written into law.

My current financial statement as of July 1, 1974, follows:

Assets	
Item and Current Value	
Home, Salt Lake City, Utah.....	\$31,927.50
Home, Fairfax, Va.....	73,260.00
One-eighth interest in old family home, Panguitch, Utah (owned with seven brothers and sisters).....	1,210.00
Four shares stock, Canadian Homestead Oil.....	15.00
5,000 shares stock, Cameo Minerals.....	300.00
1973 Ford Capri.....	2,100.00
1969 Oldsmobile Vista Cruiser.....	900.00
Home furnishings and personal belongings.....	4,500.00
Library.....	1,000.00
Whole life insurance, cash value.....	3,307.36

Unpaid insurance dividends.....	183.72
Cash value of civil service retirement.....	4,816.61
Notes receivable (Owens Newsletter and office account committee).....	11,000.00
Notes receivable (Ted D. Owens).....	2,000.00
Cash in savings and checking accounts.....	1,721.67
Anticipated tax refund (for 1973).....	3,898.46

Total assets..... 142,140.32

All property is held in joint tenancy by my wife, Marlene Wessel Owens, and me. This year's statement shows a 10 percent evaluation increase of our two homes since last year.

#### Liabilities

Mortgage on home Salt Lake City, Utah (Prudential Federal Savings, Salt Lake City, Utah).....	\$15,715.59
Mortgage on home, Fairfax, Va. (Riggs National Bank, Washington, D.C.).....	34,878.51
Unpaid real property tax (Virginia).....	407.03
Note payable (Tracy Collins Bank for office expenses).....	5,000.00
Note payable (New York Life Insurance Co.).....	1,450.00
Note payable (Riggs National Bank).....	1,857.00
Note payable to purchase automobile (Riggs National Bank, Washington, D.C.).....	937.30
Notes payable (Washington National Bank, office expenses).....	6,000.00
Note payable (Washington National Bank, personal).....	2,000.00

Total liabilities..... 68,245.43

Net worth..... 73,894.89

For calendar year 1973 we paid \$5,194.17 in Federal income taxes, and \$1,052.21 in Utah State income taxes on gross income of \$38,071.95. This reflects \$9,093.16 Federal withholding and as expected \$3,898.46 refunded.

This year's disclosure statement reflects an increase net worth over the last year of \$18,495.35. This is attributable to assigning an increase in revaluation of both homes of 10 per cent (total increased valuation of \$9,562.50) decrease in indebtedness on two home mortgages (\$1,986.39), increase in retirement cash value (\$3,230.03), and an expected tax refund for overpaid 1973 Federal taxes of \$3,898.46. These amounts total \$18,677.38.

GEORGE W. WELSH

#### HON. RICHARD F. VANDER VEEN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1974

Mr. VANDER VEEN. Mr. Speaker, the passing of George W. Welsh ends decades of dedication to Grand Rapids. He was an institution in the Grand River Valley region.

I recall the day during my campaign for the special election early in February when a State trooper stopped my car near Allendale to give me a message that I should call George Welsh right away. He had a scoop which he said would turn the tide of the election. He was ever ready with political advice.

Loved and respected by many, he was one of the most controversial political figures in the State. The Grand Rapids

Press stated that Welch never lost interest in politics; he had a vision of the way things ought to be.

George Welsh, 91, died at his home on Michigan St., NE., in Grand Rapids, Mich., June 29, 1974. He was born in Glasgow, Scotland in 1883. His family came to the United States when he was 8 years old.

Publisher of the weekly paper, *Interpreter*, he was always on the lookout for advertising and always ready with a cause he felt the people in Grand Rapids would and should rally to. He never slowed his pace of operation.

From his early days as an AP Dispatch runner for a wage of \$2 per week he combined his love of causes and politics. He made his first public speech in 1912.

He was elected to the State House of Representatives in 1916. He served four terms. A progressive Republican, he helped establish work farms for convicts, brought rural electrification to his home county, and sponsored an amendment to the capital punishment bill providing that members of the State house of representatives voting for the bill would have to assist at executions. The amendment was defeated.

His next political step was to serve with his mentor, Michigan Gov. Alex J. Grosbeck, a three-term Governor. Welsh served one term as his Lieutenant Governor.

He was speaker of the Michigan House of Representatives in 1923. In 1929 he was defeated in the Republican primary for Governor by Fred Greene.

He was chosen as city manager of Grand Rapids in 1929. His first official act was to decline his \$12,000 a year salary. He accepted \$1 per year.

In 1932 he resigned and again ran for Governor on the Republican ticket. After his loss he switched parties and stumped the State for the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

He was elected mayor of Grand Rapids in 1932 and served a record six terms. He resigned in 1949 prior to a recall effort. During his terms in office he proved to be a popular mayor. He provided good copy for reporters. He was never at a loss for vigorous opinion on any issue.

In 1950 he again tried for the mayor's seat but lost. Welsh returned to city hall officially for the last time in 1954 as city manager.

In George Welsh's passing the Grand Rapids Valley region has lost a vigorous advocate of the people and a colorful enterprising citizen.

#### THE MEANING OF OUR MEMORIALS

**HON. RONALD A. SARASIN**

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1974

Mr. SARASIN. Mr. Speaker, on May 26, a Memorial Day Sunday service for the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Gold Star Mothers was held at the United Methodist Church of Waterbury, Conn., with the Reverend Lionel R. Driscoll presiding. I regret having not been able to attend this special ceremony, which in-

cluded a prelude of Memorial Day hymns played by Kenneth Beyer, the church organist, and hymns featuring the participation of Mrs. Sharon Kreisberg, the church choir, and the congregation. This service is shared by a different area church each year. While speaking to the Gold Star Mothers after the ceremony, I was told of the deeply moving message of the Reverend Driscoll's sermon, "The Meaning of Our Memorials," based on a chapter from the book of Joshua, which attempts to reinstall in us the true meaning of Memorial Day. I later spoke with the Reverend Driscoll and requested a copy of this sermon so that I might share its message with my colleagues.

The sermon follows:

#### THE MEANING OF OUR MEMORIALS

Joshua 4: 1-20; Text verses 6, 7; "The monument will be a permanent reminder to the people."

#### INTRODUCTION

The beautiful granite and marble stones in many towns, cities, and villages, bearing the names of the men and women who gave their lives in our various wars, stand as a constant reminder of the sacrifices made by many people for the causes for which we contended during those terrible and yet inspiring years from the Pilgrim Fathers, through the Vietnam War. Some stones in these towns, villages and cities are not beautiful according to the standards of the best artists. Some stones even offend the taste of intelligent people. But every stone placed in park or public place for the purpose of memorializing those who made sacrifices for their country *has a beauty all its own* and is especially precious to the people whose loved ones are remembered there, as with these Gold Star Parents.

Can anyone looking upon such a stone but be reminded of the words of Jesus in John 15: 13—"Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." And Jesus did just this for us.

No matter how we may look upon war—the great causes served and, at the same time, the evils involved in the execution of war—there is this fact: those who died have given their lives for the sake of others. So we see in our memorial stones the deeds of sacrifice, the ideals of those who died, and the causes for which they gave their lives, though these causes may not have been clearly defined in the minds of those who died, or even fought.

#### WAR IS AN AWFUL THING

The inhumanities of war are beyond description. Certainly someday the people of the world will look upon the waging of war as the greatest of evils. Nevertheless, those who have fought and died for the sake of great causes are to be remembered for their sacrifices and honored for their service. Indeed, they have given the last full measure of devotion.

We thrill once again at the words of President Woodrow Wilson who said of the men serving in World War I: "The soldiers at the front . . . they are crusaders . . . are giving their lives, that homes everywhere . . . may be kept sacred and safe and men everywhere be free as they insist upon being free." In similar vein, President Franklin Roosevelt stated at the beginning of World War II: "We are fighting today for security, for progress, and for peace, not only for ourselves but also for all men, not only for one generation but also for all generations. We are fighting to cleanse the world of ancient evils, ancient ills."

Unfortunately, the ideals of both these men have not been fulfilled—because, we as citizens, and we as leaders, and our legislators fail to fulfill the promises made in the peace talks that were made. The U.S. Congress fouled up and failed the League of Nations, the U.S. Congress has really not pushed

the United Nations or made it work—partly because of party politics rather than the good of the world. No wonder we have these poems.

#### IN FLANDERS FIELD

(By John McCrae)

In Flanders Fields the poppies blow  
Between the crosses, row on row,  
That mark our place; and in the sky  
The larks, still bravely singing, fly  
Scarce heard amid the guns below.  
We are the Dead. Short days ago  
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,  
Loved, and were loved, and now we lie  
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe:  
To you from falling hands we throw  
The torch; be yours to hold it high.  
If ye break faith with us who die  
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow  
In Flanders fields.

This was a passionate plea from those who fought, some of whom died, that the world might be free. Edna Jacques felt that we had caught the torch, and we were holding it high for the freedoms that she felt were won:

#### IN FLANDERS NOW

(By Edna Jacques, in answer to John McCrae)

We have kept faith, ye Flanders dead,  
Sleep well beneath those poppies red,  
That mark your place.  
The torch your dying hands did throw  
We've held it high before the foe,  
And answered bitter blow for blow,  
In Flanders' fields.

And where your heroes' blood was spilled,  
The guns are now forever stilled  
And silent grown.  
There is no moaning of the slain,  
There is no cry of tortured pain,  
And blood will never flow again  
In Flanders' fields.

Forever holy in our sight  
Shall be those crosses gleaming white,  
That guard your sleep.  
Rest you in peace, the task is done,  
The fight you left us we have won,  
And "Peace on Earth" has just begun  
In Flanders' now.

But her message was premature. The Second World War was scarcely over when signs of unrest, and rumbles of war were heard again, around the world. Both World Wars had not solved the greed, the lust, the hatreds, the aggressiveness in the hearts of peoples in other nations. Hence, I wrote a response to Edna Jacques in 1947. It is an indictment on us all for not striving hard enough for peace.

#### LOST FAITH

(By Lionel R. Driscoll, in answer to "In Flanders' Now")

You have lost faith, ye Flanders' dead  
No sleep for you in a bomb-torn bed  
That marks your place.  
The torch your dying hands did throw  
We failed to catch and then the foe  
Rose up again to deal a blow  
In Flanders' Fields.

And where once your heroes' blood was spilled  
The guns of battle again are stilled  
And silence reigns.  
Still we hear the moaning of the slain  
Still we hear the cry of torture and pain  
And soldiers' blood has flown again  
In Flanders' fields.

On battlefields beyond our sight  
Are miles of crosses gleaming white  
And you shall not sleep.  
You have no peace though this war is done  
The peace you died for has not been won  
Because we failed what you had begun  
In Flanders Fields.

Not only do the heads of government state the causes for which citizens and soldiers of the nations are giving their lives. The men



who write history also recognize the fundamental causes involved in the conflicts of war and state them clearly. Such an historian was Professor Carl L. Becker of the history department of Cornell University, who said of World War II: "The European countries know they were fighting for their national existence and their political freedom, and for something more fundamental even than these—the elemental decencies of any civilized living."

All over Europe and the Pacific Islands the evidences of destruction are still seen after almost 30 years after the cessation of hostilities. The skeletons of some buildings and their ashes are left as grim reminders and memorials of the stark and gruesome tragedies and sufferings of war. But, as we look at this destruction, the words of a London physician spoken during the war-years come to mind: "It takes all our time to keep ourselves fit to live and perhaps to die for something more glorious than life".

So our memorials remind us of the causes which those who died sought to serve from the battles of the French and Indian Wars through Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and O God, where next?

#### THE SPIRIT OF SACRIFICE

Chaplain Dominic Ternan served the American forces in World War II, and was typical of the Chaplain's Corps. As he knelt beside a wounded man shielding his body with his own, and while he answered the wounded man's request for prayer, a shrapnel burst riddled his body, and he died with the prayer for the man on his lips. This is no unusual case of bravery or sacrifice in the line of duty, there being thousands of such reports, but it does illustrate the spirit of those who fought and died that others might live in freedom and security.

A family from one of my former churches sent their teen-age son off to war. He became a member of a bomber crew and was on a mission over Germany when his ship was struck by flak and he was killed instantly. What does a pastor say to the bereaved family in such a case? The cause if forgotten, the spirit of sacrifice seems of little importance compared to the loss of a son. A few years later a second son of that family was killed in his jet over Korea. I went back for the funeral. How does one comfort a family in such sorrow? The sturdy Christian father says, with all the compassion and tenderness of his heart: (as probably did these Gold Star parents) "If the sacrifice of my sons has served to bring peace a little nearer to mankind, then it has not been in vain." He knew of Jesus words—"Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

The mother of a flying ace journeyed to England during the war years to attend the wedding of her son. On the morning of the wedding, flying with his squadron, the son was killed. Said the mother later to a friend: "He loved his country, He loved his home, he loved the girl he would have married that day. He loved freedom and he believed that he was giving his life that the world might have the freedoms he loved".

As we look at our memorial stones and hold our services of decoration by placing wreaths of decoration at the graves of our loved one, and form our parades on the streets, we are reminded of the spirit of their sacrifices.

Someone whose name I cannot recall put it in these words:

We sent them forth, they did not ask us why;  
But on they went—in tears we saw them go.  
Across the seas they sped and took their stand,

While we, in our own safe and sheltered land,  
Bade them be strong to grapple with the foe;

They heard our voice, and gave the angry sky.

How crowded is the Heavenly House of Light  
With those who marched—for us—into the night.

And God himself weeps when we weep, and mourns when we mourn. I like the story of the little English child who had trouble going to sleep after hearing the falling bombs, and then the radio list of casualties after each nightly raid. "Mother," she said mournfully, "I think that God must have cried Himself to sleep last night." The great preacher and teacher of Boston University wrote a poem to this effect:

#### GOD CRIED HIMSELF TO SLEEP LAST NIGHT

(By William L. Stidger)

God cried Himself to sleep last night;  
His heart was pierced with pain.  
He saw ten thousand sons of His  
On cruel crosses slain.

He saw them die in foxholes, and  
on submarine and planes;  
He felt their hungers and their fears,  
Their loneliness and pains.

He knew each hurt and heartache, and  
He heard each piercing groan;  
He felt each wound when terror struck  
As if it were His own.

He wept with every woman who  
Was left in loneliness;  
He heard each sigh of suffering,  
Each sob of hurt distress.

He saw a small child weeping, all  
Bewildered and alone  
Where bombs of desolation had  
Their seeds of sorrow sown.

He trudged a trackless jungle, and  
Across dead desert sands;  
He climbed an ice-bound mountain peak  
And reached out holy hands.

He saw the tears of all the world,  
The bitterness and pain,  
And laid Himself, upon a cross  
To die for us again.

He felt a crown of thorns once more,  
A spear thrust in His side,  
Spikes in His feet, nails in His hands  
As when His own Son died.

God cried Himself to sleep last night;  
He sees much more than we;  
He saw ten thousand lonely hills;  
Each hill a Calvary.

#### THE CHRISTIAN HOPE

But we who are Christian do not stop with the night. We march on into the dawn of a new life with Christ. For, if Christ lives, then, too, we who are Christ's will live with Him. This is our Christian faith and hope, which we recited a few moments ago.

The death of Jesus had little meaning for the Disciples until they knew that He had conquered death and was alive. We Christians have something more than a memory of loved ones sacrificed for the cause of truth, righteousness, peace and justice. We have the assurance that even as Christ overcame the death of the grave, so those who die in Christian faith will be victorious over death also.

Christ's death is meaningless unless we accept His sacrifice, and become living Christians. Our loved ones' death in war becomes meaningless, unless we see that the causes, for which they died, are not in vain. Unless we put a stop to war, they did die in vain, and they shall not sleep in Flanders fields, in Iwo Jima, in the Philippines, etc.

As we look at our memorial stones we hear the words of Jesus: "I am the resurrection and the life: he that believes in me though he were dead, yet shall he live and he that lives and believes in me shall never die." (John 11:25-26) So we do not sorrow as they

who have no hope. We rejoice in the assurance of immortality through Him who lived and died and rose again to be our living Saviour and Lord. So we must make the sacrifices of our loved ones just as meaningful, by taking the torch and holding it high.

#### OUR DEDICATION TO SERVICE

Our memorial services are not complete until we, too, dedicate ourselves to the causes for which those we honor gave their lives. Decorating graves of heroes and loved ones has the value of reverence and respect for them and their deeds, but, unless we give something of ourselves for the causes to which they gave themselves, they will have died in vain—as in the poem I wrote, "Lost Faith".

We are reminded of the words of Edward Benes of Czechoslovakia, who said of the fall of the democracies of Europe before the onslaught of the totalitarian Communist regimes: "Unpreparedness, lack of courage, moral weakness, and calculating egoism, combined with a lack of solidarity and unreadiness to help one another, produced impotence and a certain willingness of the European democracies to defend themselves and their friends by force of arms against the expansionism of the totalitarian regimes".

This is true also in Southeast Asia—and our intervention in Korea, South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia. Well, the tasks before us today are clear and challenging. The battle for the freedom of the West against the totalitarian communism of the Soviet and Chinese governments is ever with us. It is more than a battle for Berlin, or Viet Nam or any of the satellite countries in Europe and Asia. It is the battle for the minds of men. And this battle will not be won by force of arms or bombs, though that may be a deterrent force; it will be won by out-thinking and out-living and out-dying the advocates of totalitarian forms of government wherever they may be.

The great conflict of the future as well as the present is one for the minds and souls of men and women, and particularly young people, in Europe, Asia, Africa. This demands sacrifice on the part of Americans and Christians in order to take the Gospel of Christ in teaching, preaching, and compassion to these people. Russia and China are ready—and are—making sacrifices to fasten their ideologies upon the great areas of the world that are now demanding freedom and a new way of life. And if America does not give it to them, Russia and China will, and our sacrifices will have been in vain.

Our memorial stones cry out to us to dedicate ourselves to the causes of freedom and education, justice and democracy for all the peoples of the world.

How shall we honor them, our Deathless Dead?

With strew of laurel and the stately tread?  
With blaze of banners brightening overhead?  
Nay, not alone these cheaper praises bring;  
They will not have this easy honoring?

How shall we honor them, our Deathless Dead?

How keep their mighty memories alive?  
In Him who feels their passion, they survive!  
Flatter their souls with Deeds, and all is said!

Author unknown.

We are all familiar with the Book "For Whom the Bell Tolls". The only way to keep the funeral bell from tolling again and again in wars is to take up the unfinished quarrel with the real foes of ignorance, poverty, prejudice—for as the author of the book said: "Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind. And therefore never ask for whom the bell tolls, it tolls for thee."

When our children ask—"What meaneth these stones" we tell them—but what?

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS:  
WHITE IRON ON THE ANVIL OF  
DEMOCRACY

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1974

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, on July 24, 1775, John Adams wrote to his wife, Abigail:

The Business I have had upon my Mind has been as great and important as can be entrusted to One Man, and the Difficulty and Intricacy of it is prodigious. When 50 or 60 men have a Constitution to form for a great Empire, at the same time that they have a Country of fifteen hundred miles extent to fortify, Millions to arm and train, a Naval Power to begin, and extensive Commerce to regulate, numerous tribes of Indians to negotiate with, a standing Army of Twenty seven Thousand men to raise, pay, victual and officer, I shall really pity those 50 or 60 men . . .

John Adams was talking about the Continental Congress. Indeed, there was reason for pity. The fact that a man served in it at all almost automatically made him a candidate for the gallows. There was extreme personal sacrifice on the part of every single one. Before the Revolutionary War itself was over, better than half had had their property looted or destroyed; some had been imprisoned, or driven into hiding, and even their families had been persecuted.

There were really two Continental Congresses. The first met at Philadelphia in September and October 1774. The second convened also in Philadelphia, on May 25, 1775, elected the same officers and, strictly speaking, did not go out of existence until March 4, 1789, when the new Government came in under the Constitution.

The lack of some form of central governing body was probably the greatest weakness when the Revolutionary War broke out. Now, there was no lack of trained politicians in the Colonies, since there had been long traditions of local government. But there was jealousy and dissent among the Colonies, and historians say today that one of the great surprises of the entire era was the Americans' ability to unite politically.

But back to the men themselves. It is true that they changed meeting places often; this has been derided by some historians as evidence of cowardice and indecision. However, consider Lynn Montross' observation in his "The Reluctant Rebels":

It would scarcely be a cynicism to add that one of the foremost functions of any parliament is its usefulness as a scapegoat in time of disaster. The Continental Congress of this crisis (Dec. '76, when they left for Baltimore) has been handled roughly not only by historians of the nineteenth century but also some debunkers of the twentieth . . . Congress, as the collective villain is cast as a group of scared civilians fleeing to Baltimore to save their own skins. In their panic the delegates leave the whole burden to Washington . . . The question of withdrawing from the imperiled city was of course decided by broader considerations than those of personal safety. But if the courage of the delegates is to be questioned, the statistics

of the Continental Congress show a record of military service which has probably never been bettered by any other parliament of history. Of the 342 men elected during the fifteen years, 134 bore arms in either the militia or the Continental army. One was killed in action, twelve seriously wounded, and twenty-three taken prisoners in combat. When it is recalled that a majority of the delegates had passed the age of 40, the valor of Congress needs no apologies . . .

John Richard Alden, in his "The American Revolution," also has a kind view:

The Congress declared the independence of the United States; appointed the commander in chief and higher officers of the Continental army; established the American navy and the marine corps; formed a diplomatic service; negotiated treaties with European nations and Indian tribes; organized a postal service; issued currency; and borrowed money . . . Too much has been said, perhaps, regarding the failures of the Congress. It was created in emergency, endowed with uncertain authority, and plagued by rapid changes in personnel . . . But their record, when the difficulties to be faced are taken into account, is splendid rather than dismal . . . if the deeds of the Continental officers and men have not been excessively praised, too little credit has usually been given to the faithful in the Congress who struggled in adversity . . .

Briefly, from an historical standpoint:

The first Continental Congress assembled for the first time at Carpenter's Hall, in Philadelphia, on September 5, 1774; 12 colonies sent a total of 55 men—Georgia did not. Each delegation was given one vote, and in a series of declarations, this first Congress condemned the Intolerable Acts, the Quebec Act, the revenue measures imposed by the Crown since 1763, extension of the Admiralty Courts, the dissolution of colonial assemblies, and the peacetime stationing of regular soldiers in colonial towns, which had been a constant sore point.

They took up 13 parliamentary acts passed in England since 1763, declared each and every one of them unconstitutional, and pledged to uphold economic sanctions against England until the acts were repealed. Then 10 resolutions set out the rights of the colonies, as they saw them. On October 20, they signed the Continental Association, and put together addresses to the King himself, to the British people, and to the American people. Agreeing to meet again on May 10, 1775, if their petitions were ignored and their grievances not righted, they adjourned on October 26.

When they met again it was at the State House—later Independence Hall—in Philadelphia. Georgia still did not send an official representative, but in quick order the Congress—and this one, strictly speaking, was the second Continental Congress: resolved the Colonies should go into a state of military alert; asked the Canadians to join the Revolution; passed a resolution to raise companies of riflemen in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia to support the Army around Boston; set up a committee to make rules for the Continental Army; named George Washington Commander in Chief; approved a general plan for the Army; elected four major generals, eight brigadier generals, and one adjutant general; and voted \$2 mil-

lion in bills of credit to start paying for things.

One of their major achievements was the creation of an American Army, which is now, as of this year, in its 200th year of existence; June 14, 1775, was the real "birthday" of the Army.

The language, taken directly from the Journals, is interesting:

Resolved, That six companies of expert riflemen, be immediately raised in Pennsylvania, two in Maryland, and two in Virginia, that each company consist of a captain, three lieutenants, four sergeants, four corporals, a drummer or trumpeter, and sixty-eight privates.

That each company, as soon as completed, march and join the army nearest to Boston, to be there employed as light-infantry, under the command of the chief officer in that army.

That the pay of the officers and privates be as follows, viz. a captain 20 dollars per month; a lieutenant thirteen dollars and one-third of a dollar per month; a sergeant eight dollars per month; a corporal seven dollars and one-third of a dollar per month; a drummer or trumpeter the same; privates six dollars and two-thirds of a dollar per month; to find their own arms and clothes.

That the form of the enlistment be in the following words:

I . . . have, this day, voluntarily enlisted myself, as a soldier, in the American continental army, for one year, unless sooner discharged: And I do bind myself to conform, in all instances, to such rules and regulations, as are, or shall be, established for the government of the said army.

Upon motion, Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to prepare rules and regulations for the Government of the army.

The following persons were chosen to compose that committee: Mr. Washington, Mr. Schuyler, Mr. Deane, Mr. Cushing, and Mr. Hewes.

Bunker Hill was fought on June 17, 1775, and Congress adopted what came to be known as the Olive Branch Petition, to the King, that said, in effect, things could be, or should be, worked out without warfare. Lord North's plan for reconciliation was rejected—it would have left the Colonies much as before. They named commissioners to work out peace with the Indians—no small matter, this; the Congress had no taste at all for fighting the British on one side while potentially hostile Indian tribes might join the British and come against them from the other. A Postal Department was set up, and Benjamin Franklin named to head it. On August 2, 1775, they adjourned.

Back again on September 12, 1775; this time Georgia was included. The Congress learned on November 9 that George III had proclaimed the Colonies to be in a state of revolt—so much for the Olive Branch Petition. They responded, trying again, with a declaration of allegiance to King George, but not to Parliament.

A Navy was authorized, and on November 29 they set up the Committee of Secret Correspondence, which turned into the State Department. There was the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776; and they moved to work for treaties with potentially friendly European countries.

Year 1776 was not exactly an encouraging year. The Army had succeeded at Charlestown and Boston, but failed in Canada and at Long Island. The New



York campaign was going badly, and on December 12, Congress had to pack up and head for safety in Baltimore since the New Jersey campaign was proving a threat to Philadelphia. Washington was given "dictatorial powers" during this crisis. There was some nervous joking that 1777 was shaping up to be the "Year of the Hangman."

Henry Fite's three-story brick house in Baltimore served as a meetingplace for around 25 members in the early part of 1777. They went back to Philadelphia on March 4. The Committee of Secret Correspondence was changed to the Committee on Foreign Affairs; the flag resolution—creating the Stars and Stripes—was passed, but on September 19, they had to leave Philadelphia again, as the British General Howe was proving a real threat to the city. First they went to Lancaster, then to York. Then came the terrible winter of Valley Forge, the low point, probably, of the entire American Revolution.

On November 15, 1777, they adopted the Articles of Confederation. After the Declaration of Independence, it had become more and more evident that minor—relatively—jealousies among the Colonies had to be submerged for an effective organization of the entire country. The whole job took a year and a half; it was difficult, and marked by much hot argument. Not until March 1, 1781, was final ratification of the Articles made by Maryland and, from then on, the Continental Congress was really for the first time on a constitutional basis.

The Articles had many defects and no one knew that better than the very persons who drew them up. There was no provision to support the central government other than by contributions from the States, when Congress would so ask. Unanimous consent of any amendment from all the States was required—and each State had one vote; a concession to the smaller that feared the larger ones—and every attempt to amend the Articles was defeated by a single State.

During the remaining years of the war, Congress wrestled with financial troubles, and fretted over military disasters in the southern theater until they finally let Washington pick a general to command. There were British raids in Virginia; Benedict Arnold's treason; there was mutiny in the Pennsylvania regiments and, of course, after Yorktown, peace negotiations. There was not much in the way of military operations after Cornwallis surrendered on October 19, 1781, at Yorktown, but it was almost 2 years until the peace treaty was concluded.

It is easy enough to think of the Continental Congress as passing out of existence as soon as the war was over, and peace was signed, but, as mentioned earlier, it stayed in existence until the new Government, under the Constitution, came into effect in March 1789. We also tend to think of it as being primarily occupied with the war. Indeed, it was, but, when the war ended, there were grave and pressing problems. What to do with the new country?

Even before the war ended, westward expansion had begun. This really first began in 1780, when Virginia set up a

land office in Kentucky, which was instantly swamped by speculators and would-be settlers. Congress saw a possibility, and became quite eager to carry it out, to get control of all the West north of the Ohio—it never had any chance to get anything south of the Ohio—sell the land, and put something into the very empty treasury of the Confederation.

It began to work. In 1784 Congress adopted Virginia's offer to cede that State's land claims north of the Ohio; the only strings were reserves for veterans. Massachusetts and Connecticut followed 2 years later.

This gave the Continental Congress a brand-new and mammoth responsibility. In fact, historians say this responsibility was the only thing that kept the Confederation from falling apart. Congress, in 1783-84, had reached the depths. It moved all over the country; run out of Philadelphia when 300 soldiers mutinied, it went to Princeton in June 1783, Annapolis in November, Trenton in 1784, and a year after that to New York, where it stayed until the Confederation was a thing of the past. However, to quote the eminent American historian, Samuel Eliot Morison:

During this period Congress passed a series of ordinances which set the pattern of federal land and colonial policies for over a century.

It had really begun in 1780; Congress adopted the principle that any land given to the Confederation would "be settled and formed into distinct Republican States, which shall become members of the Federal Union."

In 1784, Jefferson drafted the Territorial Ordinance that provided for U.S. territory to be divided into 10 rectangular territories, each of which would get territorial government as soon as it had 20,000 persons, and full statehood when population was equal to that of the smallest of the original Thirteen Colonies.

On May 20, 1785, Congress set up how the land was to be disposed of. Taking a leaf from the New England system, that is, rectangular survey before it was sold, the land was cut into townships, 36 miles square, each of which had 36 sections of 640 acres, 1 mile square. Section 16 in each township was to be reserved for maintaining public schools. After surveying, the land had to be sold by public auction.

Then, in 1787, came one of the relatively little known yet most important acts of the entire Continental Congress.

Congress needed money. Land speculators were ready to help out. There was a big new land company, Ohio Co., that entered the picture and told Congress it would buy 1,500,000 acres for \$1,500,000 in Continental currency.

At that time absenteeism—due to the low standing of Congress—meant a quorum for business was not very often present, but the smell of more money drew enough of them together, early in July 1787, to make a quorum of eight States.

The Ohio Co. wanted—and Congress drafted and approved—what came to be known as the Territorial, or Northwest, Ordinance of 1787. It passed July 13,

1787, by a vote of eight States that only had 18 members; however, Morison again:

No more important enactment was ever made by the Confederation. The Northwest Ordinance laid fundamental principles of the American colonial system which have been followed even through the admission of Alaska and Hawaii . . . Thus the main lines of Federal land and territorial policy were adopted by the Congress of the Confederation before the Federal Constitution was adopted. These were: the principle of future statehood after an intermediary stage as a partly self-governing territory, and division into six-mile-square townships and one-mile-square sections, reserving a portion for education . . .

At the time, Philip Freneau wrote, in his poem "On the Emigration to America and Peopling the Western Country":  
Far brighter scenes a future age,  
The muse predicts, these States will hail,  
Whose genius may the world engage,  
Whose deeds may over death prevail,  
And happier systems bring to view,  
Than all the eastern sages knew.

William Ewart Gladstone, Prime Minister of Great Britain, made two remarks about it. The first appeared in an article called "Kin Beyond the Sea," which appeared in the North American Review, September 1878:

As the British Constitution is the most subtle organism which has proceeded from progressive history, so the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man.

Then, in a letter to the committee in charge of the celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the American Constitution, July 20, 1887:

I have always regarded that Constitution as the most remarkable work known to me in modern times to have been produced by the human intellect, at a single stroke (so to speak), in its application to political affairs.

The Constitution of the United States—the last work of the Continental Congress. Lynn Montross, in his book "The Reluctant Rebels":

The Constitution is even more truly the product of the Continental Congress because it was hammered out of the hard metal of theory tempered by practice. All the makers, with but a few minor exceptions, had had from two to ten years' experience in the Continental Congress. They did not have to guess at the probable workings of the provisions they wrote into the Constitution. They knew the answers as nearly as men could learn from the hopes, dreams, successes and failures of an assembly trying to function as a central government without adequate powers. . . .

True, it was not done by the Continental Congress as such; it was done by Convention. But it sprang from the Congress. It came from the men who had served in the Congress.

Probably some of the most moving and prophetic words ever spoken in the annals of American political history were those of Benjamin Franklin, the closing words of the Constitutional Convention, which were recorded by James Madison:

Whilst the last members were signing it Doctor Franklin looking toward the President's Chair, at the back of which a rising sun happened to be painted, observed to a few members near him, that Painters had

found it difficult to distinguish in their art a rising from a setting sun. "I have," said he, "often and often in the course of the Session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting. But now at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting Sun."

Thirty-eight delegates came to the Constitutional Convention. All but two had served in the Continental Congress before 1787. After ratification of the Constitution, no less than 13 of these 38 came back to the first U.S. Congress, and so many other former Members of the Continental Congress were elected that they controlled both House and Senate.

It was continuity. They carried on what they had begun.

White iron on the anvil of democracy, forged into a new country, the greatest power the world has ever known, the oldest Republic in the world—other than Switzerland—that has existed and endured.

And will exist and endure.

#### H.R. 14392—A BILL TO MAKE STUDENT LOANS NONTAXABLE

#### HON. WILMER MIZELL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. MIZELL. Mr. Speaker, we hear much today about mistrust and lack of faith in government. I feel that much criticism of our Nation and Government is not justified, but occasionally, a Federal agency will take action which makes one wonder if the right hand of the Federal Government knows what the left hand is doing.

We are all familiar with student loans which have a forgiveness repayment provision under which students can work out their indebtedness by serving in areas where their services are badly needed. This approach to educational assistance has been helpful to rural and urban areas in providing doctors, nurses, social workers, and so on, where there is a shortage of such people.

Many students have taken advantage of this opportunity, and both they and the Nation have benefited. It is, therefore, unfortunate that the IRS has ruled that all these loans, retroactive to 1970, are taxable income. Since 1954 these loans were not considered taxable, and students entered into these agreements in good faith that the Government would stand behind its commitments regarding these loans. The IRS action, which has resulted in thousands in my State of North Carolina receiving notice of taxes due on these loans, is lamentable and certainly tends to lend credence to accusations of Government irresponsibility and lack of concern for individual citizens.

It is for these reasons that I have joined in cosponsoring H.R. 14392, introduced by my distinguished colleague and friend from North Carolina, Representative IKE ANDREWS. This legislation would make loans given after the date of enactment taxable, but would leave loans al-

ready granted nontaxable. This is only fair because all those students who entered in good faith agreements with the Government should expect that those agreements will be honored.

This legislation, I understand, has received support from a number of national health and education associations and from more than 60 colleges in 27 States. I urge my colleagues in the House to give this matter careful consideration and to lend their support to this effort.

#### GOVERNOR WEST VETOES CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

#### HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Gov. John Carl West exhibited great courage and conviction in the veto of the capital punishment bill in South Carolina. Governor West exercised his conscience and demonstrated his courage. Governor West has exhibited his dedicated Christian concept of human relations and his beliefs in a very commendable manner. I am proud of him as Governor and it gives me a great sense of personal pleasure to commend Governor West's superb statement on his veto of capital punishment to my colleagues in the Congress:

#### STATEMENT OF GOVERNOR WEST

Mr. President and Members of the Senate: I respectfully and regretfully return to your Honorable Body without my approval S. 270.

It has been a matter of satisfaction and pride that during the four legislative sessions in which I have served as your Governor, I have not vetoed a single act passed by you except those held to be unconstitutional by a written opinion of the Attorney General. I had hoped to be able to complete my term with that record unbroken. Unfortunately, S. 270, dealing as it does with the subject of life and death, requires me, regretfully, to depart from that precedent.

As a matter of personal conviction I cannot accept the premise that man can end a life that God has created. I recognize, of course, that Society has not only a right, but a duty, to protect its members from harm by individuals who violate the principles of law developed over the centuries as a part of our Hebraic-Christian heritage. Whether or not a necessary part of that protection involves punishment of the offender to the extent of taking his life is the issue raised by S. 270.

Punishment of offenders including whippings, public torture, the rack and the screw, have all been a part of man's attempt to regulate and deter criminal behavior over the course of history.

Today, none of these punishments exists in any civilized country of the world. All have been discarded because they failed to accomplish their objectives. Man's accumulated wisdom gained from centuries of human experience today rightly rejects physical torture as either a proper punishment or an effective deterrent.

Regardless of the means employed, the ultimate in physical punishment is, in my judgment, execution of a human being. On the basis of all of the evidence available, it is clear that executions do not serve as a deterrent to capital offenses. In the year 1934—at a time when South Carolina had a death penalty and was executing offenders—the state's homicide rate per 100,000 persons

was 24.9. In 1972—in the absence of capital punishment and nine years after the last execution had been carried out in the state—the homicide rate had declined to 16.8 per 100,000 population. Similarly, it can be shown that in states with the death penalty, the mean homicide rate between the years 1934 and 1967 (the year of the last execution in the nation) was 5.7 per 100,000 population. In states which did not have capital punishments, the mean homicide rate for the same period was 2.3, or less than half the average of the death penalty states.

Reinstitution of the death penalty in South Carolina would not—in my opinion, and in the view of the above stated information—serve as a deterrent to crime, but would rather be a return to a barbaric, savage concept of vengeance which should not be accepted, condoned or permitted in a civilized society.

Therefore, I veto S. 270.

#### LITHUANIA—34TH ANNIVERSARY OF ANNEXATION

#### HON. RICHARD F. VANDER VEEN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. VANDER VEEN. Mr. Speaker, on June 15, Lithuanians throughout the free world commemorated the forcible annexation of Lithuania by the Soviet Union in 1940. Many of my colleagues, as well as all freedom-loving Americans, joined them in remembering that sad day 34 years ago when Lithuania's unique political and cultural institutions were buried under Soviet domination. Free people hold national self-determination, as well as religious and political freedom, to be basic human rights and denounce any nation which ruthlessly violates those rights.

My purpose, however, is not to verbally chastise the Soviet Union for past actions but to suggest ways in which the United States, in light of its historically demonstrable concern for the oppressed peoples of the world, might come to the aid of the Lithuanian people in alleviating certain present conditions which I find unacceptable. Surely, détente and the Soviet desire for most favored nation status provide us with the best opportunity since the annexation in 1940 to influence the conditions under which the Lithuanian people are forced to live. In our present negotiations with the Soviet Union, we have something they want—trade in technology, financing, and commodities—and they have something we want—guarantees of basic human rights, such as increased civil liberties for the Lithuanian people. This, in my estimation, represents a classic atmosphere in which fruitful negotiations might take place. Détente to this date had been a relatively one-sided phenomenon characterized by fiascos like the wheat deal. I feel that pressing for guarantees would represent not an unreasonable attempt to impose our values on the Soviets, as some might suggest, but rather a much-needed balancing of a one-sided trading relationship. The Association of Young Lithuanian Americans has provided me with a list of very reasonable demands dealing with the Lithuanian situation which I feel would



make fine points for discussion in trade negotiations with the Russians.

They include: First, lowering of excessive tariffs imposed on gifts to relatives and friends residing in the Baltic States; second, increasing the current 5-day tourist visa to a more reasonable limit; third, eliminating unreasonable travel restrictions on tourists to Lithuania; fourth, provisions for Lithuanians to emigrate, and fifth, freedom for the seaman Sinius Kudirka, who was denied political asylum by the United States. Progress on these five points would constitute a significant first step in helping the Lithuanians regain a measure of the freedoms lost in 1940.

#### RECEPTION AT THE MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART

### HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, the Museum of African Art, located within two blocks of the Capitol, now has on exhibit a collection of traditional African sculpture and color photographs contributed by the late Eliot Elisofon, one of America's most accomplished photographers, cinematographers, writers, and art collectors. There will be a reception to view this extraordinary exhibit on Tuesday, July 9, at the Museum of African Art, 318 A Street NE., from 6:30 to 8:30 p.m. This reception has been arranged especially for Members of Congress and their staffs.

Born in Manhattan in 1911, Elisofon's interest in the visual arts spanned a 30-year career across 2 million miles and six continents. As a freelance photographer for leading picture magazines, his accomplishments included photographic essays on Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Scandinavia. Early in World War II, he covered the London blitz, and later accompanied the U.S. Armed Forces to North Africa and Hawaii as a photographer correspondent for Life magazine.

After the war, Elisofon traveled to Capetown, South Africa, and to Cairo, Egypt, then along the coast of Europe to the Pacific Trust Territory and Fiji. But of the many lands and peoples that Elisofon captured on film, Africa was the land he loved most. And it was to Africa that he always returned.

Eliot Elisofon wrote and illustrated a number of books on Africa, among which are: "The Sculpture of Africa," "The Nile," and illustrations for an ABC-TV documentary, "Africa's Animals." The exhibit at the Museum of African Art is a fascinating display of the artistic sensibility of Elisofon and the richness of African cultures which captivated his genius. If there are no objections, I would like to have entered into the Record recent articles in the Washington Star on the work of Elisofon and the exhibit at the Museum of African Art:

[From the Washington Star-News, May 31, 1974]

#### A KALEIDOSCOPIC SHOWING OF LOVE OF AFRICA AND ITS PEOPLE

(By Benjamin Forgey)

"Africa is the most beautiful place," the late Eliot Elisofon often said. "Africans, the most beautiful people."

Few Westerners ever did more to convey impressions of the physical and moral beauties of African culture to a wider audience than did Elisofon in his 30-year career as a photographer, film-maker, writer and collector.

Few exhibitions have been better designed to show the breadth of African culture than the one that will open at the Museum of African Art.

The exhibit is a memorial tribute to Elisofon, a founding trustee of the museum who died last year at age 61, and it consists almost entirely of his works—films, photographs, writings—and art works that he collected.

Elisofon bequeathed to the museum his collection of some 600 pieces of African sculpture and the photographic archives of his remarkable career, consisting of almost 100,000 items. Though the sculpture donation is by no means negligible, the archives is the heart and soul of the bequest, and the exhibit quite properly gives large play to the photographs in the form of black-and-white photo murals, large color prints, slide shows and a specially made slide presentation with sound and music entitled "Tribute to Africa, The Imagery of Eliot Elisofon."

Elisofon's character, as a fond remembrance in the catalogue by Museum of African Art Director Warren Robbins attests, was an unusual mixture of adventurousness and toughness with sensitivity and tact—a blend that doubtless was responsible for many of the unique images he was able to bring back from his many journeys across the African continent.

The photographer's first acquaintance with Africa came during World War II when he was covering the North African campaigns for Life magazine, and he returned after the war to make an epic trip from Capetown to Cairo in a battered Army ambulance. Though his successful career with Time-Life was to take him all over the world in the ensuing years, it was to Africa that he managed to return, year after year.

The exhibit communicates the man's intense excitement and involvement with the continent. Though most great African sculpture was produced by tribal carvers in west central Africa, the some 500 photographic images in this exhibit involve the viewer in an immense, kaleidoscopic sweep of the place, from arid desert to tropical rainforest, from western bush to eastern grasslands and, most unusual of all in the context of an exhibit of traditional carving, to the colorful, vital cities of the new Africa.

A display of such vitality and variety leaves the viewer almost dizzy—the first show of African art I have ever seen in which the sculpture takes second place to the life of the land and its peoples.

It is, then, a sort of extraordinary travelogue of a show, with the art always handy to reaffirm the presence of a culture of astounding aesthetic and spiritual resources. Though this approach to an African art exhibit leaves many tantalizing questions unanswered—not the least of which is the nature of the relationship between contemporary African culture, in which the city and the machine cannot help but play ever-increasing roles, and the traditional culture of the tribes, which produced one of history's great outpourings of religious art—the end effect of the show unquestionably is to increase one's enthusiasm and broaden one's understanding of Africa in both its contemporary and traditional guises.

There is, to be sure, plenty of excellent sculpture in the show—though the average in quality is perhaps not as high as in the present exhibit of African art at the National Gallery of Art. The wall full of antelope headaddresses of the Bambara tribe of Mali, for instance, is enough by itself to make one a lover of African art for life.

These pieces are called *Chi Wara*—*Chi*, for animal, and *Wara*, for work—a name given by the Bambara to a mythical ancestor of the tribe, half animal, half man, who discovered agriculture and thus probably provided the bridge for the tribe to cross in its transition from nomadic to settled existence.

The *Chi Wara* headaddresses are among the more striking creations in all of African art, and viewing an entire wall of them can be a lesson in the virtuosity of the tribal carver. The elegant carvings of antelope horns are deployed in a variety of ways, vertical or horizontal, with or without fretwork, but never is the fundamental rhythmic harmony of the work violated. Facial characteristics, head shape, the shape of the body, the posture of the body, and the long line of the horns are beautiful unities in piece after piece. They must be absolutely incredible when danced, as, indeed, an Elisofon photo mural of the *Chi Wara* ceremony suggests.

Aesthetic appreciation has long been the principal avenue of understanding for Westerners seeking to unlock the mysteries of African art. The other part—to appreciate and understand the expressive unities of African art—is more difficult and in the end more rewarding.

It is thus a thankful coincidence that Washington now has two African exhibitions that in their very different ways are designed to place the art more firmly in its cultural context. The first of course is "African Art in Motion," the exhibit currently on view at the National Gallery. The second is this fine tribute to Elisofon, who in his photographs came about as close as any Westerner can to intuitively understanding what African art is all about.

The Museum of African Art is located at 318 A St. NE, and is open from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. weekdays and 12:30 p.m. to 5 p.m. weekends.

#### ELIOT WAS ALWAYS HAVING THE BEST TIME OF HIS LIFE

(By Ruth Dean)

"A Picasso before there was a Picasso," said Zaire Ambassador Makossa Mbeka in eloquent French.

Indeed, the two terra cotta primitive figures from Sierra Leone the ambassador inspected at the Museum of African Art last night seemed to have come from the hand of the great French artist.

But it was great African art like this that inspired the French impressionists.

Inspired, too, the talents of another great artist, the late photographer essayist Eliot Elisofon, whose prodigious 30-year output of almost 100,000 photographic archives of his African travels and collection of 600 pieces of African sculpture, including the Sierra Leone figures, are the museum's latest and richest acquisitions.

In gratitude for Elisofon's bequest, museum director Warren Robbins gave a reception last night to preview an exhibition of the former Life Magazine photographer's work.

It was an evening rich in nostalgia. It brought together the artist's friends who shuttled down from New York to recall all the great and little things that make him a living memory. Elisofon died last year at age 61.

Robbins called it a "commemorative evening to bring Eliot Elisofon back to life for ourselves, himself and his colleagues, to show the great range of his work as a photographic artist and to express the museum's appreciation for his remarkable gift to us."

Robbins said the Elisofon bequest is the 10-year-old museum's first major gift. Recent acquisition of a new building in the museum complex to house the photo archives, Robbins said, will enable the museum to become "the nucleus of a new department of higher education, available to the consortium of universities here."

Plans include the establishment of a viewing room, "like a library," where students may come and sign out a sculpture and study it—"something that has never been done before," said Robbins. With grants from the Kress Foundation and Home Library Association, and a "hoped-for" one from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the director said the museum, located at 316-318 A St. NE, hopes "to acquire all the buildings in the block."

But it was to memories of Elisofon, the man, that most of last evening's eloquence was directed.

"Eliot was not willing to organize anything in a small way; it was always on a grand scale and that speaks for his contribution to this museum," said Ralph Graves, former photo editor for Life.

Ed Thompson, former managing editor of Life and now editor of the Smithsonian magazine, said the list of Elisofon anecdotes is endless, but each illustrates "Eliot was always having the best time of his life."

The former Life colleagues recalled they were no match for Elisofon's gustatory habits. "He was a gourmand; he'd eat anything that was left on anyone's plate," recalled Thompson. Said Graves, "Eating a Chinese lunch with Eliot was a risky business. He had faster chopsticks."

A longtime friend, African art collector Paul Tishman, recalled his enthusiasm: "Every reaction was explosive. He greeted everything with 'oh, my God, it's fabulous' or 'I don't believe it.' Either that, or no interest at all. Either he loved you, or the hell with you."

Much the same tribute came from sculptor and African art collector Chaim Gross and his wife. "He had a great love for everything, for food, for wine, for women. He loved beautiful women," said Mrs. Gross. It was at a dinner at the Gross's New York apartment that Elisofon met Gypsy Rose Lee, which led to their collaboration on a cookbook, "Food Is a Four-Letter Word." Gross recalled that Gypsy gave Elisofon a small African sculpture which started him off on the fabulous collection that now adorns the walls and nooks of the museum.

But another friend, Mrs. Diana Michaelis, revealed perhaps a simple man. In a crowded street in Bombay, she once asked him about the African photographic expedition on which his daughter Elin had accompanied him. "She's a great photographer; just as great as I am. In fact, I was never a great photographer," he told her.

#### LEW DESCHLER

#### HON. EDWIN B. FORSYTHE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 27, 1974

Mr. FORSYTHE. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to express my deepest appreciation to one of the most distinguished public servants to have graced this Chamber, Lew Deschler, our Parliamentarian.

I have mixed emotions as I see Lew Deschler retire from the House of Representatives. On the one hand, I am sorry, because I know that it will be impossible to completely replace his expertise that has come from many years of respected

service. However, I am pleased that Lew Deschler will finally have the opportunity to enjoy life without the pressures of his most important office.

He has been the Parliamentarian of the House of Representatives since 1928. Throughout those years, he has been called upon to make many decisions of grave importance to our Nation. He has risen to each challenge rendering fair and wise rulings based on constitutional and parliamentary considerations.

He has been a willing, dedicated, and thoroughly efficient public servant who has left his mark on all who have worked with him. Lew Deschler certainly deserves a time to enjoy the satisfaction of retirement. I know he will always cherish his work in this Chamber.

My wishes for many years of happy and fruitful retirement are with Lew Deschler and his family.

#### GI BILL

#### HON. JOHN P. HAMMERSCHMIDT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday night, June 27, it was necessary that I leave the floor of the House in order to make travel connections to be in Hot Springs, Ark., the next morning to participate in the annual convention of the Department of Arkansas Veterans of Foreign Wars of the U.S.A. I regret that the House had not yet taken up S. 3705, to provide a 2-year extension of the time during which veterans' educational benefits must be utilized. I therefore wish to record my remarks in the RECORD.

Although I support the measure, my support is given somewhat reluctantly. I am strongly in favor of the 2-year extension of the time limitation, but I am reluctant to see it divorced from the other equally important provisions of H.R. 12628, the veterans' education bill which is currently in disagreement between the two Houses. While the House passed H.R. 12628, the Senate failed to act upon the measure until June 19.

Meanwhile, it became necessary to approve a 30-day extension of the 8-year period during which educational benefits must be utilized in order that some 300,000 veterans would not have their educational benefits summarily terminated.

The 30-day extension would have expired on Sunday, June 30, if Congress had failed to act on S. 3705. This measure authorizes a 2-year extension of the 8-year period during which educational benefits must be utilized and is identical to a provision of the House- and Senate-passed H.R. 12628.

My reluctance to agree to this measure, Mr. Speaker, stemmed from the fact that its passage will remove some of the need for expeditious action on H.R. 12628, and I believe the other body has delayed too long on that measure. In an effort to facilitate agreement, the House conferees have proposed to agree with almost every provision of the Senate-passed bill. The

other body, however, appears to expect total capitulation by this body.

In any event, I support S. 3705 because it is necessary to preserve the educational benefits of a substantial number of veterans. At the same time, I hope we can reach early agreement on H.R. 12628, so that veterans may receive a long-delayed increase in monthly allowances.

#### DINNER FOR MRS. BURLESON IN MEADOW, TEX.

#### HON. GEORGE H. MAHON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, on May 3, 1974, an appreciation dinner was held in Meadow, Tex., in my congressional district for Mrs. Lucille Burleson, the sister-in-law of my distinguished west Texas colleague, OMAR BURLESON, and a longtime friend of the gentleman from California, BERNIE SISK, who has made a distinguished record as a Member of Congress from that State.

Mr. SISK formerly lived in Meadow and was a student of Mrs. Burleson's. I am pleased to present for the RECORD the following remarks which were made by Mr. SISK at the appreciation dinner for Mrs. Burleson.

Mrs. Burleson has been a favorite friend of the Mahons through the years and we wholeheartedly share the sentiments which Mr. SISK has so well expressed.

The remarks follow:

SPEECH GIVEN BY BERNIE SISK AT APPRECIATION DINNER FOR MRS. LUCILLE BURLESON, MAY 3, 1974, AT MEADOW, TEX.

I feel deeply honored that I have been asked to be the spokesman for all of you tonight to express publicly our deep appreciation to Mrs. Lucille Burleson. I know that while I am speaking, each of you is thinking of that special time when you shared a close communion with Mrs. Burleson. It could have been a time of grief, of disappointment, of job, of laughter, of play, a goal attained, a word of encouragement, or one of the numerous incidents that are a part of our lives. But at that moment, Mrs. Burleson made you feel that you were the most important person in the world because she was sharing that moment with you. Her ability to reach out and communicate with especially the youth and young adults has helped so many of us in so many ways.

In a teaching career that spanned five decades, Mrs. Burleson touched the hearts of many and left an imprint upon all of us who sat in her classroom. She was a strict disciplinarian, though never stern, cross or threatening; she controlled her students through kindness and love. There was not one of us who would have done anything to hurt her for it would have been like hurting our own Mother, for to us, she is our second Mother. She taught in the classroom the same moral standards our Mothers taught us in our homes. She taught more than just the written word; she taught us honesty and compassion. She sought to develop our talents and to make this world a better place in which to live.

There were no favorites in her classroom. She simply loved children and merely wanted out of life an opportunity to share some of the riches of her education with the youth and to make of them better citizens, Fathers,



Mothers and Leaders of our community and our nation.

Mrs. Burleson has a great sense of humor, she can laugh with us and even at herself. For instance, when the Senior Class of '29 went all the way to Carlsbad, New Mexico on their trip, we took our own cooking utensils and bedding for some of the Motels did not furnish these essentials, though they did have kitchenettes, so when it was time to cook dinner, Mrs. Burleson sent several of us searching for matches before she discovered that the stove was electric. It was also on that trip that several of us took a canoe out on Bottomless Lake (estimated to be at least 20 feet deep in places) and as we could not find the oars, we were using the frying pans for oars. When Mrs. Burleson discovered what we were doing, she was more upset that we might drop a frying pan than she was that we might turn over.

Our boys and girls are our greatest resources and Mrs. Burleson has always understood this. She was dedicated to the idea of helping all youngsters grow into the best possible adulthood. Nor has her impact been limited to merely those who had the privilege of being in her classroom. Indeed, her ability to reach the individual, to lead them in the right direction has indirectly affected thousands of people as her students grew up and criss-crossed this nation.

She was an inspiration to her students, and though she is deeply religious, she did not believe in preaching to her students, she believed in living along with them, and I'm sure we are all better Citizens, better Christians, better Fathers and Mothers because she expects these qualities of us.

It is a tribute to her life that her son, Joe, and his wife, Noyce, are teachers in The Meadow School. Joe is Principal of the Elementary grades and Noyce is the Drama teacher in High School and for the past eight out of nine years, her students have won first place in state competition in one act plays. Just tonight word has reached us that they have won again this year. Her daughter, Marcille, was also a teacher for many years but is now retired. Though we all miss Marcus, who died of a brain tumor six years ago, and her son, James, who was killed in a plane shot down during World War II, as Mrs. Burleson told us before this program, this is a time to be happy so we will choke back the tears.

I know she is especially proud that her brother-in-law is the distinguished Congressman Omar Burleson of Texas, a dear friend of mine. Omar regrets that he cannot be here tonight but his telegram read earlier tells Mrs. Burleson that he is thinking of her.

All of us who had the honor of being taught by Mrs. Burleson will never forget and always appreciate the vitality, love and dedication of this great teacher and I know we are all better people because of the almost 50 years she gave in a classroom in a little Texas town.

#### CARIBBEAN DÉTENTE CONTINUES IN GIVEAWAY OF PANAMA CANAL

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, détente continues on the Panama Canal giveaway. Despite the fact that Dr. Kissinger and the President know they do not have the votes in the Senate to ratify the "Panama Canal giveaway treaty"—they certainly lack the votes in the House for an outright gift—Ellsworth Bunker is continuing negotiations with the Panama power structure in accordance with

earlier signed "accords" between our unelected spokesmen and those of Panama, to transfer the Canal Zone from American to Panamanian control "promptly."

A related newsclipping is as follows:

#### PANAMA PACT

Ellsworth Bunker, chief U.S. negotiator in the Panama Canal treaty talks, says a draft will be ready for presentation to both governments "by the end of this year or the beginning of next."

Bunker yesterday concluded a negotiating session in Panama City with Panamanian Foreign Minister Juan Antonio Tack. They are working out the details of an agreement to transfer the Canal Zone from American to Panamanian control "promptly."

#### HEALTH CARE FOR THE POOR

**HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, the notion persists that the finest medical care available—in fact, better than what most people can afford—is provided free to poor people in hospital clinics and even in private doctors' offices by highly dedicated physicians who allot a portion of their time to charitable work. According to a popular saying, you have to be either very rich or very, very poor to get first rate medical care.

But the poor know better. The most significant and unassailable truth, supported by raw and disquieting facts, is that the poor have a far higher rate of sickness and death in all the diseases that are preventable and treatable by good medical care. Something, obviously is wrong. The supposedly high quality of medical care that the poor are presumed to be getting simply is not doing the job of protecting their health and their lives.

The fact is that sometimes excellent, sometimes shoddy, but always piecemeal medical care is delivered and distributed badly to the poor, under conditions that make a coordinated, personal medical approach almost impossible even for the most conscientious physicians. Moreover, these conditions are so surrounded with indignities and inconveniences that poor people, even when they are informed about the value of prompt and sustained medical care, characteristically come for medical help at the last moment—often too late.

The desperate need for more medical and dental care in places where poor families live is in itself a compelling reason for swift enactment of some type of national health insurance. But health insurance is only a small part of the solution. It is essential that those institutions—the hospitals and nursing homes of our Nation—most directly involved with genuine human needs receive maximum encouragement and support. I wish to share with my colleagues the text of a recent radio message by George G. Reader, M.D., on the need for comprehensive health programs for poor communities.

The text of Mr. Reader's radio broadcast follows:

#### HEALTH CARE OF THE POOR

(By George G. Reader, M.D.)

It used to be said that only the poor and the rich receive the best of medical care. If it were ever so, this has not been true for some years past, particularly in New York City. The fact of the matter is that the poor have a very difficult time finding good health care. Perhaps their biggest problem is in gaining access to the system. Many neighborhood physicians have retired or moved away from the slum areas of the City and no longer practice there. They have been replaced, if at all, with profitmaking Medicaid clinics. These clinics composed of physicians, dentists and podiatrists sharing a common facility, run large numbers of patients through to obtain the small fee for each service. Referrals from one physician to another are used to increase the take whether indicated or not, as was revealed by the Daily News in its investigative reporting last year.

The Municipal Hospitals moreover, the main source of care for the poor in New York City, have been chronically undersupported. They were saved almost miraculously by Dr. Trussell when he was Commissioner of Hospitals in the Wagner Administration through the device of affiliation contracts with teaching hospitals which have permitted them to retain and even improve standards of care as a result of the affiliated hospital's expert supervision and monitoring. The affiliations have also insured their obtaining properly-trained house officers. More recently the physical decline of the Municipal Hospital System has been checked but not reversed by the organization of the Health and Hospitals Corporation. It was hoped by those who developed the Corporation that the Municipal Hospital System as a quasi-public entity could become self-sustaining. This, however, has never been the case and the deficits incurred in operation must be made up from public funds which have thus far been inadequate to allow for rehabilitation of physical plant or much upgrading of personnel. Health care for the poor in the Municipal Hospital System is definitely second-rate, particularly in the OPD and ER. Over half of the ambulatory hospital visits in Brooklyn in a recent study, for example, were found to be made to municipal hospitals and half of those to the Emergency Room, a most inadequate place for non-emergency ambulatory care. Even though in many respects municipal hospital care is satisfactory in terms of standards, it is not in terms of amenities. There are also serious and continuing deficiencies on the in-patient services measured against what is now known about modern medical technology.

The voluntary hospitals of this City, which through their out-patient departments also provide health care to the poor, have recently suffered a serious decline, which is reflected in the service they can give to their poor clientele. All the voluntary hospitals in New York City have, in the last few years, had chronically increasing deficits; and in some instances hospitals have come right to the brink of a precarious financial situation. Hospital Administrators are inclined to consider the OPD the major source of loss since they are reimbursed more or less adequately for in-patient services but not for out-patient visits. When corners are cut, therefore, the OPD feels it first.

Prior to Medicaid, voluntary hospitals were paid with public funds through the Charitable Institutions Budget for care of the indigent, both in and out of the hospital. Such care was less expensive then but since Medicaid, reimbursement has been inadequate because many people are ineligible either intermittently or continuously as Medicaid beneficiaries.

Virtually, only those at the Welfare level are covered by Medicaid continuously. The working poor are the ones who suffer most in being ineligible for Medicaid and unable to pay for the medical care they receive. Pro-

viders such as the Municipal Hospitals must take care of these people without obtaining reimbursement, thus increasing their deficit. Some of the voluntary hospitals have tried to limit services to those who have Medicaid coverage but inevitably develop an increasingly large accounts receivable, nevertheless. They must bill patients even when they know they cannot pay because the government will not allow a provider to bill it for service that is given to others for free. Many physicians refuse to take care of even the Medicaid-eligible patients because of the low reimbursement rate, leaving the patients as an only recourse the Medicaid Clinic or the outpatient department of a Municipal or Voluntary Hospital. Like the voluntary hospitals, agencies such as the Visiting Nurse Service have felt the pinch as well and have had to think of reducing services in the face of an increasing demand.

Also from the Health Department's own statistics, the last available being for the year 1971, it is easy to see that those who live in the slum areas of the City have not had an adequate share of public health services. This is a distinct reflection on the former Health Services Administration and will lead us to watch closely the efforts of the present Health Department under Commissioner Lowell Bellin. Diseases which are widely believed to have been stamped out, like tuberculosis, were still prevalent in slum areas in 1971, 649 cases in the one year from Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant. Many cases of other types of infectious disease which are readily treatable such as scarlet fever are also to be found in considerable numbers in East Harlem, while a preventable disease like measles, is highly prevalent in the South Bronx. Infant mortality rates, a good indicator of health service effectiveness, varies from 12.3 in Bay Ridge, an affluent area, to 29.3 in Central Harlem and 31.5 in Fort Greene, areas where the poor are concentrated.

Many had hoped that the consumer movement, including members of poverty groups, would have a constructive influence on distribution of health services and indeed for a time this seemed to be so, when poverty agencies in the city were well-funded and provided a focus for political action by the poor and deprived. As the Federal Government has phased out these agencies and reduced funding, however, a rallying point for poor consumers has been eliminated. Being both poor and powerless they now have very few ways in which they can influence society in their behalf.

#### WHAT CAN BE DONE?

National Health Insurance, when it comes in the next few years, may provide part of the answer, but it will take a concerted effort to improve health services to the poor in New York City and for that matter throughout the cities of the United States. The leadership in this effort must come from elected representatives of the people since the hospitals and the medical profession seem to be common victims of the problem with their patients, but it will require the cooperation of the whole health establishment. Reimbursements and fees must be adequate to make any system work and distribution must be more rational than it is today. People must be educated to help themselves as well. The Medical Society is attempting to aid in this effort by fostering programs of health education directed particularly at the poor and deprived. The hospital associations, the medical societies, and community social agencies, must all get together and plan constructively with the poor and other consumers to see that health services are delivered appropriate to their needs. This however will not be enough unless the quality of life in the City is also considered because medical care by itself is not enough to insure better health. Jobs, good housing, and educational opportunity must all be im-

proved if the poor of New York City and the other cities of America are to have an equal chance in a healthy society.

#### A UNIQUE COMMUNITY LIBRARY IN COHOES, N.Y.

#### HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, the city of Cohoes in my district has already received much recognition for its progressive action and innovative developments. It has been one of the Nation's most successful model cities and before that was selected as Look magazine's All-American city.

Now, an article in the New York Times for July 1, 1974 details a new community innovation, a library of tools to lend to local residents.

Mr. Speaker, I salute the people of Cohoes and am glad to include this article of its latest innovation for the information of my colleagues:

UPSTATE PUBLIC LIBRARY LENDS TOOLS, NOT BOOKS, TO RESIDENTS

(By Harold Faber)

COHOES, N.Y.—Nelson Hare came into the library here the other day and walked out with a jigsaw and a belt sander. At about the same time, Mrs. Mary McCormick came in and returned a big rug shampooer.

It was a normal day in the Cohoes Tool Library, an unusual public library specializing in lending household maintenance and repair tools in this city of 18,000 on the banks of the Hudson River, a few miles north of Albany.

Both householders and officials of the city administration consider the tool library a successful venture in providing tools at no cost for "do-it-yourselfers" to improve their homes in the city, which has a large proportion of blue-collar workers and old housing units.

"The whole idea is to instill a little pride in houses by giving people the actual tools to maintain their own homes," said Robert J. Pawley, an official of the city's Office of Planning and Development, who is directly responsible for the library.

"It's very popular," said Kenneth Green, director of the library. He took over the daily management of the library in 1972 when he retired after 30 years in the Post Office Department in Cohoes.

In the month of May, 142 local residents borrowed 238 tools, ranging from a screw driver to a cement mixer. The library has 1,537 members, with the only requirements being that they must be over 21 years of age and a resident of Cohoes; the library's collection of 250 tools is valued at about \$7,000.

#### A MODEL CITIES PROGRAM

The library was opened in 1970 as part of the Federal Model Cities program here. At the time, the local planners believed it was the first such library in the country, but an official of the American Library Association in Chicago said she had heard of at least two other tool libraries, one in Groess Pointe, Mich., and the other in Canal Fulton, Ohio.

The library, housed in the basement of an old church, was operated on a budget of \$17,355 last year with most of the money going to pay for Mr. Green and a part-time assistant. The funding by the Model Cities program will expire at the end of this month, but Operation Mainstream, a Federal work-training program, will take over the salaries.

Behind the library desk are several rooms with tools neatly displayed on the walls and

on the floors—screw drivers and wrenches of all sizes, jack stands, home vacuum cleaners, brush cutters, wheelbarrows, garden tools, snow shovels, pruners, lawn rollers, paint sprayers, chain saws, hammers, axes, pipe wrenches, crowbars and floor buffers.

"The most popular tools are timing lights for cars, compression gauges, jack stands and torque wrenches," Mr. Green said.

#### \$1-A-DAY FINE

"A lot of people ask why we should lend out auto repair tools," Mr. Pawley said. "But we feel that if a man needs a car to support his family and by fixing it at a minimum expense himself, he can go to work, then we have performed a worthwhile function."

Both Mr. Pawley and Mr. Green said that they had never received any complaints from carpenters, garage mechanics or any other repairmen about losing work because of the free tool supplies.

"But if we had to do it all over again, I might eliminate the small hand tools, like small screw drivers and wrenches," Mr. Pawley added. "They are easily accessible and quite cheap. Yet, you'd be surprised how many people come in and ask for a screw driver."

Mr. Green said that the tools were lent for periods ranging from one to five days, that few tools were damaged, that a \$1-a-day fine was levied for late returns and that there was no problem in tools disappearing or being stolen.

"Why, we know everybody in Cohoes," he said. "We know the people who are borrowing the tools."

#### ACPS CALLS FOR EXPANDED HISC

#### HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to share with the Members of the House, yet another in the growing series of testimonials in support of the House Committee on Internal Security—that of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies—ACPS.

Organized in 1929, the ACPS functions as a coordinating instrument for approximately 100 patriotic, civic, and fraternal societies throughout the country.

Its 1974-75 platform contains a concise, well-drawn resolution which not only urges the retention of HISC but also "urges the Select Committee—on Committees—to consider the mandate of the Committee on Internal Security with a view to broadening its scope, and clarifying its legislative jurisdiction."

The text of ACPS' resolution follows:

#### HOUSE INTERNAL SECURITY COMMITTEE

Whereas, There is a movement to transfer the jurisdiction of the House Internal Security Committee to the Committee on Government Operations; and

Whereas, The work in the Internal Security Committee is of vital importance in view of the increase of terrorist organizations and political kidnappings; and

Whereas, HR 988 provides no insurance that the work in the internal security field will be pursued continuously and vigorously; and

Whereas, The Internal Security Committee has developed an expertise in this field; and

Whereas, The present mandate of the Internal Security Committee is restricted to investigation of organizations having as their purpose the overthrow of the government by force and violence; and

Whereas, There is a crucial need for over-



sight of industrial and economic penetration:

Resolved, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies commends the Studies on Political Kidnappings and the Symbionese Liberation Army prepared by and for the use of the Committee on Internal Security and the Report on the American Penal System as a Revolutionary Target; and

Resolved, That the American Coalition strongly urges the House Select Committee under the Chairmanship of Congressman Richard Bolling to retain the present Committee on Internal Security as a standing committee of the House to insure the continuation of its work; and

Resolved, That the American Coalition urges the Select Committee to consider the mandate of the Committee on Internal Security with a view to broadening its scope, and clarifying its legislative jurisdiction.

#### JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

### HON. CHARLES E. WIGGINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. WIGGINS. Mr. Speaker, juvenile delinquency continues to be a serious problem. During the past decade, juvenile crimes have shown a significant rise. Statistics indicate that total arrests of individuals under 18 years of age more than doubled during the period from 1960 to 1971. During this same period of time, older age groups experienced only a 19-percent increase in arrests. Juveniles accounted for 32 percent of all robbery arrests and 51 percent of all burglary arrests in 1972. A statistic of particular concern indicates that nearly three-fourths of all offenders under 20 years of age released from Federal correctional institutions in 1965 had been rearrested by 1969.

A second aspect of juvenile delinquency is the problem of runaway youths. It is estimated that at least 1 million young people run away every year. Out of 21 arrested categories, runaways are ranked seventh. Yet this category applies exclusively to people under 18. Runaway youths often are detained in jails with persons who have committed more serious violations. For a minor offense, the runaway is faced with the lifelong stigma of "juvenile delinquent."

In light of the clear importance of the juvenile delinquency problem, I am pleased to express my support of H.R. 15276, the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974. This bill establishes a Juvenile Delinquency Administration within HEW to provide policy direction for all Federal juvenile delinquency programs. HEW is further authorized to make grants to States and localities for improvement of the juvenile justice system and to public and private agencies for development of new approaches to the prevention of juvenile delinquency. Title IV of the bill authorizes HEW to make assistance available to localities and non-profit organizations to develop facilities for runaways outside of the law enforcement and juvenile justice system.

I supported the amendment offered by Mr. QUIE, of Minnesota, that responsibility for administration of this program be transferred from HEW to the Law En-

forcement Assistance Administration of the Justice Department. While I continue to feel that LEAA is the proper agency for the program, I support H.R. 15276 as well-intentioned legislation which should provide a positive step toward prevention of juvenile delinquency.

#### HOUSE RESOLUTION 988 WOULD DESTROY MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES COMMITTEE'S EFFECTIVENESS IN DEALING WITH FISHERY PROBLEMS

### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the increasing cost and decreasing availability of high protein food sources is certainly one of the most pressing problems facing the Members of Congress, this country, and the world today.

The plight of American fishermen and the dwindling fishery resources of our country are a source of continuing concern to the members of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. A committee which, I might add, would be rent asunder and relegated to second-class status by the pending House reorganization plan contained in House Resolution 988, despite the fact that, by virtue of every relevant criteria, its members and staff are best qualified to deal with this and equally serious problems and are at this very time engaged in efforts to resolve numerous important and highly complex issues in the areas of their competence. Make no mistake, House Resolution 988, as presently constituted, will scatter the expertise now concentrated in the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee and seriously hamper future efforts to deal effectively with such problems.

Our committee is moving in a number of areas to protect our fishermen and conserve our fishery resources. Chairman SULLIVAN, other committee members, and committee staff plan to be present at various times at the ongoing Law of the Sea Conference in Caracas where fisheries jurisdiction is among the matters under discussion. Also, my Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment is in the process of holding a series of field hearings on legislation to extend our exclusive fisheries zone, and is using its oversight authority to assure that the U.S. delegations to meetings of the several international fishery commissions take a firm stand in favor of additional conservation measures and against continued overfishing of stocks which are in difficulty.

An article in last Sunday's Washington Post bears out the fact that overfishing is one of the major causes of our diminishing stocks and that both the fishing methods currently in use by foreign fleets, which use fine mesh nets to scoop up everything regardless of size and process it on their ships, and those methods used by certain of our own fishermen, which result in many presently unpopular species being discarded and

dumped back into the ocean, are detrimental to the future of these valuable sources of protein.

It has become increasingly clear that the regulatory power of our Government over these fisheries is insufficient. Experience has shown that unregulated or only partially regulated fishing almost invariably leads to decline of the resource and corresponding economic hardship for the fishermen, and that this has been a serious factor in the decimation of American fishery resources. In order to deal with this problem, Chairman SULLIVAN, Congressman BIAGGI, and I introduced a bill, H.R. 15619, on June 25, 1974, which would provide for the conservation and management of our fisheries. This legislation would require the Secretary of Commerce to promulgate regulations governing fishing in the fisheries zone and on the high seas for the purpose of obtaining the optimum overall biological, economic, and social benefits, and such regulations applicable to areas beyond the fisheries zone would be deemed unilateral measures of conservation by the United States within the meaning of article 7 of the 1958 Convention on Fishing and Conservation of the Living Resources of the High Seas and, as such, would apply to foreign vessels of countries which are signatory to applicable international fishery agreements as well as U.S. fishermen. After a 6-month period, under the terms of H.R. 15619, applicability of these regulations would be extended to the vessels of all foreign nations whether or not they are party to the Convention or other international agreements. My subcommittee plans to hold hearings on this bill in the next month or so.

For the information of the Members, I would like to insert at this point the text of the article from the Washington Post referred to above, as well as the text of a Resolution on Interim Action for Resource Management, adopted by the members of the National Fisheries Institute, Inc., at its meeting in Bal Harbour, Fla., April 20, 1974. This resolution supports a resource management plan similar to that proposed in H.R. 15619.

The newspaper article and resolution follow:

[From the Washington Post, June 30, 1974]

#### A WASTED OCEAN OF FOOD

(By George C. Wilson)

At a time some American poor are eating dog food to get protein, U.S. fishermen are throwing back billions of pounds of protein-rich fish to die.

Neither government officials nor the fishermen are happy about it. But they say they have to find a way to use the fish.

Director Robert W. Schoning of the government's National Marine Fisheries Service said his agency—part of the Commerce Department—is studying the problem but is still two years away from a decision.

In the meantime, American fishermen, for want of a market, throw back up to 70 percent of the fish trapped in the nets they throw to catch such species as flounder and shrimp.

Most of the fish thrown back after being netted off the bottom die because they cannot survive the pressure changes by being suddenly dragged up from the depths.

"It's not right that we turn this area into a burial ground for fish we don't keep," said John C. Botelho, a New Bedford, Mass., skip-

per who has been running trawlers (also called dragners) on Georges Bank in the northwest Atlantic for 31 years.

He added that the Soviet and Japanese method of scooping up and keeping everything for processing on their fish factory ships is not right from a conservation standpoint, either. He and other fishermen want foreign fishing fleets to use nets with minimum size mesh so that small fish could escape.

As Botelho and other skippers explained it, trawler fishermen go out for only certain kinds of fish—ones they can sell at auction at the dock after the 10-day trip out in the Atlantic.

The skippers tow their nets where they believe the desired fish, such as yellowtail flounder, are congregated. But it often takes days of towing in various places before the skippers find a place in the ocean "clean" of the undesired fish they cannot sell.

This method of trial and error—multiplied by the hundreds of American fishing boats trawling through waters off the U.S. coast—means that billions of pounds of fish are dumped back into the ocean.

Warren Rathjens heads the Fisheries Service project in Gloucester, Mass., designed to find uses for discarded fish.

"There is quite a variety of possibilities" for using these unwanted fish, according to Rathjens but the big obstacle is developing a market for them.

The market outlook is "extremely clouded," he said in a telephone interview.

Two possibilities for the discards are minced fish and fish protein concentrate—or fish flour. Both have their drawbacks.

Technology is on hand to make minced fish. Machines strip the flesh from the bones, chop it up and then assemble it in a hamburger-like mass put together in what is called fish blocks. Such throwaway fish as croakers in the Gulf and sea robins and monkfish in the Atlantic could be processed into blocks of minced fish which could be stored from six months to a year.

Similarly, there is no mystery to making fish flour. Some companies have already made it with the idea of selling it as a source of protein—like powdered milk.

But can minced fish be made into tasty, nutritious products that people will buy? Is there a world market for fish flour to justify the government's going into that program again?

If the Fisheries Service concludes that the answer to both questions is yes, a decision it expects to reach in 1976, the Commerce Department or other executive agency could then establish a program to buy fish now thrown back in the ocean.

However, hunger in this country—dramatized by findings that poor people are eating dog food to get protein—and U.N. predictions about food shortages around the world most likely will prompt Congress to demand immediate action from the executive rather than wait another two years.

Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.), for example, after hearing the Food Research and Action Center of New York report recently that "over the past three to four years our nation's needy have become hungrier and poorer," called for a "great American initiative" to combat hunger.

Director Schoning of the Fisheries Service agreed in an interview that a way must be found to use discarded fish. It is not a question of "if" he said, but when.

"We have a responsibility to act vigorously because of the magnitude of the potential" of discarded fish, he said.

He pleaded for realism, however.

"The concept is great," he said. "Let's feed the starving people of the world." But these starving people don't eat fish flour. They eat rice."

Fish are high in protein and low in substances that produce cholesterol in the blood. (High cholesterol has been linked to heart disease.)

"Most fish and shellfish," according to the Commerce Department, "fall into the low-fat, high-protein group" which have "less than 5 per cent fat and more than 15 per cent protein."

New England fishermen have been getting between 10 and 17 cents a pound for flounder and could sell easier-to-catch discards for less.

In contrast, a can of high-priced dog food (Alpo lamb chunks selling in one Washington store for 47 cents a can) is labeled as "not less than 7 per cent crude fat" and "not less than 12 per cent crude protein."

Besides providing a source of high protein for low cost, Fisheries Service officials said marketing throwaway fish in an attractive form would reduce the fishing pressure now threatening to decimate such popular species as haddock and yellowtail flounder beyond recovery.

Willy Etheridge II, skipper of the Sonya Gwen trawler out of Wanchese, N.C., is one of the fishermen who insist that dwindling catches prove that the fishing pressure on some species must be eased soon.

"Something has to be done," he said in an interview aboard his trawler. "Those people (foreign fishermen) are fishing too clean. You can destroy the fishing for years. If people are hungry, let's feed them. But let's do it right."

Fisheries Service statistics show that the average yearly catch for haddock by U.S. fishermen in the five-year period 1968 through 1972 was 35.3 million pounds. Last year the total was down to 8.3 million pounds.

The yellowtail flounder annual catch averaged 69.6 million pounds for that same five-year period. The 1973 catch was down to 65.5 million, a decrease that New England fishermen contend is more dramatic than it looks because so much effort is being expended on netting the yellowtail.

At the same time that some highly prized fish are becoming scarce, American families are eating more fish. The National Marine Fisheries Service said the per person consumption of fish products hit a record 12.6 pounds in 1973. The figures for the last five years show this generally upward trend in per person consumption of fish:

Year:	Pounds eaten per person
1969	11.2
1970	11.8
1971	11.4
1972	12.3
1973	12.6

RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL FISHERIES INSTITUTE ON INTERIM ACTION FOR RESOURCE MANAGEMENT, ADOPTED AT BAL HARBOUR, FLA., APRIL 20, 1974

Whereas, certain valuable species of fish and marine life off the shores of the United States are now in danger of being seriously overfished; and

Whereas, certain stocks of valuable fish and marine life are now being overfished by fishing efforts beyond the existing twelve-mile fisheries zone near the coastline of the United States; and

Whereas, international negotiations have to date proved incapable of obtaining timely agreement for the protection and conservation of certain species of fish and marine life off the coast of the United States; and

Whereas, there is increasing danger of irreversible depletion before efforts to achieve an international agreement on jurisdiction over fisheries can result in an operative agreement; and

Whereas, the United States has a special

interest in the maintenance of the productivity of the living resources in any area of the high seas adjacent to its territorial sea;

Now, therefore, be it resolved, That the National Fisheries Institute urge the United States government to take interim action based on adequate and sound scientific information to protect, conserve and manage all over-fished stocks and to protect our domestic fishing industry; such action to ensure wise management of living marine resources for the good of all mankind which will permit maximum sustainable yields of all species from the sea;

And be it further resolved, That the National Fisheries Institute urge the United States government, as a coastal state having a special interest in the maintenance of the productivity of the living resources in the seas, to unilaterally invoke a regulatory system similar to and in accordance with Article 7 of the 1958 Geneva Convention whereby unilateral measures of conservation will be adopted "... provided that negotiations to that effect with the other States concerned have not led to an agreement within six months" from this date.

#### QUESTIONS ON IMPEACHMENT

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my Washington Report entitled "Questions on Impeachment":

#### QUESTIONS ON IMPEACHMENT

As the House of Representatives approaches a vote on the impeachment of a President for the first time in over 100 years, constituents are asking questions about the impeachment procedure. This newsletter attempts to answer several of these questions.

What is the origin and purpose of impeachment? The Constitution provides that the "President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the U.S. shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors." The bipartisan House Judiciary Committee staff defines the key phrase "high crimes and misdemeanors" as misconduct against the state, an abuse of official power, misapplication of funds, or neglect of duty. It was not necessarily limited to a crime. The President's lawyers contend that a criminal offense by the President is required for impeachment.

My view is that impeachable conduct may be, but need not be, criminal conduct. The framers of the Constitution intended the impeachment power to reach the failure of a President to discharge the responsibilities of his office. It was intended to provide a check on the President, but not to make him dependent upon the will of the Congress. Of the 13 impeachments voted by the House since 1789, 10 included one or more allegations that did not charge a violation of criminal law. The purpose of impeachment, unlike the criminal law, is to remove from office a person whose conduct undermines the integrity of the office or of the Constitution. The purpose of the criminal law is to punish the wrongdoer. The Constitution provides that a person impeached and removed from office may also be tried and convicted if his offense is a violation of criminal law.

Have any federal officials been impeached? Yes. During our nation's history, 13 officials have been impeached by the House, including President Andrew Johnson, who was acquitted. Of the 13 impeachments, only 11 went to



trial before the Senate, and only 4 resulted in a conviction by the Senate. All 4 of these convictions were of federal judges.

*What does the Constitution mean by impeachment?* Impeachment is only a charge of misconduct. It is a process by which the House of Representatives, by a majority vote, charges a President, Vice-President, or a civil officer of the United States with misconduct.

*What is the role of the House Judiciary Committee?* At the conclusion of its inquiry, the Judiciary Committee will report a recommendation it deems proper, and the House may accept or reject it. If the committee does not recommend impeachment, the House can still impeach by majority vote. If the Committee recommends impeachment, the House will debate the question and vote either for or against impeachment.

*What happens if the House votes for impeachment?* If a majority of the members of the House vote for impeachment of the President, the Speaker selects a committee of members as "managers" to prosecute the case before the Senate. The vote to impeach is followed by a trial in the Senate. The Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court presides over the trial, which is governed by the Senate's rules of procedure for impeachment trials. After the trial, if  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the senators present vote to convict, the officer is removed from office. Conviction by the Senate does not ban subsequent indictment, trial, or conviction of the impeached and convicted officer in a court of law.

*What happens to the President if the House impeaches him?* Only if the Senate convicts the President would he be removed from office. Until he is convicted, he remains President, charged with seeing to it that the laws are faithfully executed.

*What is the attitude of members of Congress toward the impeachment inquiry?* Many Americans want to drop any further inquiry entirely; others want to impeach and convict the President now. The duty of the House under the Constitution will not permit either of these options. The Constitutional duty of the House is to inquire fully, thoroughly, and fairly into the allegations of misconduct against President Nixon.

Members of Congress do not look with any joy on this task. It is an awesome responsibility, and each member must be guided by the evidence, the Constitution, and his own best judgment.

#### TRIBUTE TO REPRESENTATIVE JOHN J. ROONEY

#### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is with mixed feelings that I pay tribute today to our colleague, the distinguished Representative of the 14th District of New York, JOHN ROONEY. On the one hand, I am happy that he will be enjoying a well-earned retirement life at the end of this Congress, but on the other hand, he will be greatly missed in these Halls.

Born to immigrant parents, representing an ethnically diversified district similar to my own, I know of his interest in the multicultural matters that abound in our Nation, and of his many efforts in behalf of the preservation of our ethnic heritage.

A conscientious and dedicated repre-

sentative of the taxpayer, his careful monitoring of expenditures—both in the Appropriations Committee and also on the floor—resulted in marked savings. As chairman of the Subcommittee on State, Justice, Commerce, and the Judiciary, he exercised all his skills in scrutinizing budget requests for these agencies.

JOHN ROONEY is a sincere and dedicated member of this body. He has served his constituents and his country well for 30 years, and gained the respect of his colleagues. We wish him the best in the well-deserved leisure years ahead.

#### STATE AND LOCAL FISCAL ASSISTANCE ACT

#### HON. BILL GUNTER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. GUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the Record a copy of a letter I received from Mr. B. Harold Farmer, the city manager of the city of Gainesville, Fla., giving testimonial to the effective way a local government has utilized Federal funds allocated under the State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act of 1972 to improve the life of the citizens of their community:

CITY OF GAINESVILLE, FLA.,

June 27, 1974.

Hon. BILL GUNTER,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. GUNTER: I would like to take this opportunity to tell you about the way the City of Gainesville, Florida, is utilizing Federal General Revenue Sharing Funds to meet needs which otherwise would not be met.

There have been few deviations from the categories to which the monies were appropriated amounting to only a small percentage of the total funds. The major change is a reallocation of \$200,000 from the Park Land and Open Space Acquisition Program to the Semi-Pave Program. The Semi-Pave Program will place a hard surface on all City Streets at no cost to abutting property owners. This will eliminate much of the dust problem which is so offensive to housewives, and particularly to older persons. This change will allow the City of Gainesville to reduce the original five-year program to three years, which means the program will be completed by October 1, 1974. This change also allows a hedge against the continuous price increases on materials. Without Revenue Sharing monies, this reduction in time and savings would not have been possible.

Even though it is not required by the Office of Revenue Sharing, advertised public hearings were held at the request of the City Manager and the City Commissioners to assist them in determining the allocation of these funds. In addition, a Capital Outlay Committee, composed of local citizens, made priority recommendations toward usage of the funds. We have found these procedures to be extremely helpful in the decision-making process and in determining valid needs in the community.

Through the use of Revenue Sharing funds, the City Commission was able to reduce property taxes last year in the City of Gainesville from 10 mills to 8 mills, thus providing some relief for property owners. Again, without Revenue Sharing funds, this reduction would have been impossible.

The City of Gainesville is extremely pleased with the minimum of federal red tape which has been implemented to date. The required "first in-first out" accounting system is likewise a very lenient and satisfying one which we feel meets the needs of governmental regulations. The hope is that this system will continue to operate in its present state.

As can be determined from the attached list of programs, the largest amount, totaling \$744,771, has been appropriated for the Northeast Community Center. This project is a vital one in our community and one which will require additional Revenue Sharing funds in the future.

The complex, which is scheduled to begin construction by the end of this year, will contain such functions as a health clinic, an Older Americans Council, a community meeting room, a library extension, a child care center, a game room, a swimming pool, and a gymnasium. It will be located so that it will be easily accessible to the underprivileged and the minority groups. However, it is expected that citizens of all races and social classes will make use of it, thus providing interaction among people who normally would remain separate.

A program of significance under the Park and Open Space Allocation is the acquisition of six acres of land in the midst of the urbanized area on which is located the Hotel Thomas, a product of the early part of the century and of historical significance. The Hotel Thomas will be restored under a number of programs, a portion of which will be Federal Revenue Sharing funds.

Projects of this nature are what make Revenue Sharing re-enactment a most important issue during the upcoming Congressional campaigns. We respectfully request your utmost consideration and assistance toward the continuance of the program after 1976. Spiraling inflation has made it necessary to use a greater percentage of local annual revenue simply for operating expenditures. Revenue Sharing funds are, in some instances, the only means by which other needed and vital projects can be funded.

Thank you for your attention in this matter.

Sincerely,

B. HAROLD FARMER,  
City Manager.

MRS. MARTIN LUTHER KING, SR.

#### HON. WILLIAM R. COTTER

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. COTTER. Mr. Speaker, once again our Nation has witnessed the tragic death of one of its truly notable citizens. Mrs. Martin Luther King, Sr. was killed on Sunday, June 30, with the same senseless brutality that characterized the murder of her son, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., 6 years ago.

Mrs. King's life symbolized the dedication of a loving wife and mother. The sorrow borne by her husband, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Sr., is shared by most Americans. According to those who knew her, Mrs. King played a significant role in the development of Dr. Martin King's philosophy by her example. She was truly a Christian woman, and the Nation is poorer because of the brutal assassination which struck her down.

On this occasion I wish to pay tribute

to this woman of dignity and principle. Her life will be remembered, as will her son's, for the struggle she courageously fought and the gains in civil equality she helped America to achieve.

THE RETIREMENT OF MR.  
B. JOSEPH TOFANI

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, it has come to my attention that Mr. B. Joseph Tofani, Chief of the Policy and Analysis Division of the Office, Chief of Engineers, is retiring at the end of this month after 38 years of dedicated public service in the field of water resource development and management.

On behalf of the Public Works Committee of the House of Representatives and the Nation's water resources community which shares my views, I wish to express my appreciation for the almost four decades of outstanding service that Mr. Tofani has provided to the Government and to the Nation.

Mr. Tofani, a graduate mechanical engineer from Villanova University, worked for the State of Pennsylvania; the Bureau of Reclamation, Denver, Colo., and the Department of Agriculture's Soil Conservation Service in Washington prior to joining the Corps of Engineers in 1942.

During his 32 years with the corps, Mr. Tofani has held a variety of positions of ever increasing responsibility. For a period of 13 years he was chief of the programs division for the Civil Works Directorate of the corps. During that assignment he was instrumental in developing the planning, programming, and budgeting system which to this day still guides long-range investments relative to the multibillion-dollar civil works program. This system had a formative influence on the entire water resources development program of the United States.

In his present position as head of the Policy and Analysis Division, his responsibilities include the formulation of the broad, basic policies which channel and direct the present and future efforts of the nationwide water resources programs conducted by the Corps. As the principal civilian adviser to the Chief of Engineers in this area of expertise, he has been the key coordinator with other Federal agencies, Congress, and the Office of Management and Budget on policy, legislation, and long-range programming.

Beyond his direct Corps assignments, in 1966, Mr. Tofani was named as the Department of Army representative to the U.S. Water Resources Council. In this capacity, his knowledge, keen judgment and concern for future generations of Americans resulted in Council emphasis on the evaluation of a broader spectrum of alternatives and on the systematic presentation of options to decisionmakers which have made possible better solu-

tions to water resources problems. His efforts reflect his deep-seated sense of public responsibility toward the needed development of navigation, hydroelectric power, and flood control in an environmentally sound fashion.

Throughout his distinguished career, Mr. Tofani has been of invaluable assistance to the Congress and to the water resource oriented Federal agencies in shaping legislation to meet the needs of the Nation. He has worked closely with the congressional committees and their staffs in the analysis of special programs and has unstintingly devoted his time and efforts in reviewing proposed legislation which would impact on water resource development and management.

The Department of the Army has long recognized his unexcelled, professional contributions and has given him many outstanding awards, including the two reserved only for the most distinguished civilian executives, the Meritorious Civilian Service Award and the Exceptional Civilian Service Award.

But the most cherished award which an individual can seek is the personal knowledge that his career efforts have been of benefit to his fellowman, and Joe Tofani has won that accolade.

I am sure that my distinguished colleagues join with me in this expression of appreciation; with the knowledge and expectation that Mr. Tofani's wise counsel and advice will still be available to the Congress and the Nation.

BEAUTIFUL SECTIONS OF OUR  
COUNTRY SHOULD BE PRESERVED

HON. WILLIAM M. KETCHUM

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. KETCHUM. Mr. Speaker, for many years, both in the California Legislature and in the Congress, I have urged the adoption of a balanced policy for the protection of our natural resources. I firmly believe that the unique and beautiful sections of our country should be set aside and preserved. But I also believe that all the American people should be allowed to visit these spots—not just the healthy few who are able to "backpack" into the wild.

It frequently seems that some environmentalists would close off our national lands from those who now enjoy them in the name of environmental protection. Statements are often heard that the land is being ravaged by the current users. Recently, an article appeared in *Desert* magazine which graphically illustrates this type of false claim, and I insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD with the hope that all my colleagues will read it:

At the present time, there is a great concern in our country in regard to the protection and preservation of our Public Land, wild life and antiquities. This is as it should be, as they are a valuable natural heritage which should be enjoyed by our generation and those who follow.

To preserve, protect and enjoy—could be

easily the consensus of all citizens, if a sensible approach to the problem would be put forth. This is not an impossible dream. We Americans have the savoir-faire and dedication for the task.

Unfortunately, there are many people who are not willing to "give a little in order to obtain a whole lot" for everyone. Special interest groups have organized. No longer is the good of the land, animals or antiquities the real issue. Instead, each such well-organized group is fighting to "have things its way" with no holds barred.

It is proper to fight for one's rights as long as the real objective is not lost or replaced by personal desires. Nor is it good judgement to plead one's case by using "scare tactics" based on untruths. This latter method is being deliberately used in order to gain the support of deeply concerned citizens. What follows is a case in point.

As members of our local archaeological club, we recently attended the monthly meeting which featured, as guest speaker, Ike Eastvold.

Sometimes referred to as, "The Petroglyph Man," Mr. Eastvold informed his attentive audience that petroglyph sites were in need of greater protection due to the rise of vandalism and theft of petroglyph rock.

As one example, he cited the recent, near total destruction of a nearby, pristine petroglyph site located in Woods Wash, San Bernardino County. He indicated this had occurred over the Thanksgiving weekend as a result of an article and accompanying map published in a national magazine (see *Desert*, Oct. '73). Mr. Eastvold stated that tons of petroglyph rock had been removed, blasted or defaced in place. The site was apparently in shambles.

We talked with Mr. Eastvold following the meeting and he stated, "The photograph of the petroglyphs you had in *Desert* Magazine is now one of a kind. Little remains at the site because it has been defaced, blasted and most of it hauled away. Great piles of broken petroglyphs are lying all over the ground."

We were shocked. How could people do such a thing. The wanton destruction of such priceless Indian art hardly seemed possible. We must see this senseless rape for ourselves.

An immediate call to William Knyvett, *Desert's* Publisher-Editor, met with the same reaction. "Check it out," he directed.

Now returned from an inspection of the Woods Wash site, we are happy and relieved to report it is still as unique and beautiful to behold as we found and photographed it in February, 1972—over two years ago! We saw little evidence of man's recent visitation or the senseless destruction as represented by misinformed individuals who proliferate untruths under the guise of "Guardians of the Desert."

Using photographs we had taken in 1972, to prepare the Oct. '73 issue, we meticulously examined the rather extensive site. It became quite obvious that someone doesn't understand the forces of geology and has blamed people for the natural erosion. There are glyphs on the ground—they were there in 1972! Eventually, the glyphs will all fall prey to erosion. Two of the rocks bear beautiful "sheep glyphs" and they are still there!

The large glyph rock pictured in *Desert* had one small piece gone. We looked and there it was—on the ground below. Jerry returned it to its original position, but probably the next heavy storm will wash it down again. The "chia, ballerina, lizard" and other outstanding petroglyphs are still there to see. Had evil people been removing and destroying the petroglyphs here, they certainly would not have left fine ones on the ground.

Those who have spread the prefabrications relating to Woods Wash have a noble motive—protection of the petroglyphs. Unfortunately, the dishonest approach can lead only to the alienation of public support and



the disqualification of spokesmen for the cause.

No man, or group of men, can claim an exclusive protectorate over the Desert that many of us have come to love, each in his individual way. Is it their own inherent greed that makes them distrustful of others?

Make not the assumption that all who enter the Great Mojave Desert are bent upon its destruction. Were this true, Mr. Eastvold and his compatriots would not be seeing the hundreds of petroglyph sites they have only lately decided to protect.

Desert Magazine's policy has been built upon the strong moral ethics of its founder, Randall Henderson. Publisher William Knyvett and his staff continue the policy of, "To tell of this sublime land, to enjoy and to protect it." Nearly all of the petroglyph sites mentioned in articles are shown on the U.S. Geological Survey maps available to the general public. They are available in most libraries. Auto Club maps also pinpoint many of the sites. It does not take lengthy research in obscure files to find them, as Mr. Eastvold indicates.

Should the beauty of a Monet, Renoir or Picasso be denied the view of those who love great art and reserved to only the professional artists? Should everyone be punished for the actions of those who have stolen paintings from galleries? Of course not. Nor should anyone who loves our Great American Desert be denied the right to read about petroglyphs and perhaps visit a prehistoric Indian art site.

It is our concern that all endangered species and rare antiquities be protected—and they can be. Surely those espousing a just and worthy cause need not resort to untruths and innuendos in order to interest the citizenry. To do so, leaves doubt and arouses deep concern about their motives. Good is not attained through evil.

There is a movement underway to close the Desert to all recreationists except the back-packer and hiker. We urge Desert's readers to be on guard and resist such actions. Do not be fooled into relinquishment of the enjoyment and use of Your Public Lands by those who would take away our birthright under the pretense of "protecting the desert." Keep informed. Write your Congressman and Senators. Save the desert land for all of us who love, but don't abuse it.—JERRY and MARY FRANCES STRONG.

CONNIE SZERSZEN

HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, there is nothing nicer in the whole world or nothing better in the whole world than music, unless, perhaps, it is the glory of a lovely woman. We are blessed with the perfect combination in the person of Connie Szerszen, who has blended all the loveliness in one magnificent package for the radio audience of greater Chicago on station WIND. Her charm, her voice, her manner, and the knowledge of her subject have rendered her the darling of the airwaves for many thousands of her devoted fans, of whom I happen to be one of the outstanding examples. It is a great pleasure for me to wish her a very happy birthday this July 3. Perhaps we can account for her success because at long last we have a disc jockey whose voice is as pleasurable to listen to as the records she plays.

## BEHIND DÉTENTE RHETORIC SO-VIET IMPERIALISM CONTINUES

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, although Soviet leaders speak repeatedly of a new era of good feeling between East and West, the unfortunate fact is that such words have not, in any sense, been accompanied by meaningful deeds.

The Berlin Wall continues to stand, the Soviet Union continues to provide aid and assistance to the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong who continue their aggressive war against the south, and within the Soviet Union itself repression now approaches the magnitude of the Stalin era.

Similarly, Communist China, which speaks of an era of new relations with the United States, continues its machinations in Asia, Africa, and throughout the underdeveloped world.

Columnist Jack Anderson points out that—

In Africa . . . the Chinese are conducting guerrilla schools, the Russians are training and equipping troops.

Anderson quotes American Ambassador Robert Yost who reports from Burundi that—

That country has moved closer to the Arabs and Chinese and, to a much lesser extent, the Soviets . . . A substantial number of Burundi military officers are now being trained . . . 30 in the Soviet Union.

Throughout Africa, reports Anderson:

The scenario is the same: the Chinese, Russians and Arabs train and equip friendly troops or insurgents . . . In Guinea and Tanzania, for example, the Chinese are conducting guerrilla schools. The graduates are supplied with arms and ammunition to stir up revolution in such countries as South Africa, Mozambique, and Angola . . .

Following is the important column by Jack Anderson which appeared in the Washington Post of March 24, 1974:

SECRET AGENT DIPLOMACY

(By Jack Anderson)

The world of diplomacy like the moon has its hidden side where intelligence operatives and agents provocateur cavort in the half light.

We have had access to the latest secret intelligence reports which provide fleeting glimpses into this shadowy, subterranean world.

Behind the cordial handshakes and cocktail parties of détente, the reports reveal, the power struggle rages on. In Africa, for instance, the Chinese are conducting guerrilla schools, the Russians are training and equipping troops, the Arabs are supplying arms and the Americans are wheeling and dealing.

American Ambassador Robert Yost reports from Burundi that President Micombero "suspects the Chinese and has great dislike for the Russians." Nevertheless, Yost says, Burundi has "moved closer to the Arabs and Chinese and, to a much lesser extent, the Soviets."

"A substantial number of Burundi military officers are now being trained" in Communist and Arab countries, he asserts. These include "30 in the Soviet Union, 60 in Algeria, 10 in Egypt, that we are aware of."

Yost reports "regular shipments of arms and ammunition have been coming . . . from Algeria on Algerian planes. One shipment of arms and ammunition from Libya was received."

In another confidential dispatch from Burundi, he urges strengthening the U.S. embassy "to monitor PRC (People's Republic of China), North Korean, Arab and Soviet activities in Central Africa." A confidential State Department memo to the White House urges improving "access to Burundi leaders who might be influenced to support the U.S. on international issues."

Throughout Africa, the scenario is the same: the Chinese, Russians and Arabs train and equip friendly troops or insurgents while the U.S. maneuvers desperately to stay in the ballgame.

In Guinea and Tanzania, for example, the Chinese are conducting guerrilla schools. The graduates are supplied with arms and ammunition to stir up revolution in such countries as South Africa, Mozambique and Angola. State Department documents, reveal that Rhodesia, in particular, has Chinese and Russian trained guerrillas operating from bases in Zambia and Mozambique.

Surprisingly, tiny North Korea is active in terrorist movements around the world. Both Communist China and North Korea have provided revolutionary groups with guerrilla instructors. They have written guerrilla manuals which encourage, among other things, political kidnappings.

These manuals have now reached the United States where extracts have been printed in underground newspapers.

The kidnapping of Patricia Hearst by the Symbionese Liberation Army, for example, appears to have been taken right out of a Chinese text. The manual even suggests that the kidnap victim should be ransomed for food to feed the poor.

In the Mideast, Soviet and American diplomats ostensibly are cooperating to bring peace. But the détente apparently doesn't extend to the subterranean level. Intelligence reports warn that the Soviets believe Secretary of State Henry Kissinger is trying to diminish their influence in the Arab World. They reportedly are working behind his back, therefore, to belittle his efforts.

The U.S. and Russia also support opposite sides in the unpublicized struggle over Oman, which controls the entrance to the strategic Persian Gulf. Most of the Mideast oil, the economic lifeblood of the West, must flow past Oman. The U.S. is working behind the scenes to bolster the reigning sheikhdom; the Soviets would like to establish a Kremlin-controlled government in Oman.

In Iraq, the tables are turned. The Soviets support government troops in their campaign to quell the fierce Kurdish tribesmen in their rugged mountains. The U.S. has used its Mideastern ally, Iran, as a front to supply military aid to both the Sheik of Oman and the Kurdish rebels.

Our intelligence report from Iraq warns ominously that the Iraqi troops are now getting chemical warfare training from the Soviets and may use Soviet-supplied gas to route the Kurds from their mountain hide-outs.

In Southeast Asia, Burma has become the latest theater of two-faced diplomacy. China and Burma resumed diplomatic ties just three years ago. Yet Chinese troops have been filtering across the border into the misty mountains and deep gorges of northern Burma.

They have joined forces with insurgents, known as "white flag" Communists, in attacking settlements in the remote highlands. One intelligence report estimates that 10,000 Chinese troops, led by Peking-trained guerrilla officers, are now operating inside Burma.

But in Rangoon and Peking, the Burmese and Chinese leaders still clink their cocktail glasses and engage in cordial chitchat.

Throughout the netherworld, meanwhile, secret agents specialize in torrid boudoir romance, violent death on fog-sheathed waterfronts, low treachery and high courage.

Another point made by the advocates of our current détente policy is that it is improper for us to challenge Soviet persecution of religious and political dissidents, or the denial of basic human rights to citizens wishing to leave the country, because to do so is an "interference" in the "internal" affairs of the Soviet Union.

The fact is that the Soviet Union has signed such international agreements as the Atlantic Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations pledging itself to adhere to certain humane standards. It has repeatedly violated these standards. To demand that the Soviet Union fulfill its international commitments is hardly an "interference" in "internal" matters.

Discussing this aspect of our détente debate, Kenneth Grubbs, editor of the editorial page of the Anaheim, Calif., Bulletin, puts the question this way:

How would we like it, the president asks, if the Russians interfered in the politics of, say, Detroit . . . In fact, the Russians have already intervened in U.S. affairs to a large extent. One of the most poignant memories is, of course, our wheat crop, a large portion of which was shipped off to Russia at the expense of shoppers in Detroit . . . This week, the Soviet Communist party chief, Leonid Brezhnev, strongly chastized American critics of President Nixon's forthcoming summit meeting. He branded them as "pessimistic" and generally against the better interests of mankind. If that kind of statement . . . is not interference in American partisan politics, we don't know what is.

I wish to share the editorial, "Interference," which appeared in the Anaheim Bulletin of June 20, 1974, with my colleagues and insert it into the Record at this time:

#### INTERFERENCE

One of the canned answers the administration employs against American critics of détente with the Soviet Union has been refuted by the Kremlin itself.

U.S. critics would have this nation require humane treatment of Soviet citizens—among them the Jewry, the intellectuals and the religious figures—before we begin diplomatic bargaining with their bosses. But the White House unfailingly replies that we cannot expect to act as such a moral force because we would not like it if the U.S.S.R. "interfered with our own internal affairs."

How would we like it, the president asks, if the Russians interfered in the politics of, say, Detroit or (good heavens) Anaheim? That is a debating point, maybe, but it begs an important question. In fact the Russians have already intervened in U.S. affairs to a large extent. One of the most poignant memories is, of course, our wheat crop, a large portion of which was shipped off to Russia at the expense of shoppers in Detroit and (good heavens) Anaheim.

Indeed, there are several ways in which the Russians interrupt the wellbeing of America.

This week the Soviet Communist party chief, Leonid Brezhnev, strongly chastized the American critics of President Nixon's forthcoming summit meeting with him in Moscow. He branded them as "pessimistic" and generally against the better interests of mankind.

If that kind of statement, coming as it does from the Russian despot, is not interference in American partisan politics, we do not know what is. Yet it will be ignored by

the Nixon administration apologists who are bent on making good the appearance of the president as he exchanges toasts with the Red masters. That kind of interference is okay by Nixon.

Mr. Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger have consistently refused to comment on the plight of the suffering peoples—particularly the persecuted individuals—inside the Russian regime while they try to secure diplomatic and trade promises that will infallibly be broken anyway.

If there was any kind of message in the saga of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, it is that the kind of shallow agreements summit diplomacy will bring will be negligible without any kind of moral considerations behind them. Those considerations require, and require absolutely, that Brezhnev and company take the jackpot off the faces of the Russian people.

#### PRISONERS' RIGHTS ABRIDGED AT MATTEAWAN

#### HON. HERMAN BADILLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I called to our colleagues' attention the deplorable conditions which prevail at the Matteawan State Hospital, New York's only correctional institution for the care and treatment of those judged to be criminally insane. The series of articles appearing in the New York Daily News on conditions at Matteawan certainly highlight the need for prompt and affirmative action on measures defining and guaranteeing the rights of men and women who are incarcerated in penal institutions throughout the Nation.

Although New York State Corrections Commissioner Peter Preiser has indicated that he will investigate conditions at Matteawan which have apparently led to the deaths of some inmates and the mistreatment of others, it seems to me that it would be more fruitful to have an independent inspection of the policies, corrections practices, and personnel at that facility. I believe it would be particularly appropriate for the crime and correction committee of the New York State Senate and the Assembly's Subcommittee on Correctional Review and Penal Institutions to undertake thorough examinations of conditions at Matteawan with a view toward having appropriate corrective action taken and to prevent a repetition of such incidents at other correctional facilities in New York.

I submit herewith, for inclusion in the Record, another article in the New York Daily News series on conditions at Matteawan:

#### DOC CALLS NEGLECT A MATTEAWAN KILLER

(By William Heffernan)

Death at Matteawan State Hospital comes in many forms, but, according to one physician who worked there, the most unacceptable of all is the death of a patient as a result of "total neglect."

Dr. Daniel DeSole recently submitted his resignation as a staff psychiatrist and physician at that hospital, New York State's only correctional facility for the care and treatment of the criminally insane.

In recent months at Matteawan, DeSole saw two patients die "through pure, simple

neglect"—neglect, he says, that "should never occur in any hospital."

One patient was Samuel McArthur, 24, who died Jan. 22, after an overdose of medication. McArthur died in a coma, DeSole says, after he "was denied even basic coma treatment for hours."

The other patient was Moses Richardson, 32, who died Feb. 7 after abdominal surgery performed at Matteawan after DeSole had treated him—surgery, DeSole says, that "should never have been performed if proper medical procedures were followed," surgery of a serious type that the State Department of Correction says it had banned from all correctional facilities "as a matter of policy."

"I treated McArthur the night he died," DeSole said. "I was filling in on the hospital ward on the evening shift and when I got there I found that McArthur had been there since early morning."

Department of Correction officials confirmed that McArthur had been discovered that morning (Jan. 22) after he had taken an overdose of drugs saved from his normal medication. They confirmed also that DeSole had treated him, starting at 6 p.m. and continuing until he died at 9 p.m.

"When I first saw McArthur he still hadn't been placed on the critical list," DeSole said. "And, worst of all, he hadn't even been given basic coma care all day."

"I placed him on the critical list," DeSole said, "and then started coma treatment, the basic things like turning him regularly and keeping his eyes moist, things he hadn't received all day long."

"I had hoped he would improve," DeSole added, "so I could get him to the Albany Medical Center, where he could be placed on an artificial kidney. He might have survived if we could have done that. He might have survived if he had received proper care earlier. But at 9 p.m. he convulsed and died."

Asked if the lack of medical care constituted neglect in his opinion, DeSole said: "You're damn right it did. If I was in private practice and failed to provide that care, I could be sued. And I damn well should be sued if I did that."

Moses Richardson was treated by DeSole three days before he died after surgery at Matteawan.

"He (Richardson) had an intestinal blockage," DeSole said. "His abdomen was distended to several times its normal size. I inserted a tube and took out several quarts of fluid," DeSole said, explaining that he even had to send to a private hospital for the tube, "because we didn't even have that basic piece of medical equipment at Matteawan."

DeSole explained that decompression was a basic medical procedure used to relieve intestinal blockages, and one that had to be continued for seven to 10 days "in severe cases like Richardson," to allow the swollen intestines to retract and thereby allow surgery to be performed safely.

#### KNOWS ABOUT DECOMPRESSION

"I ordered the decompression to continue," DeSole said. "I'm an internist and I know decompression has to be continued in a case like Richardson's for at least seven to 10 days before surgery can be performed safely. But hell, even a third-year medical student knows that," he added.

On the day Richardson died (Feb. 7), DeSole said he arrived at the hospital and learned that an outside consultant had been called in to operate on the patient.

"I couldn't believe it," DeSole said. "He (Richardson) didn't have a chance without proper decompression. He would simply go into shock and die."

DeSole said he went to the superintendent's office (Dr. Paul Agnew, who was forced to resign May 9) and asked him to stop the operation.

"But just as I was explaining it to him, his telephone rang and they told him Richardson



had died. In my medical opinion, that operation should never have been performed," DeSole said.

#### NO SURGERY WAS NOTED

According to records of the State Correction Commission's Medical Review Board, Richardson died from "acute heart failure." Those records fail to note that death followed surgery, however.

Agnew and officials of the State Department of Correction say that Richardson's death occurred in the hospital's recovery room, immediately after surgery.

State Correction Commissioner Peter Preiser said he had doubts about any accusations made by DeSole, describing him as "someone who caused trouble," and as irresponsible.

Preiser carried the point one step further, however, by disclosing that Agnew had been advised verbally that major surgery, such as performed on Richardson, was not to be performed in any department facility.

"Minor surgery or emergency surgery was allowed," Preiser said, adding that Richardson's case did not fall within either category.

#### "NEVER TOLD," AGNEW SAYS

"Agnew had been advised of that," Preiser said, "and he should have known it was against policy."

Agnew, however, denied that he had ever been advised that major surgery was against departmental policy. "I was never told that," he said.

The former superintendent said he received a letter stating that policy after the Richardson death says Preiser: "Because we were so distressed over the Richardson death, we immediately repeated the order in writing."

Agnew said he had "no personal medical knowledge" about the circumstances surrounding Richardson's death.

"I was advised surgery was needed and I authorized it," he said.

The former superintendent said he could not recall the name of the surgeon involved.

#### 1974 QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

### HON. HENRY P. SMITH III

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, over 30,000 voters in the 36th Congressional District have responded to my 1974 questionnaire. The bulk of the replies were received in late April and early May. I would like to share the results with my colleagues:

#### RESULTS OF POLL

1. How has the energy crisis affected your home?

- a. Cutting down home heat, 43 percent.
- b. Conserving electricity, 34 percent.
- c. Rise in energy cost, 47 percent.
- d. Traveling less, 37 percent.
- e. Gasoline shortage, 25 percent.
- f. Buying products on basis of low energy consumption, 8 percent.
- g. Using mass transit or carpooling, 7 percent.

- h. Less overtime, 6 percent.
  - i. Business or job loss, 5 percent.
  - j. No shortages/no effects, 2 percent.
2. Would you vote to impeach the President? Yes, 48 percent; no, 46 percent; and undecided, 6 percent.

Mr. Speaker, the questionnaire also included the optional question.

Did you vote for Richard Nixon in 1972? A total of 56 percent said yes; 36 percent said no; 8 percent chose not to answer. Of those

who favored impeachment, 33 percent did vote for President Nixon; 60 percent did not, and 7 percent did not answer the vote question. Of those who said they voted for President Nixon, 28 percent favored impeachment; 67 percent were against impeachment, and 5 percent were undecided.

3. Do you feel you have lost confidence in:

- a. The Congress—yes, 54 percent; no, 26 percent; undecided, 20 percent.

- b. The President—yes, 62 percent; no, 24 percent; undecided, 14 percent.

- c. Government in general—yes, 61 percent; no, 27 percent; undecided, 12 percent.

4. To control the economy are you in favor of:

- a. wage, price and profit controls, 46 percent; b. law of supply and demand, 44 percent; and 2 percent indicated both; 8 percent were undecided.

5. With regard to nuclear power plants, do you feel:

- a. nuclear power plant construction should be expedited, 33 percent; b. nuclear power plants should be banned, 7 percent; c. more public information should be made available, 46 percent; 9 percent checked both a. and c.; 1 percent checked both b. and c.; 4 percent were undecided.

6. Do you feel abortion should be:

- a. illegal, 18 percent; b. a decision to be made solely by a woman and her doctor, 55 percent; c. legal but with limitations, 23 percent; d. undecided, 4 percent.

7. Should the U.S. oil industry be nationalized? Yes, 42 percent; no, 47 percent; undecided, 11 percent.

8. Do you favor a law that would prohibit the issuance of food stamps to families of striking workers? Yes, 52 percent; no, 43 percent; undecided, 5 percent.

9. Should the Federal Government finance:

- a. Presidential elections—yes, 41 percent; no, 51 percent; undecided, 8 percent.
- b. Congressional elections—yes, 36 percent; no, 52 percent; undecided, 12 percent.

10. Do you think New York State's strict drug control law should be imposed nationally? Yes, 79 percent; no, 14 percent; undecided, 7 percent.

11. Should imports of foreign goods be banned to protect domestic industries? Yes, 39 percent; no, 52 percent; undecided, 9 percent.

12. Do you believe in capital punishment? Yes, 74 percent; no, 19 percent; undecided, 7 percent.

#### POLISH INDEPENDENCE AND THE FOURTH OF JULY

### HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I would like to submit to the RECORD the remarks of the President in Exile of the Commonwealth of Poland, the honorable Count Juliusz Nowina Sokolnicki. These remarks were delivered at a reception honoring the President and the members of his Cabinet.

Count Sokolnicki represents those Polish people who, because of their intense desire for self-determination and their unflinching dedication to the cause of freedom, have joined together in an effort to eradicate the constant threat of Soviet imperialism. These Polish peoples' struggle for independence has, in many ways, paralleled our own. Indeed, during the American Revolution many Polish people gave their lives for the cause of freedom. Foremost among these was Gen. Casimir Pulaski who was com-

manded by the Congress in 1778 to organize an independent cavalry corps to fight in the Revolution. General Pulaski fought valiantly in the Battles of Brandywine and Germantown and died defending the right of the American people to be free in 1779 at the Battle of Charleston.

On the eve of our own Independence Day, the remarks of Count Sokolnicki and the plight of the freedom-loving Polish people takes on a new significance and urgency for all Americans. As we celebrate the Fourth of July, let us remember the Polish fight for independence and the men who are so courageously leading that fight.

#### REMARKS BY COUNT SOKOLNICKI

The Honorable members of the United States Congress, Distinguished guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I would like to assure you that I consider this a great honor to be able to speak to you today here in the United States.

This perhaps, because I am the first President of the Commonwealth of Poland in the history of both our countries who has the privilege of visiting the United States of America.

There are three main reasons why I have decided to come here together with some members of my cabinet. First, I am here to pay the respect to all those American women and men who, shoulder-to-shoulder with the Polish people, fought in both World Wars for our independence. Many of them were killed and their blood has cemented the Polish-American friendship in an unbreakable way.

We can say that the history of both our countries are similar and our past was interwoven many times. The volunteers of our country fought for American Independence like Gen. Pulaski, Gen. Kosciuszko and others. Also, the millions of those of our people, who in the days of persecution found a new fatherland here in America, have strengthened our relations to an extent unknown in the history of nations.

The second reason which brought me here is the wish to outline the goals of our new Government, as it is usual between two friends.

As you know, despite the holocaust of the Second World War, despite the six million Polish citizens killed while fighting the German and Soviet Russian occupiers, Poland did not regain the total independence but was left enslaved under the Soviet Russian imperialism.

A mockery has been made of the Atlantic Charter of Nations, which spells very clearly that every nation has the unlimited right to possess a freely elected Government and to choose its own way of life.

The well intentioned agreement signed in Yalta between President Roosevelt and Stalin was as usual violated by the Red rulers from Moscow. In other words, the Soviets did not live up to the promises made to President Roosevelt; as for us, we have to continue our uncompromised fight until our country will be free from foreign occupation and a Quisling type of Government. I sincerely hope that you my friends will understand this better than any other nation in the World, because you have been placed in the past in the position to carry out unwanted wars in order to defend all these ideas that have value for you.

For thirty years, we have been following the orders of our past leaders in Exile to refrain from violent methods in order to free our country. In the meantime, however, and unfortunately for us, we have been alerted too late by unpleasant facts, that the men who have been carrying or should have been carrying our fight for independence have lost their ability or their freedom of action. Some

of them because they were broken by the time and circumstances, some have given up under the pressure of the foreign powers, others chose private ambitions and financial gains rather than carrying out our flight.

The last President August Zaleski empowered me to lead the Polish People in their struggle for Independence as a President should he die.

After his death, following his last will, I accepted the nomination and assumed the Presidential office. Soon afterward, the new Government was formed under the premiership of Mr. S. Ursyn-Szantyr with 10 ministers in the Cabinet.

The most important point of this Government is formation of a new foreign policy as a realistic part of a modern time, whereby we strongly reject any acts of terror against innocent people, women and children, as a means which can be used to free our country. Our main concern will be given to our economic plan which has been comprehensively explained in our Polish Mainstay. You can find this plan printed in our newspaper which has been placed for your disposition on the table.

Equally important aims of our Government are to foster good relations with all Western countries and to assist our East-Central European neighbors in their fight for independence against Soviet Russian imperialism. We will expand our contacts and relations to our enslaved friends; countries like Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Cossackia, Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and other nations.

We will, however, not limit ourselves but we will consider building a new relation with new countries in all continents of the world as one of the most important objectives.

We believe that in spite of the fact that we are not rich Government backed up by the resources of a free country, we can bring help and assistance to other new and underdeveloped countries, which do not possess cadres of experienced technicians, engineers, businessmen, teachers, professors, etc. because we believe that our fight for freedom and independence of Poland includes all fields of our daily life. We will also pay special attention to the needs of Polish people abroad and in Poland. We know that each Government can establish their own credibility by the people if it is willing and able to listen to the problems and the needs of the people and to respond through wise and helpful assistance. We will therefore include in our economical, social and educational assistance plan Polish people in all continents and countries wherever they may live no matter what political direction they follow, what kind of religion they believe or what kind of social classes they represent. The seat of our Government will remain as in the past on the European continent but we are welcoming participation through elected representatives from the Polish groups everywhere in the world if they desire so. I will personally take care that special orders will be issued on this matter. In conclusion our Government through the new policy will try to participate in a reconstruction of the free World, of the future of tomorrow in which our children and the children to come can live as members of the free societies.

Finally, I am coming to the third reason. As a Government in Exile we depend exclusively on a good will of the people and their support. On the contrary to a Government which governs a nation in their own country we cannot as they could put taxes on the people's businesses and merchandise, in order to draw our revenues which are needed to cover the usual annual budget. On the other hand we affirmatively reject to follow the old path and beg for financial assistance. We believe that every human being and society is formed by them should be able to take care of themselves through hard work and

economical planning our answer is our Economic Mainstay Program which by correct management should be able to provide the Government with revenues which we need to fulfill our plans. We need therefore instead of a voluntary contribution, help and assistance which would permit us to put our economic program in operation. Such help and assistance could have many forms and could be worked out on the basis of shares, credits, loans, etc. Besides this, we will need badly your understanding of the fact that we have formed this Government only because Poland is not free and the Polish people did not have the opportunity to choose their own way of life through genuine free elections. My appeal therefore is directed to all of you to those who are present and those who are not here and I sincerely hope that it will find the necessary echo.

#### OUT ON A LIMB

### HON. DAWSON MATHIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. MATHIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the news industry has undergone much criticism in the past few years, some warranted and some unwarranted. Because some elements of our society openly advocate censorship of the news media, I feel an editorial written by one of my constituents, Mr. "Bo" McLeod of Donaldsonville, Ga., is most appropriate and I would like to share it with my colleagues:

[From the Donaldsonville News, June 27, 1974]

#### OUT ON A LIMB

(By Bo McLeod)

Sometimes it seems newspaper folks do the poorest job of telling their readers about some of the pitfalls of the trade, poorer than anybody I know.

Like that Florida law that tried to require a newspaper to give free and equal space to an official who had been jumped on by the paper. When you first look at it, and without much experience at the problem, the average citizen seems to say hooray, the mean old newspaper folks ought to have to do it.

They go on and agree that all newsmen ought to have to reveal and publish their financial holdings, papers ought to be subject to some kind of government guidelines on what can and cannot be printed, and all kinds of notions.

I don't fall out with folks when they express such opinions. It's their right, and if we're gonna raise sand about our having liberty and freedom, we've gotta do the same for everybody's, and that has to include the folks who don't agree with us. There's nothing noble or heroic about this, it's all part of the same package.

But I realize many people simply do not take the time to think through their opinions, if they have any kind of feeling that government control or restrictions of any sort will do anybody any good. It just ain't that way.

I don't know many publications (or radio or TV stations, for that matter) who abuse their freedoms so badly that we need some more laws. Fact, I can't name one right now.

But newsmen are no more than human, subject to error and mistakes, evidence of which comes out every day or so.

No matter, government restrictions, whether in the name of clean minds and speech, or in the name of turn about, would be more deadly and fatal for freedom for all of us,

than anything we could possibly print here. Or broadcast. Or televise.

Government control means censorship, any way you cut it. And censorship brings doom, no matter how noble the intentions may be at the start.

For a sample: Name a government officer of any rank and standing, for any branch of government, who you'd like to have as your picker of what you can read and hear.

It's a dangerous thing, and thank goodness it's only in the talking and conversation stage. Let's keep it there, where it won't hurt anybody, until we've done a lot of research.

Then we'll keep things like they are, free and unfettered, the only way we can keep July Fourths out there to celebrate with reason.

### HONORABLE JAMES A. FARLEY CELEBRATES 86TH BIRTHDAY

### HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise to salute a great American, Hon. James A. Farley, who recently celebrated his 86th birthday. In connection with that happy occasion, I include with my remarks an article that appeared in the Albany Times-Union in my district, for May 30, 1974:

#### OPTIMISTIC ABOUT FUTURE—"GENIAL JIM"

FARLEY REACHES 86

(By James Kilgallen)

NEW YORK.—James A. Farley, who has had two outstanding careers in his lifetime—one in politics, the other in business—observes his 86th birthday today and has no thought of retiring.

"My health is very good and I feel all right," said Mr. Farley when I interviewed him in his midtown office where he holds down the position of honorary chairman of the board of Coca Cola Export Corporation. "I enjoy working and meeting people."

"Genial Jim" reaches his 86th milestone manifestly disturbed over the apparent loss of White House credibility, the revelations of campaign spending in the last presidential election and the Watergate disclosures. But his confidence in the American people is unshaken and he predicted once Watergate is cleared up, the United States will come out more united than it has been in many years.

In his hey-day in politics in the 1930s Farley as Democratic National Chairman, visited every state in the Union and served 7½ years as postmaster general in FDR's cabinet. He was often referred to by newspapermen as "Mr. Politics."

After joining Coca Cola in September, 1940, he traveled all over the world for the company and met many noted personalities and people in all walks of life.

I asked Mr. Farley to name the six persons who impressed him most during his career in politics. He replied:

"Former Mayor James J. Walker, former Gov. Alfred E. Smith, former Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman and Lyndon B. Johnson, and former Sen. Carter Glass of Virginia."

It was Sen. Glass who placed Farley's name in nomination for the presidency at the Democratic convention in Chicago in 1940.

When asked to name the personalities who impressed him most during his extensive travels abroad, he replied:

"This is a question not easy to answer. However, I do not hesitate to say that in my



opinion Pope Pius XII was the greatest person I ever met.

"Naturally, I was impressed at the opportunity I had to meet and talk with Winston Churchill, General Franco, Chiang Kai-shek, and Mussolini who was at the height of his power in Italy in 1934 and at the time was doing a great job for his country."

# UNITED STATES AND CANADIAN AGRICULTURE TRADE MUST BE A TWO-WAY STREET

**HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, trade must be a two-way street. In the past this was the case between Canada and the United States. Approximately the same amounts of meat, eggs, and turkey were shipped from the United States to Canada as were shipped from Canada to the United States. Now it appears that Canada has effectively banned shipment of U.S. beef north of the border, while a half-million more pounds of carcass beef came from Canada to the United States in the first 5 months of 1974 than in the same period of 1973.

As of May 8, 1974, Canada established quotas on shipments from the United States of turkeys, turkey parts, eggs, and egg products while apparently dumping its own excess on our market. USDA figures show that Canada's hog shipments to the United States in January-April 1974 were three times as great as the same period of 1973.

I believe it is time the United States began looking out for the welfare of its own citizens. This is particularly true when our industry is under severe adverse economic pressure. I believe it is time the United States showed other nations that they cannot arbitrarily move to restrict the flow of our goods without reprisal.

The President has authority under section 252 of the Trade Expansion Act to place restrictions on shipments of Canadian agricultural products to the United States. Those restrictions should be equally severe as those Canada has placed on our products.

U.S. trade policy must be determined by the interests of this country. Our trade policy should work for the benefit of the people of the United States. Too often our trade policies have seemed to work against our own farmers, workers, and businesses.

The United States has long been a supporter of reciprocal lowering of trade barriers. Other countries must learn that the United States will not continue to allow favorable trade treatment to them if they do not offer the same benefits to this country. Be it Canada, Japan, or the Common Market countries, trade must be a two-way street in agricultural and industrial commodities. The United States must not be expected to continue giving trade benefits to countries which refuse to reciprocate.

## LIVESTOCK LOAN ACT

**HON. PETER A. PEYSER**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. PEYSER. Mr. Speaker, opposition continues to grow to the emergency livestock loan legislation hastily reported out of the House Agriculture Committee last week. I would like to place in the Record at this point a letter from another national association, The Federation of Homemakers, Inc., who are opposed to this ill-advised legislation.

FEDERATION OF HOMEMAKERS, INC.,

Arlington, Va., July 1, 1974.

Re Opposition to H.R. 15560 and S. 3679—Taxpayers' Guarantee of Livestock Loans

HON. PETER A. PEYSER,  
House Longworth Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PEYSER: The officers of this grassroots organization are in accord with your common sense views on the ineffectiveness of H.R. 15560 to help solve the problems confronting the beef raisers who have withheld their cattle from market—hoping for higher prices, but instead now facing losses on over-fat cattle. The Federation's approximately 7,000 members would also join in opposition to this bailout type of legislation—since they endorsed this group's opposition to the cyclamate compensation bills, and recently opposed tax money for the poultry raisers who had to sacrifice their Dieldrin contaminated chickens.

This bill (H.R. 15560) appears—as you pointed out at the hearing of the full House Agriculture Committee on June 27th—to be beneficial mainly for the bankers who will be able to re-finance their loans to the cattle raisers at the current high interest rates, knowing their loans will be guaranteed at least 80% by the taxpayers. The House Bill has a ceiling of \$2 billion but in conference with S. 3679—this ceiling could be deleted by the conferees—also the loans could be extended for a longer period than specified by the House legislation.

This emergency, bailout legislation has the taxpayers furnishing loan guarantees up to 80% but no promise, let alone a guarantee, that the marketplace prices of beef for consumers will be lower. It would appear this emergency financing might keep beef prices high for the harassed housewives. Unless the facts are faced squarely regarding this unhappy state of both beef producers and consumers and resolved the taxpayers can anticipate more bailouts of said cattle raisers. If the processors and the chain stores do not share their profits with the ranchers and feedlot owners—then the consumers will have to pay the high store prices for beef or forego it—as many are doing today.

The Washington Post for July 1, 1974 (Food Section, pgs. E1 and E2) carries an article "Battling the Budget" by Mary Knight of the Christian Science Monitor of a survey of California housewives who are watching their food budgets carefully. This informal survey indicates that most of them buy roasts only for entertaining or special occasions. These California homemakers are serving fish and chicken regularly and also supplementing with egg and cheese dishes. Chopped beef is substituted for steaks and roasts. This has become a way of eating for these housewives and their families for more than a year. This survey indicates that until the processors and the huge supermarkets are willing to be reasonable in their

dealings both with the beef raisers and the consumers the problem will not be resolved. Most shoppers will resist cuts of any meats which are inflated in price.

Warnings that meat prices will be still higher if the taxpayers do not come to the financial bailout of the beef raisers and their bankers will probably cause housewives to invent even more tasty recipes for serving fish, chicken, egg, and cheese—especially casseroles.

The term "livestock" is so broad in H.R. 15560 that dairy cattle, sheep, goats, swine, chickens and turkeys are included with cattle. The precedent of passing H.R. 15560 could result in taxpayers guaranteeing many other high interest loans for livestock as defined by said bill.

It is this Federation's understanding that the USDA is purchasing large quantities of beef and pork for the school lunch program—which should help this problem of disposing of excess quantities of beef. If Canada is persuaded to purchase USDA certified DES-free beef from the U.S. this too will temporarily aid this problem of surplus beef. When taxpayers help the beef raisers through USDA purchase of excess beef—they should not be asked also to bail out the bankers at current rates.

In behalf of its members, this Federation's officers have asked me to extend their thanks for your efforts in behalf of all consumers in opposing H.R. 15560, which would create a dangerous precedent.

Sincerely,

RUTH G. DESMOND,  
President.

## ON THE DEATH OF ALBERTA WILLIAMS KING

**HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, when the late Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated, we mourned our loss but we could take some comfort in the knowledge that he died in the service of the cause to which he had devoted his life. In a sense, the murder this week of his mother, Alberta Williams King, is even more tragic because it was so senseless. We are left only with a sense of emptiness and a conviction that something must be done to prevent such acts of horror.

Mrs. King was loved and respected by all who knew her as a woman of devotion and reverence, deeply committed to the work of her husband and her late son. The ideals which she and her husband took as their inspiration were shared unselfishly and universally, and breathed with familial love into the heart and soul of Martin Luther King, Jr. How hard it is to comprehend that such violent tragedy should befall a family so dedicated to peace.

I hope that Mrs. King's death emphasizes to all of us the need to complete the work to which her family has been devoted. It is a challenge to put aside our differences and improve the quality of life for people everywhere. We, then, are left to transform the life-giving and life-taking dreams of the King family into reality. Mrs. Alberta Williams King has completed her work. We are left to do ours.

# **BARSKY CLINIC HELPS VIETNAMESE CHILDREN**

**HON. LEE H. HAMILTON**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to my colleagues' attention an article on the Center for Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery in Saigon that appeared in the June 30, 1974, New York Times. This clinic, founded several years ago by Dr. Arthur Barsky, specializes in the treatment of burns and is the most complete facility of its kind in all of South Vietnam. Operated with financial assistance from the U.S. Agency for International Development and the South Vietnamese Ministry of Health, as well as from private contributors, it is, as the article points out, "one of the few positive legacies of the war." It meets a medical need that cannot be fulfilled elsewhere in that country, and is an excellent example of the type of humanitarian service that the United States is well-advised to associate itself with.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, June 30, 1974]  
**SAIGON'S PLASTIC SURGERY CLINIC IS A BUSY HAVEN FOR THE INJURED VIETNAMESE**  
 (By David K. Shipler)

SAIGON, SOUTH VIETNAM, June 29—The 10-year-old boy with the melancholy eyes is Phan Thanh Anh. He was swinging a knife through long green elephant grass, clearing some new land for farming, when something exploded and blew all the fingers off his left hand.

Doan Van Hung, 12, fell asleep as he was studying by the light of a kerosene lamp, knocking the lamp over and setting himself on fire. Inadequate medical care and terrible scars have left his elbow stiff and his neck partly immobilized.

On Muoi is now 31. As a child, she was attacked by a potent and common gangrene called noma, which in the course of a few weeks ate away whole sections of her face, destroying her upper lip and nose, twisting her features into monstrous shapes.

## **RECONSTRUCTION OF PEOPLE**

These three are victims not only of war but of poverty, and of accident, chance or carelessness. They are all patients in a Vietnamese and American-funded medical center for plastic surgery, one of the few places in South Vietnam where reconstruction is actually going on. This is the reconstruction of bodies.

Formally, the clinic is called the Center for Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery, but everyone knows it as the Barsky unit, after its founder, Dr. Arthur J. Barsky, an American plastic surgeon who is now professor emeritus at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine in New York.

During the height of the war in the nineteen-sixties, Dr. Barsky and a lawyer, Thomas R. Miller, were so moved by reports of war injuries to Vietnamese children that they established an organization called Children's Medical Relief International, which created the Barsky unit with the help of Federal grants.

The clinic is one of the few positive legacies of the war. Only about 20 per cent of its patients now are military-injury cases; the rest are victims of diseases that began throughout most of Asia long before the war—and will probably continue long after—and accidents.

There are many badly burned children, but hardly any were burned by napalm; people hit by napalm rarely live to be treated, doctors say.

Mrs. Nguyen Thi Hoa is a survivor of a napalm attack, but the napalm never struck her directly; it was dropped on her village after Vietcong troops came into the area, she recalled, and it set fire to her thatched house. "My whole family was in the bunker," she said. "Suddenly the house was on fire. Three of the five in my family died; my father and I ran away, but the fire caught us."

She is now getting skin grafts on her hands, feet and face.

## **BURNS TRACED TO HOMES**

Joyce M. Horn, a nurse and the administrator of the Barsky unit, calculates that most of the burns are from domestic accidents—kerosene lamps and stoves, charcoal fires, boiling water—all made more common by the crowding of children into tiny rooms, the lack of electricity, the practice of cooking in areas where children play.

Furthermore, Miss Horn observes, the Barsky unit expends a good deal of effort undoing damage that could have been avoided in the first place with proper medical treatment—particularly, separating badly burned limbs and fingers that have been allowed to grow together or attach themselves to other parts of the body as they have healed.

The unit trains Vietnamese personnel, and it has provided residency for young doctors. Four have graduated so far as full-fledged plastic surgeons; two others were called into the army before they could finish their courses.

The Barsky unit's patients are not cheerless. In the wards, there are easy smiles and bursts of laughter. They are more comfortable here, Miss Horn says, than outside, where they are often stared at and ridiculed. "They come to the Barsky unit, where all of a sudden they're normal, and they don't want to go home," she says.

The Barsky unit gets 21 per cent of its operating funds from the United States Agency for International Development and most of the remainder from the South Vietnamese Ministry of Health. But it needs more.

Dr. Barsky, who visited Saigon recently, remarked: "More thought seems to be given to destruction than to preservation—certainly more money is spent."

# **SECRET EYES-ONLY PLAN TO PUSH H.R. 12898 AND BURY H.R. 11500 IS COMPROMISED IN PARTS NOW REVEALED TO ALL**

**HON. CRAIG HOSMER**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, it seems no one can keep a secret any longer in Washington. Oh, the pity of it some are saying.

Even parts of my secret plan in connection with the surface coal mining regulation bills have been compromised.

Set forth below are the compromised portions so all will know, not just a few. None of the appendixes are compromised at this point, I think. So I am not revealing them at this time for the RECORD. If somebody steals any of them, and I find out about it, I will ask unanimous consent that they appear in subsequent issues of the RECORD, too:

**REPRESENTATIVE CRAIG HOSMER'S SECRET CAMPAIGN PLAN TO FORWARD PASSAGE OF SURFACE COAL MINING LEGISLATION WHICH ENFORCES STRICT RECLAMATION OF MINED LAND TO ENVIRONMENTALLY ACCEPTABLE STANDARDS WHILE AT THE SAME TIME FACILITATING THE SURFACE MINING OF ENOUGH COAL TO SATISFY U.S. ENERGY REQUIREMENTS**

## **OVERALL OBJECTIVE**

Enactment this year of legislation to assure that coal is surface mined pursuant to good conservation practices and thereafter the land is restored promptly to as good or better condition than before, while, at the same time, assuring that the nation's expanding needs for surfaced mined coal are fully met.

This objective is to be achieved by defeating the unbalanced and defective bill H.R. 11500 and substituting the bill H.R. 12898.

## **LEGISLATIVE SITUATION**

(A) The writing of H.R. 11500 and its Senate companion S. 425 was dominated by legislators and staff whose primary concerns are environmental. As a consequence these bills are heavily overweighed with environmental concerns and drastically neglect the need for energy, and equal concern.

Note: The Interior Department and FEO estimate that H.R. 11500 would unnecessarily preclude production of up to almost two-thirds of all this country's surface mined coal—almost one-third of all its coal. The effect of this bill on the economy and upon employment nationwide would be disastrous.

(B) The substitute bill H.R. 12898 was drafted specifically to achieve the overall objectives specified above by giving measured and equal respect to both environmental and energy ethics. When full Interior Committee markup began a move to substitute it for H.R. 11500 as the markup vehicle lost by only one vote. (20 to 19).

## **OVERALL STRATEGY**

### **(A) Rules Committee:**

1. Get H.R. 11500 referred back to Interior and Insular Affairs Committee for reformation or substitution of H.R. 12898.

2. Failing the above, insist on rule making substitution of H.R. 12898 in order and up to 12 hours general debate upon this extremely controversial measure.

### **(B) House Floor:**

1. Try to substitute H.R. 12898. If successful—

(a) Offer amendments as required to perfect it;

(b) Resist crippling amendments by H.R. 11500 adherents.

2. If H.R. 11500 remains the vehicle—

(a) Insist upon adequate discussion of ALL its defects, including wholesale loss of jobs, disruption of business, etc.;

(b) Seek to amend it in the 12 basic areas which are absolutely necessary to avoid crippling the nation's economy as a result of a drastic shortage of domestic mined coal, but making sure to preserve proper environmental safeguard;

(c) Move to recommit without instructions;

(d) Defeat the bill by vote of a majority which will fairly respect both environmental and energy ethics.

### **(C) Conference with Senate:**

Doggedly insist upon a balanced bill or no bill. If that fails, rely sustaining of veto, which is certain to follow.

Appendices attached to this campaign plan

Appendix (A)—Surface Mining Bill Campaign Organization.

Appendix (B)—Surface Mining Bill Intelligence Plan.

Appendix (C)—Surface Mining Bill Communications Plan.



# BILL TO STRENGTHEN INVESTIGATIVE ROLE OF CONGRESS

**HON. PAUL FINDLEY**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the cornerstone of our form of government is the delicate system of checks and balances which the Founding Fathers established when they wrote the Constitution. They were not satisfied with just providing for a popularly elected Congress. To curb excessive and abusive power, the constitutional framers divided the Government into three separate, coequal branches—the legislative, executive, and judicial. Each branch was given some responsibility to oversee the proper functioning of the others.

Thus, the judiciary may declare acts of Congress unconstitutional and pass judgment upon the conduct of executive officials.

The President may appoint judges and veto bills passed by the House and Senate.

And the Congress may revise the laws, make drastic changes in the make-up and character of the other coequal branches of the Government, and provide or withdraw salaries from executive and judicial officials.

The system works fairly well. Despite the seemingly inordinate delay in resolving the events which have brought forth the impeachment investigation, I believe that the value of the checks-and-balances system is demonstrated by the inquiry into Executive conduct presently being conducted by the House Judiciary Committee and the Senate Watergate Committee.

When Congress is controlled by a party other than that in the White House, the committees can be relied upon to keep an ever-vigilant eye upon Executive behavior.

However, when the party in control of the Congress has one of its own in the White House, as has occurred frequently in the past, the system of checks and balances may be ineffective or may break down completely. It is normal for members of a political party to avoid washing their own linen for all to see.

For this reason, I am today introducing a resolution providing that the Committees on Government Operations of the House and Senate always have a chairman and a majority of members from the party which does not control the White House.

Under the rules of both Houses, the Government Operations Committees are charged with the primary responsibility for Executive oversight. In effect, these committees hold the check-reins of Government. These reins may become severely slackened or dropped completely when the Presidency and Congress are controlled by the same party. At such times, congressional oversight may fail utterly.

When the Government Operations

Committees, as presently, have a majority of members from the party not in control of the White House the Congress can be expected to exercise with full effect its constitutional responsibility.

The resolution I am introducing today will help to preserve the integrity of the governmental system for future generations.

## CONGRESSMAN HAMILTON FISH, JR. ANNOUNCES RESULTS OF 1974 NEW YORK 25TH DISTRICT OPINION POLL

**HON. HAMILTON FISH, JR.**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, the results of my sixth annual questionnaire have been tabulated. I am pleased to share the opinions of my constituents with my colleagues on 11 critical issues presently confronting the Congress and the American people.

The questionnaire was sent in May to every household in my district—168,000, and within less than a month's time, we had received more than 17,000 replies. Since the forms allowed three responses per household, we actually received over 41,000 opinions.

The questionnaire, of necessity, only provided space for a response to the question asked. However, many constituents took the time to send me additional thoughtful comments on the issues presented in the questionnaire as well as issues which were not included. These additional views I have also read with great interest.

Following are the tabulated results of my annual congressional questionnaire:  
[In percent]

1. Would you favor a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortion?

Yes	21.1
No	70.7
Undecided	6.0
No response	2.2

2. Would you favor control over grain exports to foreign nations?

Yes	86.4
No	7.3
Undecided	3.8
No response	2.5

3. Would you favor increased regulation of public utilities?

Yes	70.9
No	17.1
Undecided	8.2
No response	3.8

4. Would you favor ending the depletion allowance and increasing taxes of oil companies?

Yes	77.2
No	11.7
Undecided	7.4
No response	3.7

5. Would you favor public financing of campaigns for Federal office?

Yes	51.9
No	34.7
Undecided	10.2
No response	3.2

6. Would you favor continued military aid to South Vietnam?

Yes	17.4
No	70.0
Undecided	10.3
No response	2.3

7. Would you favor a national program to provide health insurance for all Americans?

Yes	68.3
No	22.9
Undecided	8.4
No response	2.3

8. Would you favor partial payment of Social Security taxes from public funds?

Yes	35.4
No	39.7
Undecided	19.6
No response	5.3

9. Would you favor relaxing Clean Air Act Standards to conserve oil?

Yes	38.0
No	51.0
Undecided	8.0
No response	3.0

10. Would you favor Vietnam era draft evaders receiving: (a) no amnesty—34.3% (b) conditional amnesty with alternative service—44.8% (c) total amnesty—18.3% No response—2.6%

11. Do you think President Nixon should: (a) remain in office—31.2% (b) resign—23.7% (c) be impeached and tried in the Senate—38.8% No response—6.3%

## ORGANIZED CRIME MUSCLES IN ON STATE LOTTERY OPERATIONS

**HON. STEWART B. MCKINNEY**

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. MCKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, during the next week, I will be calling upon my colleagues to cosponsor legislation I have introduced relating to the gross receipts of State lottery revenues. As you know, the Internal Revenue Service has indicated that it intends to rule in the near future on the interpretation of a 10-year-old statute which would require States operating lotteries to pay a 10 percent excise tax on gross receipts. In a word, this is outrageous and the bill I have introduced would wipe this statute off the books. It seems to me that implementation of a ruling of this type only penalizes States which are making an effort to raise revenues and hold down general taxes.

This, however, is not the only bill I have introduced which relates to State lotteries. Earlier, I proposed legislation which would exempt State lottery winnings from individual Federal income tax payments.

In the past, I have stated a number of reasons which I feel add credence and validity to the enactment of this bill but, at this time, I would like to reemphasize just one point, for it is particularly noteworthy today.

When I first brought this concept forward, eyebrows were raised in some quarters when I maintained that enactment would diminish the growth of organized crime. I said, at the time, that gamblers were "double teaming" State lotteries and

paying off in tax free cash. Admittedly, I could offer no substantive evidence at that time due largely to the obvious difficulties encountered when one seeks information on underground activities.

Now, however, due largely to the persistence of a Connecticut newspaper, the Bridgeport Post, and one of its investigative reporters, Richard P. Ondek, my initial contention has been corroborated. In a recent account, Ondek notes that even Connecticut State Police Commissioner Cleveland Fuessenich agrees that organized crime has found ways of using the State lottery numbers to its benefit.

Further, Ondek adds that State's Attorney Joseph T. Gormley has yet to launch a specific probe into this matter.

Mr. Speaker, statewide investigations would not be necessary if we would take the gamblers' profit motive out of State lottery operations. Exempting lottery winnings from the Federal income tax bite would do just that and I would hope that before this session of the 93d Congress draws to a close, that will be so.

For the edification of my colleagues, I insert Mr. Ondek's news account in the RECORD, at this point.

#### STATE POLICE AWARE LOTTERY IS BEING USED ILLEGALLY

(By Richard P. Ondek)

Just how deeply has organized crime managed to cut into and take advantage of Connecticut's "legalized" gambling, particularly through use of the state's weekly lottery number for illegal policy playing?

Last September, The Bridgeport Post disclosed that organized crime had found a way "to muscle in" on the state's "legalized" gambling by using the weekly lottery drawing figure for policy playing, in most cases bankrolled by organized crime figures.

Since that disclosure, several factors have come to light, including confirmation from State Police Commissioner Cleveland Fuessenich that organized crime had found ways of using the state lottery number to its benefit by taking bets on the outcome of weekly lottery drawings.

Commissioner Fuessenich made the confirmation during a Hartford television program last Sunday.

It was learned today that prior to the disclosure last September by The Post, evidence that the last three digits of the weekly number was being used for illegal policy playing, had been confiscated in multi-town Hartford county gambling raids conducted by State Police and local authorities.

In that raid, according to a State Police spokesman in Hartford, several gambling records were confiscated in which the final digits of the weekly lottery number were used. The arrests in the raid in which those gambling records were uncovered took place last summer.

Another State Police spokesman said that while there is no specific investigation into the use of the lottery number for illegal purposes "we are aware that this may be taking place."

The spokesman, an officer in the Organized Crime division of the department, said there has been no evidence seized lately to prove that the lottery number is being used for illegal policy playing purposes.

Asked his opinion as to whether he believes the weekly number is being used, the State Police spokesman said: "Definitely and absolutely, I believe its happening."

The spokesman, Lieut. Walter Scholtz, said State Police from time to time have obtained information from informants that the lottery number is being employed in illegal operations.

However, Lieut. Scholtz, said he believes that the use of the lottery number for illegal play is "not organized to a great degree" but instead, "if it is happening is being used by individual bookies to enhance their own business."

Chief State's Attorney Joseph T. Gormley, Jr., who heads the anti-organized crime wing of the state's prosecution forces, said nothing has come to his attention relating to any widespread use of the lottery figure by organized crime nor is he aware of any specific probe being undertaken by any investigative arm in the state.

Last September, Mr. Gormley said that if law enforcement agencies had evidence that such practices are taking place "they should move to close them down."

Bridgeport and State Police at that time said their intelligence sources indicated the existence of at least five numbers operations using the weekly number for "the number to match."

Detective Bruce Haines of the State Police Gambling division said last September he believed that four of the rackets are controlled by organized crime, but he said he had no conclusive evidence.

The multi-town raid in which the lottery number was found on gambling records took place prior to Detective Haines' contention that evidence had not been secured to link use of the lottery number to organized crime.

Detective Haines said the lottery number was "most convenient" for policy operators since the five-digit combination cannot be suspected of being fixed.

Commissioner Fuessenich was reported attending a conference out of state by his office and unable to be reached for expansion on his remarks that organized crime had found ways to use the lottery number for its own purposes.

#### REFORM OF THE HATCH ACT

#### HON. WAYNE OWENS

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, the Hatch Act was signed into law on August 2, 1939. Originally designed as a protective measure against improper political activities of persons employed in the then "Works Progress Administration," the Hatch Act has since been amended and administratively interpreted to include the whole spectra of executive branch—civil service—employees.

During the 35 years since enactment, we have witnessed great changes in our political process. And, our government system, "the bureaucracy," has grown in size and numbers. Yet the Hatch Act has remained essentially unchanged. It has not been substantially amended to conform to today's political realities.

Over the years, it has become increasingly evident that the enforcement of the Hatch Act has created certain inequities and has been, in many instances, an undesired deterrent to the participation of many individuals in the elective process. Recognizing the need to reevaluate the act in view of its detrimental effects, the Congress established in 1966, the Commission on Political Activity of Government Personnel. The Commission was charged with investigating Federal laws which placed limitations or discouraged participation in political activities. Upon

completion of the study, the Commission made recommendations to the President for changes in the law.

In its study, the Commission recognized:

On the one hand, in our democratic society it is important to encourage the participation of as many citizens as possible in the political processes which shape our government. All citizens must have a voice in the affairs of the government.

On the other hand, it is equally important to assure integrity in the administration of governmental affairs and develop an impartial service far from partisan politics.

At the conclusion of the study, which included public hearings in six major cities throughout the United States, surveys of opinions of Federal and State employees, and party chairman opinions, the Commission made the following recommendations:

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

(1) Public employees should be permitted to express their opinions freely in private and in public on any political subject or candidate.

(2) The law regulating political activity of government personnel should specify in readily understandable terms those political activities which are prohibited, and specifically permit all others.

(3) The distinction between local political offices which can be campaigned for and held by Federal employees, and those which cannot, should be based on the nature of the office itself, without reference to a "partisan" or "nonpartisan" distinction or to the geographic area where the employee lives.

(4) At the Federal level, the U.S. Civil Service Commission should have the sole responsibility for enforcement, and its jurisdiction should be extended to cover not only merit system employees, but also excepted employees over whom the employing agency presently has enforcement jurisdiction.

(5) Enforcement of the act should be strengthened and made more flexible by adding to the present criminal penalties administrative sanctions and procedures. These should be designed to insure timely investigation and adjudication of complaints, while preserving adequate protection for persons charged with violations of the law.

(6) At the State level, employees administering programs financed by Federal funds should be subject to the same prohibitions against political coercion, abuse of official authority, fund-raising and campaigning for Federal office which apply to Federal employees.

(7) The several States should be encouraged to develop systems for controlling political activities which are comparable to the system prescribed by Federal law. With the approval of the U.S. Civil Service Commission, those states which develop such a system would have the responsibility for enforcement of all political activity restrictions applicable to State employees within that jurisdiction, including those working on programs financed by Federal funds.

(8) The U.S. Civil Service Commission should study and report on the feasibility of establishing a plan of voluntary political contributions patterned after similar programs in private industry.

(9) The U.S. Civil Service Commission should study and report on the feasibility of establishing a new Office of Employees' Counsel within the Civil Service Commission to which individual Federal employees can report instances of political coercion, intimidation, misuse of official authority, and other alleged violations of the law.



(10) Up to \$1 million should be appropriated annually for the enforcement of the law, in contrast to the \$100,000 or less appropriated annually since 1939.

I stated before that the bureaucracy has grown in size during the last 35 years. It is, of course, continuing to increase. As it does, more and more Americans are being denied the right to participate in many aspects of our political process, simply because they work for the Government and must, therefore, adhere to the guidelines of an out-dated law. The problem becomes more complicated when one considers the ongoing debate of whether provisions of the Hatch Act should be applied to those employees working on projects funded in whole or in part by revenue-sharing funds.

Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill, sponsored in the Senate by my colleague and fellow Utahian, Senator FRANK E. MOSS, to reform the Hatch Act. The bill encompasses many of the recommendations made by the Commission on Political Activity of Government Personnel in 1966.

This bill would eliminate the second-class citizenship status of Federal employees. It would allow such workers, during off hours, to express public support for a candidate; write an article for a newspaper or other publication supporting a candidate or political issue; distribute campaign material; and serve as a delegate to a political or constitutional convention, and under circumstances, be a candidate for local office.

Provisions of the bill would become effective on January 1, 1975.

There are safeguards in the bill to prevent abuses and corruption. The special nature of the Government employee is taken into account with several prohibitions as to the use of official authority and influence for the purpose of interfering with any elections. Further measures would outlaw the use of intimidation or coercion to affect the actions of fellow employees.

The Congress should endeavor to review the inequities in the present law. I am aware of the immediacy to consider such crucial matters as campaign financing reform legislation. But I would hope that the Congress, within the next year, would turn towards consideration of returning basic political rights to the more than 2.8 million Americans affected by the Hatch Act.

#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

### HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, due to a previous commitment in my district, I was not in the Chamber on Monday, July 1. Had I been present and voting I would have voted "Aye" on rollcall Nos. 356, 358, and 360; and "No" on rollcall No. 359.

### HOW H.R. 11500 AFFECTS THE SMALL COAL OPERATOR

### HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, on June 24, Representative CRAIG HOSMER saw fit to reprint a letter from Ed Mears, president of the Mears Coal Co. of Marion Center, Pa., criticizing H.R. 11500. This letter which was addressed to Representative PHILIP RUPPE, contained a number of specific complaints about the bill, with a statement that if the bill is enacted Mr. Mears was afraid he would be put out of business.

What Representative HOSMER was careful not to mention, however, is that in its consideration of H.R. 11500, the Interior Committee did evaluate the various problems raised by Mr. Mears, who is representative of many small bituminous coal operators in Pennsylvania. There was a very real concern on the part of committee members that the provisions of H.R. 11500 should not prove confiscatory, particularly to those, who, like Mr. Mears, have developed new and improved reclamation techniques. Contrary to Mr. HOSMER's claim that H.R. 11500 would put Ed Mears out of business, the bill now contains nearly all of Ed Mears' recommended changes, in one form or another.

I have reviewed Mr. Mears' letter carefully. Since he raised some pertinent issues, the following outline of the action taken by the committee showing how the bill has been altered in keeping with his suggestions may reveal the merits of H.R. 11500:

1. *Spoil on steep downslopes* is allowable in Sec. 211(c)(1), but only for the initial short linear cut necessary to gain access to the coal seam. There is no reason why the rocks and boulders, which Mr. Mears is concerned about, cannot be retained on the bench and buried under the spoil, or in the alternative placed on slopes that are not steep. Mr. Mears' own operations which use the so-called "modified block cut" method, indicate how this may be accomplished.

2. *Disturbance above the highwall* is allowable in Sec. 211(c)(3), if the regulatory authority finds that such disturbance will be in compliance with the environmental protection standards. This revision would allow Mr. Mears to stack his spoil on the slope above the highwall as a means of expediting final regrading of the mine site.

3. *Abandoned underground mine workings.* Sec. 211(b)(19) provides a 500-foot barrier around active or abandoned underground mine workings. However, there is no outright prohibition which would prevent an operator from surface mining in such a situation if by doing so he will achieve "improved resource recovery, abatement of water pollution or elimination of public hazards." The bill thus offers the kind of leeway which Mr. Mears seeks in areas which have already been heavily mined for coal, as in the case in portions of Pennsylvania.

4. *Erosion control* requirements in Sec. 211(b)(14)(B) have been amended to require that the operator shall "prevent additional contributions of suspended solids to stream flow or run-off outside the permit area above

natural levels under seasonal flow conditions as measured prior to any mining, and avoiding channel deepening or enlargement in operations requiring the discharge of water from mines." This is in recognition of the fact that the original requirement to "eliminate erosion" was not feasible (given the realities of surface mining) as Mr. Mears correctly pointed out.

5. *Preservation of alluvial valley floors* and stream channels as called for in Sec. 211(b)(14)(E) is contained in broad discretionary language which requires the operator to preserve "throughout the mining and reclamation process the hydrologic integrity of alluvial valley floors in the arid and semi-arid areas of the country." Since Mr. Mears' operations are located in a humid region, they would not come under these particular strictures.

6. *A two-year term for steep-slope permits* is set forth in Sec. 211(c)(4), in consideration of the unnecessary hardship which the bill's original one-year term for permits covering operations on steep slopes might have imposed on small operators by requiring the periodic repetition of the complete permit application process, with all of its public review procedures (as Mr. Mears pointed out in his letter).

7. *Concurrent reclamation* is required in Sec. 211(b)(4). The operator is responsible for seeing to it that on any separate portion of the mined area reclamation is carried out as promptly as possible, in keeping with the schedule which is contained in the conditions of the permit and the reclamation plan. Mr. Mears figures he needs four pits going simultaneously in order to operate profitably. There is nothing in the bill which would confine him profitably to one pit so long as he complies with the concurrent reclamation provisions.

8. *Bonding for agricultural use of the mined site* is covered in Sec. 211(b)(13), which states that "when the regulatory authority approves a long-term intensive agricultural postmining land use, the applicable five- or ten-year period for responsibility for revegetation shall commence at the date of initial planting for such long-term intensive agricultural postmining land use." The indeterminate bonding period which Mr. Mears feared might put him out of business has thus been limited in his case, to five years after the first agricultural planting occurs on the regraded site.

9. *Reclamation fee for rehabilitation of abandoned mine lands* in Sec. 401(d) is set at 1.23 cents per million Btu of heat value in coal. The original fee of \$2.50 per ton about which Mr. Mears complained was replaced by the present arrangement, which is estimated to amount to between 15 cents and 38 cents per ton, depending on the Btu content. This fee cannot be seen as confiscatory by any stretch of the imagination. No doubt there are many parts of Mr. Mears' home territory which are desperately in need of the restoration program which Title 4 of H.R. 11500 would provide.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, it is evident that virtually every one of Mr. Mears' complaints about H.R. 11500 has been met by the committee. In the case of the one exception, it can be asserted with complete confidence that Mr. Mears' own remarkably fine operations in Pennsylvania offer the best example of how surface mine operators can comply with the requirement that the mined site be returned to the approximate original contour even on steep slopes, through use of existing equipment and through planning and foreknowledge of the problems involved.

H.R. 11500 will not put any surface

mine operators out of work. The coal industry and Representative HOSMER should understand that careful pre-planning and coordination of resources to meet the environmental protection standards set forth in the bill are already being employed routinely by many surface coal mine operators, both big and small. Ed Mears, of Pennsylvania, is a good example.

#### THIS FORD HAS THE WRONG IDEA

#### HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the establishment of an independent Federal Consumer Protection Agency would make fundamental and far-reaching changes in the way Federal decisions are made affecting the consumer.

An indirect but important byproduct of the legislation is that it would make more visible the way in which Federal agencies make decisions affecting the business community.

Big business forces have waged a desperate fight against the creation of such an agency and now Vice President Ford has spoken out against the legislation establishing the CPA. He referred to it as "legislative dictatorship" by "not just moderate Democrats, but liberal Democrats who would intervene in business and private enterprise."

The Long Island Press recently carried an editorial, which I recommend to my colleagues, on the Vice President's misguided remarks:

#### FORD'S NO HELP ON CONSUMER PROTECTION

As though a threatened Senate filibuster was not enough, Vice President Ford apparently is trying to throw a monkey wrench into legislation to create an independent federal consumer protection agency.

The other day Mr. Ford described the legislation already passed by the House—as the kind of "liberal" programs that could be expected if Democrats establish "veto-proof" control of Congress next November. He urged a Republican "Boosters Club" to forestall "legislative dictatorship" by "not just moderate Democrats, but liberal Democrats who would intervene in business and private enterprise."

That's partisan political pap designed to hide the fact that while President Nixon has engaged in flowery rhetoric about the need to protect consumers from shoddy business practices, he wants no part of an agency free of administration control.

Some Democrats are just as adept in throwing roadblocks. Chief among them is Sen. James B. Allen of Alabama who is preparing to filibuster against the bill when it reaches the Senate floor. His weak excuse is that the Senate should be clearing its decks for a trial of Mr. Nixon if he is impeached by the House and not "be discussing consumer protection" with appropriations bills piled up.

An independent agency representing consumers in proceedings at government departments and regulatory agencies would not be an invasion of private enterprise. Rather, it would offer consumers a measure of protection against government agencies—particularly regulatory ones that kowtow to the special interests they are supposed to regulate.

As the recent House vote shows, the creation of an independent agency has widespread, bipartisan support in Congress. And as public opinion polls show, it has even greater support among the public. The Senate, therefore, should disregard the lame excuses advanced by the administration and some Democrats and pass this sorely needed legislation. If Mr. Nixon vetoes the bill, Congress must override it.

#### AIR POLLUTION LEVELS IN CALIFORNIA ARE AN IMMINENT AND SUBSTANTIAL DANGER TO THE HEALTH OF PEOPLE

#### HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, last week parts of southern California experienced air pollution levels that have not been recorded for over 15 years, and perhaps higher levels of air pollution than those ever experienced. This is sobering when we consider that some people in responsible positions have actually claimed the air pollution problem is diminishing. The most appalling aspect of this latest air pollution emergency is that the actual recorded levels were higher than those the Government said should never be reached.

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency has the responsibility, under the Clean Air Act, to prevent attainment of certain levels of air pollution that clearly threaten substantial harm to living persons. The State and local governments share in this responsibility, but if they fail to act, the EPA has an obligation to act. Under 40 CFR part 51, section 51.16, the EPA shall take emergency actions once the oxidant level is 1000 micrograms per cubic meter or 0.50 parts per million 1-hour average. This level was exceeded, and the 0.60 parts per million oxidant level that is never to be reached was also exceeded last Thursday in several parts of southern California. The actual recorded oxidant reading was 0.75 parts per million in upland California.

Mr. Speaker, this condition is, let me quote the EPA's own regulation on this, "an ipso facto condition of imminent and substantial endangerment" to health. An emergency is supposed to be declared, and the emergency procedures should prevent this toxic accumulation of pollution from being formed. If the emergency procedures do not work, then some workable procedures must be devised to protect human lives.

Mr. Speaker, if we, in Congress, allow the air people must breathe to cause them significant harm, as this most recent air pollution emergency episode clearly did, then we have failed in our responsibilities to the people. It does not matter that only a few hundred thousand people are affected by this horrible air pollution in southern California. The policies to correct this problem are set on a national scale, and every official who affects those policies bears some responsibility for the consequences of their ac-

tions. The policies and inaction of the Government have allowed this hazardous and harmful condition to continue, and these policies must be changed.

Mr. Speaker, I include the article from the Ontario Daily Report of June 28 and a shorter article from the Los Angeles Times of June 28 to be printed in the RECORD.

The articles follow:

#### WEST END SMOG WORST IN 15 YEARS RESPIRATORY CASES UP; SCHOOLS CURB ACTIVITY (By Sue Manning)

The worst smog ever to hit Upland and the heaviest to hit San Bernardino County in 15 years choked the West End Thursday.

Upland's oxidant reading was .75 parts per million. The city's previous high was .67 ppm, recorded on August 7, 1965.

The highest level in the county had occurred on Aug. 5, 1959, with a reading of .78 ppm in Rialto.

Hospital emergency rooms treated more than the average number of respiratory patients, schools curtailed outdoor activity, and the City of Upland reached emergency smog-level proportions.

Kaiser Steel in Fontana voluntarily reduced operations in two departments by 35 per cent Thursday, according to spokesmen. He added that the plant was ready to do the same again today if smog conditions contained in the same quantity.

At 4 p.m. a third-stage smog episode was declared in Upland, when oxidant levels reached .71 parts per million.

Second-stage alerts were called in all other areas of the county. Fontana went to third-stage level at 5 p.m.

Both third-stage episodes lasted about an hour, according to Air Pollution Control District spokesman Mel Zelden.

Today was to be no better. Zelden said a second stage episode was forecast for the entire valley with a .55 parts per million maximum in Upland and a .45 maximum in the remainder of the basin.

High temperatures, soaring up to 105 degrees Thursday, added to the discomfort. Temperatures were predicted to clear 106 degrees.

A first-stage alert is called when oxidant levels reach .20 parts per million, a second-stage alert when the level rises to .40 parts per million and third stage when it hits .60 parts per million.

Elsewhere Thursday, Chino recorded .38 parts per million and San Bernardino recorded .44 parts per million.

Earlier this year, the APCD set up a proposal for emergency action when smog levels reached second- or third-stage levels. The county Board of Supervisors approved the shutdown plan on March 26.

Zelden said no contingency plans have been developed but the APCD's Emergency Action Committee held meetings Wednesday and Thursday and had another scheduled for today.

Meanwhile, an increased number of residents fell victim to the heavy smog's effects.

Doctors' Hospital of Montclair reported that it treated four patients during the day Thursday and another four in the evening for various respiratory ailments. Spokesmen said there are seldom more than one or two respiratory cases a day.

At San Antonio Community Hospital in Upland, there was no increase in admissions, but the respiratory therapy department reported its patient load in the last two or three weeks has been far greater than during the comparable period last year.

Spokesmen added that there was no defi-



nite increase Thursday "but we may not have seen them yet."

Kaiser Foundation Hospital in Fontana reported its patient load was average for a hot and smoggy day.

Chino General Hospital didn't treat a single respiratory patient Thursday, but smog levels were lower than most other areas of the West End.

B and B Ambulance Service said most of its respiratory problems had been babies and older citizens.

At Upland schools, all teachers were alerted Thursday and were alerted today of the smog levels. Spokesmen said all children remained indoors, eliminating all outdoor activity.

Summer school classes are over at 12:30 p.m. but the emergency actions are still taken if there is an impending smog emergency, spokesmen added.

During second- and third-stage alerts, almost all recreational areas are closed. Motorists are urged to stay home unless it is absolutely necessary to go out. Cities limit fleet vehicle use to emergency transportation only.

The top six industries in the basin have been asked to voluntarily curtail all outdoor activity.

At such high smog levels, swimming, tennis, running, baseball, even breathing outside can be hazardous to health, health officials note.

#### HIGH OZONE COUNTS TRIGGER TWO ALERTS IN PARTS OF SOUTHLAND

(By Kathy Burke)

Two third-stage smog alerts—issued when the ozone count in an area soars to .60 parts per million or above for at least one hour—were called in parts of San Bernardino County Thursday.

A momentary peak of .71 ppm. recorded in Upland between 4 and 5 p.m., was the highest reading noted by the Air Pollution Control District in San Bernardino County since 1959.

In that year, heavy smog in Rialto accounted for a peak of .78 ppm.

"Not in my wildest dreams could we have generated the readings we had today," said Mel Zelden, meteorologist for the San Bernardino APCD.

The second third-stage alert in that county was issued at 5 p.m. in the Fontana-Rialto area, with a momentary peak of .69 ppm recorded at Fontana.

The ozone concentration seemed to be localized, since nearby cities did not have such high readings. Riverside recorded a peak of .39 ppm.

Zelden said the state Air Resources Board plan, which became effective April 1, recommends that counties devise contingency plans for curtailment of industrial activities during third-stage smog alerts.

But the plan became effective too late for most counties to draw up such plans for the current smog season.

Both Fontana and the region east of Upland are largely industrial areas.

One major industry in Fontana, Kaiser Steel, voluntarily reduced operations in two departments Thursday by 35%. A spokesman for the company said it was prepared to do the same today.

Zelden also blamed the high ozone readings partially on solar conditions at this time of year. He said maximum solar radiation occurs in early summer and the intensity of direct sunlight at this time actually turns pollutants into ozone.

In Los Angeles County, health advisories due to smog were issued in the east San Fernando, the San Gabriel and Pomona-Walnut valleys and in the southeast area of the basin.

#### SPACE PROGRAM

### HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, frequently we are asked why the Congress continues to fund the space program, what the justification can be for the expenditure of additional funds for the exploration of the universe. After all, we are asked, haven't we been successful? Didn't we meet the goal of putting an American on the Moon and returning him safely?

There are hundreds of benefits which we all share that are the direct result of the space program. To list only a few will give the average person a feel for why we continue: Development of the rechargeable cardiac pacemaker, cardiac diagnostic assist computer, artificial heart valve mapping, an automated bacteria detection system, a new technique for white blood cell preservation in the treatment of leukemia, the development of computer analysis of infrared photos of serious skin burns, development of an infant respiratory assist device to aid infants in respiratory distress, the major cause of infant death with a mortality rate above 20,000 each year, development of remote manipulator technology to aid in the rehabilitation of the handicapped, development of laser-radar technology to study our atmosphere and to aid environmental analysis, development of advanced technology to aid in the recycling of metals in junked cars, a new lead paint detector to help protect children, improved short-range radio communications for firefighters and other emergency personnel, and fire retardant fabrics such as those in the racing coveralls worn by Salt Walther in last year's Indianapolis race, which saved his life.

I wish that everyone who asks why continue the space program could know when he is benefiting from some new application of the research done to meet the challenges of space. I doubt that the man who has a rechargeable pacemaker, or the father whose child's life was saved by the respiratory assist device would ever question the cost of the space program.

There is another side to the space program, however. The personal side is best characterized by dedicated individuals who have made the program work. Our support personnel and the members of our astronaut corps have been an intense personal involvement in the program.

Col. Alfred M. Worden was born in Jackson, Mich. and graduated from the U.S. Military Academy. He served as the command module pilot for Apollo 15 in 1971, and is currently a senior aerospace engineer at the NASA Ames Research Center at Moffett Field in California. During the flight of Apollo 15 Colonel Worden spent almost 3 days alone in Endeavour, the command module, while his fellow astronauts Scott and Irwin were on the surface of the Moon. Follow-

ing that experience he wrote a moving book of poetry entitled, "Hello Earth; Greetings from Endeavour." I would like to share one of those poems with you today:

#### APOLLO LOST

Say to me, no more Apollo,  
Say to me the job is done—  
Then I say your words are hollow  
The work has just begun.

Say to me, we are unknown,  
Say to me nobody cares—  
Then I will show you moonstone  
Locked up for our heirs.

Say to me, we need the money  
Just to feed the poor, and more—  
And I'll say to you that's funny  
It's for them that we explore.

Say to me, we should be fighting,  
Say to me the world's at war—  
Then I say we are uniting  
People tired of war, and more.

Say to me, there's too much danger,  
Say to me we could be lost—  
Then I say I am no stranger  
To the danger, that's the cost.

Say to me, the world is dying,  
Ready for the last hurrah—  
I cry—you fool, keep trying  
We must find our Shangri-La.

I believe that his poem captures the very special essence of space research that will appeal to more than the budget controllers, the money appropriators, the priority determinators and even the irate taxpayers. I think that he has captured the voice of collective America.

#### CHURCH PROJECT ON U.S. INVESTMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA—1974

### HON. ANDREW YOUNG

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. YOUNG of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, many of us are hopeful that the largest American "minority"—black America—will be able to organize an effective effort to make United States-African policy more consistent with the human rights and aspirations of the African peoples. Surely the institutions of this country cannot remain at the disposal of the forces of colonial repression and apartheid.

For some time, the Washington Office on Africa has been in the forefront of moral leadership in this regard. The office, supported by several international church organizations, has enabled many Americans to discern the incongruities of American policy and the economic practices of numerous American-based conglomerates in countries still under repressive colonial rule.

Earlier this year, the "Church Project on United States Investments in Southern Africa—1974" organized an effort to bring serious questions of this kind to the attention of the stockholders and managers of three American corporations doing business in Southern Africa: Bethlehem Steel Corp., Exxon Corp., and Texaco, Inc.

Mr. Edgar Lockwood, director of the Washington Office on Africa, has kindly provided me with some documentation of these corporate activities and the project's efforts to change them. I would like to share this information with my colleagues:

THE WASHINGTON OFFICE ON AFRICA,  
Washington, D.C., June 19, 1974.

HON. ANDREW YOUNG,  
Longworth Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN YOUNG: As a minister of the Gospel and a lawmaker in Congress, you share our interest in seeing that church money is used by the churches in a responsible way to further the Lord's work and not in support of racism, colonialism, and economic oppression.

We therefore are taking the liberty of enclosing herewith the proxy statements of the Church Project on United States Investments in Southern Africa of 1974. None of the resolutions won the day in the shareholders' meetings but they nevertheless serve to warn the investment community of church consensus emerging in regard to investments which tend to fortify Portuguese colonial regimes.

The coup in Portugal does not make these documents irrelevant. On the contrary, it reinforces their prophetic nature in that they forecast the coming victory of the forces of liberation, with which the Portuguese regime is now forced to come to terms.

We would hope that you would be willing to place these documents in the Congressional Record with some words of commendation.

Sincerely yours,

EDGAR LOCKWOOD,  
Director.

#### CHURCH PROJECT ON U.S. INVESTMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA—1974

##### INTRODUCTION

This proxy statement is provided in connection with the solicitation of proxies for stockholder proposals to be presented at the annual meetings of three corporations, Exxon Corporation ("Exxon"), Bethlehem Steel Corporation ("Bethlehem") and Texaco, Inc. ("Texaco"), calling on each of them not to invest in exploration for, or production of, either oil or minerals in the territories of Portuguese controlled Africa on the basis of concessions granted by the colonial government of Portugal. These resolutions will be submitted at the respective corporation's annual meeting by participating in the Church Project for U.S. Investments in Southern Africa—1974 ("The Project"). The text of the Exxon resolution is set forth in Appendix I, the text of the Bethlehem resolution in Appendix II and the text of the Texaco resolution in Appendix III.

The Project is a cooperative venture of boards and/or agencies of eight Protestant religious denominations, one Roman Catholic order and the National Council of Churches.

Denominational participants in various phases of the Project include:

(1) the Committee on Social Responsibility in Investments of the Executive Council of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A.

(2) the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries; the United Church Board for World Ministries; the United Church Foundation; the Pension Boards, United Church of Christ; the Center for Social Action of the United Church of Christ.

(3) the World Division of the Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church; the Women's Division of the Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church;

(4) the American Baptist Home Mission Societies;

(5) the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America;

(6) the Franciscan Friars of the Atonement (a Roman Catholic religious order);

(7) the United Christian Missionary Society of the Christian Church [Disciples of Christ];

(8) the Reformed Church in America;

(9) the Department of Education and Social Concern of the Unitarian Universalist Association (of Churches and Fellowships in North America);

(10) the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

Each of the eight denominations represented in the Project has on the national level a variety of boards, agencies, funds, pension plans, etc. No attempt has been made to canvass all these boards, agencies, etc., to invite them to join the Project or support these stockholder resolutions. Participants in the Project are not attempting to speak for or represent any other national boards/agencies, local churches or individual Christians but to represent themselves as institutional investors.

The Project itself does not own any stock in corporations, since it is essentially an ad hoc coalition of church agencies concerned about the role U.S. corporations play in Southern Africa. The participants in the Project who will present the stockholder resolutions to the corporations are as follows:

Exxon: Submitted jointly by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A., which owns 12,602 shares; by the American Baptist Home Mission Societies, which owns 18,000 shares; by the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, which owns 43,769 shares; by the Center for Social Action of the United Church of Christ, which owns three shares; by the Department of Education and Social Concern of the Unitarian Universalist Association, which owns 6,109 shares; and by the National Council of Churches, which owns 580 shares. The total number of shares owned by the submitting organizations is 81,063, which had an aggregate market value as of January 4, 1974 of more than \$7,900,000.

Bethlehem: Submitted by the Women's Division of the Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church, which owns 1,400 shares.

Texaco: Submitted by the World Division of the Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church, which owns 24,449 shares.

This proxy statement solicits support for proposals which will be presented at the 1974 annual meetings of these three corporations. The resolution which will be presented at the annual meeting of Exxon Corporation has been submitted to that corporation and, in the opinion of Professor Paul M. Neuhauser, counsel to the Project, Exxon will be required to include the proposal in its Proxy Statement pursuant to the proxy rules of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934. Thus, each shareholder of Exxon will have the opportunity to vote for or against that proposal on Exxon's own Proxy Statement. In addition, Exxon shareholders may vote for or against the proposal via special forms of proxy to be provided by the Project, or by attending the annual meeting in person. The resolutions to be presented at the annual meetings of Bethlehem and Texaco will not appear on those corporation's own Proxy Statements and the only opportunity to vote for or against those proposals will be on the special forms of proxy to be provided by the Project, or by attending the annual meeting in person.

##### PURPOSE OF SOLICITATION

##### INTRODUCTION

The Project is furnishing this proxy statement in order to solicit support for resolutions to be submitted at the annual meet-

ings of Exxon, Bethlehem and Texaco urging them to cease operations in the Portuguese colonies of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola until such time as they receive new concessions from free, independent governments in those countries.

##### PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM

Colonialism is essentially a system by which one country seeks to control the political and economic processes of another area of the world, refusing to grant independence and self-determination to the peoples of that land. Portugal today stands as an international anachronism, ruling from Lisbon the last old-style colonial empire left in the world. This African empire has a 500-year-old history characterized by traditional forms of colonialism—the expropriation of land and the exploitation of natural resources and of human labor. Since 1961, African independence movements have been challenging Portuguese control by armed rebellion, in a way which the Project believes is similar to the way American patriots in the 1770's revolted against overseas political control.

Until 1961 the African population was divided into two categories on a racial basis: "assimilated" Africans, who were entitled to full rights of Portuguese citizenship, and "indigenous" or "non-civilized." In order to gain "assimilated" status Africans had to be fluent in Portuguese and become "black Portuguese." After 500 years of Portuguese rule only 1% of the African people had reached this "assimilated" status. We believe that such a policy was inherently racist, based as it was in the belief in the superiority of European language and culture. This philosophy still continues. General Kaulza de Arriaga, the commander of Portuguese forces in Mozambique until 1973 said in 1968: "Our national objective is to maintain white dominance in Angola and Mozambique."

Furthermore, although racial discrimination is not enforced by law as in South Africa, we believe that Africans have been assigned de facto to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water", while the Portuguese benefit from their labor and the resources of the colony. Africans in the colonies still face conditions of poverty, illiteracy, and exploitation of labor as a result of their skin color. Political opposition in the colonies is, we believe, crushed by official government censorship, restricted voting rights, severe limitations on union activity and a highly effective secret police force.

However, the central question, in the opinion of the Project, is not solely the conditions under which the African majority lives but the fact that they are colonized in their own land. Certainly the justification for America's break from Britain in the eighteenth century was the right of Americans to tax and govern themselves. Africans in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau are demanding nothing less.

##### THE FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE

The African response in each of the Portuguese colonies during the 1960's was to take up arms to bring about independence and self-determination to their land.

These movements for independence have gained recognition and support during the last several years.

Direct grants of economic aid have been made by Scandinavian governments as well as by African states through the Organization of African Unity. The World Council of Churches and numerous U.S. and European church bodies have also made grants for the humanitarian work of these movements.

Diplomatic victories at the UN also indicate the growing strength of the movements.

At the 1972 session of the United Nations General Assembly the nations of the world overwhelmingly affirmed that the "national



liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique are the authentic representatives of the people of those territories." The vote was 98 to 6.

Furthermore, representatives from the independence movements were granted the status of observers by the UN General Assembly Fourth Committee, which deals with decolonization. In the opinion of the Project this official observer status symbolized the fact that the UN felt strongly that only the liberation movements could speak for the hopes and desires of the millions of Africans living in colonized areas. The Project believes that the colonizer, Portugal, can only speak for its own interests, not with the interests of the colonized at heart.

As is described more fully hereafter, the independence movements have gained control of much of the territory of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. Indeed, the movement in Guinea-Bissau has been so successful that in September, 1973 the National Assembly of Guinea-Bissau proclaimed its independence from Portugal and established the sovereign Republic of Guinea-Bissau. In November, 1973, the United Nations General Assembly, by a 93-7 vote, welcomed the "accession to independence of the people of Guinea-Bissau."

An additional indication of the serious nature of the liberation movements' fight is the fact that Portugal has approximately 150,000 troops fighting in Africa against African nationalists to maintain its colonial empire.

In our opinion, the war being carried on is particularly vicious and cruel, being characterized by the use of herbicides against crops and napalm against people as well as by the forced relocation of large numbers of people into "strategic hamlets." The Portuguese troops have also been accused of carrying out the systematic genocidal massacres of villages whose residents were thought to have been sympathetic to the freedom movements. The most famous of these was the killing of some 400 persons in the village of Wiriyamu on December 16, 1972 as was reported by the Missionaries of Africa, a Roman Catholic religion missionary order of some 3,600 priests and friars.

#### THE ROLE OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES

We believe that investment in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau helps strengthen Portugal in a number of ways. First of all, these companies receive their African concessions from a foreign colonial nation, Portugal, and all of the taxes and royalties will be paid to the Portuguese authorities for their use. Portugal, the poorest country in Europe, with a per capita income of only \$300 per year, spends almost 60 percent of its budget on defense, primarily to fight its colonial wars in Africa.

For instance, Portugal's military budget in Angola was approximately \$68,500,000 in 1971, according to United Nations figures. Tax payments and royalties of one company, Gulf Oil, a large investor in Angola, were approximately \$50,000,000 in 1972. Thus U.S. investment can have a significant impact on Portugal's ability to contain the liberation movements since such investments inevitably subsidize Portugal as it fights these wars. Payments in foreign exchange from corporations like Texaco, Exxon and Bethlehem Steel are badly needed to support Portuguese military expenditures. We do not argue that these companies voluntarily wish to support colonialism, but that by investing in the colonies they inevitably wind up economically strengthening Portugal and Portuguese colonialism.

Such investments are also of political benefit to Portugal. Such American investment provides a vested interest in the status quo in the colonies. A corporation finds itself unwilling or unable to criticize or disagree with

its business partner, the government of Portugal, and therefore becomes a sympathetic interpreter of Portuguese colonialism in Africa. For example, Gulf Oil Corporation still calls the colonies "overseas provinces", a term used by Portugal to legitimize its military occupation of Africa. We believe that Gulf is unable to correctly call Angola a colony, since this would jeopardize its friendly business relationship with the Portuguese government.

In addition, U.S. investment increases Portugal's incentive to hold onto its colonies. As William R. Cotter, president of the African American Institute, has said in a 1971 memorandum to institutional investors: "There can be no doubt that the oil and mineral wealth discovered in Angola and Mozambique during the past ten to fifteen years has immensely increased the value of those territories to the Portuguese. This increase in value undoubtedly accounts in part for the tenacity with which the Portuguese are trying to hang on to their African colonies. At the same time, it is also likely that U. S. business investment . . . has directly contributed to the ability of the Portuguese to pay for the war, has strengthened the balance of payments for Portugal and has made the colonies ever so much more valuable than they would be without that (or comparable) investment."

Similarly, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution on January 15, 1971 stating that "foreign economic, financial and other interests operating in colonial territories constitute a major obstacle to political independence as well as to the enjoyment of the natural resources of these territories by the indigenous inhabitants."

The Project believes that one must also consult the views of the liberation movements on the issue of foreign investment in the colonies. All of the three major independence movements have clear policies on this matter. Their position is that foreign investment only serves to strengthen Portugal as it fights against the nationalists and, therefore, such investors should be pressed to withdraw and future investment should be stopped. Amílcar Cabral, former leader of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC), stated in 1972, "At this moment to invest in Angola, Mozambique, or Guinea-Bissau is to support the colonial war, Portuguese colonialism, and the domination of the black majority by the white minority. In reality this becomes support for racism."

Dr. Cabral argued that companies should wait until independence comes and then ask for the right to invest. "It is not true that investment in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau at present is to help our people. Companies should know that at this point any investment reinforces the position of the Portuguese economically."

Dr. Neto, President of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, (MPLA), argued in a similar fashion to a representative of the United Church of Christ in 1970: "Investment by U.S. corporations such as Gulf Oil can only help the Portuguese as they fight us and reinforce their determination to stay in Angola."

In short, the Project believes not only that U.S. investment in the Portuguese colonies strengthens the hand of the colonial oppressor against the legitimate desire of the Africans for freedom, but also that to invest in an area that will be independent of the mother country in the near future, without consultation with the future governments of that territory, is to invite hostility and opposition and thus to be contrary to the long-range best interests of these American corporations.

#### THE PUBLIC IMAGES OF THE COMPANIES

We believe that the image and position of Exxon, Bethlehem and Texaco may suffer

in independent Africa because of their investments in Portugal's colonies. Racism and colonialism in Southern Africa is a very controversial subject. It is an extremely high priority for the Organization of African Unity as evidenced by their recent request to the Arab states to extend the oil embargo to Portugal and South Africa.

The public image of these corporations might be tarnished if they were seen as "partners in colonialism," and it is likely that opportunities for business might suffer in the vast markets of independent Africa. Indeed, several African leaders have indicated that foreign companies may have to make a choice between business in minority ruled Southern Africa and in black Africa.

These companies may also face public criticism at home for their colonial investments.

In the U.S. there has been increased concern over U.S. corporations investing in Southern Africa. On African Liberation Day, May 26, 1972, tens of thousands of black people marched in Canada and the U.S. to show their support for independence and majority rule for Southern Africa. Critical mention was made of Gulf Oil Corporation for its massive investment in Angola at rallies on that day.

Boycotts of Gulf products have arisen because of its Angola operation. The Gulf Boycott Coalition of Dayton, Ohio successfully urged the Dayton City Council to refuse a bid from Gulf because of its minority-hiring policies in Ohio and its involvement in Angola.

Black students at Harvard occupied the university administration building in 1972, demanding that Harvard sell its Gulf stock and oppose Gulf's involvement in Angola. A Gulf boycott has started in the black community for this reason. For the last three years church representatives have attended the Gulf stockholders' meetings to challenge Gulf's investment in Angola. Considerable negative publicity for Gulf has been the result.

It should also be noted that Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, and twenty-six other members of Congress sent a letter to Gulf in 1971 calling on Gulf Oil to withdraw from Angola for many of the reasons outlined previously.

In 1973, full page ads sponsored by the Pan-African Liberation Committee appeared in *Jet* Magazine and *Ebony* urging a boycott of Gulf products because of its Angolan investments.

Such an investment also has serious international implications. The Organization of African Unity has spoken out against Gulf's role in Angola. Protests against Gulf have erupted in Holland, Denmark and Nigeria.

Shareholders should carefully evaluate the negative effects both at home and internationally that continued investments in Portuguese colonial areas will cause. We believe that management and shareholders alike should be able to read the signs and avoid the damage to the companies' public image which continued investment in the Portuguese colonies will cause.

#### EXXON AND THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU

On September 24, 1973, after ten years of fighting for independence, the National Assembly of Guinea-Bissau proclaimed its independence from Portugal, much as the American colonies did from Britain nearly two hundred years ago. Under the leadership of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC), the people of Guinea-Bissau now control over two-thirds of that small West African nation. Free elections were held in the liberated areas to elect the majority of the National Assembly. It has established administrative and judicial systems and provides social services such as health and education. In Novem-

ber, 1973, the United Nations General Assembly, by a 93-7 vote, welcomed the "accession to independence of the people of Guinea-Bissau thereby creating the sovereign State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau" and demanded that Portugal desist from illegally occupying various "sectors" of Guinea-Bissau. To date the Republic has been diplomatically recognized by more than 70 countries throughout the world.

Nevertheless, colonial Portugal continues to wage war against this new government of Guinea-Bissau.

It is in this context of a continued war waged by a colonial power against the legitimate aspirations and achievements of the Africans that Exxon's concession in Guinea-Bissau from Portugal must be examined. Exxon received its first concession in the late 1950's but relinquished this concession in 1961. PAIGC began its armed struggle for independence in 1963. Exxon received another concession in 1966. It commenced drilling in 1968 off-shore Guinea-Bissau and, when drilling in shallow water was apparently unsuccessful, it received a new concession in 1973 covering deeper water. This new concession was granted a few months before the proclamation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, but after the PAIGC had wrested control of two-thirds of the country from the Portuguese.

The position of the new government of Guinea-Bissau concerning foreign investment is clear. The Proclamation of the Republic itself stated that

"From the historic moment of the proclamation of the State of Guinea-Bissau, authorities and organs of the Portuguese colonial State which exercise any political, military or administrative authority in our territory are illegal, and their acts are null and void. Consequently, from that moment on, the Portuguese State has no right to assume any obligations or commitments in relation to our country. All treaties, conventions, agreements, alliances and concessions involving our country which were entered into in the past by the Portuguese colonialists will be submitted to the People's National Assembly, the supreme embodiment of State power, which will proceed to review them in accordance with the interests of our peoples."

The Project believes that the continued presence of Exxon in Guinea-Bissau operating under a purported concession from Portugal serves to strengthen the Portuguese political position. Amílcar Cabral, past leader of PAIGC, said in 1972, "At this moment to invest in Guinea-Bissau is to support the colonial war, Portuguese colonialism and the domination of the black majority by the white minority." Whether Exxon remains in Guinea-Bissau or withdraws at this time is equally to make a political statement.

The Project further believes that it is in the best long-range corporate interests of Exxon to withdraw at this time. We believe that enlightened self-interest indicates that if Exxon desires to operate in Guinea-Bissau in the future, it should consult now with the democratically elected National Assembly, as it has requested.

#### BETHLEHEM AND MOZAMBIQUE

Bethlehem, together with two other companies, sought and received in 1972 a mining concession of some several thousand square miles in the Mozambique Province of Tete. The concession requires certain initial payments, plus royalties and a tax of 50% on any profits. Such payments, of course, help support the colonial Portuguese government.

The Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) has been estimated to control one-fourth of the land area of that country, such controlled areas having a population in excess of 1,000,000 persons. In particular, Tete Province has seen the steady strengthening of the independence forces since military activity began there in 1968. FRELIMO's successes led the Portuguese to make Tete a

military region in 1971. FRELIMO has been reported in control of Tete's major roads, thereby making the Portuguese ground travel in the Province exceedingly difficult. FRELIMO has attacked the major rail links in the region with the resultant loss of trains, freight cars and goods, and has also attacked the Tete airport.

The Project believes that the Portuguese colonial authorities are attempting to attract foreign investments in hopes that such investments will assist in "pacifying" the Province of Tete. A commentator for a newspaper in white Rhodesia indicated on October 7, 1972 that any large scale activity by the Bethlehem consortium would seriously affect FRELIMO guerrilla activity in the area and that observers in Beira, Mozambique, recall that the Cabinda district in Angola was one of the worst trouble spots in the province until Gulf Oil made a strike but with Gulf present there it turned into a peaceful area.

FRELIMO opposes foreign investment in their nation at this time. The Vice-President of FRELIMO, Marcelino Dos Santos, stated in 1972: "All investments are a direct contribution to the colonial war. . . . To invest in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau is to delay our independence. We are against it. . . . We will consider any agreement between Portugal and these companies invalid."

The Project believes that for both social and financial reasons it is unwise for Bethlehem to pursue its Portuguese concession in Mozambique. It was in Tete Province that the 400 African villagers of Wiriyamu were massacred by the Portuguese army. This is the reality of life in this area of Mozambique. We believe that the war leaves any Bethlehem employee working there in physical jeopardy and virtually assures that development of any mining potential in the area will be a long and bloody process.

In our opinion it is in the long range interest of Bethlehem to divorce itself from the colonial regime which may soon be overthrown, rather than to support it by the payment of taxes and royalties. We believe that Bethlehem should terminate its concession from colonial Portugal and suspend operations in Tete until it receives a new concession from a future independent government of Mozambique.

#### TEXACO AND ANGOLA

Nationalists have been fighting for freedom in Angola since 1961. They are active in more than one-half of the districts in the colony and reportedly now control one-third of it. Dr. Agostino Neto, president of the major Angolan independence movement (MPLA) has stated that "Investment by U.S. corporations . . . can only help the Portuguese as they fight us and reinforce their determination to stay in Angola."

Texaco has since 1969 been a participant in an oil concession in Angola. Production for the last six months of 1972 was reportedly 12,000 bopd. Texaco's consortium has recently received an extension of its Angolan oil concession.

It should be noted that the independent nations of Africa are deeply concerned about American investments in the Portuguese colonies. For example, at the 1973 Annual Meeting of Exxon, a representative of the Organization of African Unity (which comprises all of the independent nations in Africa except those Southern African nations which are white-controlled) stated to stockholders: "We are not against companies investing in Africa. But we feel that it is not opportune . . . to invest in Angola while the territory is still under Portugal . . . Exxon has many friends in Africa . . . I do not think it is the wish of any of you to cause displeasure to these friends you have made during the long period of your investments in Africa."

We believe that it is in the long-range best interests of Texaco to divorce itself from a colonial regime which may soon be over-

thrown, rather than to support it by the payment of royalties and taxes. It is the Project's belief that Texaco's concession from colonial Portugal should be terminated and that it should suspend operations until it receives a new concession from a future free, independent Angola government. The cost in lost oil production would be small and would not significantly affect the energy crisis. But by doing so, the corporation's image internationally and its future ability to operate in Angola would benefit greatly.

#### THE \$6 MILLION BOONDOGGLE

#### HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, this past weekend the Democrat Party held its gala television fundraiser. If I were to relate my reactions to this event I would probably be accused of being extremely unfair. For that reason I shall not comment but will, instead, submit for the RECORD the views of Nicholas von Hoffman writing in the July 3 edition of the Washington Post. I will probably never again share von Hoffman's views on anything, but in this case he is right on the beam:

[From the Washington Post, July 3, 1974]

#### BUYING DEMOCRATIC

(A Commentary by Nicholas von Hoffman)

Dressed as an airline pilot, the actor on television told us to "Fly Democratic. We're the party that moves our tail for you!"

Helen Reddy said we should send bucks now and get involved later while Susan Saint James gurgled on the phone to Texas with an expectant Lucybird and then told the audience watching that segment of the 21-hour Democratic telethon that, "I'm due in November with my number two. All these good little Democratic girls having good little Democratic babies . . . Half the world is made up of women so there's nothing to be against women. Women are trying to get their act together . . . I wish we had a law that said every politician would have had to state his contents on his label before we're asked to buy it."

Simple minded inarticulate but no more blatherheaded than the State Treasurer of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania's traditionally loud mouthed, palsy-walsy political "greetings to our great governor, Milton J. Shapp," or Sen. Lloyd Bentsen declaring, "I want to interrupt you, Hubert, and say this is one of the most decent and able men in politics."

Old Triple H, who can explain the financing of his campaigns with about the same persuasiveness and plausibility as Richard Nixon, took the compliment with his usual good grace and then resumed babbling on like the sweet tempered superannuated baby he is coming to resemble. In the hours I watched the only person able to display a degree of competence and knowledge and express it without condescension was, oddly enough, the owner of the Washington Redskins discussing criminal justice. His colleague, the proprietor of the Miami Dolphins, appeared to have his tongue controlled by some other organ of his body than the brain.

Party Chairman Bob Strauss' Texas-accented, gravel baritone crossed the borderline into parody telling us that Mayor Daley was personally supervising 200 telephone



operators taking pledges in Chicago. And all those who phoned into this admixture of stage and podium were assured, in Jackie Cooper's words, they were "investing in your share of America." That was the theme: "Participation in democracy," as expressed by a picture of Mount Rushmore with a voice-over adjuring us to "Own a piece of the rock."

We were being invited to buy back the government by outbidding the malefactoring "corporations" which Miss Saint James kept referring to in vaguely sinister terms. The message was that Washington is plainly and simply for sale and that if enough of us small people put our coppers and silver coins together we can match Wall Street's megabucks.

The propriety of anybody's buying the government wasn't discussed, which may explain why the party sponsoring this electronic benefit to wipe out political dystrophy has not passed the new campaign spending law nor obeyed the old one. Send money if you like the bland lies told by stiff and hearty politicians backed up by a supporting cast of Emmy winners and Oscar holders. Jack Lemmon for the Democrats speaks his lines better than Duke Wayne for the Republicans but neither would dare read their own material.

As it gets trickier for big business and big labor to underwrite politics perhaps both parties will have to depend on celebrities to raise their cash. They do it for cancer and cerebral palsy already so why not have Paul Newman and Zsa Zsa Gabor playing policy-making roles?

It will be a change of sorts but it won't make our politics any more of a responsive two-way street. Answer America, as the television was called, was as remote in its TV studio as any smoke filled room. Chairman Strauss told us that thousands of volunteers had made the program possible but the only ones important enough to be shown to us were the celebs. Where were the cutaways to the live miniature camera covering volunteers soliciting contributions in Kansas City or showing those 200 personally supervised people at the phones in Chicago? Why weren't we shown small citizen fund-raisers in suburban New Jersey?

You must suspect the answer is that nothing was happening in the precincts, that this was grand participatory fraud, that taking part consists of sending your money in, voting right and sitting in your living room savoring Bob Strauss' ragout of theatrical and political hams. Answer, America, they want. Well, first they should ask.

#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

### HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, due to a long standing speech commitment early Friday in my district, and the need to make late plane connections Thursday evening, I was forced to miss some rollcall votes Thursday, June 27 and on Friday, June 28.

Had I been present and voting, I would have voted "No" on rollcall Nos. 345, 346, and 347; and "Aye" on rollcall No. 348.

I would have voted "No" on rollcall No. 351; and "Aye" on rollcall Nos. 352, 353, and 354.

### CRYSTAL LAKE, ILL., CELEBRATES CENTENNIAL

### HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride that I pay tribute to the city of Crystal Lake, Ill., located in my congressional district, on its centennial celebration which begins today and lasts until July 7.

Mr. Speaker, named in 1836 by its first settler, Beman Crandall, for the crystal-clear quality of its beautiful lake, Crystal Lake celebrated its lone centennial 38 years ago. However, in 1874 the villages of Crystal Lake and Nunda joined together to form the city of Crystal Lake, thus calling for this 100-year commemoration.

Mr. Speaker, the merging of these two villages was just the beginning of its long history of population growth ranging from 2,249 in 1920 to 4,832 in 1950. In the past 24 years, the citizenry of Crystal Lake has increased almost sixfold to over 28,000 today.

Mr. Speaker, though most of the first settlers of the area were farmers, business and industry have thrived in the community and have played an important role in the development of Crystal Lake. The early industries of ice cutting on Crystal Lake itself, pickling works, resort hotels, and a terra cotta factory are no longer in existence, but they have been replaced by today's diversified industrial community in Crystal Lake.

Mr. Speaker, as the largest city in McHenry County and the hub of the county's business, trade, and commerce, Crystal Lake's residents are justifiably proud of their fine school system which includes 10 public and 2 parochial schools, and also for the city's outstanding 600-acre park system.

Mr. Speaker, for all the material wealth of Crystal Lake, the most outstanding asset of the community is undeniably its fine citizens—patriotic and hardworking Americans such as former Mayors Anthony Wujcik and Louis Goosens; Acting Mayor Mrs. Arlene Fetzner and City Manager Robert Walker; Crystal Lake Herald publisher, Paul Zilly, and many other dedicated residents who have been responsible for the progress and growth of the city.

The civic-minded contributions of all of Crystal Lake's residents ought to be recognized and praised during this centennial year celebration. The Crystal Lake Herald has already led off the festivities by publishing a centennial souvenir edition covering modern Crystal Lake and also reviewing 100 years of town history, with the special bonus of a published interview with the town's oldest resident who is 100 years old this year.

Mr. Speaker, the major events planned for the centennial celebration include a presentation of slides from Crystal Lake's past, a family picnic day, a parade, dances for all ages, concerts, and the Miss Crystal Lake Beauty Pageant.

Mr. Speaker, it is with my personal best wishes that I salute the fine community of Crystal Lake as it celebrates its 100th anniversary. As it coincides with our country's 198th birthday, I am confident that this week's festivities will be a fitting tribute to the city's past 100 years of prosperity as well as a dynamic launching for Crystal Lake's second century of growth and prosperity.

### POOR BEAR ENERGY BURDEN

### HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, historically, and currently, it is always the poor people of this country who suffer most from national crises: the crisis of the city is disproportionately felt by disadvantaged, mostly third world people. The food crisis devastates the poor in the worst way. Similarly, the energy crisis that began this past winter had its most chilling effect on those low-income people who reside in the slums and ghettos of America's cities.

In its May issue of Network, the National Urban Coalition considered this fact in an article entitled "Poor Bear Energy Burden." In addition to weighing the impact of the energy shortage on inner-city residents, the article delineates the aggressive and substantive response of the coalition to this matter. The article is now submitted for the attention of my colleagues:

[From Network, April-May 1974]

#### POOR BEAR ENERGY BURDEN

NUC has released the findings of its first monthly report on the impact of the energy shortage on urban residents, particularly those in the inner city. The report also indicates what the national and local Coalitions are doing to aid citizens in coping with the effects of the crisis.

"We want to make sure that the poor and minorities don't bear a disproportionate share of the burden," said M. Carl Holman at a meeting earlier this year of the Coalition's Steering Committee. Holman was explaining the need to set up the now active Coalition Committee on Energy and the Cities.

NUC's March report, the first in its planned series, reveals that in addition to the much publicized long gas lines, heating fuel shortages and other transportation problems, urban residents all over are being hit by other kinds of hardships. The poor and working poor more than other citizens are being affected.

After school recreational activities have been curbed in a number of cities.

Police patrols have been curtailed. (In Philadelphia, in an attempt to reduce the incidence of street crime, some neighborhoods have formed auto patrols by citizen groups. The practice is being hampered by the lack of gas).

Workers have been laid off in the automobile, plastics, tool making and recreational industries.

The energy crisis is also causing hardships in more specific and less publicized ways, according to NUC Vice President and Field Operations Director Sarah Austin, who cited, as examples:

The Montclair (N.J.) Urban Coalition reports that "people on fixed incomes have been severely hit" and records show a "tremendous increase in shoplifting among senior citizens." Also Montclair reports that the boating industry in that East Coast region is "apprehensive about the public's attitude toward the gasoline shortage." The Montclair spokesman said that "boating recreation is the lifeblood of the New Jersey shore."

In Winston-Salem, N.C., "bag coal", used primarily by inner city residents, is up 16%. Some schools there report interruption in the food delivery for school lunches, and teachers are experiencing difficulty in getting plastic instructional materials.

The Philadelphia Coalition has found that fuel oil deliveries in low income areas have been curtailed because of security problems. (Oil companies there say that they need an extra man and a dog when delivering at night.) The companies have set a minimum of 200-500 gallons as the smallest quantities they will deliver. "The poor usually can't afford that many gallons at once," reported the local Coalition spokesman. Moreover, the oil companies are demanding cash payments prior to or upon delivery in poor neighborhoods.

In New Bedford, Mass., industries are cutting back to a four-day work week and inner city residents are required by the oil companies to "make payment on a 30-day basis instead of on a yearly budget plan as before."

The second part of the NUC Energy and the Cities report deals with action that the Coalition network is taking to provide assistance in this area to its constituents, particularly the urban poor and working poor.

In addition to issuing monthly reports on Energy and the Cities, the National office has prepared The Community Energy Workbook which suggests ways community residents can grapple with the effects of this crisis. The 46-page workbook is being used by the local Coalitions as an action guide in dealing with the energy shortage on a practical basis.

At local levels a number of Coalitions are also taking action steps, including:

The Newark Urban Coalition has conducted public hearings, chaired by Coalition president Gustav Henningburg, on the impact of the shortage. Representatives of city government, organized labor, consumer groups and other organizations participated at the hearings, at which Newark Housing Authority Director Earl Phillips testified that his agency has established an energy conservation program to minimize the effects of the shortage. According to Phillips, included in the program are procedures to ensure that hot water is supplied on a full-time basis, and heat on a scheduled basis, providing a maximum at peak hours.

The Newark hearings also turned up some upbeat news—upbeat that is, for downtown merchants; retail sales in the central city business district have increased, particularly department store sales.

The Flint (Mich.) Coalition has established a county-wide program of social service referrals for workers laid off from General Motors plants. Flint Coalition's Energy Crisis Committee is also "exploring the feasibility of bringing together business and unions to prevail upon the financial institutions to reconsider the mortgage payments situation to avoid wholesale foreclosures of homes."

The Philadelphia Coalition is working with the black-run Provident Insurance Company to insure that heating oil deliveries are not being denied low income areas. It is also attempting to set up an emergency oil reserve for inner city residents.

The New Bedford (Mass.) Coalition has urged the mayor to use "idle money" (a \$50,000 housing grant by United Fund which has not been utilized since five years ago) as a pool from which citizens can secure low interest rate loan. The publisher of The New Bedford Standard Times, a board member of

that city's Coalition, has conducted a survey on the extent of the problems caused by the energy crisis.

## THE GREAT UPPER MIDWEST—OIL-LESS STILL

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, every day we hear new reports about the extent and severity of gas and oil shortages this summer, this fall, and next winter.

I have always supported efforts to provide a Canadian oil route terminating in the upper Midwest. I am very much afraid that this region, the bread basket of the world, is being left high and dry, or should I say wet and cold.

Every effort must be made to guarantee adequate supplies into the upper Midwest if our producers are to provide food and fiber for the American consumer. Conservation is a must, but a fair, equitable distribution must be achieved as well.

With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the RECORD an editorial on this subject written by Gordon Duenow that appeared in the St. Cloud Daily Times on June 17:

### GASOLINE OUTLOOK NOT ENCOURAGING

While some motorists barrel down the highway with reckless abandon in apparent disregard of the gasoline situation, they may soon reach a point of accounting. It appears that the outlook for a more plentiful supply of gasoline isn't encouraging, especially in the Midwest. The result is that the motorists who ignore the 55 miles per hour speed limit are penalizing themselves and all the rest of us.

There was hope that the Alaskan pipeline might eventually help the fuel situation in the Midwest, although it now appears that the warnings by some Midwest congressmen that the route to the west coast would not help out in this part of the country are being substantiated.

Congressman John Zwach, in a recent news bulletin, remarked that "my fears that the bulk of the crude oil from Alaska pipelines may not reach the lower 48 states at all seem to have more credence each day." Zwach was one of those who fought for a Canadian route terminating in the Upper Midwest.

He pointed to debate on the Senate floor recently which would allow the exportation of Alaskan oil so long as the total amount of oil in the United States does not decrease. "Although the energy crisis and the current high prices should have made everyone aware that we need an increase in oil supplies and not be satisfied to just hold the line, several major oil companies are preparing for substantial international trading of Alaska oil," Zwach said.

The congressman stated that when it gets into operation, the Alaska pipeline is expected to deliver two million barrels of crude a day, but it is predicted that the west coast will not be able to handle that much so the oil would be sent to Japan.

Middle East oil, that had been destined for Japan, would be sent to the American east coast. That would leave our Midwest where it is now, high and dry," Zwach warned.

While congressmen and senators from the Midwest were criticized for stalling pipeline

construction by their insistence that the line be built through Canada, it now appears that they were right. It won't help much for us to ship our surplus oil to Japan while we're still dependent in the Midwest on what we can get from the Middle East.

Although the huge masses of population on the east and west coasts may eventually have a plentiful supply of gasoline, they maybe at the same time will be complaining about the high cost and scarcity of food which is produced in the Midwest. It's tough to raise food on the pavement of Los Angeles and New York. G.E.D.

## TRIBUTE TO A GREAT AMERICAN

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, it is refreshing to find that the outstanding contributions of men who are symbols of the American free enterprise system do not always go unnoticed. For this reason I take this occasion to place in the RECORD the reflections of syndicated columnist Bill Anderson on just such a man.

Those who are constantly attacking our system—business, industrial, and political institutions, would serve their country better by remembering the James Scott Kemper and the men like him who have contributed so much to the greatness of this Nation. Their contributions have come through building and improving America and its institutions rather than tearing them down at every opportunity. The Anderson column follows:

[From the Chicago Tribune, July 2, 1974]

### WATERGATE: LESSON FOR A GREAT UNITED STATES

(By Bill Anderson)

By chance your correspondent bumped into Ambassador James Scott Kemper the other day in the Chicago office of Dr. Norman R. Olson, D.D.S.

We call him ambassador because at one time Mr. Kemper was America's chief diplomatic representative to Brazil, a job he held with honor and distinction. We call him mister because, among other things, he is 87 years of age, amazingly spry and mentally alert.

In fact, Mr. Kemper really didn't seem much different than in the days a decade ago when we observed his activities as the top financial man in the Republican Party and as a national committeeman from Illinois. He was then and remains today a direct-to-the-point person—a straight talker who built one of the great insurance empires in the United States.

Our rather casual conversation almost immediately turned to politics. It is almost staggering to hear about the number of Presidents that Mr. Kemper has known and advised. They include Herbert Hoover, Harry S. Truman, and Dwight D. Eisenhower, to mention a few.

However, Dr. Olson was more interested in doing a little repair work on a tooth for Mr. Kemper, so the conversation was broken. But later I went over to the Kemper Building on Wacker Drive, and we quickly got back into a long conversation.

Thinking about smoke-filled rooms [a term coined in Chicago down at the old Blackstone Hotel], I asked the ambassador if he ever really smoked cigars. He was chewing on one at the time and using it as sort of a baton to make his points stand out. Not



really, he said. "In my entire life I have smoked one cigar and one cigarette and had one cup of coffee."

You might wonder how Mr. Kemper got into business and politics, because his pioneer family background is dotted with ministers. But down in Ohio, where he came from, his parents knew the Tafts and the other people in public life who counted in those days.

Mr. Kemper recalls that when he was 15 his mother cautioned him one afternoon to get cleaned up because company was coming for dinner. The guest of honor was William Jennings Bryan, the silver-tongued orator and Presidential candidate.

"But, mother," protested the young Kemper, "he's a Democrat."

"Yes," she replied, "but he's also a good Presbyterian."

The point of mentioning this is that a lot of the Christian virtues have stuck with Mr. Kemper thru the years that have made him one of the more noteworthy business successes. For one thing, Mr. Kemper has funded a program which has put hundreds of youngsters thru college.

Companies with his mark [and there are a lot of them] have had a great track record of participation in causes that are designed to help people. The staunch Republican speaks kindly of Truman and holds to a theory struck years ago that he would rather be a doer than a talker.

To Mr. Kemper, money is an instrument of stability. He is extremely worried about inflation and what it does to poor people and those on fixed incomes. He reminded me that a debauched coin of the realm helped bring down the ancient governments of Greece and Rome.

Mr. Kemper is disgusted with Watergate, especially with the way some of the money was raised by the Committee to Reelect the President. He thinks there ought to be decency in politics—and he points to the late Sen. Robert A. Taft [R., O.] as a fine example, a person "without guile."

And, while that other insurance tycoons get most of the "positive thinking" publicity, Mr. Kemper is very firm in his own forward look. He says that Watergate is a lesson that every American should take to heart. It is a lesson, he says, that should make everyone sit back for a moment and then come to the conclusion that this really is a great country—one well worth protecting.

"The electorate should awaken to this responsibility," he said. Maybe the G. O. P. in Washington should try to get Mr. Kemper, even at 87, back as party finance chairman.

### 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF GI BILL OF RIGHTS

#### HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, on June 21 I had the honor of attending a ceremony sponsored by the American Legion dedicating a commemorative plaque in suite 570 of the Mayflower Hotel, scene of the drafting of what later became the GI bill of rights—Public Law 346 of the 78th Congress—which was signed by President Roosevelt on June 22, 1944.

Present on this occasion were several distinguished gentlemen who played significant roles in the creation of this landmark legislation. Former American Legion National Commander Harry Colmery of Kansas, who spent long hours

drafting language for the original bill, was the guest of honor for the occasion. Warren Atherton, of California, who was national commander of the Legion the year the bill was introduced, along with other Legionnaire members of the committee responsible for the GI bill concept, were also in attendance.

As a Member of the Senate in the 78th Congress, and a strong supporter of the original bill, it was a pleasure and a great honor to meet with these gentlemen to whom so many veteran beneficiaries of the GI bill, and to whom the Nation owes a vast debt of gratitude for their part in the passage of this landmark legislation.

Special significance is attached to this 30th anniversary of the original GI bill because of legislation presently under consideration in the 93d Congress to update the existing GI bill for Vietnam veterans and make their educational benefits more comparable to those provided for veterans of World War II.

Mr. John H. Geiger of Illinois, a past national commander of the American Legion, set the tone for the commemorative plaque dedication in his remarks to those assembled. I am pleased to include Mr. Geiger's remarks for the benefit and information of my colleagues:

#### REMARKS OF PAST NATIONAL COMMANDER

JOHN H. GEIGER, JUNE 21, 1974

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

On behalf of The American Legion's National Commander Bob Eaton, whose prearranged schedule called for a visit in another part of the country today, I welcome you to this ceremony for the purpose of dedicating a plaque marking this room as an historic site.

As you know, the Mayflower Hotel has an ongoing "History In The Making" program of marking rooms in this famous hotel where events of historical significance took place. This room is the place where our guest of honor, Past Legion National Commander Harry Colmery, labored through many days and nights drafting Legion recommendations for one of the most significant and remarkable pieces of legislation ever passed by any nation—the original "G.I. Bill of Rights," which today marks its 30th anniversary.

We are honored to have with us today, in addition to Mr. Colmery, a number of the prominent Legionnaires who helped spearhead the G.I. Bill. I should like to recognize Mr. Warren Atherton, the Legion National Commander at the time the original G.I. Bill passed the Congress, and the man who labored tirelessly before the Congress on its behalf.

These farsighted Legionnaires, and Legion colleagues now deceased, fought a long, hard and very lonely battle against seemingly insurmountable odds to insure passage of the original G.I. Bill. The American Legion was supported by no other veterans organization in this fight and faced the opposition of several powerful members of the Congress, including some committee chairmen. The reason for that opposition, perhaps was the fact that the Legion's G.I. Bill was social legislation without precedent.

Also present are a number of incumbent Congressmen who were members of the 78th Congress when the G.I. Bill became law, and we thank you, gentleman, for taking time from your busy schedule to be with us on this occasion.

There is no way to attach a dollar value to the benefits that have accrued to the nation as a direct result of the G.I. Bill. We know that the twenty-nine billion dollars

invested by the taxpayers in G.I. Bill education and training have been more than repaid in the increased taxes paid by the veteran beneficiaries of this training.

What is more difficult to measure is the value of the leadership bestowed on this nation as a direct result of the G.I. Bill. I think the facts speak for themselves. For one thing, we have a technology unsurpassed in the world. Our people enjoy the fruits of this technology in every area from agriculture to medical care, and American ideas and products are sought after all over the world.

Our technological leadership has enabled us to break the chains that bind men to this planet and send our explorers into space. Our leadership has given us the highest standard of living the world has ever known.

I submit that all of these things were made possible because of the incredible effectiveness of that original G.I. Bill. There is no denying the fact that for the first time in the history of this nation, or the world for that matter, the G.I. Bill extended the possibility of higher education to masses of young people with brains and talent who might otherwise have never realized their potential. It is this group of young people, veterans of World War II and Korea, who are today's successful scientists, doctors, engineers, businessmen, as well as leaders in government. In short, these are the people who make America run.

An ironic note mars this significant 30th anniversary of the G.I. Bill. Once again, The American Legion is in the forefront of a battle to provide a meaningful G.I. Bill of Rights, this time for the veterans of the Vietnam era, and once again we find ourselves alone among the organizations in this fight.

The American Legion has verified that the Vietnam veteran cannot take maximum advantage of the G.I. Bill educational opportunities without a vastly improved G.I. Bill of Rights. It's a matter of simple economics. The monthly stipend, even with the increases proposed by certain Congressional Committees, the Administration, and endorsed by other veterans groups, simply will not stretch far enough to meet the high cost of school attendance.

To be sure, we want increases in the monthly payment to compensate for the erosion of the dollar. But what we consider really essential is a separate tuition payment to the learning institution after the manner in which payment was authorized for the veterans of World War II.

We note with considerable pleasure the Senate action of this past Wednesday in voting a G.I. Bill package which—while not as generous as our mandates have called for—none-the-less represents an enormous improvement over previous proposals. We were particularly pleased with the provision in the Senate bill authorizing tuition payments ranging up to \$750 per year under certain conditions, but we believe even this amount needs upward revision in some instances.

While the Senate action is a great step forward, the new G.I. Bill must now go to a Senate-House Conference Committee for final resolution of the very considerable differences in the versions of the bill passed by the two branches of the Congress. These conferees have an unprecedented opportunity to present the Vietnam veteran with a viable G.I. Bill, and the American Legion urges retention of the Senate version intact as the only means to insure this viability and thus solve the many problems besetting the current G.I. Bill program.

We believe that anything less than the Senate bill proposals will deny hundreds of thousands of Vietnam veterans the opportunity for training they should be able to receive under the G.I. Bill. The American Legion does not intend to let that happen. As in 1944, we are in a fight to the finish and we intend to come out of that fight with

a G.I. Bill the Vietnam veteran can use successfully.

It is our strong view that the G.I. Bill in its present form makes a "mockery" of the intent of the authors of the original G.I. Bill to insure the veteran an opportunity to join the mainstream of American life in exchange for his military service. Those who would deny the improvements we have proposed totally ignore the tremendous force for good in this nation the original G.I. Bill was and continues to be.

In closing, I want to call to your attention the items of memorabilia, taken from the American Legion museum in Indianapolis, we have one display. We have one of the pens used in signing the original G.I. Bill by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, a photo of the signing ceremony showing Congressional leaders and Legion officials with the President, and a copy of the original Bill.

I would like at this time to ask Mr. Colmery and Mr. Atherton to join me and we will then respond to your questions concerning the G.I. Bill, both past and present. Thank you.

#### A TRIBUTE TO HON. ERNEST H. GRUENING

#### HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1974

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the recent passing of former Senator Ernest Gruening was greeted by me with a special kind of sadness. For Senator Gruening was a man whose leadership, integrity, and commitment to the cause of justice and peace touched upon all our lives. From the words he delivered as editor of the Nation to the debates he led on the Senate floor, Senator Gruening listened always to the counsel of his own conscience. And, in so doing, in refusing to compromise with his own and our Nation's most cherished ideals, he served to open our eyes to greater understandings.

Senator Gruening embraced the cause of peace when it was a lonely cause, speaking out to end our involvement in the Vietnam war long before others chose to join him in his commitment. As a young medical student treating large families of poor and starving children, the acute need for family assistance planning left its impression on him. His call for population control was years ahead of the majority of his countrymen.

It is difficult to trace the germination of an idea and to pinpoint exactly when that idea becomes an integral part of our awareness. As Director of the Population Crisis Committee and as an ardent critic of our activities in Southeast Asia, Senator Gruening was a crucial figure in this educational process. And, when he was recommended to the Nobel Peace Prize Committee, all who knew him well strongly endorsed his selection.

At the age of 87, he never really had grown old. His energy, his ideas, his dreams were the thoughts and feelings of our younger generation. He was an individual who cared deeply about justice, turning all his efforts toward its realization.

The citizens of Alaska were, indeed, wise to have chosen Ernest Gruening to champion their cause for statehood. With the successful achievement of this goal, they elected him their Senator. And, through his great love and respect for the state and her people, he served them long and well.

The following short story, taken from a Midrash portion of the Five Books of Moses, perhaps best captures my feelings on the loss of this great man:

Two ships were once seen near land. One of them was leaving the harbor, and the other was coming into it. Everyone was cheering the outgoing ship, giving it a hearty send-off. But the incoming ship was scarcely noticed.

A wise man standing nearby explained the people's reaction. "Rejoice not," he said, "over the ship that is setting out to sea, for you know not what destiny awaits it, what storms it may encounter, what dangers lurk before it. Rejoice rather over the ship that has reached port safely and brought back all its passengers in peace."

It is the way of the world, that when a human being is born, all rejoice, but when he dies, all sorrow. It should be the other way around. No one can tell what troubles await the developing child on its journey through life. But when a man has lived well and dies in peace, all should rejoice, for he has completed his journey successfully and he is departing from this world with the imperishable crown of a good name.

#### COST OF LIVING IN BOSTON

#### HON. JOE MOAKLEY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, an excellent article by Ms. Ann Mary Currier appeared in the Boston Globe on Sunday, June 30. The article helps to explain why the overall cost of living is higher in Boston than in any other city in the continental United States. More importantly, however, the article makes clear that my constituents in Boston have been particularly hard-hit by today's skyrocketing prices. For the information of my colleagues, I insert Ms. Currier's article at this point in the RECORD:

BOSTON: THE COLD, THE LIFESTYLE DRIVE COST OF LIVING TO TOP

(By Ann Mary Currier)

Bostonians woke up recently to what looked like a surprise: They live in the most expensive urban area on the mainland United States. But it really was nothing new.

The announcement by the US Labor Dept. may have startled some people, but the fact is the entire Northeast is more expensive than other areas of the country, and Boston has always been close to the top. It moved to the top of the list three years ago, and has stayed there.

Here a family of four needs \$14,893 to maintain a moderate standard of living, \$2267 more than the national average.

To many natives, this was no surprise. They grew up hearing about "Taxachusetts." They know that with no oil refineries New England is an expensive place in which to heat a home. They know it costs more to transport food to the nation's northeastern corner.

Boston has been the most expensive city in which to buy, rent or maintain a home or apartment for the past five years. For two years, it has had the highest Social Security and income taxes. Throughout the seven years in which the Labor Dept. has done the budget study, it has had about the highest food costs.

This is not to say Boston is without advantages. Transportation, clothing and medical care are three items which are considerably less expensive here than elsewhere.

Transportation is cheaper than in nine cities, largely because some of the high taxes pay about 70 percent of the \$200 million cost of operating the MBTA.

"We have relatively low transit fares, but property and personal taxes make up for it," according to Paul McBride, transportation specialist for the Metropolitan Area Planning Council.

In Boston, people drive fewer miles and use public transportation more than in many other cities and this tends to drive down the transportation cost, according to the Labor Dept.

It is cheaper to buy clothes here than in 31 other cities surveyed by the Labor Dept.

Fred Glantz, regional economist for the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, attributed this to the fact that textiles are one of few consumer goods manufactured in Massachusetts, even though more factories leave the state each year. As this has happened, Boston's relative advantage has declined.

But the more costly items—housing, food and taxes—take nearly two-thirds of an average family's budget. (An average family, the government assumes, is a 38-year-old man, his nonworking wife, a 13-year-old son and an eight-year-old daughter.)

Economists like Glantz have difficulty pinpointing the reason for the high cost of living. He believes it is a combination of factors.

Some of it is due to strict economics. The most important cause seems to be geography: New England is a cold region, far from the sources of raw materials.

And there are many who say Bostonians simply have an expensive life-style. It is an attractive place to live, they contend, and the number of people moving in pushes housing prices up. Also, its highly-educated residents demand many tax-supported services and eat more expensive food than many other Americans.

Businessmen are going to charge more for the goods they sell when their costs are high, and land and utility costs in Boston are higher than elsewhere.

It costs \$404 per year or 11 percent more, for housing in Boston than in the next most expensive metropolitan area New York. The Labor Dept. reported that moderate-income housing in Boston cost \$4,029 last fall, compared with \$3,625 in New York.

Economists and contractors give several explanations:

High property taxes.

The need for more heat, insulation, stronger foundations and more repairs in a cold climate than in warmer areas.

A large number of single-member households, which creates a heavy demand for housing and pushes rents upwards.

The need for permits, rezoning and environmental studies, which often tie up valuable land and push up its costs.

Massachusetts has nearly the highest property taxes in the nation. In 1969, a Federal study showed average property tax bill here of \$882, twice the \$453 average for the nation as a whole. In 1970, only New Hampshire, New Jersey and Wisconsin had higher tax bills.

"We rely much more heavily on property taxes than do other states," Glantz said. Arthur P. Solomon, associate director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of Harvard-



MIT, pointed out that the large amount of tax-free property—churches, schools, hospital in the area places an added burden on homeowners.

Heating home in Boston is more expensive than elsewhere because fuel costs more, not because more fuel is used than in other cold cities.

A staff member of the Metropolitan Area Planning Council, who asked not to be identified, said there is a 1.6 percent vacancy rate in Greater Boston, an "extremely low" figure because "Boston is considered a desirable place to live by lots of people."

"The demographic composition of the city has a lot to do with the cost of housing," Glantz said. "There's lots of sharing (young people living together in apartments) and this . . . bids up the cost of an apartment."

Families cannot compete, he continued, and "a house becomes a feasible alternative which bids up the price of owner-occupied dwellings."

Garen Bresnick, attorney for the Massachusetts Homebuilders Assn., said housing costs are high because "all factors combined add up to more difficulties than in other areas."

In particular, he cited "a myriad of administrative difficulties"—environmental impact reports, wetlands permits sewer moratoria, and water connection charges.

The costs and difficulties involved in building has decreased the amount of construction. The value of issued permits declined 29 percent from 1972 to 1973, according to the State Dept. of Community Affairs.

The fact that this has happened at a time when more people are moving to the area has only compounded the supply problem and pushed up costs.

Boston's food costs, meanwhile, are 6.5 percent above the national average, but still second to New York City's.

Both Glantz and Ray A. Goldberg, professor at Harvard Business School and chairman of the Governor's Food Commission, said the main reason is the cost of transporting food.

The cost of raw products averages above 40 percent of the retail price of food, Goldberg said. Therefore, the closer the consumer is to the source of food, the less, he should pay.

Unfortunately, Boston isn't close to anything but the few thousand New England farms which grow produce during the short summers.

According to Glantz and Goldberg, it costs more to ship to New England because:

—It is farther from the food producers. Beef and grain come from the Midwest, produce from Florida or California.

—Rates approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) discriminate against New England.

—Antiquated, inefficient rails and equipment make it more costly to ship goods to New England.

—The region has few processing plants and must import processed food, which costs more than raw products. "The economics of industry say locate as close as possible to the source," Glantz explained.

Railroads, truckers and the ICC disputed the contention that rates discriminate against New Englanders, and said the major reason for high rates is distance.

Carl Tornquist, operations manager of Refrigerated Food Express, Inc., said: "It's pretty well set up by mileage." A truck has got to get X amount of cents per mile."

Robert McCoy, manager of pricing operations for the Penn Central Railroad, said it costs about \$1000 to ship 19 tons of beef from Des Moines, Iowa, to Boston. "New York would be a little less and Portland a little more," he said.

"We're a very dependent area," Solomon said, "Other areas can balance it off." For example, although Florida may be as far from the stockyards as the Northeast, it can com-

pensate for high shipping costs with its homegrown fruits and vegetables.

Goldberg believes supermarkets could overcome some of these obstacles by buying in greater bulk and using central warehouses. "No one likes to admit they need each other," he said, "but if we don't get these competitive rates, we are penalizing our consumers here."

While he said supermarkets in the Northeast clear about a half-penny in profit on each dollar of sales less than anywhere else in the nation, Goldberg did suggest they are keeping prices high to protect themselves against rapid changes in the price of raw materials.

"Retailers have taken advantage of the volatility of the current market," he said. "They're so fearful, they're building cushions which if they don't have to use, will turn out to be additional profit for them and additional costs to consumers."

Officials of the major chains serving New England have argued that they are still recouping from the era when their prices were controlled and their raw product costs were not.

Finally, there are taxes.

Personal taxes in Boston—mainly income—last fall averaged \$2353 for a moderate family—\$682, or 29 percent, above the national average.

As high as that is, there are many who don't consider taxes a problem, since they believe the area provides a high-level of services.

Thomas Juster, program director of the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan, said: "Most people don't prefer to live in a low-cost area. The areas in high demand are going to be high-cost areas."

Glantz said many Boston suburbs have high real estate taxes but also excellent schools. He believes Massachusetts has a much higher level of government services than elsewhere."

#### FEDERAL NO-FAULT AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE ACT

HON. JAMES T. BROYHILL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, today, I am introducing a bill that would establish minimum Federal no-fault automobile insurance standards. I am introducing this as an alternative to the Senate-passed bill, S. 354, which I feel goes too far, and which is pending before my Subcommittee on Commerce and Finance of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. Because hearings are scheduled to begin next week, Tuesday, July 9, I wanted an alternative to be introduced now, so that it can be considered along with S. 354.

I am an advocate of the no-fault automobile insurance concept. I feel that it is an idea whose time has come. As I stated in August of 1972, to North Carolina Governor Scott's Commission on Automobile Insurance and Rates:

The time is right for the States to take the initiative upon themselves in instituting their own programs, both to implement the needed reform and to indicate their willingness to act in this field.

Unfortunately, the States have been slow in acting and the pleas for Federal action are growing.

The conclusion of the Department of Transportation's study of the automobile

insurance business as presently constituted was unequivocal:

In summary, the existing system ill serves the accident victim, the insuring public and society. It allocates benefits poorly, discourages rehabilitation and overburdens the courts and legal system. Both on the record of its performance and on the logic of its operation, it does little if anything to minimize crash losses.

The bill I am introducing would provide for first-party benefits of up to a limit of \$10,000 for medical payments, wage loss, and rehabilitation. The States would be free to enact State legislation providing for higher benefits, if that is their desire. In addition, under my bill I do not disturb an individual's right to sue if he has been injured by another party and can prove that the other party is at fault. However, I provide that the injured party could receive benefits only in excess of those benefits already received under the no-fault coverage. For example, if a person wishes to sue, he would first have to prove negligence on the part of the person who injured him and, secondly, he would have to show that his damages are in excess of medical payments already received or the wage loss already received. However, in an action for general damages, he would not be able to introduce in the case evidence of his paid medical expenses and wage loss.

We find the insurance buyer is a much more articulate consumer today. He will not tolerate arbitrary cancellations and insurance he cannot afford to buy. He views his insurance premiums as part of the cost of getting a new license plate. He does not want to feel that in buying car insurance he has merely purchased the capability to handle a lawsuit should one come his way. He is willing to accept the responsibility of protecting the other driver, but he feels his insurance should give him the same first-party coverage as does his fire and health insurance.

It is my intention in introducing this national minimum standards bill to offer a constructive alternative to the Senate-passed measure, S. 354, as well as H.R. 10 and H.R. 13714. S. 354 imposes standards which would be very difficult for many States to meet. I am convinced that the minimum standards I am proposing, however, would not create an undue hardship in the States, and they would offer the possibility of lower premium rates for most drivers, broader coverage for most victims, and quicker, more equitable payment to those less seriously injured. The minimum standards approach would give the States a framework within which to reform their auto reparations mechanism.

#### SECRETARY MORTON'S REMARKS CONCERNING ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FISH AND WILDLIFE SERVICE

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the

RECORD the remarks of Secretary of the Interior Rogers Morton concerning establishment of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service on June 25, 1974.

By act of Congress the Bureau was renamed effective July 1 after completing long years of distinguished service to the American people and to the cause of conservation.

That distinguished conservation organization under the able leadership of Director Greenwalt, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Nathaniel Reed, and our old friend and former colleague, the Honorable Rogers Morton, can look forward to still other and greater accomplishments in the days ahead.

The remarks of the Secretary of the Interior Morton follow:

SECRETARY MORTON'S REMARKS CONCERNING  
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FISH AND WILDLIFE  
SERVICE

In less than one week the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife will become the Fish and Wildlife Service. What is in a name? I don't ask this as a rhetorical question.

I believe the key word in this new title is "Service." Certainly, Director Greenwalt and I have a common understanding—a shared perception—of what service means in the context of fish and wildlife and today's and tomorrow's world.

The Fish and Wildlife Service has an increasingly more critical role to play as decisionmakers try to balance development of this Nation's natural resources with environmental quality—national economic growth with social costs if you will. Decisions made today will shape and structure the lives of our children, and our children's children. This is the thought I keep in my mind as the decisions of the day are made in what some term "our crisis-oriented times."

About two years ago I challenged the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife to become "the biological arm of the Federal Government for wildlife resources." Implicit in that statement was my desire that I could look within the Department to one group of professionals to supply me with the biological or ecological aspects needed in my decisionmaking process. In a sense, I wanted an internally generated independent view of the biological costs of alternative choices. I'm personally pleased with the steps that have been taken toward that end. I will actually be even more pleased when I am faced with even harder choices, for this will mean that the real biological costs are part of the decision equation.

The Fish and Wildlife Service's Biological Services effort is on the launch pad. In-depth biological information on ecosystems which would likely be seriously affected by development, frankly, cannot be made available to me too soon. It is precisely this type of information that will help me to surface that one best alternative on each project as the Nation moves toward an adequate level of energy self-sufficiency.

I do not imply that service on biological aspects is geared to me or to my office alone. It is this same role of providing objective, timely biological information and technical assistance that is being requested in ever greater quantities and of ever greater quality by the total Federal community. Again, I look to the Fish and Wildlife Service to carry out that Departmental assignment—to provide that service.

With each State Department of Natural Resources, the Fish and Wildlife Service is jointly performing this role to the private conservation agencies and to the public. In a national sense, it is these State entities and the Fish and Wildlife Service that serve as partners in being both guardian and advocate of our living natural resources.

It is only through this cooperative inter-governmental relationship that biological information can be brought to bear effectively at all decision levels.

Of course, a mandate to provide biological services is hollow without the resources and the institutional pathways to make it happen. I believe that those in the Fish and Wildlife Service would agree that this upcoming fiscal year—1975—will probably be a very good year in terms of both new dollars and expanded position ceilings. I've stated, in formulating the 1976 fiscal year budget, that "the Department will do everything possible to overcome the energy crisis." But also, the 1976 budget would "reflect my firm conviction . . . that we should not relax our environmental concern. In fact, we are going to have to increase our efforts to ensure that increased domestic fuel supplies are not produced at the price of environmental degradation."

In terms of institutional arrangements to allow the results of these increased resources to be effectively used, we are reviewing a number of arrangements on how this Department does business. For example, procedures are being reviewed to determine the most responsive means by which this Department can handle its various leasing efforts, be they geothermal, Outer Continental Shelf oil and gas, oil shale, coal, or whatever. I want procedures that will assume the best possible development choices from both an energy commodity production aspect and from an environmental standpoint. In all candor, I will probably have to assume success if no one is entirely happy. But then, whether we speak of either the Department of the Interior or the Fish and Wildlife Service, what makes life interesting is the multiple constituencies we serve.

In fact, that is why I'm pleased with this change in name to the Fish and Wildlife Service—it better reflects the key role to be played—to serve!

KIRTLAND'S WARBLER MAY BE  
AROUND FOR A LONG TIME

HON. PHILIP E. RUPPE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. RUPPE. Mr. Speaker, one of our Nation's most precious natural resources, its wildlife, is being increasingly threatened by the encroachment of man. At the present time, 109 domestic species, as well as 300 foreign species, are on the brink of extinction; and many more species will be endangered in the foreseeable future. I would therefore like to call my colleague's attention to an article which appeared in the March 1974 issue of *Soil Conservation* magazine. Thanks to the combined efforts of Federal agencies, State agencies, and local organizations, an endangered species in my district, the Kirtland's warbler, may be around for a long time.

The article follows:

AN ENDANGERED SPECIES THRIVES IN NORTH-  
ERN MICHIGAN

(By Glenn E. Lamberg)

The Kirtland's warbler, a unique and endangered species, is thriving in the burned-over jack pine plains near the Au Sable River in northeastern lower Michigan. The nesting colony there is the only one known in the world.

This shy warbler is very demanding in its nesting requirements. It builds its nest on the dry sand at the base of the jack pine

(*Pinus banksiana*). But not just any jack pine will do; the warbler selects only those pines that range from 6 to 15 feet in height. At least 80 acres of dense trees, with inter-mixed small openings, are needed for each colony of "jack pine" warbler.

Logging and the subsequent fires during the early 1900's in this part of Michigan provided ideal conditions for colonies of the tiny warbler. The effectiveness of recent fire prevention and suppression programs, however, have reduced nesting habitat for the warblers. Today, through the efforts of concerned individuals, organizations, and government agencies, this habitat is being maintained and preserved.

The Michigan Department of Natural Resources and the U.S. Forest Service have developed special programs to provide warbler habitat on both state and federal land. Program work includes controlled burning, special forest harvesting, tree planting, and acquiring private lands where this rare species of warbler is concentrated.

A spring flight takes the Kirtland's warbler from its winter home in the Abaco Islands of the Bahamas to Michigan's droughty sand plains. There, nesting colonies are concentrated mainly in Crawford and Oscoda Counties, between the towns of Grayling and Mio.

Census counts in 1961 revealed the warbler population to be approximately 1,000. In 1972, the count had gone down to 400. What caused this decline? Apparently habitat conditions in the Bahamas and in Michigan remained satisfactory. Guilt focused on the brown-headed cowbird, an emigrant from the western plains.

The problem arises when the female cowbird lays her eggs in the warbler's nest. This brings about several effects detrimental to the warbler population. The warblers inadvertently raise the young cowbirds instead of their own young, that is, if they don't abandon their nest. In laying her unwanted eggs, the cowbird may destroy the already present warbler eggs. If the warbler eggs are not destroyed, death is usually inevitable for the nestling warblers because they can't compete for food with the much larger cowbird young.

The U.S. Department of the Interior's Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife has initiated a program to catch cowbirds. In the summer of 1972, nearly 2,000 of the unwanted intruders were caught, and Kirtland's warbler production per nest was the highest ever recorded.

Kirtland's warbler nesting grounds are in an area covered by the newly formed Huron Pines Resource Conservation and Development Project. Jeremy Jones, chairman of the Crawford County RC&D Committee, has indicated that his committee supports the activities of organizations trying to preserve the tiny warbler. Jones said, "Because of the combined efforts of interested groups and individuals, this is one endangered species that should be around for a long time. The Kirtland's warbler will be around to thrill those who take the time and patience to quietly wait and watch for this unique little creature."

ADMINISTRATION PUT AGRICUL-  
TURE IN SQUEEZE

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, we all have been hearing of the problems of our livestock producers and feeders, problems caused by unlimited beef imports, a price freeze, and other Government interfer-



ence which has driven many of our livestock people to near bankruptcy.

The other day the House Committee on Agriculture, on which I serve, passed out a bill to provide loans to those cattlemen who have exhausted other credit possibilities.

We vitally need that legislation to protect our future food supply.

While we were considering this bill in committee, it was a pleasure to hear testimony from Pat Dubois, of our Minnesota Sixth Congressional District, president of the First National Bank of Sauk Centre and chairman of the Independent Bankers Association of America Agriculture-Rural America Committee.

For the enlightenment of my colleagues and to impress upon them the need for this loan legislation which we soon are to consider, I insert Mr. Dubois' testimony in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

The Independent Bankers Association of America is a national organization with over 7,200 member community banks in 41 states. Two-thirds of our members are located in towns with a population of 5,000 or less. Ninety per cent of our banks do business in communities of under 30,000. Consequently, our Association has had a tradition of interest in all matters involving rural America. That ongoing concern is now directed toward the problems of the livestock industry and its relationship to rural communities, our member banks and consumers.

On June 12th, we invited member banks, representing a cross section of our membership to respond to a questionnaire. The responses received heightened our concern for a major segment of agriculture, the livestock producer and feeder.

We questioned our members in the following areas:

1. Are you making loans to the livestock industry?
2. Are your livestock borrowers experiencing difficulty?
3. How many distressed livestock loans does your bank service?
4. Should the government provide a program to assist the livestock industry?
5. Provided a government program is established, what loan dollar amount is needed in your area?
6. Do you have any recommendations as to how the problems confronting the livestock industry could be alleviated?
7. Should IBAA become involved in this type of legislation?

Based upon responses to our questionnaires, we find that:

1. 85% of those responding are making loans to the livestock industry.
2. 67% are making feeder loans.
3. 78% are making cow calf loans.
4. 70% are making hog loans.
5. 84% of banks making livestock loans find their livestock borrowers experiencing difficulty.
6. 71% of banks making livestock loans have livestock loans in distress.

In this category, respondents indicate anywhere from one to all feeder loans in difficulty, some indicating 15, 20, 25, 30 or 100 individual loans distressed.

7. 67% feel that government assistance should be quickly provided.

8. The degree of emergency financial assistance varies from \$35,000.00 per borrower up to 2½ million dollars with a majority suggesting one million dollars.

Perhaps as interesting as the above tabulations, however, are narrative comments. I would like to elaborate on some of these that seem representative of current conditions. For example, to our question: How many distressed livestock loans does your

bank service? One banker replied: "Approximately 30 separate lines are submarginal. Many more are on the border line and will show a loss if the market fails to pick up. Most of these losses can be covered by other collateral but will put the customer out of business if he liquidates the debt." Another responded: "Most of the livestock producers and feeders in my area need help and need it now. Most of our cattlemen have sustained very heavy losses and will take some two to five years to stage a comeback financially." Another responded: "Six very bad ones plus another 20-30 that will lose a bundle." Another responded: "About two million dollars consisting of six big borrowers." Another responded: "All—approximately two million dollars." Another responded: "Every feeder cattle line is or could be classified as a distress situation." Another responded: "I talked to officers in the livestock loan department of four banks in our area. Everyone agreed that a loan of this type would be helpful to some of their customers, and one bank indicated this is the only way several of their customers can continue in the livestock business."

In response to our request for recommendations as to how problems confronting the livestock industry could be alleviated, the responses are not consistent. Suggestions are made that the government reduce or stop imports, that livestock be marketed at less weight, that emergency loans be provided, that price manipulation and speculation be reduced, that the government purchase for school and poor programs, that an extensive sales campaign be undertaken, that public law 480 be used, and that a secondary market for guaranteed government loans be provided so that rural banks could recover funds for other community financial needs.

Information provided in response to question 4 (should the government provide a program to assist the livestock industry) develops a consensus that the problem the livestock industry finds itself in has been caused by government intervention:

The price freeze in the spring of 1973 without corresponding retail regulations, the truck strike in February 1974 and the opening up of imports from other countries. It appears that the administration, whether intentionally or not, has put agriculture in a squeeze that seriously affects the broad sector of rural America.

In summary, the Independent Bankers Association of America supports emergency legislation for the livestock industry. Specifically, we support bank participation loans 90% guaranteed by the Department of Agriculture through the Farmers Home Administration. We support a loan limit of one million dollars with at least seven years amortization and with an interest rate that is negotiable between the financial institution and the borrower as permitted by law. We support sufficient guaranty authority, at least three billion dollars, exempt from other FHA budgets and we urge that a provision be made for a secondary market to provide that guaranteed FHA loans may be marketed in the major money markets in order that the originating bank may recover funds for other loan needs in its community. We further suggest that emergency loans be limited to livestock producers who are bonafide cattle or hog operators who are in business and depend upon most of their income from their feeder or cow calf operation and who have exhausted their usual source of credit.

Many independent bankers feel that the problem that confronts the livestock industry also involves the welfare of rural communities, the consumer and financial institutions that are involved. We are concerned that unless assistance is provided, financial institutions will be forced to limit credit extensions and require liquidation of inadequately collateralized livestock loans. We

suggest that in addition to emergency loans, a better marketing system, one with less fluctuation, one that provides better balance between the cost of production and agriculture prices to the consumer is essential.

#### A LEGACY OF INDIVIDUAL WORTH

#### HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 3, 1974

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, 6 years after his death, America is still struggling to come to grips with the true meaning and spirit of Martin Luther King, Jr. Clearly, he was a great and extraordinary human being. Yet, great individuals are complex and difficult to define. Today, men of strong conscience continue to remember Martin Luther King and examine his legacy.

On March 22, 1974, National Urban Coalition president M. Carl Holman delivered a tribute to Dr. King at the University of Notre Dame Center for Civil Rights. The text of his speech, entitled "Martin Luther King—A Legacy of Individual Worth," is submitted for the consideration of my colleagues:

#### MARTIN LUTHER KING—A LEGACY OF INDIVIDUAL WORTH

(Following is a tribute to Dr. Martin Luther King given by National Urban Coalition president M. Carl Holman at the University of Notre Dame Center for Civil Rights, at a dedication dinner for the Kresge Law Library on March 22, 1974.)

They called him Dr. King, Martin Luther King, Jr., Martin Luther King, M.L., the Lawd—first lovingly by the young of the student movement, then flawed with ironic sadness. . . .

For some of the many here who knew Martin Luther King, it must seem almost another age since the time when he was alive, and smiling and walking among us; making us believe in the reality of the human brotherhood he envisioned through the kindling power of his presence and of that voice which has like no other.

For some who were there, it may seem not six years or more, but only yesterday since they were living through the fear or exaltation, fatigue or frustration of Montgomery, Albany, Selma, Canton, Cicero, Memphis. And it is still hard to understand that neither the color prints nor high-fidelity electronic records can make a child born after August 28, 1963 understand what that day was like, what the March on Washington meant, what it seemed to promise.

And it was only last week that a very young man said of another assembly, "I can understand why they went to Gary last year—because Dick Hatcher, a Black man, is mayor there. But why Little Rock?" In a country which never much cared for history, it is a very perishable commodity indeed.

But assuredly Martin Luther King made history. Most of the tired, often specious arguments over legal or legislative versus direct action approaches no longer interest us. The lawyers and the courts, the legislators and presidents, the incredibly courageous young rebels of SNCC, along with NAACP, CORE, the Urban League—all played their part. The Churches, and synagogues, unions and women's groups, for a time made "white and black together" more than a wishful phrase. The laws went on the books. Some doors long sealed shut reluctantly swung open. It was possible finally to have Black voters in numbers that could not be ig-

nored—and thus possible to have Black Mayors and state legislators and enough Blacks in the Congress to form a caucus.

No small part of this must be credited, both by disciples and detractors, to Martin Luther King—visionary, sometime pragmatist, peace-breaker, peace-maker.

Peace-breaker. . . so much so that he was feared as an "outside agitator" after he and Rosa Parks and Ralph Abernathy and the other nameless townspeople of Montgomery had upset the peace of that town and won their bus boycott battle. There were even those in his native Atlanta who doubted it was wise for us to have young Martin King come home to give the NAACP's Emancipation Day Address. Atlanta being then "a city too busy to hate"—and rather smugly complacent about it. Sure enough, Martin was barely off the train before he frowned in the direction of the "White-only" waiting room and quietly asked the welcoming delegation, "When are we going to do something about that?" Some very awkward moments followed, everyone being sure that Jim-Crow signs in perhaps the proudest city in the South was a problem all right—but surely somebody else's problem.

Later, Martin was out of step again when everyone else, including some of his own SCLC board members, had the good sense to see that silence on Viet Nam was the best policy. After all, what was happening to Brown people in Indo-China—and, in the process, to our own country—had nothing at all to do with civil rights, nothing at all to do with poverty, nothing to do with human justice. Martin disagreed. Even in the name of peace, he seemed congenitally unable to hold his peace.

It was bad enough to rebuke Southern White moderates in his "Letter from a Birmingham Jail." Nor did he always interpret the scripture as others did when it came to rendering unto Caesar and unto God. When a president summoned leaders to a convocation at the White House one Sabbath Day, it was Martin who failed to attend. He explained that he was Co-Pastor with his father of Ebenezer Baptist and that the Sunday in question happened to be Martin's turn to preach. Those who know Daddy King might have an additional understanding of where true wisdom lay when the choice was

between staying in the good graces of a president, or Martin Luther King, Sr.

As a peace-maker, Martin was a practitioner of the nonviolence he preached, even under the most trying circumstances. He inspired and held together in creative harmony a collection of highly individualistic lieutenants: Ralph Abernathy, Fred Shuttlesworth, Wyatt Walker, Jim Bevel, Hosea Williams, Andy Young. Yoking these talents and temperaments in one unit is in itself qualification for the Nobel Prize. I recall a jam-packed church one night, seething with outrage over an agreement with White leadership which many Blacks considered a betrayal. It was Martin who took the floor when all else had failed. He prevented the Black community from tearing itself apart that night, and showed the way to a resumption of the struggle and, eventually, to a much more genuine and just conclusion.

Even at the height of his fame, some people were embarrassed by, skeptical of, Martin's reliance on those old-timey, churchy, wooden-bench notions which seemed out of place in a plasticized modern world: justice, righteousness, redemptive love, brotherhood.

But scab-infested children in the muddy yards of Mississippi towns seemed to understand him. When Sterling Brown writes of grown Black men whose eyes could not meet those of Whites, it may fall strangely on the ears of young people reared on Malcolm, Fanon, Baraka, Nikki Giovanni, Don Lee. But Martin was up and down this country for quite a while, getting people up off stoops and into the streets and dusty roads with their heads up and eyes straight ahead. He was telling poor people—Black, White, Brown, Red—to throw off the shackles of "nobodiness" and to recognize themselves as somebody.

For perhaps more than anything else, Martin's true gift lay in the power he had, at his best, to invest people of all ages, classes and colors with a liberating sense of their own significant humanity. So that even in a crowd, each could feel uniquely a person. So that fearing hurt and death, knowing from what had happened to their comrades that enemies can hate enough to kill, many of them still—as he did—took risks and managed somehow to master their fear.

"I have been to the mountaintop," Martin

said on a spring evening in Memphis six years ago. Few of us can climb that mountaintop from which he gazed. Fewer still find it possible even to imagine—much less see—through the murkiness of these days of deceit and greedy indifference—the promised land which he envisioned.

Last week, in San Francisco, the former leader of the Philippines insurgent movement said that he had come to visit America. He wanted us to be sure which America he meant. "The America", he said, "of Abraham Lincoln, Franklin Roosevelt—and Martin Luther King, Jr."

It is perhaps not too hard to see what this Brown man, the former guerrilla general, might see as linking himself and Martin King—a shared history of imprisonment, harassment, the passionate drive to liberate a people. But it might seem strange to his questioners that a revolutionary, who sought freedom through violence, should so admire Martin King, the prophet of non-violent revolution. As strange as the irony of thousands of urban Blacks who had never marched in his campaigns, burning cities in response to Martin's assassination.

Perhaps the visitor from the Philippines already knows that Martin's America has only rarely existed in actuality. But if we are to find our way back again to the painful task of making such a land, it will be because we are called to judgment not so much by Martin's memory, his spirit. . . but rather because we are called by the children dying needlessly still in rural and urban ghettos; by the old who cannot piece out their days in dignity; by the men and women bereft of any real chance of having the jobs, the homes they need, the freedom to move without fear among the strangers who are their neighbors—denied the very essence of manhood and womanhood.

It is these who call us, whether or not we choose to hear. Martin chose to hear—to enroll, as he said, as a drum major in the cause which chose him, and which he chose. The power, the passion, the fidelity this one mortal man gave to that choice is the living legacy left to those who will use it by Martin Luther King, Jr., born a citizen of Atlanta, Georgia. Died citizen extraordinary of the South . . . America . . . the world . . . of that other world—on this fragile planet earth—which is yet to come.

## SENATE—Monday, July 8, 1974

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon and was called to order by the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. METCALF).

### PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we Thy servants silence our voices, quiet our spirits, and bow at this shrine of the patriots' devotion to ask what Thou dost require of us. Thou dost answer in Thy Word that we are to "do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." Assist us by Thy grace that all who serve in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of this Government may indeed do justly, love mercy, and walk in Thy companionship. Accept the offering of our souls, our minds, and our bodies in Thy service that we may help fulfill Thy purpose for mankind.

And to Thee shall be all the praise and the thanksgiving. Amen.

### MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE RECEIVED DURING ADJOURNMENT OF THE SENATE—ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of June 27, 1974, the following messages from the House of Representatives were received:

On June 28, 1974, that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills and joint resolutions:

S. 3490. An act providing that funds apportioned for forest highways under section 202(a), title 23, United States Code, remain available until expended.

S. 3458. An act to amend the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of 1973, the Food Stamp Act of 1964, and for other purposes.

S. 3705. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide for a 10-year delimiting period for the pursuit of educational programs by veterans, wives, and widows.

H.R. 7724. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to establish a program of National Research Service Awards to assure the continued excellence of biomedical and

behavioral research and to provide for the protection of human subjects involved in biomedical and behavioral research, and for other purposes.

H.R. 11105. An act to amend title VII of the Older Americans Act relating to the nutrition program for the elderly to provide authorization of appropriations, and for other purposes.

H.R. 12412. An act to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to authorize appropriations to provide disaster and other relief to Pakistan, Nicaragua, and the drought-stricken nations of Africa, and for other purposes.

H.R. 12799. An act to amend the Arms Control and Disarmament Act as amended, in order to extend the authorization for appropriations, and for other purposes.

H.R. 14832. An act to provide for a temporary increase in the public debt limit.

H.R. 14833. An act to extend the Renegotiation Act of 1951 for 18 months.

H.R. 14434. An act making appropriations for energy research and development activities of certain departments, independent executive agencies, bureaus, offices, and commissions for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975, and for other purposes.

H.R. 15124. An act to amend Public Law