

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

INTRODUCTION OF LEGISLATION
TO SAVE SCRIMSHAW INDUSTRY

HON. GERRY E. STUDDS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. STUDDS. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation to amend the Endangered Species Act of 1973 to correct an injustice which is threatening the livelihood of hundreds of individual artisans and small businessmen within my district and within certain other areas around this country. Companion legislation is being filed by Senator KENNEDY.

This bill will correct a serious problem created by the provisions of the Endangered Species Act which prohibit the transportation for sale in interstate commerce of any product made from the whale. There are hundreds of businesses currently engaged in such commerce. Before the Marine Mammal Protection Act was passed, most of these businessmen bought large quantities of whale bone and teeth to allow them to remain in operation for the next 5 to 10 years. Now, they have suddenly found themselves with huge stockpiles of whale bone and teeth which can only be sold within the State. Many of these businesses have long-standing contracts with out-of-State firms, and are faced with bankruptcy if the law cannot be changed. Most of these entrepreneurs can prove that their whales teeth were purchased prior to the passage of the Marine Mammal Act, and none of them have expressed any opposition to the general intent of either this act or to the protection of endangered species.

The bill I am introducing today would simply change the wording of the Endangered Species Act to permit the craftsmen and businessmen who deal in scrimshaw and other whale products to use their existing stocks of whale bone and teeth—material acquired before the passage of the Marine Mammal Protection Act in 1972. The purpose of both the Marine Mammal Act and the Endangered Species Act was to protect animals such as whales from continued slaughter—not to end an art form that has endured for generations.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues two editorials from newspapers in my district which illustrate further the importance and extreme urgency of this matter. The first appeared in the New Bedford Standard Times on July 5, and the second a day later in the Cape Cod Standard Times. The articles follow:

SCRIMSHAW LAW

This newspaper is in favor of protecting whales from extinction. It has been for a long time. It has supported the Endangered Species Act of 1969, intended to give whales an even chance of surviving. However, we have serious reservations about the scope of amendments to that act that took effect last December.

The amendments forbid interstate commerce in "whale products," a restriction that

threatens the scrimshaw industry with imminent economic hardship as well as long-range problems of major proportions.

As The Standard-Times' Jack Stewardson quoted one dealer: "We can understand not wanting to deplete the stocks of whales, but what are we supposed to do with the stuff we have on hand?"

The "stuff," whale ivory, was not bought in an 11th-hour attempt to circumvent the intent of the act. The ivory had been imported legally prior to 1972. One dealer interviewed by Stewardson has as much as \$40,000 invested in whale ivory and obviously cannot afford to write off that kind of money.

Basically, the interstate ban on sale of whale ivory products made before the restrictive amendments took effect just doesn't make much sense. Not to mention being unfair to innocent dealers. A gradual phaseout of sales of all whale products in the United States, while allowing dealers to get rid of existing inventories, seems like a more practical and fair approach.

Rigid enforcement of the Endangered Species amendments barring interstate sales of scrimshaw made from pre-1972 inventories will not bring a single whale back to life.

It will only bring unwarranted hardship to dealers caught in the middle. The Department of Interior should grant them a temporary exemption that will allow them to dispose normally of their legally acquired stock.

CORRECT THE OVERSIGHT

Many on Cape Cod who traffic in scrimshaw or whale's teeth—a tradition-hallowed custom for the Cape and Islands and New Bedford—are uncomfortable knowing they may be breaking the law.

It has suddenly been noticed that the Endangered Species Act Amendments of 1973 prohibits the interstate sale of scrimshaw or any other products made from the whale.

This prohibition presumably falls upon the hundreds in this area who sell or manufacture products made of scrimshaw or whale's teeth which come from interstate sources.

We're sure Congress did not intend to outlaw the sale of products made from whales killed before the Marine Mammal Protection Act became effective when passed in 1972. Many dealers in fact purchased large quantities of teeth so they could phase out such operations over a period of years. Now they find they can't legally sell their "bank" of scrimshaw in interstate commerce.

Rep. Gerry Studds, of the 12th Congressional District which includes the Cape and Islands, is drafting legislation to allow scrimshaw dealers to sell products made from whales killed prior to the Protection Act. In his weekly report, Studds says the chairman of the Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife has pledged his full support of the measure.

Congress must move swiftly to correct the oversight and provide legal protection for those with stocks of scrimshaw or whale's teeth on hand from mammals killed before 1972. That is simple justice.

MEDICAL SERVICES

HON. ROBERT P. HANRAHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. HANRAHAN. Mr. Speaker, regrettably, I was forced to vote against the conference report on S. 3203, a bill to bring nonprofit hospitals under the National Labor Relations Act, when it

reached the House floor today. I was happy to have been able to vote for the original House version of the bill, but the conference committee decided to delete a necessary amendment which called for a 60-day cooling off period. We cannot afford to jeopardize the welfare of hospital patients by the threat of a hasty strike without benefit of serious and deliberate negotiations between the parties involved.

The very thought of the tragedy which could occur in a region with only one hospital is appalling. Scores of lives would be at stake if the hospital employees declared a strike without first having given sufficient thought to the extremely serious step of withholding vital medical services.

Strikes are unfortunate in any industry, but the idea of a strike of hospital employees, and a hastily called one at that, is more than unfortunate—it brings into the picture serious questions of morality.

INFLATION

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, like most Members, I spent the Fourth of July recess back home in my district, and had the opportunity to meet with thousands of my constituents.

In my judgment, the American public recognizes that the greatest problem that faces our country is that of inflation, and I believe that most people realize that unity will combat the inflationary pressures which beset them.

This subject is very effectively presented in a Chicago Sun-Times editorial of Tuesday, July 9, and I commend the editorial to the attention of all Members:

UNITY AGAINST INFLATION

Both French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt are trained economists. So it was with considerable expertise that both agreed over the weekend that continued double-digit inflation could cause political chaos in the industrialized nations of the world. That view is shared by senior U.S. officials and was ratified last week by a report of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. World inflation is a menace that the industrialized states can ignore only at their peril.

The 24-nation OECD reported that for the sixth consecutive month consumer prices rose by more than 1 per cent in industrialized nations. Inflation was a key issue in Sunday's election in Japan, which is hobbled by a 23.2 per cent inflation rate increase. Last May 8, the government of Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau fell because of two-digit inflation and Monday's elections were called. Israel, already the most heavily taxed nation in the world, imposed new taxes last week to cope with inflation.

Although the causes of world inflation are complex, the OECD reported that the chief villain is last year's upsurge in oil prices. Accordingly, the business of a current Brussels meeting of the United States and 11

other major oil-using nations is not only relevant, but urgent. Single nations can take palliative measures to cope with inflation, but it is clear that the problem cannot be solved effectively without the kind of unified, co-operative measures the Brussels meeting is designed to inspire.

Such concerted action need not be initiated or interpreted as a users' cartel against the power wielded by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. Indeed, if the Brussels meeting is to succeed, it cannot adopt a strategy of confrontation. In the last analysis, both energy producers and consumers have a common stake in the health of the world economy, and it is only by a common effort that the common enemy of inflation and economic disruption will be overcome.

THE STABILITY OF THE SAIGON GOVERNMENT

HON. ROGER H. ZION

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. ZION. Mr. Speaker, there has been a sustained attempt by enemies of the Republic of Vietnam to present a picture of the Government there as both dictatorial and unstable. A more accurate picture is described by James Dornan and Peter Hughes in the second of their series of articles in the Indianapolis News.

They visited Vietnam and saw for themselves that, apart from obvious wartime restrictions, the country has none of the repressive trappings of totalitarian regimes which are so evident in Communist countries. No dictatorship dare issue arms to over half a million private citizens; yet this is exactly what the South Vietnamese Government has done to the Popular Self-Defense forces. Furthermore, the continuing rate of defection from the Communist forces shows that even those who have been subjected to constant propaganda since childhood prefer the comparative freedom of the South to the total repression of the North.

In order that a more balanced picture of the situation in Vietnam can be presented, I include the second article of this excellent series from the Indianapolis News dated April 6, 1974, to be inserted in the RECORD.

SAIGON GOVERNMENT STABLE, VIABLE
(By James Dornan and Peter Hughes)

Virtually since the inception of the American aid program to South Vietnam in 1955, opponents of the U.S. involvement have dwelt upon the authoritarian aspects of various Saigon regimes as the core of their arguments. Such criticism has if anything increased in recent years, despite the evident stability of the government of President Nguyen Van Thieu.

South Vietnam is a country torn by war, many of whose finest young men have been summoned to a military career and thus have been unable to contribute to their nation's political life. Her internal security problems have for decades been sufficiently acute to engender justifiable fears for survival. It is not surprising that such circumstances breed restrictions upon what in the West are called civil liberties, and certain of these curbs are acknowledged as necessary even among the

most libertarian-minded South Vietnamese.

Furthermore, such restrictions upon civil liberties in wartime are not unknown even in the United States, as students of the Lincoln, Wilson, and FDR presidencies ought to remind us more often.

During our stay in Vietnam we saw none of the outward manifestations of the totalitarian state so visible, for example, in China, the Soviet Union, or Eastern Europe. The military presence is quite visible, but the reasons for that are obvious. Few of the citizens we spoke with seemed bitterly opposed to the government. Indeed, more than 560,000 South Vietnamese have been armed as part of the Popular Self-Defense Program, with a loss rate of only one to five weapons per thousand distributed—impressive figures for a society supposedly governed by a "small, externally imposed and increasingly despised elite."

Significantly, there has been no indication of revolutionary stirrings even from an armed populace.

The continued flow of refugees from the NVA-VC areas and the persistent refusal of the Communists to agree to negotiations to establish a time-table for holding competitive elections are testimonials to the relative popularity of the government and the declining acceptability of the VC. In general, we found no reason to dispute the judgment of U.S. Ambassador Graham Martin that "there has developed in recent months a pervasive sense throughout the country of the legitimacy of this government."

"The Viet Cong," he asserted, "are now largely regarded as intruders, tolerated or resented." The highly-respected Saigon newspaper publisher Bui Diem, once ambassador to the United States, while aware of the government's limitations in certain particulars, also believes that opposition to the government is fading, and expressed some confidence in the future evolution of the regime in a more democratic direction should peace become a reality.

We were profoundly impressed by the extraordinary group of able and dedicated young men who are increasingly being designated to fill high posts in the armed forces and in civil agencies up to the ministerial level. While in Vietnam we were able to speak at some length with men such as the newly-designated Minister of Information Hoang Duc Nha; a principal aid to the Minister of Finance, Pho Ba Quon; the Minister of Trade and Industry, Nguyen Duc Cuong; the Minister of Tourism, Pham Luong Quang; and Nguyen Ngoc Bich, the head of the government press center.

It is in the hands of these men—often U.S.-educated, with degrees from institutions such as MIT, Harvard, Johns Hopkins and Columbia, who are thoroughly committed to the cause of a better and non-Communist South Vietnam—that the future of that nation rests, and its prospects are clearly enhanced by their presence in high government posts.

Since we were in Vietnam (January 1974) an additional cabinet reorganization has occurred, as well as several changes in the armed forces and among the province chiefs. Such shifts seem designed to improve the administrative efficiency of the government and reduce the incidence of corruption. There has been significant progress toward these objectives, but the road to their achievement will be a long one, as President Thieu has himself admitted.

Overall we came to believe that there exists in South Vietnam today a stable and viable government, clearly inspiring more popular support than its NVA-VC opponents. Its future obviously depends upon the extent to which it can deal effectively with the awesome array of military and economic problems with which it is confronted. And its ability to do so, in turn, will for the next

few years depend upon continued aid from abroad, and especially from the United States.

THE LATE CHIEF JUSTICE EARL WARREN

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the people of the United States of America were greatly saddened to hear of Earl Warren's passing on July 9. Responsible for helping to shape this country's social and political destiny, my friend Earl Warren shall be remembered in history as one of the most distinguished and courageous judges our highest court has ever produced. Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court from 1953 to 1969, Earl Warren will continue to stand out as a source of leadership and pride for the entire Nation.

I have especially fond memories of my friendship with Earl Warren which began in 1943 when he was sworn in as Governor and I as a member of the California State Assembly. During the time we served together in Sacramento, we most often agreed. Sometimes we disagreed. I well remember his veto of a bill I had authored to set up the aid to needy children program in California, and his subsequent full support of the legislation the second time around.

I also fondly recall my personal relationship with Earl Warren and his family. My mother and Nina Warren were close friends, and when my wife Lee and I visited Washington before I was elected to Congress, we often had dinner with the Warrens. Their son, Earl, Jr., served as my campaign manager in northern California when I ran for lieutenant governor.

Public life for Earl Warren began in 1920 as a deputy district attorney in Alameda County, Calif. He was elevated to the office of district attorney in 1925, and for 13 years proved to be a hard-working prosecutor earning the respect of many Californians.

In 1943, Warren became Governor of California. And as a former lieutenant governor, I can sincerely appreciate Earl Warren's record of State legislation ranging from reorganization of mental hygiene to make California foremost in this field, to enactment of legislation regulating lobbyists. Earl Warren was also responsible for cutting taxes and keeping the State of California free of debt. Earl Warren seemed to grow in his job, and will certainly be remembered as one of the great Governors of California. Another former Governor, Edmund "Pat" Brown, said of the late Earl Warren:

He was the most superior governor California has ever had. He took care of the people in the State.

THE BROWN DECISION

In light of his outstanding work in California, it was only fitting that Earl Warren should achieve national attention. In 1953, President Eisenhower named Earl Warren to the Supreme

Court, remarking that the former Governor was chosen for his "sincerity, honesty, and down-to-earth philosophy."

As Chief Justice, Earl Warren quickly established himself as a champion of the "invisible" people. In 1954, he answered one of the most important controversies in America with his far-reaching decision in *Brown* against The Board of Education of Topeka, Kans. The late Chief Justice's opinion that Plessy against Ferguson was obsolete transformed the entire concept of American mores. The *Brown* decision gave black Americans legal rights that they had waited for since the inception of separate but equal facilities. The landmark opinion, with the unanimous concurrence of the High Court, applied to the field of segregated education at first, but soon set a precedent for other areas of racial discrimination as well. Significant was this decision in its recognition of the need for total equality in American society.

ONE MAN—ONE VOTE

Chief Justice Warren, himself, believed his most important decision was *Baker* against Carr in 1962. With this decision the Court broke new ground by ruling that malapportionment was a justiciable issue which could be resolved in a court of law. The opinion opened the way for additional decisions which balanced legislative districts that had previously allowed rural interests to dominate city dwellers. As Warren has stated:

Legislatures are elected by voters, not farms or cities or economic interests. The weight of a citizen's vote cannot be made to depend on where he lives.

Warren's firm belief in the one man-one vote doctrine corrected political imbalances existing in both our State legislatures and in the U.S. House of Representatives.

THE CONSCIENCE OF AMERICA

Earl Warren is increasingly compared to Chief Justice John Marshall, because Warren practiced the view that the Supreme Court is the ultimate arbiter of the Constitution. He became the conscience of America, challenging the States to accept a wider application of the Bill of Rights. In what has been described by the legal profession as a "criminal rights revolution," Warren again emphasized a deep conviction for equality in a series of decisions which were aimed at protecting persons accused of crimes from the arbitrary power of the State. These decisions applied Bill of Rights guarantees such as the right to counsel and protection against self-incrimination to State crimes as well as to Federal offenses. Earl Warren's philosophy which guided all of these decisions can best be seen in a quote from the *Miranda* opinion:

Those who framed our Constitution and the Bill of Rights were ever aware of subtle encroachment in individual liberty. . . . We cannot depart from this noble heritage.

It is unfair to label Earl Warren's tenure as the "Earl Warren Court." The responsibility of the Supreme Court is and always will be a collective one. Yet, Earl Warren thrust the Court in an unprecedented direction, and for this

"judicial activism" the great Chief Justice shall always be remembered.

I count the late Earl Warren as one of my most esteemed and dearest friends, and I am certain that the whole Nation shares with his wife Nina and their children, James, Virginia, Earl Jr., Dorothy, Nina Elizabeth, and Robert, deep pride in the great contributions he has made to American democracy and the future of all mankind.

NORWEGIAN ROTARY EXCHANGE STUDENT WRITES ABOUT THE UNITED STATES

HON. BO GINN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. GINN. Mr. Speaker, a close friend of mine, Mr. Porter Carswell of Waynesboro, Ga., was thoughtful enough to send me some excerpts from a paper written by a former Georgia exchange student. The incoming district governor of Rotary International was impressed with the contents of the following article and asked that Porter share it with me. I wish to take this opportunity to share the article with my colleagues:

NORWEGIAN ROTARY EXCHANGE STUDENT WRITES ABOUT THE UNITED STATES

A former Georgia exchange student lives at home in Oslo, Norway, and attends the University of Oslo, pursuing a degree in Languages and Philosophy. She sent to the Tift College Alumnae Office a copy of her paper on "The Anti-American Feeling—Its Reasons and Consequences." An excerpt from this treatise follows:

"... Personally, I just cannot understand why the Americans haven't realized by now that whatever they give of help and assistance, the intention of which only being that of humanity, the world as a whole, and even those being helped, will never ever learn how to appreciate and be grateful for what is being offered.

"... We all have a tendency to dislike those who are successful—those who turn out to be the best in whatever field there is.

"Furthermore, it is a well known fact that what is negative appeals to people. The mass media never like describing stable conditions or generally accepted points-of-view.

"Why doesn't the U.S. take the consequences of this anti-feeling, and withdraw all help and assistance, because not until they do will people understand how important and vital their help was to them, not until then will they learn how to appreciate, to be thankful and grateful, and not until then will this sick and disabled world realize that we at present just cannot do or survive without the U.S. support, whether we like to admit it or not.

"The U.S. today, a quarter of a century after the end of World War II, spends \$14 billion a year on defense of Europe. The U.S. even pays several millions of dollars annually to its NATO partners in taxes. This puts the United States in the incredible position of paying money to Europeans for the "privilege" of defending Europeans! Isn't it about time we, at least, began to carry a fair share of the expenses of our own defense, and thus undertake the responsibility for our own situations? There is a limit to American patience as well as resources. They have a job of nation-building to do at home.

"The American society isn't perfect. By far not. But what society is? At least not the Norwegian. And how about recalling some simple facts, having to do with certain world wars in this 20th century. Facts that we all have a tendency to forget. Why not admit that without the American assistance and support, militarily as well as financially, we might just as well not have existed, not as the free and independent nation Norway is today. And we had at least never had a chance to benefit from such a standard of living that we do today.

"Up to now we haven't minded at all receiving neither their military support nor their dollars, to defend our country and preserve our peace and freedom. But, and this is important, we just haven't got a right to forget."

A REPORT FROM LITHUANIA

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as a result of the President's recent visit to the Soviet Union, there has been a great deal of speculation over the significance and feasibility of "détente" between the United States and the major Communist dictatorships.

While I recognize the practicality of the limitations of the arms race and negotiations on a workable SALT agreement, I do not believe that there should be any illusions that the Soviet Union is evolving into a democracy. Political persecution still exists within the U.S.S.R. especially against the non-Russian captive nations and it continues unabated.

Evidence of this fact is found in an article in the *New World*, a publication of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago, on July 5, which reports on the situation in Lithuania. I insert the article at this time into the RECORD:

A REPORT FROM LITHUANIA

(By Father Joseph Prunskis)

CHICAGO.—There seems to be a conspiracy of silence concerning those suffering under the Communists, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, in "Gulag Archipelago," pointed out that the communistic regime in the Soviet Union destroyed many millions of people.

And the suffering of innocent people behind the Iron Curtain has not ended. The underground paper in Lithuania, "The Chronicle of the Catholic Church," published with risk to life, advises that even written complaints to higher authorities there are being confiscated by the secret police. And there are many causes for complaints.

Priests are not permitted to go to neighboring parishes on great feasts to help hear confessions, and there are instances where local priests have succumbed from overwork. In some locations the churches have been recently closed. Appointments of new priests are obstructed by local authorities. Some priests are not permitted to perform pastoral duties. For example, Father V. Merkys was forced to work as a common laborer in a nursery garden of Vilnius.

The search for suspects is a daily event. In many instances prayerbooks and any religious literature found are confiscated, even if published when Lithuania was independent. The Russian underground paper announced that one Lithuanian, named Kurkys, was forced to work in the slave labor

camp even though he had a severe case of ulcers. During the extraordinarily heavy work his ulcer perforated. He did not receive proper medical help and died, while finishing his punishment of 25 years.

On Oct. 23, 1973, there was a funeral for Father Vincent Miksys, pastor of Melagenai. A pharmacist, Albina Meskinaite, and a laboratory supervisor, Dr. V. Juzenaite, were present at the funeral. The occupation authorities dismissed the pharmacist from her duties and issued a public reprimand for Dr. Juzenaite because of participation in the priest's funeral.

On Nov. 20, 1973, a search was made at the home of A. Raskinis in Kaunas. Religious literature was confiscated, and even his wife, a lecturer in mathematics at Vilnius University, was warned she might lose her position.

Father Laurinavicius, pastor of the Adutiskis parish, wrote complaints to the Tarasov, a Russian official for religious matters, indicating that on April 14, 1973, one of his parishioners reported he could not go to church on Sundays because the president of the collective farm warned if he did not come to work on Sunday, he would not get a horse to cultivate his garden, or to bring wood for heating, and would not get hay for his cow or a machine to thrash barley.

In the same letter Father Laurinavicius indicates that Povilas Burokas, living at the Jakellai collective farm, did not get hay because he attended church services on holidays. The families of Burokas, Steponenas and Trečiokas could not buy wheat at a reduced price because they attended church.

Father Laurinavicius complained that the church floor was in very bad shape. The parishioners bought material, but could not make repairs—permission was not granted. Parishioners constructed a house for old people by the church, but it was confiscated by the government.

Father Laurinavicius is renting a room in that house and paying 56 rubles a month. There is a hole in the roof. When it rains, water runs into his room, and it is impossible to get an order from officials to make repairs. The fence around the enclosure of the church is dilapidated. The church committee asked for cement but were told that cement is not sold for the church.

Father Laurinavicius in his complaint reminds that he is forbidden to take part in the funeral procession to the cemetery in liturgical vestments. He could follow the procession in civilian clothes as a private citizen only.

Finally Father Laurinavicius states: the Church in Lithuania is separated from the state, but there is no country in the world where the state would meddle so in the affairs of the Church.

Netherlands' newspaperman Henk de Mari writes in De Telegraf that while visiting Lithuania he met a student in Vilnius. He informed him that his brother who, after the self-immolation of Roman Kalanta during the demonstrations, shouted "Freedom for Lithuania," was arrested for three months and was expelled from the university.

In February, 1974, about 100 students were arrested in Lithuania for spreading leaflets. In Vilnius 33 churches out of 44 are closed. At Vilnius Mari met a Jew, a former teacher of physics, who applied for a visa to Israel. He lost his position at school and was obtaining food by selling his musical instruments, and his wife was sweeping streets for 60 rubles a month.

Injustices like these are being repeated daily in Lithuania and other countries behind the Iron Curtain. Subjugated nations are asking people of the free world to remember them in prayer and to inform public opinion against such acts of oppression.

ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, Prof. Herman Schwartz, professor of law at the State University of New York at Buffalo, has written an excellent report entitled "A Report on the Costs and Benefits of Electronic Surveillance—1972." I would like to append material from this report for the information of our colleagues:

ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE

1970

For 1970, the 410 installations catching 15,654 people in 234,085 conversations were associated with 1,317 arrests. But the 1969 pattern somehow seems to have disappeared—virtually all of these arrests (1,254) were in 1970 and only 63 were in 1971.

The offense breakdown for arrests, together with the number of associated installations, is as follows:

Arrests

Gambling, 930; drugs, 228; homicides, 19; other, 152; total, 1,329.

Installations

Gambling, 135/204; drugs, 49/84; homicides, 8/20; other, 33/95; total, 225/410.

The gambling figure jumps sharply from 1969, and the "other" figure declines sharply from about 62% to 34%.

Again, we find a very high proportion of installations with very few incriminating intercepts. Overall, the percentage of incriminating intercepts rises a bit to 30%, according to the Admin. Off. Rep. (71069/234085). The breakdown by offenses of installations which intercepted less than 20% incriminating, together with the numbers of arrests and convictions associated with these installations is:

	Total Gambling	Drugs	Homicide	Other
Installations.....	128/410	35/204	45/84	12/20
Arrests.....	238	91	101	8
Installations with arrests.....	54/128	14/35	25/45	4/12
Convictions.....	741	33	20	0
Installations with convictions.....	27/128	9/35	9/45	0/12

In 36 of these 128 cases, there were no incriminating conversations at all, e.g., Nassau #8, #16, #17, #18, Onondaga #5, Queens #9, #12 indicating that whatever arrests and convictions were obtained—and some were obtained in the Nassau and Queens interceptions—were obviously not because of the surveillance; incidentally, these six installations cost \$24,000. These non-incriminating intercepts overheard 890 people in almost 10,500 conversations.

In many other cases, only a few interceptions were found to be incriminating, though one cannot tell how useful those few were. E.g., Queens #25 involved eight incriminating conversations out of 1,067, and 5 arrests for drugs were associated with this installation. It should be noted that in many of these less-than-20%-incriminating installations, the percentage was very much less than 20%, particularly in the Homicide and Other category.

¹In 5 more, no conversations were intercepted, although an installation was apparently made.

1971

The arrests associated with the 511 installations that overheard 17,410 people in 239,909 conversations came to a total of 1,964, broken down as follows.

Arrests:	
Gambling	1,380
Drugs	346
Homicides	27
Kidnaping	0
Other	211
Total	1,964

Installations:	
Gambling	164/304
Drugs	54/104
Homicides	7/18
Kidnaping	0/1
Other	29/84
Total	254/511

Because the 1970 and 1969 patterns vary so substantially with respect to when most of the arrests take place on the state level (in 1969, most were in 1970; in 1970, most were in 1971), it is hard to project whether most of the expected arrests have already occurred. Because the offense-pattern seems very similar to the 1970 pattern, it may be that the 1970 figures are a more reliable gauge.

The overall percentage for incriminating conversations now rises sharply from the 1968-70 figures. Extrapolating from the totals in Table 4 of the 1971 Admin. Office Report,² we find that some 133,290 out of the Admin. Report total for state interceptions of 252,860 were considered incriminating, or about 53%—a sharp jump from the 22-30% of prior years.

Part of the explanation is readily available: gambling installations rose from 50 to 60% of the total. In gambling cases, most calls are likely to be incriminating if one hits a gambling establishment—and one cannot get a wiretap order for gambling unless there is probable cause to believe the telephone is involved in such activity. Whether this is the full explanation is not clear. This may also depend on the possible number of days accounted for by gambling.

There were also a great many installations with a low proportion of incriminating conversations. There were 162 installations (out of 511) in which the incriminating conversations came to 20% or less, and they cost almost \$500,000. So far, 66 of these 162 installations have been associated with some 348 arrests, and 7 installations have been associated with 23 convictions; a few of the installations associated with arrests nevertheless produced no incriminating conversations. Overall, some 32 installations produced no incriminating conversations at all, even though they overheard about 659 people in 5,970 conversations.

2. THE RESULTS OF FEDERAL EAVESDROPPING

(a) Convictions:

1969

Because of the asserted 22-month lag between interceptions and convictions, this is the only year for which the conviction figures are likely to approach completeness, though even here, one cannot be certain that all the results are in. On the other hand, there were so few taps and bugs installed in 1969—only 30—that it is difficult to generalize very much about those results.

It will be recalled that in 1969, there were 30 installations of which 20 were for gambling, 4 for drugs, 1 for kidnapping and 5

²This simply involves finding the number of state conversations intercepted, the number of incriminating conversations, and subtracting the federal incriminating conversations from the total. This leaves the proportion of state-incriminating to state-total.

for Other (mostly extortionate credit). The number of people convicted and the number of associated installations, as of December 31, 1971, were:

Convictions	
Gambling	101
Drugs	24
Other	2
Total	127
Installations	
Gambling	9/20
Drugs	2/4
Other	1/5
Total	12/29

The average costs per installation with which a conviction was associated, and per person convicted, are:

Average cost per installation	
Gambling	\$16,270
Drugs	123,649
Other	46,066
Total	36,524
Average cost per person convicted	
Gambling	\$1,450
Drugs	10,304
Other	23,033
Total	3,699

These are, of course, exclusive of the other costs mentioned above—i.e., lawyers' and judges' time.

1970

In 1970, there were some 180 federal installations which overheard some 10,158 people in 143,508 conversations. Of these, some 36 have so far been associated with a total of 232 convictions (the Admin. Off. Rep. claims only 218), broken down by offense, as follows:

Convictions	
Gambling	123
Drugs	99
Other	10
Total	232
Installations with convictions	
Gambling	17/120
Drugs	16/39
Other	3/21
Total	36/180

Because complete results are not yet in, no comments about costs, etc. are possible; not until the 1972 figures are in, is a relatively complete tally possible.

1971

So far—and it is still far too early for any final figures of any consequence—some 115 convictions have been obtained in cases where electronic surveillance was used; it will be recalled that some 15,099 people were overheard in 496,629 conversations at a cost so far of about \$2.1 million. The breakdown to date is as follows:

Convictions	
Gambling	76
Drugs	21
Other	18
Total	115
Installations	
Gambling	17/248
Drugs	2/21
Other	1/12
Total	20/281

COMMENTS

Because of the time lag between installations and case termination, we have reliable

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figures only for 1969, and here, the sample of 30 is too small to derive many satisfactory inferences. We do have some interesting qualitative and other fragmentary data which sheds some light on the question of effectiveness.

1. The movement of usage from 67% for gambling to almost 90% despite the apparent utility associated with use in drug cases, would seem to indicate that despite the claims of stepped-up drug enforcement and the great value of wiretapping thereto, (see Richard Kleindienst speech, Oct. 1972), somehow or other wiretapping is not sufficiently useful to keep doing it. How else explain the very sharp decline on both state and federal levels of wiretapping for drug cases—during the three years of federal tapping from 13% in 1969 to 7% in 1971 and during the four years of state tapping from 42% in 1968 to 21% in 1971. In absolute terms, drug taps almost halved (39 to 21) from 1970 to 1971, even though the total number of taps jumped by 100, or more than 50%.

One possible explanation is money—it seems clear that for one reason or another, tapping for drugs is far more expensive on the federal level than any other kind.

2. Of far greater significance are two extremely difficult questions.

(a) Even in installations where convictions were obtained, was the evidence obtained from the tap really necessary to the conviction? In some cases, at least, the answer is clearly no. For example, in *United States v. Poeta*, 455 F. 2d 117, 118 (2d Cir. 1972) the Court of Appeals opened its opinion by pointing out that the tap-derived evidence was unnecessary to the conviction; in another case, *Uniformed Sanitation Men, Inc. v. Comm. of Sanitation*, 426 F. 2d 619, 628 (2d Cir. 1968), the Court made the same observation. In a 1971 report, a Nevada prosecutor reported that two indictments were obtained in a kidnapping case—the only kidnapping case for which wiretapping was used in 1971 on either the state or federal level—but candidly added "but not as a result of the interception." (1971 Adm. Off. Rep. p. 47). And in the many cases of illegal interception prior to 1968, almost none of this illegal tapping was found to have led to the conviction. Although one may well have doubts about the uniformity of result in this last situation—obviously, many judges did not want to set aside convictions of guilty and often notorious criminals—in at least some of these cases, this result probably was sound.

Moreover, here, as with state interceptions, there is an occasional instance where an arrest or conviction was obtained when there were almost no incriminative interceptions. See, e.g., 1969 # 5, where there were no incriminative conversations but still one arrest in 1970.

Without a qualitative analyses of the specific cases, it is hard to make firm judgments on this issue. The number of indictments, convictions, etc., is itself not really a very good indication: lists of successful prosecutions of notorious gangsters have been issued by the Department of Justice and the F.B.I. long before electronic eavesdropping was legitimated. See F.B.I. Annual Reports for 1967-1969. Indeed, there is one interesting item in the late J. Edgar Hoover's 1971 report: right after a reference to the vital importance of electronic surveillance to the fight against organized crime, four major convictions are listed, including one of a Nicholas Ratteni. A check with counsel in the case disclosed that there was indeed a wiretap in the case—on a co-defendant who was acquitted.

An attempt is presently being made by the writer to study the records and to contact counsel in the various cases in which a

wiretap installation was made to determine the role of that device in the investigation; a study is also being made of the many major criminal cases reported in the New York Times between September 1972 and June 1973 to determine whether in some or many of these involved there was reliance on wiretapping.

(b) The second difficult question is criteria. How does one determine whether the handful of convictions that were obtained are many or few? They constitute a tiny fraction of the people overheard—in 1969, for example, only 127 out of over 4,200 people, and only 12 installations out of 30, even though there was probable cause to arrest someone before the installation. But such a small fraction may be inevitable. And, as noted below, there is no indication that really major figures predominated among those convicted.

And even if there were such major figures, what is the test for success? Even if every installation produced convictions—which is obviously light years away from the fact—how can we know that the money expended on the device could not have been expended better on other law enforcement techniques, as Ramsey Clark suggests.

In short, there is a fundamental ambiguity about the evaluational process because we have neither the full facts about alternatives, nor the readily applicable criteria—even if all the data we do have were correct, which also turns out to be doubtful.

3. Reference to organized crime of course raises one of the most important issues in the whole controversy—even if electronic surveillance does produce some convictions, of what kind are these? How significant are the fish caught by this net?

A few things seem clear: on both the federal and state levels the primary use of wiretapping is in gambling cases. On the federal level, a substantial proportion of the drug installations are in cases in which a conviction is ultimately obtained, putting aside for the moment the question of causality. The federal results in cases other than gambling or drugs are very slim. Although the final results are obviously not in for 1970 and 1971, the discussion of the figures for arrests and incriminatory conversations shows that the results of all the other interceptions are meager indeed: in the non-drug and non-gambling area (homicide, kidnapping, and other non-drug and non-gambling), only one 1969 "O" installation was associated with a conviction (2 persons convicted for counterfeiting); in 1970, so far only 10 persons convicted in but three out of 21 installations; in 1971, so far only 18 persons convicted in 1 out of 12 installations. Appropriately enough, this is paralleled by the very sharp decline in the proportion of federal and state surveillance accounted for by non-drug and non-gambling—from 20% in 1969 to 4% in 1971—despite a more-than-nine fold increase in overall tapping. A similar decline occurs in the state surveillance—from 48% for non-drug and non-gambling to 19% in 1971.

These results—and they are paralleled by those for arrests and incriminative conversations—bear out the comment of one Assistant U.S. Attorney, who is not on any of the Strike Forces and obviously must remain nameless, that wiretapping is really of virtually no use for "real crimes"—those other than gambling and drugs.²

But even gambling convictions are important if they do reach major criminal figures and vast criminal networks. Our re-

² Another Justice Department lawyer commented somewhat self-righteously that he would not want to have to defend the way the states use their wiretapping authority.

search has not yet progressed far enough to answer that question with any degree of assurance, but there are some interesting straws in the wind.

In *U.S. v. Wierzbicki*, — F. Supp. — Cr. 45884, 12 Cr. L. 2075 (E.D. Mich 9/15/72), a federal district court reluctantly suppressed a great deal of wiretap evidence obtained as a result of 1971 orders No. 117, No. 121, and No. 131. These were associated with 55 arrests, after a reported expenditure of over \$80,000 over a period of 87 days, clearly a major effort. The evidence was suppressed on the technical authorization grounds discussed above (neither Mitchell nor any Assistant Attorney General had approved the application though their initials and signatures were on it). In the course of the opinion, however, the Court quoted the opening of the statute containing the legislative findings about the need for electronic surveillance to curb major interstate operations, and commented:

"A review of the indictment in this case indicates to the Court that this case does not appear to be the large, octopus-like operation contemplated by Congress when it enabled the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970. All of the activities alleged in the indictment appear to be purely local in nature It seems to me that the present case runs dangerously close to the border line between the state and federal Governments. The Government should be very careful not to misuse the power given to it by the Organized Crime Control Act of 1968. If it were to prosecute every illegal gambling operation which was brought to its attention, it would severally tax the federal police resources."

In indirect response to such criticisms, and in support of both wiretapping and federal jurisdiction over gambling—the latter of which has been severely criticized—Assistant Attorney General Henry Peterson, head of the Organized Crime section of the Department of Justice provided Senator McClellan with figures on important results of both wiretapping and anti-gambling activities for 1971 and 1972. (118 Cong. Rec., p. 24990 (July 24, 1972)) In listing the many successes, Mr. Peterson declared that from January 1, 1971–June 29, 1972, wiretaps had aided in "the indictment or conviction of thirty-four known or suspected organized crime figures," and provided lists of these people.

It is hard to consider this a very significant result. Apart from the fact that the 34 include mere indictments—i.e., only charges—they apparently include all levels of importance and very few leaders. Moreover, although it is still too early to expect very many convictions, the fact is that only 10 of the 18 convictions involved court ordered electronic surveillance. This indicates that at least some of the time "suspected organized crime figures" can be convicted without electronic surveillance; indeed, there is no indication in these statistics that even where electronic surveillance was used, it was indispensable.

Nor is it clear how many of the 10 organized crime figures were major figures. There are indications in other cases that many of the defendants are small figures indeed and, as the *Wierzbicki* case indicates, sometimes all. In a case in Pennsylvania three of the defendants could not even afford to defend against an appeal from a successful suppression motion.

In short, it seems that the value of electronic surveillance is generally limited to gambling and drug cases, and it is not clear from those cases, whether anything more than minor figures are being caught.

b. Arrests and incriminating conversations

Here, of course, the figures are much more substantial, but must be significantly discounted.

An arrest or indictment is really nothing more than a charge—in many cases, many arrests result in nothing. Perhaps the clearest example of this in recent years were the 15,000 Mayday arrest which resulted in virtually no convictions. The numerous political cases that have resulted in dismissals, (e.g., Leslie Bacon) or acquittals, (e.g., the Bergigans) or reversals (e.g., Chicago 7) provide other illustrations.

Moreover, no wiretap or bug can be installed unless there is already probable cause to believe that someone has committed a crime, generally the target of the tap. Indeed, a study of the orders in some of the gambling cases shows that there was plenty of proof that the target was engaged in illegal gambling prior to the tap—the electronic device was required only to prove the interstate nature of the operation, the jurisdictional basis for federal action. The government thus bootstrapped its way into wiretapping—it required wiretapping only to prove its own jurisdiction.

To some extent, this jurisdictional basis may be necessary for any prosecution to take place, since few states are apparently interested. But where there is state interest, there seems very little need for federal involvement—and in New Jersey and New York at least, where most of the electronic surveillance is done (on both the federal and state levels) such interest seems to exist.

FLAG RAISER

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, in the Pitman Review of July 3, a column entitled "Thru the Knot Hole" by Len Eckman carried a story entitled "Flag Raiser."

The story is about Howard Keebler of 120 Cyrus Avenue, Pitman, N.J. The amazing thing about Howard is, he is 97 years old—almost 98.

Howard Keebler is one of the country's great patriots. And, as you can well imagine he is an extremely interesting person. Howard holds a unique record of sorts and I should like to share it with my colleagues. Before I do however, I should like to offer my sincere congratulations to Howard for everything he has done to perpetuate patriotism in this country, and also wish him many happy returns on his up-coming birthday, August 14.

The article follows:

FLAG RAISER

(By Len Eckman)

PITMAN.—Of all the early morning plans for the celebration of the Fourth of July, one home on Cyrus ave. stands out historically as one of the official openers of the day. It's "Flag Raising Time" at Howard Keebler's at 120 Cyrus ave.

Sure, it's great to have flag raising that morning, but this is extra special—special because, it is conducted by 97-year-old Howard Keebler, one of Pitman's oldest, and most active citizens. Howard has a regular ritual each fourth of July morning and the neighbors are all invited to the affair.

Two years ago was the only time, he didn't personally raise the flag—and then because of an injury, but he sat in his bedroom and witnessed it through the windows.

Mr. Keebler is an interesting man. He was a Charter member of the Highland Fire Com-

pany in 1912 and still gets out to the annual Sour Kraut dinner with "his Boys." He also has the distinction of being the oldest member of the First Baptist Church and attends regularly. He also prides himself on being the only member of the church baptized in Alcyon Lake, before the Church had a Baptistry.

Howard Keebler will be celebrating his 98th birthday on August 14. He lives with his daughter and son in law Ruth and Sy Doughty.

Howard is sure he's to Raise the Flag again this year at 9 o'clock—and to prove it, he has been out painting it between the raindrops. Drop by and say Hello to a noble gentleman.

LABOR-MANAGEMENT COOPERATION

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, unfortunately, the American people often read and hear about strife between labor and management when they negotiate a new contract. Sometimes those differences of opinion result in long and costly strikes, which not only hurt labor and management, but the public as well.

It is therefore with deep pride that I report to the U.S. House of Representatives the successful—and peaceful—negotiation of a contract between the United Steelworkers of America Local No. 837 and the United States Metals Refining Co., of Carteret, N.J., which is located in the congressional district I represent. This is proof that labor-management harmony can be achieved when the participants are fair and reasonable.

Recently, the New Jersey State Senate passed a resolution by Senator Thomas Dunn, Democrat, 21st District, commending the U.S. Metals Refining Co., a subsidiary of AMAX, Inc., and the Steelworkers Local No. 837 on their fine achievement. I hereby insert it with justifiable pride:

SENATE RESOLUTION

Whereas the United States Metals Refining Company, a subsidiary of AMAX Inc. is located in Carteret, New Jersey, and is a major producer of copper in the United States; and

Whereas the United Steelworkers of America Local No. 837 is the official bargaining unit of this plant representing over 1,500 members; and,

Whereas in the true tradition of American collective bargaining, the management officials of United States Metals Refining Company and the officials of the United Steelworkers Local No. 837 negotiated hard and long to obtain a suitable and successful labor contract without the interruption of work; and,

Whereas the economy of not only the Borough of Carteret, the County of Middlesex, but the State of New Jersey as well will be aided by this new and profitable contract; now, therefore,

Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of New Jersey:

1. That the members of the Senate join in extending our heartiest congratulations to both the members of management of the United States Metals Refining Company as well as to the members of the United Steel-

workers of America Local No. 837, on this accomplishment.

2. That the Secretary of the Senate is directed to cause a copy of this resolution, signed by the President of the Senate and attested by the Secretary, be delivered to the officials of the United States Metals Refining Company in Carteret, the officials of Local No. 837, United States Steelworkers of America in Carteret, to the corporate directors of AMAX Inc. in New York City, New York and to the National officials of the United States Steelworkers in Pittsburgh, Pa.

MAJORITY WHIP JOHN J. McFALL PAYS TRIBUTE TO EARL WARREN

HON. JOHN J. McFALL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1974

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Earl Warren, whose passing deprives the Nation of one of its greatest men.

Chief Justice Warren strengthened the respect that Americans have always had for the law. His absolute integrity, his utter impartiality earned him the trust of the people and the respect even of those who disagreed with him. He became a great moral and social leader of our times. In many instances, he was the Nation's conscience.

Above all things, Earl Warren stood for equity and fairness, for the rights of the individual, and for the protection of all the laws indiscriminately for all the people. These things are his true memorials, and they will live on long after him in the interpretation of the law, in the application of the law, and in the spirit of the law, and even more, I know, in the hearts of those who make our law.

For more than 20 years, I had the honor of serving with Earl Warren in State and Federal Government and the privilege of being his friend. I believe that history will rank him as a great Chief

Justice who was to the 20th century what John Marshall was to the 19th.

SPRING QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS RELEASED

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, in April, I sent my spring questionnaire to 175,000 residents of the Third Congressional District of Kansas. As I have done in the past, I asked questions on many issues I considered to be pertinent. The results of this questionnaire have been tabulated, and were recently revealed in my summer newsletter which also went to 175,000 postal patrons.

At this time, I would like to include the results of this poll and the subsequent story in the RECORD:

SPRING QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

[In percent]

	Yes	No	Undecided		Yes	No	Undecided
1. Would you favor legislation creating safeguards protecting pension rights when workers change jobs or when their employers go out of business?	85.7	9.4	4.9	10. Which of these would you favor if the need became apparent? (Choose only one.)			
2. Would you support a lowering of age that men and women become eligible for social security benefits?	49.9	49.5	.6	(a) Gasoline rationing.....	25.9		
3. Should the United States expand trade with the Soviet Union?	58.4	36.5	5.1	(b) Increased gasoline taxes.....	4.2		
4. Should the United States expand trade with the People's Republic of China?	58.4	34.7	6.9	(c) Allowing the price of gasoline to rise.....	12.2		5.0
5. Do you favor export controls on raw farm products?	69.4	26.0	4.6	(d) A ban on Sunday driving.....	6.0		
6. Do you feel export controls should be placed on petrochemical products?	78.1	14.6	7.3	(e) A combination tax-rationing system.....	10.7		
7. If it were available, would you use a Kansas City-to-Denver passenger train route?	52.6	42.5	4.9	(f) Sunday store closings.....	36.0		
8. In light of the energy shortage, would you favor:				11. Do you feel daylight savings time is necessary on a year-round basis?	26.4	66.4	7.2
(a) A special congressional appropriation for mass transportation?	44.2	30.1	25.7	12. Campaign funding is likely to be a major topic in this session of Congress. Of the following, which proposal would you favor? (Choose only one.)			
(b) Diversion of funds for mass transit from the highway trust fund?	51.0	30.2	18.8	(a) Partial public financing of campaigns, with a limit on private donations.....	39.7		
9. Would you favor the establishment of a Cabinet-level Department of Energy?	47.1	43.4	9.5	(b) Total unlimited private financing.....	7.1		
				(c) Total public financing.....	13.7		6.6
				(d) Limited private financing.....	32.9		
				13. Do you think all candidates for public office should make a full disclosure of their personal finances?	62.2	34.9	2.9
				14. Do you favor proposed plans for post-card registration of voters?	40.9	49.6	9.5
				15. Do you favor a constitutional amendment to permit passage of State laws reinstating capital punishment?	70.2	26.0	2.0

SPRING QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES URGE RESTRAINT AND CAUTION

I would like to thank each of you who took the time to complete and return my recent Spring Questionnaire. As I have stated before, and must reiterate again, I find these opinion polls very helpful in my role as your Representative.

This time, as in the past, I tried to present questions on issues which I feel may come up for a vote in the House sometime during this Congress. Some of you, however, felt that I failed to ask about the really vital issues—namely inflation and impeachment. My views on impeachment appear on the reverse side of this report. As for inflation, the topic is so complex that it is next to impossible to define in one or two questions. I share your deep concern about this problem as it continues to place a cruel burden on everyone, especially those on fixed incomes.

On this questionnaire, there were four questions which related to foreign trade. A substantial majority who responded favored the expansion of trade with the Soviet Union (58.4%) and with the People's Republic of China (58.4%). However, on the issue of export controls, most were more cautious, citing the need to guard against future material shortages in this country. Over 69% favored the imposition of export controls on raw farm products, and 78.1% felt such con-

trols should be placed on petrochemical products.

In the general field of energy, a majority (52.6%) of those answering said that, if available, they would use a Kansas City to Denver passenger train route. More people (51%) would favor diversion of funds for mass transit from the Highway Trust Fund, than would support a special Congressional appropriation for mass transportation (44.2%). On the other hand only 47.1% expressed support for the establishment of a Cabinet level Department of Energy, while 43.4% opposed the creation of another bureaucracy. Asked to choose one method of fighting the energy crisis, if the need became apparent, 36% preferred Sunday store closings, 25.9% expressed support for gasoline rationing, 12.2% favored a system allowing the price of gasoline to rise to a suitable market level, and 10.7% supported a combination tax-rationing system. Only 6% would prefer a ban on Sunday driving and only 2% favored increased gasoline taxes. On the final energy-related question, 66.4% expressed opposition to year 'round Daylight Savings Time.

The responses to questions concerning the issue of campaign reform further demonstrated to me the public's desire for change. On the issue of campaign financing, 39.7% favored a proposal including partial public

financing and limited private donations. On the other hand, 32.9% said they would favor limited private financing with no public financing. Unlimited private financing was favored by only 7.1% and total public financing was supported by only 13.7%. A large majority (62.2%) of those responding also favored full disclosure of personal finances by all candidates for public office. Postcard registration of voters was opposed by 49.6% who answered and supported by only 40.9%.

In the area of general welfare, 85.7% favored legislation creating safeguards protecting pension rights when workers change jobs or when their employers go out of business. The issue of lowering the age at which men and women become eligible for Social Security benefits was closely divided, with 49.9% supporting the idea and 49.5% opposing it.

Finally, 72% favored a Constitutional amendment which would permit the passage of state laws reinstating capital punishment.

Overall, I have concluded from these results that Third District citizens, while urging Congress to act firmly on the vital issues of the day, also hope that Congress will show restraint and caution in initiating new programs. Moreover, there seems to be a general discontent with our government, and yet the hope remains that Congress will take constructive action to restore a sense of moral leadership to this country.

MOBILIZING PRIVATE CAPITAL AS ALTERNATIVE TO NATIONALIZA- TION

HON. ROBERT G. STEPHENS, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, the free enterprise system has been the foundation of the American way of life. Thoughtful people are vitally concerned with the continuation of this system. In a recent speech given in Washington, D.C., Mr. Charles W. Steadman, chairman of the board and president of Steadman Security Corp., of Washington, as one of those concerned leaders, points out some factors of which we all should be aware in helping the free enterprise system to survive. I am glad to set out the text of Mr. Steadman's speech:

THE CRITICAL NEED FOR NEW CAPITAL

U.S. industrial corporations are going to need new capital in the decade ahead—to 1985—in dimensions which even a few years ago would have seemed unimaginable. These capital demands will far exceed those of any previous decade. Solution to the energy problem will stimulate some of this huge capital demand. The growth rate of external financing for the primary energy producers will probably average about 25% each year over the next 12 years. This is more than double the growth rate of the last 12 years. This means the oil companies will need to raise \$200 billion in the money markets by 1985. And the Environmental Protection Agency estimates that in the next ten years the electric utilities are going to need \$365 billion for new generating and distribution capacity. Internal financing can furnish only about 35% of this. Considering the relatively low esteem in which investors hold the utilities for regulatory reasons and otherwise, raising the balance from private investors will not be an easy task. Of the telephone companies, AT&T alone estimates it must raise \$50 billion over the next 10 years.

If it is to be assumed this financing would be provided by 70% debt and 30% equity there would be a cumulative increase in debt financing of \$111 billion to \$130 billion over the period 1974 through 1985. These figures dwarf the \$17.2 billion in the 1961-72 period. Equity financing would grow to \$56 billion from \$5.7 billion in these same periods.

The need for vast increases in capital outlays has been intensified by the energy crisis. The impacts of the program to gain self-sufficiency and emancipation from foreign sources of petroleum and other basic materials will require billions of dollars each year extending over a period of many years. Of course there will be a direct effect upon the industries concerned. But the impact will also proliferate and have immense effect upon the economy generally. The first effect will involve vast expenditures for equipment to produce and convert energy resources into output. This will range from equipment for research and development to equipment for production of energy. This will result in the development and manufacture of new and better types of oil drilling equipment, coal mining machinery, boilers, generators, nuclear reactors and a whole new generation of equipment designed to get more efficiency out of the energy conversion processes.

The second or proliferating effect just referred to will require immediate changes in how we expend energy, not just a lighter foot on the gas pedal, but more units of output per b.t.u. of energy. This will require more efficient manufacturing procedures and more plant efficiency. This will also require

a vast re-equipping program far beyond earlier estimates.

Consumer demand for a more efficient product at reasonable prices will also give plant re-equipping a lot of impetus. Movements in the automotive industry toward smaller and lighter cars with more efficient engines have already begun to reflect this.

Economically our nation has arrived at a point which may be one of no return where the financing of corporate capital expansion through solely private means is going to be extremely difficult. High interest rates of record dimensions have closed the route of equity financing. But it is now not just equity issues that are denied access to the capital markets—debt issues are going to have rough sledding.

CAPITAL MARKETS ARE IN DISARRAY

Our capital markets are now dominated by fear. Investors' painful market experience from 1966 forward are still fresh in mind with the decline in market value of listed securities in 1969-70 alone being over \$300 billion. Added to this are the market disasters of 1973 and 1974. The erosion of consumer total financial assets because of the decline in stock prices alone was greater at the end of 1973 than a year earlier. And the growth of consumer assets between 1968-73 was dismal. Largely because of the decline in securities values consumers increased their assets at an annual rate of only 4.3%. In real terms (after inflation) consumer assets declined by nine-tenths of 1% each year from 1968-73. For comparison financial worth in real terms advanced at a 7.5% annual rate between 1962-68. It declined at the rate of 2.3% from 1968-73.

Remembrance of Penn Central and Lockheed's problems was recently refreshed by the shock of Consolidated Edison's passing its dividend. Following which the same thing happened at the Franklin National Bank (the nation's 20th in size and first major bank to pass a dividend since the depression). With the bond market in disarray and a decline of 6.3% in the Gross National Product (GNP) for the 1st Qtr. '74, inflation at a record level of 11.5%, mortgage and consumer loan delinquencies dangerously high, productivity (output per manhour) for the 1st Qtr. '74 at -0.7%—the lowest in 20 years, the building industry suffering from high interest and a shortage of funds, some REIT's in uncertain condition, and the stock market having one of its worst advance-decline showings, it is small wonder that fear is dominating the capital markets.

This year—1974—business investment is estimated to increase by 18% over 1973, rising from \$100.1 billion to \$118.6 billion. Financing these capital outlays is going to present some problems not just in raising the money but from servicing the debt over the longer term. With access to the equity avenue for the most part blocked off by the presence of high interest rates, most of this financing will be by bonds. Required external sources of corporate funds are expected to be \$65 billion. \$20 billion of this will be from bonds as now estimated—a record. The previous high was \$8.7 billion set in 1971. In 1973 it was \$8.3 billion. Funds from stock sales were \$10.9 billion in 1972, \$6.2 billion in 1973 and are expected to be only \$5.0 billion in 1974.

As to the cost of current bond financing, not only will interest rates remain high because of inflation and the volume of bond offerings, but the current concern over corporations' ability to repay will keep long-term interest rates high.

The continuation of such high rates brings into question the soundness of the nation's corporate financial structure in terms of debt service cover, that is the ability to pay these huge interest charges from year to year. For the first time ever it is estimated that in 1974 total interest payments by corporations will exceed \$40 billion. This will

be greater than one-third of the expected cash inflow from which interest payments are made. On this basis the coverage for interest payments by all nonfinancial companies will drop down toward the 1970 low level reached during that high interest period.

Federal Reserve figures show a deterioration for six of the past seven years in the ratio of liquid assets to short-term debt outstanding. Corporations in 1967 had liquid assets to cover more than 80% of their short-term debt. These liquid assets covered only 60% of such debt by the end of 1973.

Corporations did increase their liquid assets during 1972 and 1973 but their borrowings increased faster.

CONVENTIONAL MONEY GATHERING MEANS ARE LIMITED

The securities industry—sometimes referred to as the investment banking industry—has a long record of service to our country dating from the early dates of the Republic. As practiced in America, investment banking took on a form indigenous to this country and in a large measure has made possible the vast growth of American industry. Unlike any foreign investment banking system, it has been characterized by widespread distribution facilities that have made possible the gathering and channeling of savings across the nation into the purchase of securities in a procedure known as underwriting. It is through this procedure that enterprises of all kinds, large and small, have been financed. The product of American ingenuity and inventive genius has been put to practice. Great industries have been born from rags to television, jobs created and the nation has grown to unparalleled industrial might and living standards.

A moment ago I referred to a feature that is singular to the American brand of securities industry: widespread distribution facilities. But a radical change has been taking place which is altering its fundamental character and capability. In the past five and one-half years this industry has been crippled. The adverse market conditions of 1969-70 aggravated by those of 1973 and 1974 drove investors from the market. The number of shareholders of American corporations has been steadily declining, having dropped by over 800,000 since early 1972. Investors have drawn savings out of securities and investment houses have been driven out of business. Since 1968, 129 NYSE firms alone have gone out of business. Some of these went because of inefficient and archaic practices—the stock certificate and transfer procedures for example—but most went out for the reason that business was not there and there was insufficient profit and capital to continue in business. Such conditions fed upon themselves and an outflow of capital followed.

It must be remembered also that many investors bought stocks during 1967, 1968 and even 1969 at prices which a large number of such stocks have never regained. At the present level of securities prices and the lack of liquidity in many stocks the stock market has become like a cemetery: those that are in can't get out and those that are out don't want in.

In case there remains the vestige of a notion that capital still can be readily mobilized through conventional channels, let me recite these facts: only 99 new stock issues were marketed in 1973 as contrasted with 568 in 1972. And further, that in the first half of 1973 alone over 300 stock offerings were withdrawn from the capital market because they were unsaleable.

HOW DID WE GET INTO THIS FIX?

An historical review of 25 years of economic mismanagement will be illuminating.

Fiscal policy and productive facilities

When we emerged from World War II much of the nation's industrial facilities were ob-

solete or in advanced obsolescence. True the U.S. had geared up its industrial machine for war with unparalleled speed and produced more war materiel than any nation in history. It was indeed a miracle of production. Vast quantities of machinery and equipment were produced to make this possible. Much of this was special purpose equipment and little of this new machinery embodied new techniques because urgency did not permit time for machinery redesign and for retooling the machine tool industry.

The war had interrupted New Deal programs born out of the Great Depression which were of a welfare nature implemented by fiscal policies aimed at a distribution of wealth through taxation and an adjustment of industrial power as between labor and management. Following the war the focus once again turned to a resumption of these programs.

The national resolve to banish depressions which had never been popular anyway reasserted itself as the dominant political philosophy in the Employment Act of 1946. Here the nation expressed its distaste for such distressing economic events declaring that unemployment was to be eschewed (as a means of combating inflation or otherwise) and full employment as a national goal was to be embraced and implemented by measures suitable to its accomplishment.

In this philosophical context there followed an endless series of measures which increased government spending as a percent of GNP on an ascending scale. Such spending was concentrated for the most part in social security, health and welfare and education. Spending for these purposes combined rose from 9% of GNP in 1950 to 21% in 1971. And such expenditures accelerated, increasing their share of the GNP between 1965 and 1971 by almost 1% a year. HEW budget outlays (now the largest of any agency) for fiscal '74 totaled almost \$97 billion, up from \$82 billion in 1973. By way of reference, DOD's '74 budget outlays (the 2nd largest) totaled \$78.4 billion.

The explosion in government spending continues. It was in fiscal 1962 that government spending for the first time reached \$100 billion. This took 190 years from the founding of the Republic. Only nine years was needed to double this figure to \$200 billion in 1971. Three years later another \$100 billion had been added. So in the past 12 years government spending has tripled.

This spending of course created income which greatly expanded demand beginning especially in the 1960's. With full employment and complete utilization of manufacturing resources coupled with spending on the Vietnam War, prices and wages began rapidly rising in the late 1960's. Wage gains which were at a 4% annual rate in 1960 rose to over 7% in 1969.

But productivity during that decade declined from above 3% to below 2%. Inflation moved from 1% to above 4% and has now moved up to 11.5%.

This situation was further aggravated by an increasing flow of imports stimulated by an overvalued dollar.

Profits were squeezed between wages and declining productivity—meaning there was less output per manhour but each manhour cost more. This lowered retained earnings and investment in productive facilities fell further behind a demand generated from increasing income supported by government spending.

The relative production of capital goods as compared with consumer goods declined for the six-year period 1966-1971. And output capability fell behind demand potential.

Thus production did not keep pace with demand and the wherewithal for investment in facilities generated by corporate profits fell as illustrated by the decline in profits as a percentage of GNP. In 1966 after-tax corporate profits were 6.7% of GNP, declined

to 4% in 1970, rose to 5.5% in 1973, but have never regained their 1966 level.

During all of this there was relatively little governmental action to stimulate the output capability of the nation's manufacturing facilities. In 1962 the Investment Tax Credit was enacted which was the first significant recognition of the existence of this problem. But it was suspended in 1967, terminated in 1969 and restored in 1971. Not very confidence building. The only other fiscal stimulus has been an improved schedule for depreciation which has also been of some help in generating a better corporate cash flow.

These measures by any standard are not inspiring. And because of the failure to provide means for bringing production into balance with demand and productivity into line with cost we have a runaway inflation. This is the root of the matter.

What of monetary measures?

At various stages during the past 25 years monetary measures as formulated by the Federal Reserve Board were applied to the economy. When aimed at slowing inflation such measures invariably included a tightening of the money supply and higher interest rates.

Unhappily such efforts have been counterproductive. They have not slackened inflation's pace and in fact have served to accelerate it.

Their effect upon the stock market and investor attitude is nearly inexorable. Studies which I have made going back to 1946 show that securities prices move inversely to short-term interest rates. One needs no reminder of the market performance in the presence of tight money and high interest of 1966 and 1969-70 of which 1973-74 is yet another rerun.

If monetary measures could control inflation in today's economic and political context then the suffering in the market place might be an acceptable trade-off—although I doubt it.

But monetary measures that were thought capable of controlling inflation were spawned 100 years ago in an environment that bears little resemblance to the present. Indeed, 50 years ago—or for that matter even 25 years—the setting was very different from that which we see today. And these differences are economically fundamental.

The persistent use of tight money as an inflation antidote is rooted in an earlier economic theory that received almost unchallenged acceptance for a period long enough to entrench it—or enthrone it if you will—as "classic." Bluntly stated, the high interest-money squeeze gambit was intended to reduce demand by throwing people out of work and by dampening the spending enthusiasm of those who could still find employment. Business organizations—merchants and manufacturers—would then be left with unwanted quantities of goods on hand which then could only be moved in the market by price reductions. Such business organizations would then find themselves induced to spend less for wages, seek lower prices for raw materials and would scrap plans for plant expansion or renewal.

Restrictive monetary measures do not in today's context reduce prices. In the near term they raise prices by higher interest costs. They reduce manufacturers' profits and in the long term stultify capital spending programs which will expand the nation's productive facilities to provide more goods at home and make the U. S. more competitive abroad.

Rising money costs in the near term compound inflation as they push up prices in a progression of increases at each level of the processing and transporting of goods as they are brought from a state of raw material through work in process to finished goods and delivered to the final purchaser. Thus as an example: a grower borrows money to finance the purchase of seed grain, to plant,

to harvest and deliver his crop to the grain merchant. In his cost is the cost of money. The merchant borrows money to finance grain purchases. The miller finances with borrowed money. The baker finances with borrowed money. The cost of the product at each step from growing to processing is accelerated as the cost of money is added at each step.

Prevailing structural changes that have taken place in our society both economic and political make it impossible for the Federal Reserve's money squeeze-high interest gambit to squelch inflation.

I refer to these conditions—

Wages have become insensitive to deflationary measures. Union labor wage scales tend to provide a broad underpinning for wages generally which have become resistant to any downward pressures. Further immunity to deflationary endeavors is provided by social security and welfare payments which maintain disposable income at high levels. The constant increases in social security benefits are certainly inflationary, adding vast sums to the economy convertible into consumer demand. [Social security payments in 1960 were \$19.3 billion. These more than doubled by 1969 when they reached \$48.8 billion. Four years later (1973) these payments almost doubled and were \$83.2 billion (est.). Public aid (welfare) payments rose from \$4.1 billion in 1960 to \$25.6 billion in 1972. Health and Medical programs amounted to \$4.5 billion in 1960 and climbed to \$12.4 billion in 1972. And education support programs poured \$61.1 billion into the economy in 1972. These had amounted to \$17.6 billion in 1960.]

The impotence of the Fed's current monetary policy is shown throughout the market place. Auto sales have dropped severely but prices continue to rise because of increasing costs including those related to government-required safety and emission equipment. The 1974 model holds a wide margin record for the number of price increases.

It is also noteworthy that 35% of the Cost of Living Index is currently composed of agricultural commodities, energy (petroleum and coal) and metals. In view of the impact of world demand and international pricing of all of these commodities, any suggestion that monetary action will influence these prices should be viewed with stern reserve.

A PROGRAM FOR CAPITAL MOBILIZATION

If you have been doing your arithmetic as I have earlier recited these capital requirements you will have discovered that total capital needs of American industry during this decade can be expected to exceed \$2 trillion. There will be an annual rise from \$120 billion in 1974 to nearly \$233 billion in 1985 if the requirements for economic growth are to be met.

Generally about 50% of the money needed will be produced from corporations' internal cash flow: income and depreciation. (50% from internal sources in the case of manufacturing companies as contrasted with no more than 35% from such sources for utilities.) The rest usually comes from selling stocks or bonds. Recourse to this source means the sale of \$1 trillion of such securities over the next 10 years.

Under present economic policies this can be accomplished only by government participation as the underwriter of a program that will create conditions of risk acceptable to potential investors. To give this concept a handle I will refer to it as "A Program for Capital Mobilization." Although the idea of the government as an underwriter is not new the scale on which it is now required will be new and much greater.

I have said that the government's underwriting of risk is not new. The building of the railroads was underwritten by vast government land grants. The airline risks were

underwritten by government subsidies. The shipbuilding industry is underwritten by maritime subsidy. The agricultural industry has been subsidized by all kinds of crop support and land programs. The oil industry has been underwritten by subsidies and depletion allowances. Plant improvement has been underwritten by the investment tax credit and, at times, by accelerated depreciation devices. Dependents are subsidized by social security and welfare, and education by grants.

The following kinds of measures should constitute this Program and are aimed at improving productivity, restoring price stability and creating a climate in which investor confidence will be rekindled:

First, productivity incentives should be enacted to provide tax bonuses for industrial organizations measured by the extent to which output rises in relation to cost as compared with a selected base period. This would be a real motivation to improve efficiency.

Second, the investment tax credit. Impetus for the energy program and capital expenditures required to expand production can be supplied by an increase in the investment tax credit. Now at 7% it should be increased to 20% immediately for a period of five years and then dropped to 15% for two years, then to 10% but no lower. The increase to 20% with the prospect of a decline at the end of five years will give a needed and wholesome incentive for industry to move ahead.

Third, selective tax incentives for "scarcity industries." These should be instituted as a spur to energy development in addition to an improved investment tax credit.

Fourth, joint ventures between government and industry for energy projects such as coal gasification, shale, and other projects which, by the government underwriting the risk, will bring forward private capital to support national growth.

Fifth, the taxation of capital gains should be eliminated. Doubtless this is politically impossible but the capital gains tax is a predator—eating away at the nation's capital resources which otherwise would be available for productive investment. This tax also has the negative effect of paralyzing vast sums of capital and creates an illiquidity in the capital markets that aggravates the corporate financing problem. A revision in this tax is now being given serious consideration in Congress and a measure which would lower rates over a period of time and unlock investments held over long periods appears to be receiving favorable consideration. If the tax is lowered investors will have the incentive to risk capital in the market. Currently these incentives are not sufficient.

Sixth, permit investors to deduct from ordinary income securities losses up to \$10,000 each year. This would be particularly helpful to small investors and give them an incentive to become liquid and reinvest. Thousands of investors are holding securities purchased at much higher prices than currently prevail.

Seventh, dividends should be the subject of tax incentives to make stocks more attractive to investors (especially as compared to bonds) which will widen the opportunities for financing corporate expansion through equity issues thereby reducing the burden of debt service interest costs. Dividends paid by corporations above a given level should be deductible from corporate profits. Dividends received by individuals should be exempt from income taxes if invested in stocks, and income taxes otherwise due on dividends reduced by one-half.

Finally, the Federal Reserve Board should be given the obligation of pursuing and maintaining monetary policies that will be commensurate with the needs of this program and permit access to the capital markets for productive expansion.

This is a gigantic program but we are confronted by a gigantic problem. My only reservation is that it may not be enough unless we start today—tomorrow is not soon enough.

The alternative is wide-scale nationalization.

JOHN SAWHILL EXPRESSES QUALIFIED SUPPORT FOR H.R. 11500

HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, in the June 7, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 18327, I responded to a letter which Mr. John Sawhill of the Federal Energy Administration had sent to Representative CRAIG HOSMER. I charged Mr. Sawhill with using scare tactics in an effort to defeat H.R. 11500, the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act of 1974, which is about to come before the House of Representatives. The scare tactics consisted of predictions of coal production losses ranging up to 197 million tons per year alleged to be the likely consequence of passage of the bill by Congress. In my response, I showed how Mr. Sawhill has distorted estimates of possible and probable coal production losses appearing in a Bureau of Mines study.

Subsequently, after appearing before Senate Judiciary Committee hearings on his confirmation as Administrator of FEA, Mr. Sawhill received a letter from Senators JACKSON and METCALF, and a separate letter from Congressman UDALL and myself, asking for clarification of his projections of coal production losses. I have been much concerned because the Sawhill figures have been widely quoted. For instance, Representative CRAIG HOSMER, who is actively promoting a substitute bill which contains very weak environmental protection provisions, has used the Sawhill figures in a series of radio broadcasts over some 800 radio stations, exploiting public service time arranged by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, to attack H.R. 11500.

I am therefore gratified to have received the following letter from Mr. Sawhill in which he states that a reexamination of H.R. 11500 and of the coal production loss estimates impels him to admit his error, namely that both the maximum and the minimum figures appearing in the Bureau of Mines analysis should have been included in his letter to Representative HOSMER. Quite apart from the question of the accuracy of the Bureau's figures—which are certainly open to challenge—this revision considerably softens the awesome proportions of the original Sawhill prognostications.

I am equally gratified to learn that, rather than condemning H.R. 11500 outright, Mr. Sawhill is now conceding that given certain changes in the bill he is prepared to seek enactment of this legislation in this Congress. This may be taken as a clear indication that there are responsible individuals in positions of authority in the administration who recognize the need for and the merits of H.R. 11500. Mr. Russell Train of the Environmental Protection Agency has spoken out recently in the same vein.

I congratulate Mr. Sawhill on his forthrightness in setting the record straight. Mr. Sawhill's reply follows:

FEDERAL ENERGY ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C., July 9, 1974.

HON. PATSY T. MINK,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Mines and Mining,
Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MADAM CHAIRMAN: Thank you for your letter of July 1, 1974, concerning my views on H.R. 11500, the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act of 1973. Recently FEA has been reexamining its position on this legislation and the figures on coal production losses associated with that bill that were cited in my letter to Congressman Hosmer. This reexamination has prompted us to conclude that we should have included the minimum as well as the maximum estimates of production impact in my letter to Congressman Hosmer.

In preparing my letter to Congressman Hosmer, my staff worked with the Bureau of Mines in developing preliminary estimates on the possible effects of H.R. 11500 on coal production. As you note, my letter cited the figures used in that preliminary analysis for "maximum possible" coal production losses. As the Bureau of Mines final analysis, to which you also refer in your letter, indicates however, many provisions of H.R. 11500 are subject to various and conflicting interpretations. Consequently it was extremely difficult to make accurate estimates of the actual coal production losses that would be associated with those sections. The inability to predict the availability of equipment, capital and technology needed to satisfy various of H.R. 11500's requirements also complicated the task of arriving at reliable estimates. In view of these uncertainties, the Bureau of Mines elected in its final analysis to provide estimates of the possible, probable, and minimum impact on coal production rather than attempting to establish one definitive set of figures. The "possible" figures, which are the same as in the preliminary analysis, assume the most adverse possible set of circumstances and the most stringent interpretation of various provisions of the bill. The "probable" figures assume that more favorable conditions would prevail and that a more flexible interpretation of the bill's provisions would be permissible.

The House Report accompanying H.R. 11500, which was made available to us after we had prepared our letter to Congressman Hosmer, suggests that some of the more controversial provisions of the bill—such as the approximate original contour sections—may be interpreted in a more flexible manner than a literal reading only of those provisions would require. In view of this, I believe my letter would have provided a more useful assessment of the production impact if it had included estimates of possible, probable, and minimum figures for the various provisions of H.R. 11500 that are of concern to us.

I must stress, however, that there is no assurance that H.R. 11500 will be interpreted in a flexible manner, particularly in light of the citizen suit provision which the House Report strongly emphasizes will be the major vehicle for enforcement, thus assuring that all interpretations placed on the bill will be tested in court. This will leave the Secretary of Interior with little flexibility, and no assurance that apparently unambiguous statutory language may be construed in accordance with the report language. And, even if we were to assume that the "probable" figures on coal production losses provide a somewhat better estimate, our basic position on H.R. 11500 would remain the same. H.R. 11500 would still produce probable losses of 20 to 60 million tons of coal production in 1975, at a time when increased coal production is essential.

One aspect of FEA's cited coal production loss figures has caused particular concern—the "possible" estimate that 67 million tons would be lost through application of sections 211(b) (8), (c) (1), and (c) (2) of H.R. 11500.

FEA's estimate of 67 million tons was derived from the Bureau of Mines preliminary data as follows:

<i>Estimated production loss</i>	
<i>[In tons]</i>	
Effect on mountaintop mining----	26,972,000
Effect of no spoil on downslope----	16,099,000
Effect on thick-seam shallow-overburden mines-----	31,591,000
Total -----	74,662,000

For the 75 million ton figure for maximum possible loss of production, we reduced the total estimate to 67 million tons per year, since it was apparent that there was at least some overlap in the first two categories. Our extrapolated 67 million ton figure was informally confirmed by the Bureau of Mines.

FEA believes in establishing appropriate reclamation standards as a factor reflected in the price of coal. We are committed to establishing a balance between energy and environment which will permit us to expand coal production without sacrificing environmental safeguards. We believe, however, that certain changes in H.R. 11500 would result in a better balance between environmental concerns and the need for increased coal production than the bill currently provides.

I agree that we need strip mining legislation this year. The American coal industry cannot afford to continue in a climate of uncertainty, and therefore we must resolve the critical issues of energy requirements and environmental protection. Although I cannot support the bill in its present form, I am ready to work with you and other members of Congress in seeking enactment of legislation that has the appropriate balance between national energy needs and protecting the environment.

Sincerely,

JOHN C. SAWHILL,
Administrator.

EFFINGHAM, ILL., YOUTH WINS
NATIONAL GOP HONOR

HON. ROBERT P. HANRAHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. HANRAHAN. Mr. Speaker, Bruce Anderson was recently awarded the honor of "Most Outstanding Teenage Republican in the Nation." This is indeed an honor and worth recognition by my colleagues. For this reason, I have inserted the following release by the Illinois TAR Federation:

[Illinois Teen-Age Republican Federation
Press Release, June 25, 1974]

R. BRUCE ANDERSON WINS NATIONAL GOP
HONOR

R. Bruce Anderson of Effingham, Illinois, received the "Most Outstanding Teen-Age Republican (TAR) in the Nation" award at the National TAR Leadership Conference held this past week in Washington. The Illinois youth is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Anderson.

Anderson served as the State Chairman of the Illinois TAR Federation for the year 73-74. The award went to Anderson largely because of his successful efforts to revitalize and strengthen the youthful GOP movement. During his term as Chairman, the number of active TAR clubs in the state was nearly doubled and once a month meetings featuring top political leaders were held scattered throughout the state so as to encourage more members to become involved on a regular basis.

Anderson, who has been active in politics since the Goldwater campaign of 1964, plans to run for state representative in six to eight

years. Bruce will be attending Illinois State University and majoring in political science. In April, Anderson won the Washington Crossing Foundation Award, a \$2000 college scholarship for students planning a career in government service. A former class president, he served all four years on his high school's student council. Last summer, he worked as a page on the floor of the Illinois House.

In commenting on his selection, Anderson said, "It's great to be recognized, but especially by your peers for doing what they consider an outstanding job. If we Republicans pull together and work, with or without Nixon, by the time November comes, we can damn this Watergate mess and prove to the voters that there are many extremely well qualified Republicans seeking office this time. It's ignorant to vote against an articulate Republican merely because Nixon and he wear the same party label."

PRESENTATION BY MR. MELVIN H.
BAKER

HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, on Armed Forces Day the people of the Virginia peninsula were privileged to have as their guest speaker the Honorable Melvin H. Baker, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Management Systems.

He is a man eminently well qualified to speak on the status of the Armed Forces today and on what is necessary to keep them a viable and energetic force to protect our great country.

It is a privilege and an honor to be able to make his remarks available to you so that you too may benefit from the wisdom and knowledge which he has cultivated over the years in the field and in the offices of the Department of Defense.

PRESENTATION BY MR. MELVIN H. BAKER, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Good evening ladies and gentlemen. It is a privilege for Mrs. Baker and me to visit the Peninsula and have the opportunity to enjoy the hospitality that is so much a part of this section of the country. And what better place to pay tribute to the thousands of American men and women who are serving in their country's Armed Forces. You are justly proud of the great traditions of this area and the contributions that Tidewater Virginians have made to our nation. We in Defense recognize the magnitude of these contributions and appreciate your steadfast support over the years. The number of our Service men and women who elect to retire here and the high percentage of those who request to return for second and third tours of duty are some evidence of what they think about you.

In recent years, criticism of the Department of Defense has become fashionable. This is healthy in a democratic society—but finding fault with some aspect or other of an organization of 3 million people with an \$80 billion budget is like shooting fish in a barrel.

Obviously, we cannot say that we make no mistakes—or that we have no waste—or that we have eliminated all of the bureaucratic red tape. But we can say that your military establishment is, by and large, a well managed organization with a vital mission—and that the military and civilians who make up the Defense Department are a com-

petent, loyal, dedicated, and highly motivated group of people. As a matter of fact, I would like to quote Senator William Proxmire. He recently said that "the Pentagon has faced and solved more management problems with greater success than any business in the world." Coming from Senator Proxmire, that is a significant statement, indeed, and it is gratifying to note that he has recognized our management improvement efforts.

We must at all times be receptive to responsible and constructive criticism—so that we may benefit from the insight of others. You will understand that we feel differently about criticism that does not meet this standard.

Now, I'd like to make a very important point. If we as a nation are to honor our treaty commitments and bear our fair share of the international peace-keeping burden—if we are to pursue a policy of détente and be able to negotiate through strength—if we are to protect our national interests abroad—and we must do these things to survive as a nation—we must be willing to pay the price.

And make no mistake about it that price is increasing. Unless the American public is willing to tolerate an erosion of our defense capabilities, they must expect for the foreseeable future to spend about 6 percent more each year just to retain the same general defense posture as in the previous year.

Most people would agree that a measure of peace in the world requires a reasonable balance of power—an equilibrium of forces. The essential ingredient in the maintenance of that equilibrium is sufficient United States military capability across the spectrum of military contingencies.

Is there a threat? The strategic force structure of the United States reached its peak in 1967 and has been relatively constant since that time. In the intervening years, the Soviets have added substantially to the numbers of missiles in their strategic nuclear forces. They now exceed us in terms of intercontinental ballistic missiles, for example, by about 3 to 2. To date this numerical superiority is compensated for by the superiority of U.S. technology. However, of late, they have been closing this gap, also. Obviously, if the Soviets were to continue to increase their military spending and capabilities each year while the United States stayed stable or continued to reduce—as it has in recent years—an imbalance would be inevitable. In the past, we had the luxury of some time to build up following enemy aggression. In the age of intercontinental ballistic missiles, we do not have that luxury.

We have expended considerable time and effort to strike a nuclear arms balance through the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks—progress has been encouraging. Our success, however, has not resulted from a unilateral decision to reduce our military capability, but rather, from our commitment to negotiate mutual concessions from a position of military strength.

Similarly, some would advocate that we use détente as an excuse to dismantle NATO. But without a strong NATO, the viability of détente becomes highly suspect. NATO has allowed a whole generation to grow up in a peaceful Europe. Now the future of NATO is threatened more by a loss of determination among ourselves than by pressures from the outside. It seems paradoxical to dismantle a successful alliance when the basic structure of the Warsaw Pact forces remains unaltered.

In short, we all dread the thought of war. But the fact of the matter is—the notion that détente permits us to disarm is an illusion. It is necessary to maintain a worldwide military balance as the foundation of détente. If that balance is upset, détente and also hopes for improved relations with the Soviet Union will disappear.

I realize that our country's resources, although vast, are nonetheless limited. To place our military requirements into proper

perspective, we must view them in relation with other national priorities. People have asked—"What is an adequate Defense budget?" In terms of specific dollars I know of no answer. It is more a matter of mix among national priorities, and some significant trends have occurred in this respect.

Twenty years ago, Defense spending was larger than the rest of the Federal Government combined. Since that time, non-Defense spending has accelerated at a rate of 4 to 1 over Defense to the point where it now exceeds Defense by 2½ to 1. During the same period, Defense employment has decreased by 20 per cent while other Federal agencies have increased by 33 per cent—all a result of changing national priorities.

The biggest single obstacle to controlling military spending is inflation. I don't have to tell you that recent economic forecasts project a continued increase in wages and prices—and inflation affects submarine construction the same way that it affects your weekly grocery bill.

Actually, the Defense Department today has fewer available resources than it had ten years ago. FY 1974 outlays of \$80 billion will pay fewer people and buy less equipment and weapons systems than \$50 billion would a decade ago. Another indicator is the size of the Defense budget as related to the gross national product. During the Korean War, the ratio went as high as 14 per cent—during Viet Nam it was 9 per cent—and this year it will be less than 6 per cent.

I've talked about national security, military spending, and inflation. Now, I'd like to recognize our most important resource—our people.

The driving force behind any successful operation—the thing that really makes it go—is the people involved. Headlines mention the billions of dollars that we spend on sophisticated weapons and equipment—but the development, the operation, and the maintenance of this hardware is accomplished by people. And without people, the hardware becomes worthless.

In 1969, the Department of Defense formally adopted a charter of Human Goals which emphasized the principle that the individual has infinite dignity and worth. It further stated that, to provide a well trained force, we must increase the attractiveness of a military career, and outlined the means by which we could attain this objective. This is not to imply that 1969 was the first time that we concerned ourselves with the dignity of the individual. But, at that juncture, I am sure you will recall, our military forces were not exactly riding on the crest of a popularity wave. And it was important to enunciate publicly our philosophy in this regard.

Probably the most revolutionary, and perhaps the most important, personnel policy revision initiated by the Department since World War II has been an institution of the All Volunteer Force in 1973. There were two driving forces behind this concept. First was the inequities of the draft system—second was the basic philosophy that, in peacetime, American Forces will function best in a free environment where they must compete for people in the open market. We believe the Defense establishment will survive the test of free competition and, as a result, will be more effective than if we had continued to rely on conscription.

When we first started talking about elimination of the draft, many were cautiously optimistic—but never dreamed that we would be able to come as far as we have today. What have we accomplished in this process?

We have made pay comparable with the civil sector, so that our enlisted men and women don't have to apply for welfare in order to exist.

We've shifted a lot of valuable military man-hours from potato peeling and grass

cutting to more productive activities. We want service to the Nation to be a meaningful part of a person's life.

We're emphasizing on-the-job training—minimizing textbooks and classrooms. The troops like it—and performance has been upgraded.

We have improved educational opportunities so that a military tour can become a stepping-stone, rather than an interruption, in a person's life.

But these are only a few of the tangibles. The real success of our efforts is coming in the form of things that we can't see or touch—or that don't show up in monthly statistics. The quality of military life is improving and, unless we've seriously misread early indicators, many one term enlistees are in the process of being transformed into career personnel.

You've read about problems in race relations, drugs, and discipline in the military. Of course we've had problems in these, and other areas. But our problems have been no different than those of any community in America. We have not run from, or tried to hide our weaknesses. Rather, we have attacked those things which we believe to be detrimental to the Military Services. If anything, the Department of Defense has taken the lead by insuring equal opportunity for all of its personnel—by providing medical treatment and rehabilitation for drug users—by donating time and resources to community projects—and by providing the disadvantaged with marketable skills.

Unquestionably, the skeptics can furnish statistics to show that we are not getting enough high school graduates in the Army or that we're falling slightly below programmed force goals since inception of the All Volunteer Force—but performance is more important than statistics. Just because an individual cannot comprehend a complex electronics textbook does not mean that he cannot be taught to operate radar equipment.

The important thing to remember is, we now have a military establishment comprised of people who are in the Service because they want to be. The terms "motivation," "challenge," "dedication," "opportunity" all have meaning for today's recruit. And, over the long haul, we believe that the country will benefit.

Nations usually reflect the character of their people. The military are an integral part of the American people and American society—they are not a breed apart or a separate community. Like the local doctor, lawyer, or businessman, they do a job and take pride in their work—which is to defend our freedom.

Our Armed Forces have traditionally enjoyed the support of the public. Along this line it was heartening to see the results of a recent public opinion survey which revealed that the U.S. military is now the most admired of American institutions. Without this support, our military cannot survive. Please continue to accept our military men and women as part of your community and give them your support as you have in the past. They deserve it.

A PRESCRIPTION FOR OUR NATION

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker on Sunday, July 7, 1974, Rev. Robert Beaumont, pastor of the First Baptist Church, Pitman, N.J., gave a sermon entitled "A Prescription for Our Nation." It was a very meaningful sermon—one that touched on the

faults of our Government and its people. Likewise Reverend Beaumont praised leaders of our Nation—in particular, President Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger for their efforts to obtain a world peace. It is just too bad that everyone in our Nation could not have heard the sermon. It was direct, made no attempt to resort to subterfuge and was really most inspiring to the entire congregation. The prayer for the morning was:

O God, help all men to hold their citizenship as a sacred trust and responsibility that this land may truly be a refuge from oppression; and that liberty, justice, and opportunity may be the heritage of all citizens.

I commend this to my colleagues for reading.

INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND CONCERN FOR THE HANDICAPPED

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, the Partners of the Americas program was recently commended by the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, Alan Reich, for their work with the handicapped in a speech he made before the Partners' conference on international rehabilitation. The Partners, as one of their many people-to-people programs, provide volunteer technicians who work with their professional counterparts in developing programs for the education and rehabilitation of the physically, mentally, and socially disabled. Because of the great help they give the handicapped, I include at this point in the Record, Deputy Assistant Secretary Reich's speech concerning the Partners:

INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND CONCERN FOR THE HANDICAPPED

It is a privilege to address this distinguished gathering on the subject of furthering international mutual understanding through the shared concern for the handicapped. We all are grateful to the Partners of the Americas for providing such fine leadership in this effort to help build the human foundations of the structure of peace. What could be more human than your compassion and your work on behalf of the handicapped? This people-to-people undertaking is making a significant contribution both to our international relations and to the individuals involved. Referring to the Partners Rehabilitation Education Program, Dr. Galo Plaza, Secretary General of the Organization of American States, said here a year ago, "No other volunteer program is having a greater impact on the lives of so many people in so many countries at so small a cost." My remarks today will concern people-to-people communication generally in furthering international mutual understanding and the interest of the Department of State in the activity. I shall mention several opportunities for further action.

PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE DIPLOMACY

Diplomacy has gone public. Many foreign offices no longer confine themselves to speaking with other foreign offices for peoples; they help and encourage peoples to speak for themselves across national boundaries.

People-to-people communication has become a dominant force in international relations throughout the world.

Technological advances have made nuclear war a threat to mankind's existence. Fortunately, new initiatives and agreements in the disarmament field offer hope that the deadly cycle of weapons build-up will be broken. Prospects for increased government-to-government cooperation look better today than at any time since World War II. The great powers are focusing on areas of common concern and not only on their differences. The results appear promising.

In the past few years, scholars increasingly have studied the relevance of informal, non-governmental communications activities to matters of war and peace. As you know, social scientists are developing a more scientific rationale for these transnational cross-cultural communications activities. Their research suggests that the existence of informal communications tends to reduce the level of tension when conflicts of interest occur and contributes to a climate of opinion in which conflicts may be negotiated more effectively. Second, informal relationships create a greater openness in individual attitudes toward other nations, peoples, and cultures. These predispositions also lead to greater readiness to communicate and to resolve differences peaceably. Third, social scientists tell us that international cooperation and two-way exchange contribute to world-mindedness and to an internationalist perspective on what otherwise might be viewed as purely national problems. Finally, international people-to-people relationships help develop enduring networks of communication which cut across boundaries and reduce the likelihood of polarization along political or nationalist lines.

WHY GET INVOLVED INTERNATIONALLY

Many Americans ask why we should be concerned with international problems when we have so many serious domestic concerns demanding attention. There are several good reasons for getting "involved with mankind"—as you are doing in your international rehabilitation work. Modern transportation and communications, not to speak of modern weapons, have brought our neighbors' problems to our doorstep. We have no choice but to become involved, because if the problems next door are ignored, they soon become our problems.

Poverty, illiteracy, hunger, resource shortages, and disease recognize no nation's borders and travel under no country's passport. It is not a matter of the world's poor getting poorer while the rich get richer. The poor are getting richer too. But their lot is improving so slowly that the difference—the gap—between rich and poor is widening, not closing. Unless some way can be found to reverse this trend, those who are better off also must one day suffer the horrible consequences.

Whether we cooperate with our international neighbors because it is good, or right, or necessary, we must get on with it while we are improving the quality of life at home. We can take some solace in knowing that, as you so well appreciate, many other nations share with us the desire and the capacity to help close this gap between the have and have-not peoples of the world. The facts of international life today are that common sense and common survival dictate common action to solve common problems. Interdependence is a fact of life.

People-to-people relationships contribute by enhancing the understanding of these human problems and increase the likelihood of meaningful cooperation toward their solution. Neither we nor our children will have the luxury of working on our domestic problems if we do not succeed in bringing about a climate of peaceful cooperation throughout the world during the next few years.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S INTEREST IN PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE RELATIONS

When you think of the State Department's conduct of our international affairs, the exchange-of-persons program and people-to-people diplomacy do not come immediately to mind. It is, however, a significant activity of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs which works constantly to improve the climate for diplomacy and international cooperation. The exciting, challenging job of our Bureau is to utilize our modest funds and manpower to reinforce the work of American individuals and organizations who want to help construct, a little at a time, the foundation of better relationships with the rest of the world. The Bureau also provides policy guidance, as necessary, for other government agencies with international exchange programs in substantive fields such as health, education, social welfare, transportation, agriculture, military training, and urban planning. We frequently are asked about our purposes. The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs seeks to increase mutual understanding, cooperation and community between the people of the United States and other peoples by direct and indirect efforts to:

1. *Enlarge the circle of those able to serve as influential interpreters between this and other nations.*

We enable current and potential opinion leaders and decision makers to gain through first-hand experience more accurate perceptions and a deeper understanding of those realities in each others' societies which ultimately tend to affect international relations.

2. *Stimulate institutional development in directions which favorably affect mutual comprehension and confidence.*

We encourage a wide variety of key institutions, such as education systems and the mass and specialized media, to strengthen their capacity to increase understanding of cultural, social, economic and ideological differences, similarities and interdependencies.

3. *Reduce structural and technical impediments to the exchange of ideas and information.*

We promote responsible leadership dialogue, relevant interest group interaction, and significant institutional linkages; in this context, we encourage further extension of English as an international language.

I shall describe briefly the major elements of this program since it will illustrate the commitment of the Department of State to two-way communication and people-to-people diplomacy. This funded program includes the Fulbright-Hays academic exchange to and from the United States; bringing some 1,500 international visitors annually to this country for orientation visits of several weeks duration (a number of them have been in the rehabilitation field); sending performing arts and athletics groups abroad; and sponsoring lecture tours abroad of outstanding American professionals and scholars. The Bureau also seeks to stimulate and encourage nongovernmental activities which further constructive people-to-people dialogue as a means of improving the climate for international understanding.

Of the 1,700 international exchange programs currently designated by the Department of State, only 70 are U.S. Government-financed; the remainder are privately led, organized, and sponsored. We realize the success of our own sponsored exchange-of-persons programs, as well as the fulfillment of the purposes I described earlier, depend primarily on the energies of private organizations and individuals. It is the policy of the State Department with respect to people-to-people organizations to encourage and assist while at the same time seeking to preserve the private sector initiative, vigor, diversity, and dynamism which are America's strengths.

These programs are best handled and managed by the private sector—not by the Government. Therefore, our facilitative role in assisting U.S. organizations carry out their own programs effectively is our most important one.

PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE RELATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL REHABILITATION

Private organizations in many fields do seek our counsel on how they can become involved and do more to enhance international mutual understanding. When I am asked by Americans about specific opportunities, I suggest the following 12-point program:

1. Participate in the Partners Rehabilitation and Education Program (PREP) with your counterpart state or region in Latin America.

2. In cooperation with national organizations, such as the National Rehabilitation Society and the Association of Rehabilitation Centers, develop institution-to-institution linkages between American and foreign rehabilitation centers to provide a framework for ongoing two-way interchange of professionals, the handicapped themselves and information.

3. Enlist the support of community service organizations at the national and local levels. Most of them (Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Jaycees) have a commitment to both international and handicapped activities.

4. In cooperation with Rehabilitation International-USA, assist with orientation and programming of international visitors in the rehabilitation field.

5. Urge the national and local Sister Cities organizations (linking 485 U.S. cities with international counterparts) to develop cooperative rehabilitation exchange programs.

6. Encourage appropriate professional societies and handicapped organizations to develop international committees and carry out programs of exchange with their counterparts of other nations. The People-to-People Committee for the Handicapped publishes directories to assist in this effort.

7. Enlist the cooperation of the state administrators of vocational rehabilitation and the directors of special education (and their national councils) in ensuring official state and local planning for international programs.

8. Develop relevant exchange activities in cooperation with the President's and governors' committees on employment of the handicapped and Goodwill Industries which have international programs of increasing interest to other nations.

9. Encourage and publicize appropriate international participation and events to dramatize the universality of concern for the handicapped and to encourage others to participate.

10. Provide home hospitality and community orientation in cooperation with local groups to ensure the best possible exposure and experience for international visitors.

11. Help ensure U.S. participants in international programs gain advance understanding, as may be useful, of important cultural differences and political realities.

12. Enlist the facilitative and financial assistance of U.S. companies operating internationally, since they have an interest in carrying out public service activities abroad in their own enlightened self-interest as they do in the United States.

The work and concern of private and governmental organizations helping the handicapped in the United States during the past quarter century is a source of pride to Americans. The Social and Rehabilitation Service at the national and state levels has provided outstanding leadership. Certainly, there are many remaining problems, but in no other field of human endeavor has American commitment to the dignity and worth of the individual been so well demonstrated. Many people here today have contributed mightily

in this work which has brought meaning and fulfillment to the lives of many Americans.

As you are well aware, in this field we have benefited greatly from the advances and progress made on behalf of the handicapped in other countries. The learning experience is very much a two-way process. As Secretary Kissinger stated recently at the foreign ministers' meeting of the Organization of American States, we are pursuing a "policy of the good partners." The sharing of skills, resources, and experience thus characterizes our relationships in general; this is well illustrated by the work of the Partners of the Americas. As the United States seeks to move from confrontation to negotiation in our foreign relations, these kinds of two-way programs are increasingly important. There are many other organizations represented here (and some not) who already are carrying out meaningful international programs on behalf of the handicapped in the United States and around the world. The contribution of the Agency for International Development has been monumental.

International organizations, including PAHO, OAS, WHO, UNESCO, and ILO are conducting and promoting programs on behalf of the handicapped. Former director general of ILO, Mr. David Morse, pointed out recently that although there has been progress in assisting the world's 300 million handicapped, resources being applied are far from adequate. He used the phrase, "the world's conscience for the handicapped," in connection with the World Rehabilitation Fund and its commitment; it is just as applicable to you and your organizations. I suggest you also are that conscience and that your work will have a radiating impact. To the extent you arouse and stimulate governments and peoples to international action on behalf of the handicapped, you are also helping in a very real way to build the human foundations of the structure of peace. I would only urge that you continue this work and engage more fully, if possible, the capacity for commitment of people who want to help but need to be shown the way.

I shall close by relating your work to the basic ideal of UNESCO. "Since it is in the minds of men that wars begin, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed." Your work to further world understanding through this human concern shared internationally in the minds—and hearts—of men moves us closer to this ideal.

Speaking both for the Department of State and myself, I applaud your efforts and wish you well in "constructing the defenses of peace."

LEW DESCHLER

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the retirement of Lew Deschler as Parliamentarian of the House of Representatives marks the end of a remarkable career in distinguished parliamentary law. Lew Deschler has earned the respect and praise of the Members of Congress throughout his distinguished years of service. His wisdom has influenced the judgment of every important decision made by this House in the last five decades. His knowledge of parliamentary affairs will be sorely missed.

Mr. Deschler has been a guiding light. His ability to bring order to even the most complicated legislative proceeding has been invaluable to each and every Member. His soon to be completed compilation of "Deschler Precedents" will no doubt become an indispensable guide to future parliamentarians.

I join my colleagues in paying tribute to a man whose wisdom in deciding complicated questions of parliamentary law has earned him the reputation as the greatest parliamentarian who has ever served the Congress of the United States.

I extend, wholeheartedly, my sincere gratitude and appreciation for a job that could not possibly have been done better. My best wishes for happiness and good luck to Lew Deschler and his family, now, and for many, many years to come.

SCIENTISTS WORK ON CROP LOSS FROM INSECTS

HON. GEORGE M. O'BRIEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. O'BRIEN. Mr. Speaker, destructive insects have been the bane of agriculture since time immemorial. It seems that every time man devises a way to immunize crops against the pests, they in turn develop a way to overcome that immunity.

The cost in terms of crop loss, preventive measures and ecological damage runs to hundreds of millions of dollars annually in the United States alone. All of this translates into higher prices to the consumer.

Scientists have been working on this problem for a number of years with varying degrees of success. Now, researchers from my home State are on the verge of a major breakthrough in developing a way to reduce this devastation.

Drs. Peter Gunther and George H. Scherr of Governors State University in Park Forest South and Dr. Terrell C. Myers of the University of Illinois Medical School are concentrating their efforts on producing strains of corn highly resistant to European corn-borers.

The following news release from Governors State University on their project should be good news to corn lovers and consumers everywhere:

PARK FOREST SOUTH, ILL.—Researchers at two universities in Illinois are on the verge of a major breakthrough in developing a method to protect various food crops from the devastation caused by insect attacks.

The current investigation involves producing strains of corn that will be resistant to the destructive European corn-borer. Illinois is the number one corn producing state in the country. The insect has cost the nation over one hundred million dollars a year in the last ten years in crop losses. To this is added the cost of spraying crops with insecticides. For all crops this amounts to a cost of approximately \$200 million and increasing environmental problems.

Dr. Peter Gunther and Dr. George H. Scherr of Governors State University's College of

Environmental and Applied Sciences and Dr. Terrell C. Myers, Professor of Biochemistry at the University of Illinois Medical school have embarked on research that may short cut the time and cost required to develop resistant crops by years and millions of dollars.

Current methods of producing a crop resistant to such insects as the European corn-borer involve a process of natural selection where insects attack varieties of plants. Plants with the greatest resistance are then inbred over a period of time lasting as much as a decade at a cost estimated by one research of \$12,000,000 and 110 man-years of work! While the research takes place, the crop loss itself could run over a billion dollars. In the end, and over a period of about ten years, the pest overcomes the new strain by his own process of natural selection and the research process begins all over again.

The method being pursued by the Governors State and University of Illinois Medical Center researchers combines the areas of genetics, biochemistry, and plant ecology to develop a unique and rapid method for isolating plant mutants that are resistant to insect pests.

Although the current work has vast implications for Illinois and its high corn production, the method is designed for application with other field crops. The biochemical methods being used make unnecessary the use of the insects themselves in the research.

Even a savings of twenty percent of losses due to the corn-borer will result in a saving of over \$20 million annually. The cost for all crops is so tremendous that a reversal can have potential savings for consumers not only in corn but in meats from animals for which corn feed is used.

The quick selection method utilized by these researchers is applicable for plants resistant to insect attack, those resistant to bacterial attack, and also suitable for increase of desirable chemical products in these crops such as amino acids and vitamins.

On a larger scale there are critical implications of such research on the world food situation and the U.S. export of food. A recent UNESCO conference cited the dangerously low food supply for substantial numbers of the world's children. In part, the world food situation is all the more critical because of the long drawn-out battles over insects and the resultant substantial annual losses.

AMENDMENTS TO RAIL PASSENGER SERVICE ACT OF 1970

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, I was most happy today when the House of Representatives voted to authorize \$200 million for the operating expenses of Amtrak for fiscal year 1975 and to up their federally guaranteed loan authority to \$900 million from \$400 million.

I would like to say however Mr. Speaker, that I am extremely hopeful that the officials of Amtrak will be able to see their way clear to use some of this additional loan authority to make minimal improvements in the Southwest portion of our country such as the upgrading of railbeds, car maintenance, and improved depots.

EPA SUPPORTS H.R. 11500, SURFACE MINING CONTROL AND RECLAMATION BILL

HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, on July 9, Russell Train, EPA Administrator, in an interview reported by the Washington Post, publicly endorsed H.R. 11500, thus breaking with the policy of the administration. This highly significant and timely event has now received confirmation in the form of a speech delivered by Mr. Train's deputy, John Quarles, Jr., in Du Bois, Pa.

In this speech, Mr. Quarles has presented a concise and insightful analysis of H.R. 11500, showing a keen understanding of the issues involved and of the sense of urgency which those who must live with the environmental consequences of strip mining feel concerning a strong Federal regulatory bill. I think it is obvious that Mr. Quarles is making more explicit the statement of support which Mr. Train had expressed during his recent swing around the Western States.

In view of the highly controversial nature of this legislation, which has come under severe attack from lobbyists for the coal-oil interests and the electric utilities and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, who frequently quotes misleading statements issued by spokesmen for the administration claiming all kinds of awful consequences to the Nation if H.R. 11500 is passed, it is indeed refreshing to hear a calm and reasoned voice from the Federal Establishment speaking in its defense. I believe my colleagues who are trying to decide the merits of the case for the bill will welcome an opportunity to consider Mr. Quarles' comments. Therefore, I am including below the entire text of this prepared speech:

STRIP MINING: HOUR OF DECISION

(By John R. Quarles, Jr.)

I am delighted to be with you in DuBois tonight and to participate in this special Town Meeting on strip mining. Having testified before Congressional Committees on four separate occasions in favor of strong legislation to regulate the environmental effects of strip mining, I can assure you this subject is close to my heart. And having lived in this area where so much environmental abuse has resulted from strip mining, I know it is even closer to yours. This subject, indeed, is one of the great—and still unresolved—environmental issues confronting this country. It is also a timely issue, since after years of active debate it is finally coming to a head in Congress.

Late next week the House of Representatives will vote on several alternatives of proposed legislation to control strip mining. Before they vote, the members of the House will have listened to hours of debate and read countless reports on strip mining. They will have been cornered by lobbyists and bombarded by statistics. And yet, after all of this, few of them will know what you know, or have seen what you have seen. They will not have seen the miles of ugly scars which encircle the mountains like the coils of an angry snake. They will not have seen the

guttered hillsides raked by the claws of rushing water. They will not have seen the streams choked with sediment. Most of them will never know the acrid stench of a pond or marsh fouled by acid runoff. Few of them will ever hear the roar of a power shovel as it chews into a hillside. Because only you have seen and heard these things, only you can create the sense of urgency needed to insure the passage of sound legislation.

And if ever that sense of urgency was needed, it is now. The effort to achieve effective strip mining legislation during this session of Congress is in trouble. The nation's coal industry, one of the strongest lobby groups in Washington, is working hard to beat back enactment of such regulation. That industry's lobbyists have mounted an all out attack. They have been joined by numerous lobbyists from the nation's electric utilities. In stark contrast to this powerful coalition, the environmentalists are poorly financed and under-staffed. The industry campaign grows stronger each day. Only a direct expression of public concern will reverse the tide.

The need for legislation is only too clear. Each week over 5,000 new acres are disturbed by mining operations, most of them by strip mining. Already, over 3,000,000 acres of land have been torn up by strip mining, an area larger than the state of Delaware. Almost 1 million tons of acid is discharged each year into the streams and rivers of the Appalachian region as a direct result of strip mining operations. This discharge, combined with that from underground mining operations, has polluted over 10,000 miles of streams in Appalachia. Acid is only one part of the problem, however. Erosion in areas disturbed by strip mining is reported to be 1,000 times greater than in forested areas. A study undertaken in Kentucky showed that, over a four year period, 27,000 tons of earth was washed away each year from each square mile of an unreclaimed strip mine area, while only 25 tons per square mile was lost from a forested area. The threat, however, extends beyond the Appalachian region. Plans are now underway to strip large sections of the northern great plains. Without regulations, much of this area may never be reclaimed.

The need for legislation has become even more urgent in recent months because of the energy crisis and the increased demand for coal. Most energy experts agree that the United States will have to double or triple its present production of coal if the nation is to approach energy self-sufficiency by 1980. The Environmental Protection Agency has consistently supported the increased use of our coal reserves. EPA, for example, supported amendments to the Clean Air Act which would permit electric utilities and other fuel burning facilities to burn coal, as long as the primary air pollution standards were not violated. Last winter, during the height of the energy crisis, the Agency granted a number of short term variances from clean air requirements in order that coal could be burned. And EPA will continue to support this increased use of coal, as long as adequate safeguards are provided during its combustion and extraction.

The technology to control sulfur oxides and particulate emissions from the combustion of coal is available. It has been demonstrated at numerous locations, both in the United States and abroad. Given the necessary commitment to use this technology, the only remaining reason for opposition to increased use of coal is the lack of effective controls on strip mining. It is clear that the public will not support, nor will it tolerate, the unregulated strip mining of coal. The public is entitled to assurance that irresponsible destruction of environmental values will be prevented. If we fail to establish effective regulatory controls, we only invite a well justified

opposition to strip mining itself. Legislation to control strip mining is the key to the expanded use of coal. Without it, coal's potential for alleviating the energy crisis will remain open to attack.

The need is clear. Legislation which will permit a substantial increase in the amount of strip mining while insuring full reclamation of the disturbed area is the answer. The nation needs more coal. Much of it will have to be strip mined. This cannot be avoided. What can be avoided, however, is the senseless destruction which has marked strip mining in the past. No longer will we tolerate those who would make a wasteland out of our mountains. No longer will we tolerate those who would flood our rivers and streams with acid and sediment. No longer will we tolerate those who care only about quick profits, and nothing for the land. No longer will we leave it all to chance. The days of the big raid on our nation's resources are over. Controlled development of these resources is the only acceptable course. Reclamation of mined areas must become an integral part of the production process, not just an optional afterthought.

It should be emphasized that a number of progressive mining companies have recognized the need for reclamation of strip mine areas. Legislation is necessary to protect these companies from suffering a competitive disadvantage as a result of their expenditures. We must not reward those companies which have been reluctant to adopt proper reclamation practices. Mandatory controls will insure fair and equitable treatment for all.

To insure that reclamation is adequate, it is essential that strip mine control legislation contain a number of safeguards. First, it must require that the land be returned to its approximate original contour. This will necessitate the backfilling of disturbed areas to as close to their original contour as possible. This will insure that the reclaimed area conforms to the surrounding terrain and does not upset the natural drainage pattern. Closely related to the approximate original contour requirement is the elimination of highwalls. Highwalls are created when coal is removed from hillsides through contour strip mining. They can range anywhere from a few feet to more than 100 feet in height. The Department of the Interior has estimated that there are over 35,000 miles of existing highwall, most of them in the Appalachian region. These highwalls not only create ugly scars on the mountain sides, but also can limit access to the land above or below them. Interior has estimated that such highwalls have limited access to, or isolated entirely, several million acres in the Appalachian region. Creation of these highwalls can, and must, be prevented.

The third essential requirement for successful reclamation is a prohibition on the dumping of spoil down the hillside and its disposal on undisturbed areas. Exceptions to this flat rule should be permitted only for the initial cut needed to expose the coal seam. This is particularly important in areas where mining is conducted on steep slopes. Spoil bank slides have created tremendous damage to both property and the environment. Slides have blocked roads, buried houses, and caused widespread property damage. They have also wiped out protective surface cover and filled stream channels with sediment. According to the Department of the Interior, over 2,000 linear miles of slides have already occurred, largely as a result of poor strip mining practices. Prohibiting the disposal of spoil on undisturbed areas will also encourage the backfilling which is necessary to restore the mined area to its approximate original contour.

Revegetation is the last step, and perhaps the most important, in the reclamation process. Revegetation is essential to prevent

erosion and reduce acid runoff. It also is a major factor in improving water quality, restoring natural beauty, and improving wildlife habitat. To insure proper revegetation the topsoil removed in the stripping operation must be replaced. Next, the original or a similarly appropriate type of vegetation should be re-established on the area disturbed by mining operations. Where revegetation alone will not insure immediate soil stabilization, other measures, such as drainage control, should be undertaken to prevent erosion and acid runoff. In some areas check dams, stone rubble, culverts, or even piping might be needed.

Compliance with these performance standards can be assured through the use of a permit program. The Environmental Protection Agency has had a substantial amount of experience with permit programs, particularly in the water pollution area, and stands ready to assist the Secretary of the Interior in developing the necessary program. EPA is also prepared to assist the Department of the Interior in the development of guidelines and regulations necessary to implement the performance standards already described. The Agency has conducted a multi-million-dollar demonstration program in cooperation with the states and the mining companies to assess the effectiveness of mine systems, reclamation, and innovative mine water pollution abatement techniques. Thus, EPA can serve an important role in the implementation of a control program.

So far we have discussed what needs to be done to control future mining operations. But what of the damage which has already been done? Are we to simply write off the miles of acid and sediment choked streams, the scores of gashed hillsides and mountains, as if they were some bad debt which we could never collect? Clearly, the answer must be, no! Mountains are too precious to abandon; clear running streams are too essential to ignore. The Department of the Interior has estimated that 2/3 of the land disturbed by strip mining has never been reclaimed. This represents almost 2,000,000 acres of land, much of it in the Appalachian region. Recent studies indicate that a substantial amount of new mining is being undertaken in areas which have been previously mined and in which unreclaimed mine scars already exist. Much of the new mining falls within this category. This means that a large portion of the unreclaimed mined areas will be reclaimed as part of new mining operations. To encourage the reworking and reclamation of previously mined areas it may be appropriate to authorize minor departures from the strict performance standards which apply to newly mined areas. In any case, every effort must be made to reclaim these areas as soon as possible.

Finally, strip mine control legislation should give the Secretary of the Interior the authority to prohibit strip mining altogether on certain limited areas considered unsuitable for mining. Given current reclamation techniques, this authority should only have to be used sparingly. Its use should be limited to those areas where mining would unreasonably endanger life or property, or where it would seriously damage important historic, cultural, or scenic areas. But although use of this authority would be rare, its use when needed could be absolutely vital.

These, then, are the essential provisions of effective strip mining control legislation: (1) a requirement that the land be restored to its approximate original contour; (2) the elimination of highwalls; (3) a prohibition on the deposit of spoil on the downslope and (4) a requirement that the same or similar vegetation be re-established on the disturbed area. Clearly, these are the environmental safeguards that are needed. Together with these safeguards the legislation that is enacted must assure that the timing and method of application of these new requirements are realistic and that they do not impose unreasonable or unnecessary interfer-

ence with needed mining activities. The environmental and mining needs can be reconciled. The question is, will Congress enact such legislation?

The answer depends largely on you. Congress will not act unless it is convinced that the public supports effective controls. Enactment of sound legislation still faces many hurdles ahead, and the clock in this session of Congress is running fast. It is for this reason that you have a special responsibility. As residents of an area which has been especially hard hit by poor strip mining practices, you have a responsibility to let Congress know the consequences of such practices. And with this responsibility goes a special opportunity. It is the opportunity to help the nation learn from the mistakes of the past; to help it avoid the pitfalls which have produced so much devastation in the mountains around us.

With your help, we will get effective controls on strip mining—controls which will permit the full development of our nation's coal resources without sacrificing the environment. Some would have us believe that we can have only one or the other—either increased coal production or an unspoiled environment. But the two are not mutually exclusive. We can satisfy both our nation's energy requirements and our desire for a healthy and attractive environment. The answer is reclamation.

Joined by the Arab oil embargo, this country has just recognized how dangerously dependent we were becoming on foreign energy supply. We are now struggling to regain our energy independence. We are gearing up to begin one of the most massive engineering, construction and earth moving efforts in the history of mankind—the effort literally to multiply our domestic production of coal.

At the start of this effort, America stands at a crossroads of profound future importance. We have choices to make. We can follow past practices of unrestricted exploitation and in headlong fury rip out the coal with a brutalizing disregard of natural resources and future generations. Or we can proceed with careful planning to extract the coal almost as quickly but with very limited environmental damage.

As we make this fateful choice, I ask only this—is our memory so short that in our panic at the energy crisis we have already forgotten the lessons we learned when the environmental crisis shocked our consciences only three or four short years ago. We need to take a cold sober look at the irreparable devastation that has resulted in the past when we failed to require environmental safeguards. We need to come to places like Du Bois where the evidence speaks out at the glance of an eye. Conscious of this past tragedy, we still have no need to seek controls which would prevent the nation from securing the energy resources it needs to grow and prosper. What we do seek, in the words of a famous conservationist, "is a renewed stirring of love for the earth; we urge that what man is capable of doing to the earth is not always what he ought to do; and we plead that all people, here, now determine that a wide, spacious, untrammelled freedom shall remain as living testimony that this generation, our own, had love for the next."

AMERICAN LEGION SUPPORTS TUITION ASSISTANCE

HON. JOHN F. SEIBERLING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Speaker, the Summit County Council of the American

Legion recently announced their support for the Vietnam Era Veterans Readjustment Assistance Act of 1974, including the tuition assistance provisions included in the Senate version which passed that body unanimously. I think the veterans of the Vietnam era deserve education and training benefits comparable to those received by World War II veterans, and urge the House conferees on this legislation to adopt the Senate direct tuition payment provisions endorsed by the Summit County Council of the American Legion.

U.S. INTERVENTION IN LATIN AMERICA

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I recently spoke about the amount of attention that is being increasingly given to the subject of U.S. intervention in Latin American governments and economies. This should not be ignored. Evidence on this issue is being released to us, and to the public, in growing quantities. Various U.S. organizations are being called into question, and the validity of these questions should be determined. An example of this is the following article published by Laurence Stern in the Washington Post on July 11, 1974:

EX-SPY TO GIVE DETAILED ACCOUNT OF COVERT CIA OPERATIONS

(By Laurence Stern)

LONDON, July 10.—Philip B. F. Agee is an ex-spy who is coming out of the cold with what is likely to be the most detailed account of covert Central Intelligence Agency operations ever compiled by an American intelligence officer.

The 39-year-old former CIA case officer, who hopes to remain in seclusion in a remote stretch of English countryside until his book is published, has finished a 200,000-word manuscript at which he has labored since he resigned from the CIA in 1969.

Agee's credentials as an officer in the clandestine ("dirty tricks") service of the CIA have been confirmed by authoritative sources in Washington. The CIA itself refuses to comment on any aspect of the case but officials are reported to be deeply concerned about Agee's prospective revelations.

In the course of an afternoon-long interview at his modest seaside hideaway Agee spoke guardedly of his eight years of covert operations against "unfriendly" governments and insurgent political forces. It was a world of manipulation of agents, news media, public officials, and military establishments through the classic espionage techniques of bribery, blackmail and mass propaganda.

In agreeing to talk to a reporter for The Washington Post, Agee withheld specific details that are in his manuscript which he felt might jeopardize his physical security before the book makes its appearance sometime within the next year. He did, however, make these points:

During a brief assignment at CIA headquarters in Langley in 1966 he set up the Mexico City "cover" operation for the CIA, conducted under the front of the Robert Mullen company, a Washington-based public relations firm that has figured prominently in the Watergate case. It was his in-

volement in the Mullen cover, established for a CIA operative engaged in anti-Soviet operations, which led last week to the surfacing of Agee's identity. CIA fears that Agee would publicly disclose the Mullen arrangement in 1972 led to its closing by the CIA and the "Western Hemisphere flap" alluded to in the report last week of Sen. Howard Baker (R-Tenn.).

In Mexico, Agee's cover was as the Olympic's staff assistant to then-Ambassador Holton Freeman. In his Olympics role, Agee's covert mission during 1967 and 1968 was to "meet all kinds of people" in order to extend the Mexican CIA station's network of agents.

While serving in the CIA's Ecuador station in 1962 Agee participated in the launching of a pressure campaign against the Arosemena government to end diplomatic ties with Cuba. President Arosemena didn't want to break relation but we forced him," Agee related. "We promoted the Communist issue and especially Communist penetration of the government." Eventually Arosemena fell and was replaced by a military junta.

Agee personally served in 1964 as a conduit for funneling \$200,000 in Chilean currency from a major New York City bank into covert election support activities for Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei. Frei won. Agee handled the cashing of the check in Montevideo, where he was then assigned to the CIA station, and conversion into Chilean currency which was then sent on by diplomatic pouch into Santiago, he related. There was in 1964 a major covert program on Frei's behalf. Agee said that the United States also poured an estimated \$20 million into the 1962 Brazilian election in support of several hundred candidates for gubernatorial, congressional, state and municipal offices.

The CIA operates in close coordination with an international network of trade confederations and national labor groups which Agee said have proven to be effective instruments of political influence in Latin America. In Ecuador, Agee said, he served as a CIA case officer for a local branch of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), which was founded in the early 1960's as an affiliate of the AFL-CIO. He cited AIFLD, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, its Latin American subsidiary, ORIT, the Public Service International (comprised of government employee unions) and the various international trade secretariats as having given strong support to CIA-directed covert political programs.

The trade union organizations as well as other mass groups coordinate with the CIA chiefly through the international organizations division, which was in the center of the controversy over CIA funding of student, labor and cultural organizations seven years ago.

Agee last week was mentioned in press reports as having told his secrets to the KGB in a fit of drunken despondency. The Washington source responsible for the story later denied its authenticity.

Agee insists that he has never talked to the KGB, although he acknowledges that he intends to demonstrate in his book that the CIA has served as "the secret police force of American capitalism."

The former agent said he had made three trips to Cuba since 1971 to conduct research for his book and, as he put it, to witness the results of a "successful socialist revolution."

The Cuban trips were arranged by a Paris publisher who first contracted to publish Agee's book. One of the terms on which he went to Cuba, Agee said, was that he did not want to be debriefed by the KGB.

Agee's ideological break with the CIA and U.S. policy in Latin America started during his 1963-1966 assignment to Uruguay where his official mission was to direct operations against the Cubans and build up local security forces.

It was in Uruguay, which was an advanced welfare state by Latin American standards, that Agee said he lost his faith in the possibility of solving the region's problems through piecemeal reform.

Agee, who is under contract at present with British Penguin book publishers, said that his account, written in diary form, names numerous case officers, agents and particular episodes gathered from firsthand experience in the field. Such a narrative has never been published on the American clandestine services and Agee is apprehensive about the possibility of injunction action against him such as was taken against Victor Marchetti on his book, co-authored with John Marks, "The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence."

In 1971 when he had embarked on the book project and was living from hand-to-mouth at a secret location in Paris, Agee said he came under surveillance by a pair of Americans who befriended him and advanced him small amounts of money. Agee said he determined to his certainty that they were retained by the CIA to find out the contents of his book.

The CIA, he said, first became aware of his intentions to publish the critical book after he wrote a letter to a Uruguayan political journal suggesting that the 1971 election there would be subject to CIA infiltration. In December of that year he received a visit from a former CIA colleague who tracked him down in Paris through French police connections.

Within several months, Agee said he was in regular contact with the two Americans who professed an interest in the book and a desire to see the manuscript. It was to his new-found "friends" that Agee confided after the first burst of Watergate publicity in the newspapers, that the Mullen organization was providing cover for the CIA in Mexico. The Washington public relations company was identified in early stories as an employer of Watergate conspirator E. Howard Hunt Jr.

Agee's "friends" in turn sent word to the CIA, as he reconstructs the events, that he might disclose the Mullen cover in his book. This was the origin of the "WH flap" alluded to in Baker's report.

Agee found himself in the remarkable position of having created the Mullen cover and having been responsible for "blowing" it five years later by divulging his awareness of it to agents—as he firmly believes today—of the CIA.

The CIA admitted in writing to Baker that as a result of the "WH flap" (the initials stand for Western Hemisphere division of CIA) it had to shift assets and personnel in Mexico as well as other posts in which Agee served to minimize the damage of his possible revelations.

It is Agee's opinion that the Mullen cover arrangement in Mexico is "completely irrelevant" to Watergate.

Nonetheless it was President Nixon's stated concern over exposing covert CIA operations in Mexico that prompted him to issue instructions resulting in the FBI's delay for nearly three weeks in June and July 1972 of its investigation of the "laundering" of Nixon re-election money through a Mexico City bank account.

The President said, however, on May 22, 1973, that he had learned there was no basis for having worried about exposing covert CIA activities in Mexico. Former CIA Director Richard M. Helms was providing repeated assurances of this.

The tortuous path that has brought Agee to his current position of self-exile started in a conventionally middle-class home in Tampa Fla. His father was a businessman and the atmosphere was politically "reactionary—no, say conventional."

He attended a Jesuit high school and went to Notre Dame, where Agee was first approached by CIA recruiters in 1956. He joined the following year and took three years of military training under the agency's auspices.

"It didn't take long to develop enthusiasm and decide to stay in. There was a combination of things, the aura of intrigue, the sense of patriotism and public service. It was intellectually stimulating and challenging work," as Agee saw it in the early period.

Now he sees the clandestine service and the agency generally as an instrument of political repression.

Agee manages to live on a series of meager advances while the book is being prepared for publication. His two young sons recently joined him from Falls Church, Va., where they had been living with their mother. The Agees are divorced.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that my colleagues in the Foreign Affairs Committee will continue to investigate the extent of U.S. intervention in other countries, and will legislate changes in our foreign policy that will rectify this situation.

REPEAL OF YEAR-ROUND DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME ACT

HON. DICK SHOUP

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. SHOUP. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced a bill which would repeal the year-round daylight savings time system which was imposed during the energy crisis. At the time the Emergency Daylight Saving Time Act was passed it was generally felt that it would significantly reduce the consumption of energy and this was at a time when the pressure of the energy crisis was most severe.

In order to measure the energy saving, the Emergency Act directed the Department of Transportation to prepare an evaluation and analysis of the impact of the time change. That report has now been duly submitted to the Congress and it concludes that an electrical energy savings of only 0.75 to 1 full percent was realized.

Although any saving of energy is a desirable goal, the method of realizing it must be balanced against the inconvenience and even danger which it creates. The reduction in energy use resulting from the act was marginal at best, and it should be noted that year-round daylight time imposes hardships on many people, especially in districts like my own located in the more northern latitudes where sunrise may not occur until after 9 a.m.

Mr. Speaker, we in the Congress passed the Emergency Act in an honest attempt to respond to a most difficult situation. We have had an opportunity to reflect and we have been supplied with a comprehensive evaluation which tells us that the proper thing to do would be to eliminate an undesirable and unproductive act. I therefore strongly urge the repeal of year-round daylight savings time.

AMTRAK'S TRAINS ROLL TOWARD A DISASTER?

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, on June 20, I introduced two bills which I believe will solve the primary cause for the decline of our Nation's railroads—deterioration and decay of tracks and roadbed. H.R. 15503 and H.R. 15504 would establish a Federal corporation to take over, rehabilitate, and maintain the Nation's railroad tracks. The railroads, under this plan, would have the option of becoming part of the new Interstate Railroad Corporation or remaining out of the system.

This past weekend a new urgency was lent to the cause of improved rail trackage with two serious derailments occurring in the Amtrak system. Fortunately there were no fatalities in either accident, but I fear it is only a matter of time before deteriorated track conditions result in a major train wreck. I hope we can avoid that kind of accident and for this reason I urge the speedy consideration of these two measures by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

I also commend the attention of my colleagues to four articles on the subject of passenger safety and bad track. A review of these stories indicates the pressing need for an extensive program of track repair nationwide:

[From the Chicago Daily News, July 6, 1974]

AMTRAK'S TRAINS ROLL TOWARD A DISASTER?

(By Dennis Byrne)

Amtrak trains are headed for a multiple death accident unless railroad tracks and roadbeds are improved soon, a consumer advocate has warned.

Anthony Haswell, chairman of the National Assn. of Railroad Passengers, a national railroad watchdog group, issued the warning in an interview following the separate derailments Friday of two Amtrak passenger trains. More than 40 people were injured in the derailments.

Although the causes of the two accidents have not been officially determined, Haswell and a spokesman for the Federal Railroad Administration agreed that the number of derailments has been increasing, and that many of the accidents are traceable to inadequate tracks and roadbeds.

Derailments last year were up 25 per cent over 1972 and are up 13 per cent this year over 1973, the FRA spokesman said.

He said that the railroads have failed to maintain the roadbeds because of the unavailability of money. Since railroads generally are receiving only about a 3-per cent return on their investment, it is difficult to generate the capital to maintain the track and roadbeds, he said.

Under law, the railroads are required to maintain the roadbeds for Amtrak trains, but it "don't look like" the railroads are doing so, he said.

The result is that many railroads have issued "slow" orders, restricting train speeds to as low as eight miles an hour.

While statistics still show that railroads are a safe way of traveling, Haswell warned: "When we see a pattern of increasing derailments and increasing injuries, you almost

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

have to think that unless action is taken to reverse the situation it will only be a matter of time before there is a train wreck with multiple fatalities."

Several proposals have been made to provide money for the improvements, but Congress apparently is not close to approving them.

The Nixon administration is backing legislation that would provide \$2 billion in guaranteed loans for the railroads' capital needs.

[From the Chicago Daily News, July 6, 1974]

NEW WRECK, THREE INJURED

INDIANA, Pa.—Eight cars of an Amtrak passenger train en route from Kansas City to New York derailed near the southwestern Pennsylvania community of New Florence Friday, injuring three railroad employees.

None of the 150 passengers was injured, an Amtrak spokesman said.

The cars left the track at a switching point, the spokesman said, but none of the cars overturned and the two diesel locomotives remained on the track. An investigation was under way.

[From the Chicago Tribune, July 7, 1974]

BROKE UNDER CAR—BAD TRACK BLAMED IN AMTRAK CRASH

An Amtrak train derailment which injured 47 passengers Friday apparently was caused by a broken rail, a Santa Fe Railroad spokesman said yesterday.

Gil Sweet, Santa Fe regional public relations director, said that a section of rail apparently collapsed as the last two cars of the train sped over it. The derailment occurred on an overpass near Melvern, Kans., about 90 miles west of Kansas City.

When the two rear cars were thrown off the broken rail, they caused a chain reaction that derailed other cars in the train, Sweet said.

"They all started bouncing around and some of them began running on the ties," he said.

There was no fatalities in the derailment, although some injuries were serious, including a broken back suffered by one passenger and a skull fracture by another.

Sweet estimated that two railroad cars were destroyed and half a mile of track was ripped up. He set total damage at about \$750,000.

Sweet said rail traffic was being routed around the torn track and was normal yesterday.

[From the Chicago Tribune, July 7, 1974]

RAILROAD WATCHDOG WARNS OF MORE DERAILMENTS, DEATHS

Multiple deaths in Amtrak derailment will occur in just a matter of time unless trains are slowed to less than 30 miles per hour or the main road beds get immediate repairs, a railroad consumer advocate predicted yesterday.

"The law of averages tells me there will be an accident involving multiple fatalities," Anthony Haswell, chairman of the National Association of Railroad Passengers, said in the wake of two Amtrak derailments Friday in which many passengers were injured.

Haswell said he thought if immediate action was not taken to rehabilitate the road beds, Amtrak should give up and go out of business.

"It's ridiculous to think that people are going to get on trains that have to crawl at 20 or 30 m.p.h. or constitute a danger to the passengers," he said. Haswell also said trains are now required to travel at 30 m.p.h. thru Indiana because of the condition of the tracks.

July 11, 1974

Derailments rose 25 per cent last year, and are up another 13 per cent the first part of this year, according to the Federal Railroad Administration. Haswell said the cause for the increasing number of accidents is the deteriorating condition of the roadbeds.

WHAT'S HAPPENING TO AMERICA'S VALUES?

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. REID. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a very perceptive article from a recent edition of U.S. News & World Report.

The article is an interview with Clare Booth Luce, who in her lucid and thoughtful style, discusses "What's Happening to America's Values."

I commend the article to the attention of my colleagues:

WHAT'S HAPPENING TO AMERICA'S VALUES

Q. Mrs. Luce, have Americans always been as cynical as they seem today about institutions, leadership and traditional beliefs?

A. Oh, no. There's been an enormous change, in my lifetime, in American attitudes.

Traditionally, Americans are an optimistic and Utopian-minded people. This is because they've lived for 200 years in marvelously fortunate conditions. They've lived on a vast and beautiful land which has produced an endless quantity of material goods. They've lived under a form of government originally designed to encourage competition and personal initiative. They've lived in a country where the average American has always been better off—richer, freer, better educated—than his parents, and where he has always expected his children to be better off than himself.

Up to now, Americans have always believed that despite national ups and downs they were making progress toward the American Utopia, in which poverty—and even work—would be abolished, and all men would live equally free to pursue their own ideas of happiness. Call it "the American dream." Well, we are waking up from it. We are beginning to face the realities of the world we live in. And it's a traumatic experience . . .

The violent changes that have since taken place in the world, and that have adversely affected America, have come on us so suddenly. Nothing in our national experience has prepared us to deal with them. We are—at least for the moment—demoralized by them.

Q. Are you suggesting that this country has reached a kind of moral watershed—that we are sliding into a basic attitude of disbelief we've never known before?

A. Well, we are certainly losing our faith in the idea that perpetual peace and prosperity are just around the corner. We are becoming painfully aware that there are limits to our ability to amass wealth and to exercise power over the rest of the world. We have begun to realize that we are only 6 per cent of the world's population and that, at the rate the rest of the nation's populations are exploding, we will be only 3 per cent in another 50 years . . .

Then, science and technology themselves have begun to create dilemmas. For decades Americans believed that there was nothing

wrong with America, or the world, that technology and science couldn't cure. So science gave us all those lovely nuclear bombs, which more perhaps than anything else have turned so much of the American dream into the American nightmare. And the beautiful technology that was going to produce Utopia has, of course, produced some marvelous things—airplanes, TV's, autos—but it has also produced smog, pollution, traffic jams, urban decay and endless weapons of prodigious destructiveness. In my lifetime, science has prolonged the average life span 10 or 15 years, but it has also made it possible for an enemy to wipe out 50 million American lives in a 20-minute nuclear attack.

Our faith—which had virtually become a religious faith—in salvation by science and technology probably began to collapse when we realized that we didn't know—we still don't know—how to get the nuclear genie back into the bottle. A great part of our American malaise is that we have lost confidence in our ability to use our own prodigious scientific and technological know-how to our own good. We can plant our flag on the distant moon and send satellites whizzing around Mars. But we can't seem to keep our own rivers and lakes and cities clean. "Is a puzzle" for everyone.

Q. You spoke of "pulling in our belts." Why do people seem increasingly to feel like "living it up" instead of restraining or inconveniencing themselves?

A. Because people really don't know what they should be in the present economic crisis. They instinctively know that if everybody stopped "living it up"—I mean, stopped spending for things they really don't need—our economy, which is a consumer-luxury economy, would quickly collapse. But they are also fearful that we may be spending ourselves into a depression.

When people know what they should do—when they are told what to do—by leaders in whom they have confidence, they respond well. In the fuel crisis last year, it was remarkable how well they responded to the White House's request for their voluntary efforts to cut down their fuel consumption.

Q. Why can't Americans practice self-restraint without being told?

A. Because throughout their history, the more they have spent, and even wasted, and the more they have "lived it up," the more prosperous they have seemed to become. "Living it up" is an old American habit acquired in an economy of plenty. We just don't know how to behave in an economy of scarcity.

Also the people don't practice self-restraint because their political leaders—especially their Congress—don't encourage them to do so. You don't get elected to Congress by telling your constituents they can't have what they want. You get elected by promising them you will see to it that they will have everything they want—and more. And you certainly never tell them who has to pay for it all: They do. . . .

Q. Why do the churches seem so powerless today to restore faith in the old moral virtues, the "positive values"?

A. The churches, as formal institutions, have themselves bought too many of the materialistic values of our success-oriented society. The collapse of faith—faith in the crucified God—among churchmen themselves is too big a subject to go into here. But let me say that the churches—or rather the theologians in the churches—have failed to deal effectively with the three greatest revolutions of modern times: the scientific and technological revolution, the psychological revolution and the sexual revolution. . . .

Man, according to Christian belief, was the animal who was different from all other animals: He had a soul. The divinely ordained purpose of his life was to "save his soul" by

loving, worshipping and obeying the law of God. All the Ten Commandments, when you think about them, are commandments to man to control his purely animal instincts and emotional impulses.

I feel like a fool trying to explain the "death of God" or the collapse of Christian faith in a few sentences. But the theory of evolution was just one of the scientific discoveries that dealt faith a blow. But Freud, who formally opened the psychological revolution, dealt it a very great blow. I do not dispute—who can?—the genius of Freud, and his tremendous insights into the subconscious workings of the human mind. But the fact remains: Freud convinced generations of men in the West that man was simply and entirely an animal, that he had no soul and that everything—but everything—man created, from banks to cathedrals, from governments to gods, were "sublimations" of his repressed infantile sexual desires.

Quite simply, between science and psychology, modern man has lost his soul. That is really what is at the root of his malaise.

Q. Could you elaborate on that?

A. Oh dear! Well, man is either an animal who, like any other animal, is born to devour or be devoured, kill or be killed—to rut, to rot and to die—or he is an animal quite different from all other animals. . . .

The list of unanimal-like and antianimal-like things man does and doesn't do is endless, including thinking about the future and contemplating his own death. Let us, for the sake of argument, admit that all the strange unanimal-like things he does are sublimations of his animal sexuality. We are still stuck with the mystery: Why does he repress his animal desires? Why does he "sublimate"? Freud never came up with an answer to that one.

In any event, no man can live and no society can survive for very long without a religion and a faith of some sort that explains man's nature and the meaning of his life and death. I agree entirely with Toynbee that the history of civilization is the history of society's religions. By "religion" I mean any system of thought and belief that "ties things together" and gives a society something which explains to its satisfaction the meaning of life and death, of good and evil, and of man's own nature. . . .

AS WOMEN ENTER A "MAN'S WORLD"

Q. Mrs. Luce, has the last quarter of a century brought any change for the better in America?

A. There has been a change for the better in the matter of the equality of the sexes. And of the races. Men are beginning to treat women less like animals, or to use the popular phrase, "sex objects."

Consider again what nature intended. It programmed a normal, healthy female to have 30 children. My great-grandmother had 21. My grandmother had 11. Does any man in his right mind today want his wife to do what nature intended? Well, thanks to medical technology, she doesn't have to have any more children than she chooses to have.

I'm all for women who want children, and who desire the career of mother and housewife. But I'm also for women who prefer other careers. I'm especially for women—and with all my heart—who have to work to support themselves or their families, and are being discriminated against in their wages and jobs.

For example, look at the Pentagon. Women are almost 41 percent of the Defense Department. Yet, out of the 885 career and appointive employees in the top three grade levels, only five are women. Over 80 percent of the employees in the three lowest grades are women. Our Defense Department seems more scared of giving a break to women than of giving it to the Russians.

Anyway, as a woman, I welcome the entrance of women into what was once called "man's world." But what must now be done is to give them equal pay for equal work, and the opportunity for upward-mobility jobs. As to whether the effort to do away with sexism and racism in America will make us all happier, who knows? But you can say that any time we move to end discrimination, things are getting better.

Q. What other changes would you like to see?

A. I would like to see a reform in our educational system. I would like to prevent young people from going to college for one or even two years after graduation from high school. I would like laws permitting them to work during those two years, or maybe to go into social work of some sort.

I would like to provide a period of socially accepted "dropout" so that young people can really find out what living and working in the real world is all about. The ones who decided, after that period, to go to college would be motivated by a real desire to learn. They would go to college as matured young men and women, and not as overgrown "kids," which is the humiliating word we use now for 20 and even 24-year-old young adults. . . .

Q. Would you prescribe the same for young women?

A. Oh, yes. Then there's another thing I'd like to see happen: more institutions of learning for adults. There must be thousands and thousands of adults—people over 30—in this country who would love to go to college: men who couldn't afford to go when they were young; women who married when they were young. . . .

Q. In your travels, particularly around the United States, do you find people better informed about foreign developments than they were a decade or two ago? Or are they becoming isolationists?

A. The American public has never, perhaps in this century, been worse informed about either foreign or domestic developments than they have been in this past year and a half. The media's obsession with Watergate has driven almost everything else from the forefront of the news. As far as much of the press is concerned, the only thing worth reporting to Americans is what happens in the Watergate depths and on the Golan Heights. . . .

Q. What has been the effect of Watergate on the national psyche?

A. Very melancholy indeed. Man has to look up, and have faith. As a child he looks up to his Godlike parents. As he grows older he finds other authority figures, in his favorite scientist, philosopher or professor.

Americans, traditionally, have very little respect for politicians as a class. The very word "politician" has always been used in a derogatory sense. Look in the dictionary if you don't believe that. When Americans respect a politician they call him a statesman. But Americans do have great respect for the office of the Presidency, and they deeply desire to look up to and have faith in the man who occupies it. They want to admire the Great White Father. . . .

That sleazy complex of events we call Watergate has unquestionably robbed the President of much respect and dignity. I want to believe that Mr. Nixon will be able to restore it before he leaves the White House. But, meanwhile, our national pride in the Presidency has been wounded.

THE "HYPOCRISY" OF WATERGATE

Q. Is Watergate going to leave a deep scar? A. I could wish that what it would soon leave is a scar, for that would be a sign of healing. I am more inclined to believe that the world will become infected, and suppurate for a very long time. A lot of the political fingers that have pointed at Nixon—and

pulled open and widened that wound—haven't been what you could call surgically clean. And the people know that and recent it.

A certain amount of corruption, dirty tricks and law bending are endemic to democratic politics, and any politician who denies it is an expulsive-deleted hypocrite. Really cleaning up politics in this great democracy would be a more Herculean task than cleaning up the Augean stables.

What is important is to keep corruption and unethical practices in politics, like crime in the country, at a tolerable level. When it is discovered in the White House, it tends to pass the tolerable level. But what also, perhaps, has passed the tolerable level is the hypocrisy of many of the politicians who have fingered the President on the score of unethical political practices.

Q. Have your views about Mr. Nixon generally changed significantly in the past year or so?

A. I have always thought Mr. Nixon a remarkably competent man. I can think of no political figure today in whose hands I think the republic would be safer. I also think that he will go down in history, despite Watergate as a great President. I am disappointed, very disappointed, that he put his trust in such a crummy crew of counselors. But then, Julius Caesar put his in Brutus, with his gang of coconspirators, and Jesus himself picked Judas.

Great men, as a matter of fact, are rather famous for picking unreliable subordinates. Isn't it often the trusted partner who robs the safe?

Q. You once served in Congress. Has Congress gone downhill over the past quarter of a century?

A. The Congresses I served in were Roosevelt rubber-stamp Congresses. Under the pressure of the Depression and the war, they all but totally handed over their constitutional powers to the White House. The Roosevelt Congresses turned the White House into a virtual dictatorship. The Congress has never recovered the power that it passed over to the Chief Executive after 1933.

It is doing a lot of yowling just now about recovering its lost powers and restoring the constitutional balances. Nobody who knows anything about the Congress and the way it is presently structured believes a word of it. Give it a simple problem, and the Congress will make it complicated. Faced with a really tough and complicated problem, Congress worries it for months and months, and then bounces it over to the White House to handle. . . .

Q. How would you characterize the media's handling of Watergate?

A. It reminds me of a famous Texas character, Judge Bean, known as "the law west of the Pecos," who said, "Let's give this here horse thief a fair trial before we hang him at 2 o'clock this afternoon."

But in criticizing the President, the media is only doing what it has always done. If you read the attacks that the press has made on other Presidents in days gone by, the attacks on Nixon are not, by comparison, much worse, in fact, Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and—in his first term—Roosevelt were just as savagely treated. The press hated the Congress up to impeach President Andrew Johnson.

When you read the history of the press, I think you have to admit that the media, while it is infinitely more powerful than it was even 50 years ago, is, give or take a vindictive paper here or there, altogether a much better and fairer press.

Q. In general, how can America work its way through its malaise?

A. We will, somehow, have to adjust ourselves to living in a world whose basic econ-

omy is now one of scarcity. We will have to learn how to handle the unpleasant and dangerous side effects of our technology—pollution, and all that. We will have to devise a foreign policy and a military strategy that will safeguard us from both economic and military attacks. All this isn't going to be easy. But I feel sure that, if we have the will, we do have the skills and physical resources to make it to our third centennial as one of the world's great—if not greatest—nations.

Q. Are the spiritual resources still there?

A. They are there, any time we choose to call on them. They are like the unlimited mountains of coal we are sitting on. We have to dig for them—and pay the price for doing so.

Q. Do we need a better quality of leadership in the West?

A. Obviously.

Q. How are we going to get it?

A. When you ask that question, my crystal ball fogs up. I don't see any great new leaders in it just now. Some very good men, but not great—just the same faces we've had in the polls for the past eight years. But here's where faith comes in: I have faith that when we really need an inspired leader, our country will produce one.

"I HAVE FAITH IN THE PEOPLE"

Q. Do our leaders today have real faith in the democratic system's ability to change things for the better?

A. Well, they should have. It's the most flexible political system that has ever been created. It is my view that democracy is fair-weather government. But the marvelous thing about democracy is that when the weather turns foul—as it does in war and great crises—it can voluntarily turn itself into a democratic dictatorship, and then, when the weather improves, return to fair-weather democracy again.

It seems to me that the idea embodied in our Constitution, of free people guiding their own destiny, is the noblest political idea man has ever had. We must never forsake it.

I would like to be more optimistic than a lot of what I am saying sounds. But while I think that America is going through a very downbeat and dangerous period, I do have faith in the character of the American people. When the going gets really rough, as it has before in our history, they will pull themselves together, and then, pulling together, they will pull America out of danger.

We are a know-how, can-do people. But we just have to become again a will-do people.

EMERGENCY LIVESTOCK ACT

HON. PETER A. PEYSER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. PEYSER. Mr. Speaker, the Emergency Livestock Act (H.R. 15560), is scheduled to be debated before the House next week. I intend to work vigorously against this legislation and I will offer the following two amendments in the course of my battle to defeat it.

On page 10, line 5, strike all that follows through and including line 7

My second amendment is:

Mr. PEYSER of New York moves that the committee now rise and report the bill to the House with the recommendation that the enacting clause be stricken out.

A STATEMENT ON THE DEATH OF MRS. MARTIN LUTHER KING, SR.

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, it is with a profound sense of sorrow that I offer both my personal and constituents' condolences to the Reverend Martin Luther King, Sr., on the tragic loss of his wife, Mrs. Alberta King.

All of us are grievously shocked whenever some heretofore unknown psychotic assassinates an innocent victim. The loss devastates us even more when that human being has had an accomplished career of public and community service.

In the case of Mrs. King—"Bunch"—to her devoted husband, and Mama King to thousands of loving Atlantans—the catastrophe is compounded by the irony of her many years of Christian teachings to "love thy neighbor." It was this mother's gentle touch that helped inspire one of the world's greatest peacemakers to rearrange the moral priorities of this country.

Yet, like Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., a Nobel Prize winner for his role in shaping world peace through nonviolent methods, Mrs. King was violently separated from our society.

I deplore this sickness amongst us that assumes any problem can be solved by violence. I deplore the cowardly and mad killer, black or white, who nourishes the belief that somehow his wretchedly barbaric act can bring peace to our lives. Only swift trials, convictions, and permanent isolation will deter future assassins from the neurosis that violence of any kind is a shortcut to disaster.

Commentators have sought explanation in this bewildering pattern of public assassinations which have begun to infect us like some spreading plague. One submitted that four of the recent assassins of public figures were all short, lonely men. Such armchair psychiatry is absurd.

Moreover, this kind of rank amateurish exploration into deep-seated hatreds in no way illuminates why a slow moral erosion in this country has unleashed killers who would substitute the bullet for the ballot.

Even that last refuge of scoundrels, race, provides no answers. As columnist Chuck Stone, former aide to my beloved colleague, Adam Clayton Powell, pointed out in a recent column, had the race of any of the assassins of John F. Kennedy, Robert F. Kennedy, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Mrs. Alberta King been reversed, many Americans would have found "simplistic" sanctuary in the rationale of "racism."

What we do know, however, is that guns are too easily purchasable anywhere in this country. For those who wish to commit murder, a handgun can be bought with the same convenience as a loaf of bread. As long as we maintain an open door policy on the purchase of handguns, a potential assassin lurks around every corner.

Once again, we have been deprived of a fine American's work. Once again, we have been forced to witness the violent departure of an outstanding member of one of our Nation's greatest families. And black people, still shortchanged by an absence of plentiful leadership, have lost a cherished black symbol.

Perhaps it is not wishful thinking to suggest that this distinguished body of which I have been privileged to be a Member for 18 years pause in its legislative deliberations to express its collective concern about the isolated, yet pervasive breakdowns in law and order. Unless we address ourselves now to this sociological cancer, we ultimately reap the harvest of a larger illness.

Most of us did not have the privilege of knowing well the quiet and tenderly unassuming Mrs. King. But she left us wearing a halo that crowned a bountiful and dedicated life. In her last moments, she could walk hand in hand with Paul's charge to Timothy:

I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith.

THE NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE ON CHILE

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, in connection with my special order of today on the Communist origin of the National Legislative Conference on Chile and People's Lobby, scheduled for this weekend, July 14-15, here in Washington as part of the Communist Party, USA, campaign to pressure our Government into cutting off all aid to the anti-Communist government of Chile, I am inserting at this point the official schedule and list of sponsors being disseminated by the Communist-run conference organizing committees. This particular copy was mailed out by the Chicago Committee to Save Lives in Chile, a Communist Party operation that uses the same address as the CPUSA-controlled Chicago Peace Council.

The schedule and list follows:

CONFERENCE AGENDA—SUNDAY, JULY 14

Registration—11:00 AM to 12 noon.

Plenary Session—12 noon to 2:00 PM.

Key Note Address—Abe Feinglass, International Vice-President, Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union.

Pending Legislation—Ronald V. Dellums (pending). Member of Congress.

Initiatives for New Legislation—Carolyn Dietzman, Washington Legislative Office WILPF.

Discussion.

Coffee Break—2:00 PM to 2:30 PM.

Workshops—2:30 PM to 5:30 PM.

1—Cut-off military and police aid to the Junta.

2—Cut-off economic aid and U.S. connected international credit (Food for people to be administered by the U.N. Commission).

3—Extend Chilean visitors visas and open U.S. borders to refugees.

4—Embargo on trade with Chile.

5—Congressional Investigation of U.S. involvement in the coup and the deaths of Frank Teruggi Jr. and Charles Horman.

Dinner Break—5:30 PM to 7:30 PM.

CXX—1452—Part 17

Plenary Session—7:30 PM.
Introductory Remarks.
Status of legislation on political refugees and violations of the U.S. State Department guidelines by the U.S. Embassy in Chile.
Plenary Session continued.
Report back from Workshops.
State and Regional Caucuses.

MONDAY, JULY 15TH

People's Lobby—10:00 AM.
Meetings with Senators, Congresspeople and the State Department.
Report back—3:00 PM.
News Conference and presentation of petitions will be scheduled.

NATIONAL

Harry Bridges, ILWU—Int. Longshoremen & Warehousemen Union.
Katherine L. Camp, Inter. V.P. Women's International League for Peace & Freedom.
Carl E. Farris, Farmer Labor Co-Ordinator, SCLC, Atlanta, Georgia.
Patrick E. Gorman, Sec-Tres. Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workers of N.A. AFL-CIO.
Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, PUSH.
J. P. Morray, Chair. Fair Trial Comm. for Chilean Political Prisoners, Corvallis, Ore.
Pauline Rosen, Nat. Co-Ordinator, U.S. Comm., World Congress of Peace Forces.
Jarvis Tyner, Nat. Chair. YWLL.
Helen Winter, Communist Party, USA.
William Wipfler, National Council of Churches.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Paul Booth, Community Organizer.
Rev. Arthur Cullen Bryant, Augustana Lutheran Church.
Marion Calligaris, NCCTUAD.
John Chico, United Steel Workers of America.

*Richard Criley, Co-ordinator, Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights.
Rev. Martin Deppe, First United Methodist Church, Evanston.

Ernest DeMaio, Vice-President, United Electrical Workers Union.

Joan Elbert, CCCSLC, CALC.

Geoffrey Fox, Sociology Dept., University of Illinois, Secretary, AFT Local 1627.

Father G. G. Grant SJ, Associate Prof. of Philosophy, Loyola U., Member, Commission of Inquiry.

Sister, Teresina Grasso, Urban Apostolate of the Sisters.

Dorothy Hayes, Chicago Chairwoman, Womens International League for Peace and Freedom.

*John Hill, Executive Director, Alliance to End Repression.

Father William Hogan, Chicago CALC.

Lucille Johnson, American Federation of Government Employees, Recording Secretary.

Robert Johnston, Director, Region 4, UAW.

Sylvia Kushner, Executive Secretary, Chicago Peace Council.

Anna Langford, member, Chicago City Council, member, Commission of Inquiry.

Prof. Beatrice Lumpkin, Malcolm X Chicago Citizens Committee to Save Lives in Chile.

Rabbi Robert J. Marx, Congregation Sol-El, Highland Park, Illinois.

Rabbi Simeon Maslin, KAM Isiah Israel Temple.

Marcos Munoz, Unitarian Church, Wilmette.

Rev. Edgar Peara, Minister United Church, Wilmette.

*Dean Peerman, Managing Editor, Christian Century Magazine, member Chicago Commission of Inquiry.

A. A. Raynor, former alderman.

*Mark Rogovin, muralist, Public Art Workshop.

Norman Roth, President, UAW Local 6.

Augusto Sallas, Hispanic American Labor Council.

Richard Simpson, member, Chicago City Council.

Jack D. Spiegel, Lake States Director, United Shoe Workers, AFL-CIO-CLC.
Doris Strieter, Village Trustee, Maywood, Illinois, member, Commission of Inquiry.
Studs Terkel, author, WFMT-Radio.
Frank Teruggi, Sr., Local 16 Int'l Typographical Union, member, Commission of Inquiry.

Charlotte Walker, Chicago Area Committee to Defend All Political Prisoners.

Rev. Donald Wheat, Third Unitarian Church.

Jim Williams, Co-Editor, Labor Today.

INDIANA

Ola Kennedy, United Steel Workers Union, Gary, Indiana.

BAY AREA, NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

Rev. R. Kenneth Bell.
Ann Bennett, church woman, Berkeley.

John Bennett, President Emeritus, Union Theological Seminary.

Jean Bernardini, WILPF—San Jose.

Jaff Boehn, Editor, North California Labor, San Jose.

Lester Cole, Screen writer, San Francisco.

Prof. Richard Fagen, Stanford University, President-elect, Latin American Studies Association.

Msgr. James Flynn, Committee on Social Justice, Catholic Archdiocese of San Francisco.

Rudolfo Garcia, Chairman, Cannery Workers Committee.

Alice Hanburg, WILPF—Berkeley.

Fred Hirsh, Chairman, San Jose Emergency Committee.

Rev. Jack Isaacs, Sacred Heart Church, San Jose.

Ying Lee Kelley, City Councilwoman, Berkeley.

Eric Leenson, Berkeley NICH.

James McLaughlin, Secretary-Treas.

Santa Clara County Labor Council President, Retail Clerks Inter. Assoc. Local 428.

Dan McQuercadale, Adviser, Santa Clara County.

Kenneth Mackay, Vice President, United Professors of California, San Jose State University.

Rev. Archalain Moriarity, Dean of Central Society of Jesus Catholic Archdiocese of San Francisco.

Linus and Ava Helen Pauling, Nobel Laureate.

Joseph Pickering, President, Santa Clara Valley Coalition.

Victor Ulmar, President, AFT Local 2390.

David Weller, Co-Ordinator, San Jose Peace Center.

CLEVELAND, OHIO

Chris Conybeare, Director, Catholic, Lutheran, Episcopal, Methodist, Presbyterian Project.

Stanton Ling Davis, Prof. of History, Case-Western Reserve U.

George Edwards, Co-Chairman, National Steel Workers Rank and File Committee.

John Hughes, Cleveland CALC.

Rev. George Hrbek, Lutheran World Justice Task Force.

Frieda Krietner, Women Speak Out for Peace and Justice.

Blanche Livingstone, President, Women Speak Out for Peace and Justice.

Norman Peery, Third World Peace Education Project.

Theodore J. Voneida, Associate Prof. of Anatomy and Biology School of Medicine, Case-Western Reserve.

Cynthia Welker, Cleveland CALC.

Robert Welker, Prof. of American Studies, Case-Western Reserve U.

DETROIT, MICH.

Frank Angel, OPIEU Delegate, Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO Council.

John Cherveney, General-Manager, Ferndale Co-Operative, Ferndale, Mich.

Irene Christie, Executive Board member, Local No. 42, OPIEU.

Angelo Deitos, Vice-President, UAW Local 78.

Arsch Derbabian, Field Rep., Michigan AFL-CIO.

Father Thomas Hinsberg, Commission for World Justice and Peace, Archdiocese of Detroit.

Vic Schumacker, Commission for Social Responsibility, First Unitarian Church.

Harry Siverson, President, Local 329, UAW.

Lasker Smith, National Chairman, Auto Workers Action Caucus, member Education Committee, Local 2 UAW.

Thomas Turner, Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO Council.

Milton Tambor, President, #1640 AFSCME.

Malcolm Wright, President, Highland Park Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO.

Maryann Mahaffey, Detroit Common Council.

*Joy Marks, President, Detroit Branch, WILPF.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Max Aragon, Vice President, Local 26 ILWU.

Charles Briody, Sec. Comm. for the Restoration of Democracy in Chile.

Rev. Peter H. Christiansen, First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles.

Virgil Collins, Financial Secretary, Local 216 UAW.

Humberto Comacho, Field Organizer, Local 1421 UE.

Bert Corona, Secretary, CASA.

Rev. Edgar Edwards, Immanuel United Church of Christ.

Emily Gibson, Journalist.

John H. Hacker, Vice President, Painters Local #5.

Jerry Hall, L.A. Chapter 535, Social Service Employees Union.

Henry H. Huckles, L.A. Chair.

Godie Maymudes, L.A. Chair, Jewish Cultural Clubs.

Shirley Nelson, President, Fellowship for Social Justice, First Unitarian Church.

Leah Nudell, President, City Comm. Emma Lazarus, Jewish Women's Clubs.

Sophie Silver, Los Angeles Peace Action Council.

MADISON, WIS.

Mary Kay Baum, former Dane County Board Member, candidate, Wisc. State Assembly.

Michael Christopher, Alderman, Madison.

James Rowan, Administrative Assistant to the Mayor.

Paul Soglin, Mayor, City of Madison.

Sarah Bentley, Community Action on Latin America.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Nick Ballas, Field Director, AFSCME, District Council 248.

Dr. James Barrett, Prof. of Biology, Marquette University.

Lucille Berrien, MAARPR.

Edmund Bobrowicz, Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Butcher Workers, Local 248.

Harry Bordus, Intl. Field Rep. U.E.

Prof. Eugene Elisman, Psychology Dept., U. of Wisconsin.

John Gilman, Chair, Midwest Region, PCPJ.

Father James Groppi, Civil Rights and Peace Activist.

Prof. Sidney Greenfield, Sociology Dept., UWM.

Ronda Hanson, Milwaukee Campaign to Restore Democracy to Chile.

Henry Lloyd, Chrm. Black & White Cauc.

Richard Mossan, VP AFSCME District 48.

Father Thomas LeMieux, St. Michael's Church.

Rev. R. C. A. Moore, Unitarian Church West, Brookfield, Wisc.

Sister Joan Puls, Dir. Archdiocesan Commission on World Justice and Peace.

SEATTLE, WASH.

Earl George, Secretary, Pensioners Club ILWU.

Larry Gossett, Chair, Third World Coalition.

John Healy, Exec. Bd. Millmen Union #338 delegate to King County Labor Council.

Oscar Hearde, Pres. Ship Scalpers #544.

Irene B. Hull, Graphic Arts International Union #87, NCC CLUW.

Larry Meyers, Secretary of Legislative Comm., Boilermakers Union #104, Del. to Metal Trades Council.

Will Parry, Legislative Rep. Washington Council, Assn. of Western Pulp and Paper Workers.

*Organization for Identification only

ADDITIONAL SPONSORS OF THE NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE ON CHILE, JULY 14-15, WASHINGTON, D.C.

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Angela Davis, Communist Party USA, NAARPR.

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NEW YORK, N.Y.

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CALIFORNIA

Fortney Stark, Member of Congress, Santa Clara Labor Council.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Abe Feinglass, Inter. V.P. Amal. Meat Cutters, member, Comm. of Inquiry.

Joanne Przeworski, Pre-Doctoral Fellow, U. of Chicago, member, Comm. of Inquiry.

Charleen Mitchell, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

Vivian Schatz, former director, U.S. School, Santiago, Chile.

Rev. David Gracie, Urban Ministry, Episcopal Diocese of Philadelphia.

Robert Muhlenkamp, Nat. Ass. Dir. of Org. 1199 Nat. Union of Hosp. & Health Care Workers.

Lenex Hines, Inter. Assoc. of Democratic Lawyers, Comm. for Justice in Chile.

Roque Ristorucci, N.Y. Chapter, YWILL.

John Vasconcellos, State Assemblyman.

Prof. George Gutierrez, Northern Ill. U., DeKalb member, Comm. of Inquiry.

MASSACHUSETTS

Prof. George Wald, Nobel Laureate, Cambridge.

MILWAUKEE, WISC.

William O. Brown, Chairman, AFSC, Milwaukee.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dr. Robert Cory.

FTC MEMBER URGES END TO LABOR MONOPOLY

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, the entire body of legislation which concerns American business and industry is, unfortunately, one sided.

This legislation places restraints upon business and industry in a number of different areas in order to maintain free and open competition and to prevent monopoly.

Yet, this same legislation places no similar restraints upon the practices of organized labor. Thus while it is illegal

for General Motors, Chrysler, and Ford to set industrywide prices for their automotive products, it is not similarly illegal for the United Auto Workers to set industrywide wages.

Organized labor is, under our current legislation, permitted to have the very kind of monopoly position which business and industry is forbidden.

Discussing this unfortunate state of affairs Federal Trade Commissioner Mayo J. Thompson recently noted the effects of monopolistic labor unions in America today.

He declared:

First they tend to redistribute income in a perverse way. Approximately 70 per cent of the price paid for all the goods and services produced and sold in America goes to labor as wages and salaries. This particular division of income between labor and capital—70 percent for the former and 30 percent for the latter—has remained substantially the same since the turn of the century, thus making it fairly clear that the coming of labor unions in the 1930's has not significantly raised labor's overall share of the national income pie. They have succeeded, however, in getting larger shares for their own members.

What these organizations are doing, Mr. Thompson notes, are "simply 'transferring' money from one group of workers to another, from the nonunion worker to the union man. Union members' wages are, in effect, subsidized out of the paychecks of the country's nonunion employees."

Mr. Thompson, discussing the monopoly power of many labor unions, concludes that—

The time has come to start cutting back on the monopoly power wielded by the trade unions in this country, perhaps by subjecting those unions to a modified version of our current antitrust laws. It would make eminently sound economic sense, in my view, for example, to make it a violation of the antitrust laws for a single union to represent more than the employees of a single employer . . . I think industrywide bargaining ought to be outlawed on both sides of the table, with the individual employer confronting an opponent that exactly matches it in "size," namely, a union representing its own employees, not those of an entire industry or a whole industrial sector.

I wish to share with my colleagues excerpts from the important speech by Federal Trade Commissioner Mayo J. Thompson, presented on May 6 before the National Fluid Power Association in Palm Springs, Calif., and insert them into the Record at this time:

ROAD TO SOCIALISM: FIRST MONOPOLY, THEN NATIONALIZATION?

(By Mayo J. Thompson)

Let me begin my remarks by congratulating you on your choice of time and place for this meeting.

For those of you who aren't familiar with the work of the Federal Trade Commission, let me give you the traditional 60-second summary of the matter. The FTC enforces a group of statutes dealing with, in substance, two categories of commercial activity, monopolization and consumer deception. We are authorized by Congress to issue certain kinds of "rules" in the two areas of our alleged expertise and to haul offenders in for a full-scale hearing when we can't find a cheaper way to get them to stop whatever it is they're not supposed to be doing.

Now I want to pause at this point to tell you about a problem I have in my role as a

member of a regulatory agency. My difficulty is that I don't really believe in government regulation of business. I took an oath to faithfully enforce the laws entrusted to our agency the day I was sworn in as a member of the FTC and of course I am going to do precisely that. And I even believe that most if not all of these laws our agency enforces are necessary. But they are, in my view, only a necessary evil and I approach the job of enforcing them with, I must confess, a heavy heart. Government regulation of business is a bad business, one that a man who loves his country ought to get involved in only for the gravest of reasons.

I had a grave reason for joining the Federal Trade Commission. I thought the country's economic system was being "regulated" to death. I thought we needed less regulation of business in America, not more. And I thought I might be able to make some small contribution in that regard by agreeing to serve on the FTC.

Modern economic society bears little resemblance to the model Smith saw in 18th century England. Powerful governments, through their own fiscal budgets and their control of national banking systems such as our own Federal Reserve Board, drive their aggregate money supplies up and down like so many yo-yos. Great corporations, many of them operating in scores of countries around the world, control such large segments of their respective markets that only the most romantic of observers still believe that every price in America is set by the "invisible hand" of Dr. Smith's mighty lever, competition. And the price of labor—the wages paid by those corporations—has not been determined by the forces of competition since the passage of our highly restrictive labor laws in the 1930s. Competition is far from dead in America but the prognosis for its future health, if our industrial experts are to be believed, is something less than completely bullish.

Consider the effect of monopolistic labor unions in the United States. First, they tend to redistribute income in a perverse way. Approximately 70% of the price paid for all the goods and services produced and sold in America goes to labor as wages and salaries. This particular division of income between labor and capital—70% for the former and 30% for the latter—has remained substantially the same since the turn of the century, thus making it fairly clear that the coming of labor unions in the 1930s has not significantly raised labor's overall share of the national income pie. They have succeeded, however, in getting larger shares for their own members. Roughly 25% of the country's total workers belong to a labor union and numerous scholars have found that workers belonging to some of the more powerful unions receive wages as much as 20% above those they would be receiving in the absence of the unions.* If labor as a whole is not receiving a larger income as a result of the coming of the unions, but the unions' own members are receiving more, then it is obvious that those organizations are simply "transferring" money from one group of workers to another, from the non-union worker to the union man. Union members' wages are, in effect, subsidized out of the paychecks of the country's non-union employees.

There is no mystery about how this little exercise in monopoly power operates. Prior to the coming of the union, the workers in a particular industry will usually be receiving a wage set by the free forces of the labor market, by supply and demand. A union is then organized and, under the threat of a strike, the employers in the industry will generally agree to raise wages by, let's say

20%. Since they obviously can't absorb such a wage hike out of profits, they have no choice but to raise the price of the product they sell to the consumer. Labor costs, like all other costs incurred by a business firm, are simply "passed on" to the consuming public, a group of people that, as noted, is 75% non-union. And since non-union workers are less affluent, on the average, than union members, it follows that every wage increase won by one of our more powerful labor unions has the effect of re-distributing income regressively—away from the relatively poor and toward the relatively affluent.

Nor can the dilemma created by the monopoly power of our labor unions be solved by simply unionizing all workers in the country and thus freeing all wages from the forces of the competitive marketplace. We already have an intolerable rate of inflation in the United States with only a fourth of the labor force unionized, a rate that reached the rather spectacular level of 8.8% in 1973 and that threatens to go even higher in 1974. With 100% of the country's workforce enjoying that kind of monopoly power, our inflation rate might well equal that of some of our less fortunate friends in South America, those whose prices increase by 25% to 50% year after year. A nation that allows its economic fabric to unravel at such a pace can hardly expect its social and political garments to hold firm over the long haul.

When our antitrust laws were first passed they were addressed to economic monopoly in all of its various aspects, including both corporate monopolies and labor monopolies. In time, however, Congress enacted a series of statutory provisions that substantially exempted labor from the reach of the antitrust laws. Today, it is lawful for a single labor union to exercise a complete monopoly over the total supply of labor to even the largest of our great industries and to use that power to exact any wage the firms in that industry can successfully "pass on" to the consuming public. The result, of course, is a continuing escalation of wages—and, in turn, of prices—in all of our industries with strong labor unions. Monopoly in the country's labor markets assures that prices will rise faster than productivity years after year and hence that we will continue to have an inflation problem into all of the foreseeable future.

Perhaps the most troublesome aspect of this problem, however, has to do with the link between inflation and unemployment. Since the annual rate of increase in productivity in the United States is approximately 3%, wages could increase by that amount each year without causing any inflation. But if some workers insist on getting wage increases of 10% or 12% every year, and if this produces an overall wage increase of, say, 8%, then the result will inevitably be an inflation rate of at least 5%. A 5% cut in the public's purchasing power means, of course, a comparable reduction in the volume of goods produced and thus in the number of workers the economy can employ. There is a limit, however, to the amount of unemployment the country will tolerate. Beyond some point on the unemployment scale—and that point is certainly a great deal lower than the 24.9% figure we had in the trough year of the Great Depression, 1933—the public can always be expected to demand that the government "do something."

In a democratic society like ours, such a demand by the public will sooner or later be heard in Washington and "something" will in fact be done. In the unemployment situation I've described here, the government invariably responds by opening up the money valves at the Federal Reserve Board and/or by running a deficit in the federal budget, keeping the floodgates open until the unemployment rate has dropped back to a politically tolerable level. By that time, however, the inflation rate will be rising even faster

than before, thanks to all that new money the government has injected into the system.

We have here, in other words, a familiar boom-and-bust cycle. Wages push up prices. Then output starts to fall. To head off an unacceptable level of unemployment, the government injects enough new money to "cover" those higher wages and prices and thus prevent the worker lay-offs that otherwise would have been caused by that loss in consumer purchasing power. Injecting that new money into the system causes still more inflation. Workers then demand a new "catch-up" wage increase. Prices follow. And so the cycle continues, *ad nauseum*, with little prospect for either full employment or stable prices.

What does all this have to do with the Federal Trade Commission? We're the agency that—in theory, at least—is supposed to prevent this sort of thing from happening in America. We're supposed to see that the country's economic system is kept free of monopoly, that the economic rails are kept clear of all artificial obstructions. And we try to do our job. Our problem, however, is that we've been authorized to clean only one of the tracks in the country's two-rail economic system. We can and do investigate monopoly on the corporate side of the road but monopoly on the labor side is off-limits to us.

Now this one-sided treatment of the monopoly problem in America would be bad enough if it all ended right there. But there's a little more to it. Most fair-minded people recognize the inconsistency and injustice of a law that makes a situation illegal if it is created by one group of people and perfectly lawful if it happens to be the work of some other group of people. Since labor unions are legally free to do and build up and exercise vast amounts of monopoly power in their markets, a lot of our citizens are unable to work up much enthusiasm for reducing whatever monopoly power might be found in our various product or corporate markets. Once the law has given its blessing to monopoly and all its wide ramifications in one area of our economic life, the temptation is very strong to give it a similar blessing in all other areas as well.

There was undoubtedly a time when the worker in America and elsewhere was denied a fair shake in the economic arena. Nobody has forgotten that we once had sweat-shops where even women and children worked 16 hours a day under grossly unsafe working conditions and for a wage that had been determined not by Adam Smith's "invisible hand" but by the very obvious will of a single monopolistic employer. But now the pendulum has swung much too far in the opposite direction. Many labor unions in the United States and in the other industrialized countries of the world clearly exercise a degree of monopoly power over the world's economies that is grossly inconsistent with the welfare of the great bulk of its citizens.

My conclusion, then, is that the time has come to start cutting back on the monopoly power wielded by the trade unions in this country, perhaps by subjecting those unions to a modified version of our current antitrust laws. It would make eminently sound economic sense in my view, for example, to make it a violation of the antitrust laws for a single union to represent more than the employees of a single employer. And to prevent evasion of that provision, the law might also declare it illegal for two or more such unions to agree or conspire with each other in the setting of wages. In short, I think industrywide bargaining ought to be outlawed on both sides of the table, with the individual employer confronting an opponent that exactly matches it in size, namely, a union representing its own employees, not those of an entire industry or a whole industrial sector.

Government regulation encroaches a little further each year, following the slow but

*See, e.g., Albert E. Rees, *Wage Inflation* (National Industrial Conference Board, 1957), pp. 27-28.

steady march of monopoly. Like the buzzard circling a lame crow in a back pasture, government regulation pounces the moment the last breath of competition leaves the economic carcass. Unlike the buzzard's work, however, economic regulation is not a process that leaves a clean and healthy landscape in its wake. Creating more problems than it solves, it breeds ever more pervasive involvement of the government in economic affairs. New rules and regulations must be passed to solve the problems created by the old rules and regulations. The "final solution"? Nationalization. Public ownership of the country's major industries. The railroads, Airlines, Steel, Petroleum, Automobiles. The banks, Insurance, Communications.

It's called Socialism. The stuff it's made out of is called Monopoly. The antidote for both of these poisons is called Competition. The gift it brings is called Freedom. The price we have to pay if we want to keep it is called Responsibility.

A number of able economists of unquestioned personal loyalty to this country's free-enterprise system have expressed the view that the American economy is already past the "point of no return" on the road to government ownership of its key industries. They believe we already have so much monopoly in our major labor and product markets that it would be easier to simply go on and turn the whole thing over to the government than to undertake the tedious and difficult task of making competition pulse with life once more in all those dead or dying economic carcasses. I don't believe this. I don't believe this country's business community, for example, is going to let itself be outsmarted by the socialist professors we have running around our universities. I believe this country's businessmen will show the same kind of responsible leadership in whatever economic crises might lie ahead of us that they've shown over the past 200 years in making this great nation the economic marvel of the world that it is today. I believe they have the capacity and the sense of responsibility to understand and apply what I consider the key to this dilemma—the way to avoid government regulation of business is to see that there's no need for it in the first place. I believe, in short, that they will pay—and gladly—whatever price is required to keep our free-enterprise system free and pass it on, stronger than they found it, to their posterity.

Let me try to sum it all up this way: Competition can do some pretty rough things to your profits and perhaps give you an ulcer besides. But if you ever succeed in eliminating it from your industry, you're beggin' for "regulation" by the government and, ultimately, perhaps something even worse, government ownership on the British or other European model. Competition may be costly to your purse but economic freedom, as we all know only too well, is a bargain at any price.

My final message is this:

Monopoly is un-American. Show the flag in the fluid-power industry!

HIGH STACKS AND INTERMITTENT CONTROLS DO NOT ELIMINATE THE DANGERS OF TOXIC SULFUR OXIDE EMISSIONS FROM ELECTRIC POWERPLANTS

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the emission of toxic sulfur oxides from power-plant stacks poses a serious threat to public health and the environment. Many utilities contend that acceptable air qual-

ity can be maintained by the employment of techniques of high-stack dispersal and intermittent—or supplementary—control systems. These methods make emissions less intensive in the vicinity of powerplants and space emissions selectively according to ground-level air quality.

However, the adequacy and accuracy of high stacks and intermittent controls have been challenged by the Environmental Protection Agency, the American Public Health Association, and others. Compelling arguments have been made against utility reliance on these techniques. For example, while the debilitating health effects of air pollutants have been clearly demonstrated, technical capabilities of air safety evaluation which are necessary for these systems have not been satisfactorily achieved. Also, the degree of actual emissions is not reduced by these practices; acid sulfate aerosol clouds which are formed when sulfur oxides are emitted may drift to even greater areas than before. Furthermore, the use of intermittent controls makes plant operation unreliable, as variations in the weather necessitate periodic shutdowns. Considering these problems in light of the stagnant humid air we have been experiencing here in Washington certainly reduces confidence in the adequacy of these controls to protect human health.

Only a pollution control technology which removes toxic elements from coal before emission can adequately insure public safety. Flue gas desulfurization—FGD—is presently the only commercially available process of this kind. The adoption of half-measures like high stacks and intermittent controls serves to evade air quality standards and invites further delay in the perfection and installation of FGD systems.

For the benefit of my colleagues and other readers of the RECORD, I include herewith excerpts from the following readings dealing with high-stack dispersal and intermittent controls: an EPA study entitled "Status Report on Sulfur Oxides"; testimony in March by EPA Administrator Russell Train before the House Subcommittee on Agriculture—Environmental and Consumer Protection; testimony in May by Dr. Bertram W. Carnow before the Senate Subcommittee on Environmental Pollution; testimony in May by attorney Richard E. Ayres of the Natural Resources Defense Council before the Senate Subcommittee on Environmental Pollution; and a report of the American Public Health Association's Task Force on Energy entitled "Health Effects of Energy Systems."

The articles follow:

STATUS REPORT ON SULFUR OXIDES

(By J. F. Finklea, D. B. Turner, G. G. Ackland, R. I. Larsen, Victor Hasselblad, and S. D. Shearer)

Fuel oils and coals contain varying amounts of organic and inorganic sulfur that is oxidized to sulfur dioxide or sulfur trioxide during combustion. In the atmosphere these oxides are transformed into acid sulfate aerosols including sulfuric acid and sulfate salts that may be transported for long distances. Acid sulfate aerosols cause adverse effects on human health, vegetation, materials and visibility. Acid aerosols are especially vexing respiratory irritants because their

small particle size allows deep penetration into the lung. Sulfates of natural origin, from soil or sea spray, are probably larger, less irritating particles.

Adverse effects on public health include aggravation of asthma, increases in deaths and aggravations of illness among the elderly and infirm. Healthy individuals can also be adversely affected as they will experience substantial increases in the frequency of chronic bronchitis symptoms and the occurrence of acute lower respiratory infections.

Recent reductions of sulfur dioxide emissions in major cities have not controlled urban levels of acid sulfate aerosols. Local urban sources of acid sulfate aerosols may be well controlled but imported acid sulfate aerosols arising from increasing emissions of sulfur oxides from distant power plants that burn high-sulfur fuels are now intruding into northeastern urban areas.

Massive conversion of urban power plants to high sulfur fuels or unrestricted use of tall stacks and supplementary control systems can greatly aggravate the acid sulfate aerosol problem. Flue gas desulfurization, cleaner fuels or modified combustion processes will be required to control the acid aerosol sulfate problem. Expected growth in coal fired steam electric power generation must be accompanied by increased availability of cleaner fuels or widespread use of effluent controls to avoid further aggravation of the acid sulfate aerosol problem. Likewise, equipping the majority of light duty motor vehicles with oxidation catalysts would measurably increase human exposure to acid sulfate aerosols. Control of these mobile source emissions may prove mandatory if public health is to be protected.

Long distance transport of aerosols is scientifically plausible, consistent with geographical emissions patterns and supported by complementary types of evidence.

Atmospheric turbidity is greatest over the eastern United States but increases in turbidity the immediate proximity of cities or sources. Turbidity is largely due to aerosols.

Acid rainfall shows both localized "hot spots" that correspond to increased emissions and generalized patterns that indicate long distance transport.

Recent University studies show acid sulfate aerosols may impact a large area of the Mississippi Valley in summer.

Urban and non-urban National Air Sampling Network stations show elevated annual average sulfate levels in the area bounded by Chicago, Boston, Washington and Cincinnati.

Urban and non-urban acid sulfate aerosol levels in ambient air will be increased at the rate of one to six percent per year if these plants remain uncontrolled or if they rely upon tall stacks during periods of good dispersion and fuel switching during periods of poor dispersion.

A more rational course for the next decade is to utilize coal cleaning, fuel blending and flue gas desulfurization so that the sulfur oxides problem will not worsen.

Current urban sulfate exposures are high enough to aggravate existing respiratory illnesses and to increase mortality on the worst few days each year.

With limited coal conversion up to 50 more days each year would exceed the mortality threshold. With full conversion up to 150 more days would exceed this level.

In residential areas the expected increases in annual average sulfate exposures over a 10 year period could cause chronic respiratory disease to increase by 20 to 150 percent in non-smokers and as much as 50 percent in smokers. Lower respiratory disease in children would increase by 10 to 70 percent. Again, these estimates are not precise.

WHAT IMPORTANT CAVEATS MUST BE KEPT IN MIND?

Interpretations of historical trends in emissions and air quality are hampered by a very limited data base. Indeed, our current

monitoring systems for sulfur dioxide, suspended sulfates, strong acids, precipitation chemistry, trace metals, ammonia and hydrocarbons are not adequate enough to answer pertinent questions about the origin, transformation and removal of sulfur oxide air pollutants. Simultaneous monitoring in urban, suburban and rural settings is required.

Current measurements of suspended sulfates serve as a useful proxy for acid sulfate aerosols but measurements that delineate particle size and chemical composition are required for sulfur compounds and other aerosol components. Aerosols of natural and anthropogenic origins must be characterized and differentiated.

The mechanisms and rates for the transformation of sulfur dioxide to acid sulfates aerosol in plumes and in the atmosphere are not well understood. Plumes from controlled and uncontrolled industrial and power plant combustion sources should be studied.

Predictive models which will give needed precision to estimates of long range transport and the influence of emission height must be developed.

More soundly based dose response functions for the adverse effects on public health and welfare must be developed. Interlocking clinical epidemiologic and laboratory animal studies are required to reduce scientific uncertainties about adverse health effects. Carefully designed studies of plant damage, material degradation, visibility impairment and climatic changes are required to develop reasonable damage functions for adverse effects on the public welfare.

Control technology research must be enhanced in ways previously discussed and the societal and environmental impacts of these controls carefully considered.

Sound societal judgments can be based only on a sound scientific information base. Failure to acquire the needed information will lead to needless discord and likely to one or more national economic or public health tragedies.

TESTIMONY BY RUSSELL TRAIN, ADMINISTRATOR OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY, BEFORE HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE—ENVIRONMENTAL AND CONSUMER PROTECTION, MARCH 13, 1974

Mr. WHITTEN. I have in front of me information, from Mr. Wagner, which I requested. Mr. Wagner is Chairman of the Board of the Tennessee Valley Authority, to which a big part of the south-central part of the United States must look for power. He takes strong exception to demands by you and your agency.

Now, I have been talking as a layman up here, but here is a man running one of the biggest power companies in the world, and who has reason to know what he is talking about, and yet you are matching your power against his knowledge. Who do you think is going to win?

Mr. TRAIN. Well, we are going to see. We are in extensive communication with Mr. Wagner. I was down there some while ago. I made a tour of the Tennessee Valley Authority facilities, the strip mining problems associated with the operation, with Mr. Wagner some months back, and we are setting up a meeting at the present time for Mr. Wagner and myself to get together to talk out some of these problems.

What he is talking about here is two different approaches to sulfur oxide emission control.

He believes that the proper way to get at control is through the use of what we call intermittent control devices or supplemental control devices. EPA very strongly believes that we should be constantly, steadily moving toward constant control devices.

Supplemental control devices provide only for the dispersion of pollutants and do not provide for an actual reduction in pollutants.

The ambient air quality standards are met by measurements at ground level, or approximately ground level, in the vicinity of a plant.

One of the intermittent control techniques for meeting such standards is to build higher smokestacks, and that would probably be the most common.

That means putting the point of emission higher up in the air, and you do in fact get less measurable sulfur oxides and other pollutants at the point of measurement in the vicinity of the plant at ground level, so that technically, and in fact, ambient air quality standards are met. But you do not get any reduction of total pollution.

Mr. ANDREWS. Don't you just spread the same amount of pollutants over a greater area, and in essence what you are doing is lowering the load per square yard, but you are spreading that same amount out over a greater area, so that people 5 miles away from the plant are getting pollution, whereas before they would not get any?

You are not, by that method, then really lowering the pollutants discharged?

Mr. TRAIN. You are not reducing the total atmospheric loading of the pollutant.

Now, this is a technique which is widely used in Europe, and was given to rise by the fair amount of political exchange because while in the United Kingdom, SO_x goes up tall stacks, it tends to come down in Germany or in Scandinavia, and it has in fact given rise to a good deal of friction among political entities.

We do not have quite that same political problem.

TESTIMONY BY DR. BERTRAM CARNOW BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE ENVIRONMENT, MAY 6, 1974, OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS

Rather than a standard-by-standard appraisal of the existing EPA regulations, it might be more useful to direct the Subcommittee's attention to four significant health hazards which have not been considered in the current standards. These include respirable particulates (those less than 5 microns in size), air borne carcinogens, toxic metals and derivatives of sulfur dioxide, namely acid sulfates and sulfuric acid aerosols. Ambient air quality standards do not exist for any of these materials despite the fact that there is strong scientific evidence that they jeopardize human health. The air pollution-lung cancer study noted above and studies examining SO₂, sulfates, and acid aerosols, moreover, find correlation between variations of levels of these pollutants and of mortality and morbidity rates. I recognize that some of the analytical and monitoring equipment is not fully developed. However, in some areas, particulate sizing and monitoring of many air borne carcinogens such as benzo(a)pyrene and trace metals can and should be measured so that better quantitative assessment of their health impact can be made, even though it appears that development of standards are some years away. Since they are recognized at least qualitatively as hazardous materials, strict control of fuel sources and combustion methods must be maintained in the interim. Mass conversion to high sulfur coal for urban energy production without stringent control procedures will unquestionably result in increased illness, disability, and death among urban dwellers, particularly those with heart and lung disease.

I should like now to turn to another area of concern, namely the nature of pollution control procedures.

There appears to be a trend toward adopting high stacks and directed plumes (intermediate control strategies) as a major pollution control strategy. It has been suggested that the use of this method of dispersion during non-inversion periods represents a reasonable method for disposing of SO₂ and particulate air pollutants, particu-

larly the former. There is mounting evidence to suggest that this would be a very poor strategy.

Acid sulfates and sulfuric acid are more toxic than sulfur dioxide itself. They are formed in large quantities in the air from emitted SO₂. Recent evidence suggests that high stacks lead to the formation of stable clouds of these toxic substances. Thus, rather than diffusing and dissipating these materials, this strategy may actually increase the stable concentrations of these more harmful pollutants and, indeed, may affect much larger populations than those in the urban areas where the pollutants are developed. There appears to be good evidence that large cloud masses of these agents are present over the Northeastern United States, so that even those in rural areas are now being exposed to significant levels of toxic SO₂ derivatives. This effect may prevail even though SO₂ levels near the ground are decreasing. This phenomenon may be true with other toxic materials, also.

A substance like lead, for example, which is immutable and does not disappear, is also emitted from the stacks, and while it may be diffused, it ultimately reaches the ground and remains there. In addition, where a significant number of these stacks are present in a relatively small area, the result is one of blowing dirty air from one place to another.

Considerations of technical feasibility and reliability aside, the high stack, directed plume strategy is best labeled as an epidemiological gamble. At stake, of course, is human disease and death. I therefore suggest that federal dollars might be better allocated toward elimination of these pollutants by other devices, the use of cleaner fuels, more complete combustion methods, and the exploration of new methods for producing clean energy.

TESTIMONY BY RICHARD E. AYRES BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS, MAY 16, 1974

TALL STACKS AND INTERMITTENT CONTROLS

In the earlier part of the week, you heard utility and copper company executives endorse the shopworn concept of "dispersion enhancement"—tall stacks and intermittent controls ("ICS")—as an alternative to emission controls. There is nothing novel about this request. The 1967 Clean Air Act allowed dispersion. But in 1970, you decided, wisely in my view, that only emission limiting measures would protect the public. The issue was thoroughly debated then, and nothing has changed that would alter your judgment. Indeed, the increasing understanding of the way stationary source emissions damage humans and the biosphere—the acid sulfate aerosol phenomenon—confirms and strengthens the correctness of your judgment.

Meanwhile, the other objections to dispersion enhancement techniques—especially intermittent controls—remain as potent as ever. Dispersion techniques are neither reliable nor enforceable. ICS effectively transfers the control over whether standards are met to the polluter, since it is essentially impossible for a control agency to supervise the hundreds of individual curtailment or switching decisions that must be made each year to make it work. ICS also amounts to a means of shifting the costs of pollution control from the polluter to the workers at the plant and the public at large. None of the corporate witnesses who have appeared before you, I notice, have given you an estimate of the cost, in terms of lost wages, their workers would pay from production curtailment in response to stagnant air. Nor have they told you that the Puget Sound Air Pollution Control Authority, one of the few agencies with any experience policing an ICS system, estimates that it spends \$160,000–\$200,000 a year in the effort. In most State agencies this would represent a sizable por-

tion of the entire air pollution control budget.

I should add that your decision against dispersion enhancement in 1970 has recently been upheld in ringing tones by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, which found that dispersion techniques violated both the specific requirements of Section 110 of the Act and the policy of non-deterioration contained in Section 101, *NRDC et al. v. EPA*, 489 F.2d 390, 6 ERC 1248 (5th Cir., Feb. 8, 1974).

HEALTH EFFECTS OF ENERGY SYSTEMS

The earliest studies measured pollution in terms of sulfation rates and particulate fallout. Presently, modern monitoring equipment and methods measure the sulfur dioxide levels and suspended particulate levels in the air. We then use the sulfur dioxide and suspended particulate levels as indices for air pollution.

Suspended particulates include an extremely large class of materials of various sizes and compositions. Most epidemiologic studies and many toxicologic studies measure only the total particulate weight. Particle size is a critical factor in assessing and locating effects on the respiratory system (T. F. Hatch and P. Gross, "Pulmonary Deposition and Retention of Inhaled Aerosols," Academic Press, 1964). Particles, if not intrinsically toxic, may absorb toxic materials or interfere with the clearance of other toxic agents from the respiratory tract. Small particles in the micron size range (a micron is one-millionth of a meter) are the most dangerous, even though they contribute insignificantly to the total particle weight, because they penetrate deeply into the lung.

Therefore, particulate sizes are crucial in the use of particulates as an index. Recently developed chemical techniques make it possible to use particles of specific composition as a parameter in epidemiologic studies (e.g., sulfate particle size descriptions in EPA's CHES program). The use of such techniques is very important because the observed relationships that have been established between total particle concentration and health conditions (e.g. EPA, Air Quality Criteria for Particulate Matter, 1969) will depend on the proportion of fine particulates in the total mass suspended in air. Since emission control devices remove large particulates to a greater degree than fine, stacks using these devices may be expected to release an increased proportion of the fine. The mix of pollution in the air will then be changed, with corresponding implications for change in health conditions and for change in the index (i.e. particle size distribution) or indices used for measuring the critical characteristics of the mix.

It might be argued that containment of large particles is at least a step in the right direction, but we could deceive ourselves if we assume it is safe to increase fuel combustion because our indexes show a decrease in particulates by weight when, in fact, we are increasing the concentrations of the fine particles, presumably the most harmful.

Although many important small particulates seem to be composed of sulfates, which may be emitted directly from a stack, most seem to form in the chemistry of emissions released to the air. Sulfur dioxide is oxidized by photochemical and catalytic processes to form sulfuric acid mist and sulfate particles. As iron, manganese, and vanadium are important catalysts, trace concentrations of these materials in the fuels themselves, their use as fuel additives, or their presence in the air from other sources can influence biologic processes adversely. As temperature, humidity and sunlight also affect the composition of the mix the same emissions in different climates or micro-climates can affect health differently. Recent evidence from laboratory studies (M. Amdur, *NAPCA*, 1969; C. McJilton et al., *Science*, 182: 503-04, 1973) and

epidemiological studies (EPA CHES program) indicate that sulfate particulates may be the chief agents of stress in a reducing smog. The primary components of the soluble particulates in the 1948 episode in Donora, Pennsylvania, were zinc ammonium sulfate and zinc sulfate. A recent analysis of sulfate levels in the U.S. (A.P. Altshuler, *Environmental Science and Technology*, 7:709, 1973) describes geographical distribution of sulfates and the varying relationship between sulfates and SO₂. Measurements in the Philadelphia area indicated that suburban sites on average had sulfate levels half as high as central city sites. The author found evidence that some of the suburban sulfates could have come from transport and conversion of SO₂ from urban sources. An ominous finding was background levels of sulfate of 5 µg/m³ at rural sites. This level is only about 25 percent to 50 percent below levels associated with excessive morbidity in some populations. Like the suburban sulfates, these rural sulfates were attributed to transport of SO₂ from distant urban sources.

The established relationships of pollution indexes to health will change as the pollution mix changes. Our present inability to predict effects of these changes to our satisfaction comes from incomplete understanding of the combination of agents which attack public health and a dearth of information on disease processes they generate. Such understanding and information depends on continued research aimed at uncovering these factors, so vital to rational decisions on energy policies.

CONGRESSMAN ICHORD'S VOTING RECORD

HON. RICHARD H. ICHORD

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, there is much talk about the people's right to know and today, as never before, the people are demanding, and rightly so, that their elected officials be accountable to them. For far too long secrecy, deception, and concealment have been allowed to cast their shrouds over American politics. The American people are coming to demand the facts and open, honest knowledge of the activities of their elected representatives. I welcome this development as one of the most healthy trends American politics has seen in a long time, and view in this reawakened public interest the retrieval of what is good in a democratic political system.

Democracy becomes easily corrupted through apathy as this Nation has learned from bitter experience. It has come time to purge our laws and politics of loopholes, special interest collusion, double dealing, and general ineptness. The only effective way that this can be done is through the electoral process. The voter bears the right and responsibility of continually demanding public accounting from his government and to constantly compare that knowledge with his own personal tests of good government.

In this regard it has been my practice since I first entered public life to make my record openly and completely known to the Missourians I represent. While I

realize that the diversity of my district and the complexity of its interests and pursuits make it impossible to please everyone on every vote on every issue, my voting record represents a sincere attempt to represent the public interest. On every vote I review the letters sent to me by my fellow Missourians, study the facts on both sides of the issue, and judge to the best of my ability what is best for my district, State, and Nation.

During the 93d Congress, 1st session there were 307 yeas and nay votes, 185 quorum calls, and 234 recorded teller votes for a grand total of 726 rollcalls. I responded to these rollcalls 86.7 percent of the time. On actual votes on passage of legislation I responded an average of 86.8 percent of the time. During the current 2d session of the 93d Congress up through June 6—the last day of the 93d Congress covered by this compilation—there were 112 yeas and nay votes, 89 quorum calls, and 76 recorded votes for a grand total of 280 rollcalls. I responded to these rollcalls 91 percent of the time. On actual votes on passage of legislation I responded an average of 93.5 percent of the time. Many of the votes or quorum calls I missed were due to my presence in meetings of the House Committee on Internal Security which I chair and which has the authority to meet while the House is in session. Additionally, a few unavoidable absences caused me to miss a substantial number of rollcall votes which unfortunately significantly lowered my overall percentage response to rollcalls during the 93d Congress, 1st session. For instance, on December 14, 1973, my presence in Missouri to keep a long standing commitment caused me to miss 24 rollcall votes.

I should also like to state that my votes to sustain the Presidential spending vetoes during the 93d Congress, 1st session were in keeping with a commitment that I made to my constituents on April 17, 1973. At that time I stated that before the Federal Government can rationally determine spending priorities and put an end to irresponsible deficit spending which is the principal cause of inflation and our serious monetary problems, Congress is going to have to adopt effective budgetary and appropriations procedures. I made a commitment to my constituents to not override any Presidential spending vetoes until a spending limitation has been established by Congress and effective steps taken to put an end to deficit spending. However, now that the House has given final approval to the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act, I am hopeful that we are finally headed toward a system of rational congressional budgetary procedures.

The following listing represents my votes on the major and controversial legislation of the 93d Congress excluding procedural and routine votes and votes dealing solely with the congressional responsibility for governing the District of Columbia. This compilation is made available to my constituents in the hope that they will study it carefully and have adequate information to determine in their own minds the nature of my voting in the House of Representatives:

93D CONG., 1ST SESS.

Bill No.	Description	My vote	Bill No.	Description	My vote
H. Res. 132	A resolution to create a special committee to study the organization, power and duties of the standing committees of the U.S. House of Representatives. (Passed 282 to 91.)	Yea.	H.R. 4967	A bill to authorize appropriations for the Indian Claims Commission for the fiscal year 1974, and for other purposes (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 336 to 8.)	Yea.
H.R. 2107	A bill to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to spend the full \$225 million appropriated for the rural environmental assistance program for fiscal 1973 after the Secretary of Agriculture's announcement in December that no new commitments would be made under REAP for the remainder of the fiscal year. (Passed 251 to 142.)	Yea.	H.R. 6574	A bill to amend Title 38, United States Code, to encourage persons to join and remain in the Reserves and National Guard by providing full-time coverage under servicemen's Group Life Insurance for such members and certain members of the Retired Reserve, and for other purposes. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 342 to 1.)	Yea.
H.R. 1975	A bill to improve the emergency loan program under the Consolidated Farm and Rural Development Act, to offer loan assistance for disaster relief to farmers and ranchers at 5 percent interest and for other purposes. (Passed 269 to 95.)	Yea.	H.R. 2828	A bill to amend Title 38 of the United States Code in order to establish a National Cemetery System within the Veterans' Administration, and for other purposes. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 340 to 1.)	Yea.
H. Res. 256	A resolution creating a select committee to investigate all aspects of crime affecting the United States. (Passed 317 to 75.)	Yea.	H.R. 29	A bill to provide for payments by the Postal Service to the Civil Service Retirement Fund for increases in the unfunded liability of the fund due to increases in benefits for postal employees, and for other purposes (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 344 to 0.)	Yea.
H.R. 3298	A bill directing the Department of Agriculture to immediately reinstate funding for the rural water and sewer grant program as provided under the Consolidated Farm and Rural Development Act. (Passed 297 to 54.)	Yea.	H.R. 5451	A bill to amend the Oil Pollution Act, 1961 (75 Stat. 402), as amended, to implement the 1969 and 1971 amendments to the International Convention for the Prevention of the Pollution of the Sea by Oil 1954, as amended and for other purposes. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 370 to 1.)	Yea.
H.R. 4278	A bill to amend the National School Lunch Act to assure that Federal financial assistance to the child nutrition programs is maintained at the level budgeted for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, as amended. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 352 to 7.)	Yea.	H.R. 7445	A bill to extend the Renegotiation Act of 1951 for 2 years to allow the Renegotiation Board to determine if contractors with the Federal Government are deriving excessive profits and to provide for redress to the Federal Government in those instances where excessive profits are made. (Passed 388 to 0.)	Yea.
H.J. Res. 393	A joint resolution to amend the Education Amendments of 1972 to extend the authorization of the National Commission on the financing of Postsecondary Education and the period within which it must make its final report. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 332 to 29.)	Yea.	H.R. 6370	A bill to extend certain laws relating to the payment of interest on time and savings deposits, to prohibit depository institutions from permitting negotiable orders of withdrawal to be made with respect to any deposit or account on which any interest or dividend is paid to authorize Federal Savings and Loan Associations and national banks to own stock in and invest in loans to certain State housing corporations, and for other purposes. (Passed 376 to 4.)	Yea.
H. Res. 259	A resolution to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives to strengthen the requirement that committee proceedings be held in open session. (Passed 371 to 27.)	Yea.	S. 394	Final passage of an act to amend the Rural Electrification Act of 1936, as amended, to reaffirm that such funds made available for each fiscal year to carry out the programs provided for in such act be fully obligated in said year, and for other purposes. (Passed 363 to 25.)	Yea.
H.R. 17	A bill to amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to extend and revise the authorization of grants to states for vocational rehabilitation services, to authorize grants for rehabilitation services to those with severe disabilities, and for other purposes. (Passed 318 to 57.)	Yea.	H.R. 6768	A bill to provide for participation by the United States in the United Nations environmental program, and to authorize not more than \$10 million for such purpose. (Passed 266 to 123.)	Nay.
H.R. 71	An omnibus bill to strengthen and improve the Older Americans Act of 1965 by increasing appropriations for a variety of programs, training and social centers, jobs and special impact demonstrations and model projects for the elderly and to upgrade the Administration on Aging, establish a Federal Council on Aging and create a National Information and Resource Clearinghouse for the Aging and for other purposes. (Passed 329 to 69.)	Yea.	H.R. 5777	A bill to protect hobbyists against the reproduction or manufacture of certain imitation hobby items and to provide additional protections for American hobbyists. (Passed 382 to 7.)	Yea.
S. 583	A bill to promote the separation of constitutional powers by securing to the Congress additional time in which to consider the rules of evidence for U.S. Courts and magistrates, the amendments to the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure, and the amendments to the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure which the Supreme Court on Nov. 20, 1972, ordered the Chief Justice to transmit to the Congress. (Passed 399 to 1.)	Yea.	H.J. Res. 512	A joint resolution to extend the authority of the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development with respect to the insurance of loans and mortgages, to extend authorizations under laws relating to housing and urban development and for other purposes, as amended. (Passed 357 to 1.)	Yea.
H.R. 2246	Final passage of a bill to extend the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 through fiscal year 1974 and to provide \$430 million in Federal assistance during fiscal 1974 for state and regional economic planning. (Passed 276 to 2.)	Absent.	H.R. 6717	A bill to amend Section 210 of the Flood Control Act of 1968 to clarify which facilities and recreational areas may charge users fees. (Passed 307 to 90.)	Yea.
H. Res. 285	A resolution providing funds for investigations and studies by the Committee on Public Works. (Passed 372 to 9.)	Yea.	H.R. 7200	A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 and the Railroad Retirement Tax Act to revise certain eligibility conditions for annuities; to change the railroad retirement tax rates; and to amend the Interstate Commerce Act in order to improve the procedures pertaining to certain rate adjustments for carriers subject to Part I of the Act, and for other purposes. (Passed 387 to 5.)	Yea.
H.R. 5446	A bill to extend the Solid Waste Disposal Act, as amended, for 1 year and provide authorizations of \$238.5 million for fiscal 1974 for waste disposal grants and projects and to construct solid waste disposal facilities. (Passed 392 to 2.)	Yea.	H.R. 7528	A bill to authorize \$3,073,500,000 in appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, construction of facilities, and research and program management, and for other purposes. (Passed 322 to 73.)	Nay.
H. Res. 308	A resolution providing funds for investigations and studies by the Committee on Internal Security. (Passed 289 to 101.)	Yea.	H.R. 3298	President Nixon vetoed the measure and the House failed to override the spending veto by the necessary two-thirds. (Defeated 225 to 189.)	Nay.
H.R. 5445	A bill to extend the Clean Air Act, as amended, for 1 year and provide authorizations of \$475 million for clean air research and programs. (Passed 387 to 1.)	Yea.	H.R. 6912	Final passage of a bill to amend the Par Value Modification Act to establish a new par value for the dollar, to authorize appropriations to international development lending institutions, and to allow the President to repeal prohibitions against private ownership of gold when he determines that it will not adversely affect the monetary position of the United States. (Passed 322 to 59.)	Yea.
H.R. 5293	Final passage of a bill authorizing continuing appropriations for the Peace Corps. (Passed 329 to 64.)	Nay.	H.R. 7806	A bill to extend through fiscal year 1974 certain expiring appropriations authorizations in the Public Health Service Act, the Community Mental Health Centers Act, and the Developmental Disabilities Services and Facilities Construction Act, and for other purposes. (Passed 372 to 1.)	Absent.
H. Res. 330	A resolution endorsing the President's ocean policy statement of May 23, 1970, as a basis for U.S. participation at the Law of the Sea Conference sponsored by the United Nations. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 303 to 52.)	Nay.	H.R. 7724	A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to establish a national program of biomedical research fellowships, traineeships, and training to assure the continued excellence of biomedical research in the United States, and for other purposes. (Passed 361 to 5.)	Absent.
H.R. 3577	Final passage of a bill which would extend the interest equalization tax for 15 months through June 30, 1974, in order to assist in correcting the balance of payments position of the United States. (Passed 396 to 18.)	Yea.	H.R. 8070	Final passage of a bill to authorize increased federal grants to state programs of vocational rehabilitation and to improve the administration of the program. (Passed 400 to 0.)	Yea.
H.R. 5683	A bill to amend the Rural Electrification Act of 1936, as amended, to establish a rural electrification and telephone revolving fund to provide adequate funds for rural electric and telephone systems through insured and guaranteed loans at interest rates which will allow them to achieve the objectives of the act, and for other purposes. (Passed 317 to 92.)	Yea.	H.R. 7935	Final passage of a bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum wage rates under that act, to expand the coverage of that act and for other purposes. (Passed 253 to 152.) The measure was vetoed by the President. A two-thirds vote was required to override the veto. (Defeated 259 to 164.)	Yea.
H. Res. 340	A resolution authorizing additional investigative authority to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. (Passed 281 to 70.)	Yea.	H.R. 7446	Final passage of a bill to establish the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, and for other purposes. (Passed 357 to 34.)	Yea.
H.R. 3180	A bill to amend Title 39, United States Code, to clarify the proper use of the franking privilege by Members of Congress, and for other purposes. (Passed 354 to 49.)	Yea.	H.R. 8410	A bill to continue the existing public debt limit of \$465 billion through Nov. 30, 1973, and for other purposes. (Passed 261 to 152.)	Nay.
S. 398	Final passage of a bill to extend and amend the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970, until Apr. 30, 1974, which provides for wage and price controls. (Passed 267 to 115.)	Yea.	H.R. 8619	Final passage of a bill making appropriations for agriculture, environmental, and consumer protection programs for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, and for other purposes. (Passed 348 to 24.)	Yea.
H.R. 3932	A bill to provide that appointments for the offices of Director and Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget shall be subject to confirmation by the Senate, and for other purposes. (Passed 229 to 171.)	Yea.	H.R. 8152	A bill to amend Title 1 of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 to improve law enforcement and criminal justice and for other purposes. (Passed 391 to 0.)	Yea.
	President Nixon vetoed the measure and the House failed to override the veto by the necessary two-thirds. (Defeated 236 to 178.)	Yea.			
H.R. 6388	A bill to amend the Airport and Airway Development Act of 1970 to increase the U.S. share of allowable project costs under such act; to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to prohibit certain state taxation of persons in air commerce; and for other purposes. (Passed 386 to 16.)	Yea.			
H.R. 982	A bill to amend the Immigration and Nationalization Act to make unlawful to knowingly employ aliens who have not been lawfully admitted for permanent residence, or who are not otherwise authorized by the Attorney General to work while in the United States. (Passed 297 to 63.)	Yea.			

93D CONG., 1ST SESS.—Continued

Bill No.	Description	My vote	Bill No.	Description	My vote
H.R. 689	A bill to amend Section 712 of Title 18 of the United States Code, to prohibit persons attempting to collect their own debts from misusing names in order to convey the false impression that any agency of the Federal Government is involved in such collection. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 399 to 0.)	Yea.	H.R. 8480	A bill to require the President to notify the Congress whenever he impounds funds, to provide a procedure under which the House of Representatives or the Senate may disapprove the President's action and require him to cease such impounding, and to establish for the fiscal year 1974 a ceiling on total Federal expenditures. (Passed 254 to 164.)	Yea.
H.R. 6129	A bill to amend section 2 of the act of June 30, 1954, as amended, providing for the continuance of civil government for the trust territory of the Pacific Islands. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 387 to 14.)	Yea.	S. 1423	Final passage of a bill to amend the Labor Management Relations Act, 1947, to permit employer contributions to jointly administered trust funds established by labor organizations to defray costs of legal services. (Passed 256 to 155.)	Yea.
H.R. 7127	A bill to amend the act of October 15, 1966, (80 Stat. 915), as amended, establishing a program for the preservation of additional historical properties throughout the Nation, and for other purposes. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 385 to 16.)	Yea.	H.R. 9360	A bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to revise the U.S. bilateral economic assistance program and to authorize \$2.834 billion in foreign economic and security assistance for fiscal 1974. (Passed 188 to 183.)	Nay.
H.R. 7284	A bill to establish an independent Legal Services Corporation to provide legal services in certain civil cases to the poor as substantially amended to prohibit the employees of the corporation from engaging in political activities, civil disturbances, or any illegal activity; to prohibit legal services to those who refuse to seek or accept employment; and to prohibit the corporation from accepting cases dealing with school desegregation; military amnesty or abortion. (Passed 276 to 95.)	Yea.	H.R. 9474	A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to grant a 10-percent cost-of-living increase to veterans, widows, and children receiving nonservice-connected pensions, and dependent parents receiving dependency and indemnity compensation, and for other purposes. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 385 to 0.)	Yea.
H.R. 8510	A bill to authorize appropriations for activities of the National Science Foundation, and for other purposes. (Passed 364 to 6.)	Yea.	H.R. 9286	A bill to authorize appropriations of \$21,394,997,000 during the fiscal year 1974 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval tracked combat vehicles, torpedoes, and other weapons, and research, development, test and evaluation for the Armed Forces, and to prescribe the authorized personnel strength for each active duty component and of the Selective Reserve of each Reserve component of the Armed Forces, and the military training student loans, and for other purposes. (Passed 367 to 37.)	Yea.
H.R. 8825	Final passage of a bill making appropriations for the Department of Housing and Urban Development; for space, science, veterans, and certain related agencies, board, commissions, and corporations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, and for other purposes. I voted against the original bill. (Passed 401 to 9.)	Absent.	H.R. 9130	A bill to amend section 28 of the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920, and to authorize a trans-Alaska oil and gas pipeline, and for other purposes. (Passed 356 to 60.)	Yea.
H.R. 8662	A bill to authorize appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with Section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, and for other purposes. (Passed 398 to 4.)	Yea.	S. 502	Final passage of a bill to authorize appropriations of \$2.6 billion for the Interstate Highway System in fiscal 1974, \$3 billion each for fiscal 1975 and 1976, and \$3.25 billion each for fiscal years 1977-79, in order to construct certain highways in accordance with title 23 of the United States Code, and for other purposes. (Passed 382 to 34.)	Yea.
H.R. 8877	Final passage of a bill making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education and Welfare and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, and for other purposes. (Passed 371 to 33.)	Yea.	H.R. 8449	A bill to expand the national flood insurance program by substantially increasing limits of coverage and total amount of insurance authorized to be outstanding and by requiring known flood prone communities to participate in the program, and for other purposes. (Passed 359 to 21.)	Absent.
H.R. 4200	A bill to amend section 122 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, to continue the same tax treatment for servicemen, and former servicemen, of the United States under the recently enacted survivor benefit plan as was formerly available for them under the retired serviceman's family protection plan in the case of survivor annuities. (Passed 402 to 0.)	Yea.	S. 2016	Final passage of a bill to amend the Rail Passenger Service Act of 1970, as amended, to provide financial assistance to the National Railroad Passenger Corporation, and for other purposes. (Passed 346 to 51.)	Yea.
H.R. 7447	Vote of presidential spending veto on a bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, and for other purposes. (Two-thirds required to override.) (Defeated 241 to 173.)	Nay.	H.R. 8547	A bill to amend the Export Administration Act of 1969, to protect the domestic economy from the excessive drain of scarce materials and commodities and to reduce the serious inflationary impact of abnormal foreign demand. (Passed 220 to 133.)	Absent.
H.R. 8917	Final passage of a bill making appropriations for the Department of Interior and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, and for other purposes. (Passed 385 to 14.)	Yea.	H. Res. 536	A resolution to direct the Speaker of the House of Representatives to certify a certain report on G. Gordon Liddy by the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives to the United States Attorney for the District of Columbia. (Passed 334 to 11.)	Yea.
H.R. 8947	Final passage of a bill making appropriations of \$4,749,403,000 for public works for water and power development, including the Corps of Engineers—Civil, the Bureau of Reclamation, the Bonneville Power Administration, and other power agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Appalachian regional development programs, the Federal Atomic Energy Commission, and related independent agencies and commissions for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, and for other purposes. (Passed 373 to 8.)	Yea.	H.R. 7482	A bill to amend the Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act of 1965 as amended by the Public Health Cigarette Smoking Act of 1969 to define the term "little cigar," and for other purposes. (Passed 287 to 63.)	Yea.
S. 1636	A bill to amend the International Economic Policy Act of 1972 to change the membership of the Council on International Economic Policy, and for other purposes. (Passed 335 to 71.)	Nay.	H.R. 2096	A bill to prohibit the imposition by the States of discriminatory burdens upon interstate commerce in wine, and for other purposes. (Passed 248 to 152.)	Yea.
H.R. 8916	Final passage of a bill making appropriations for the Department of State, Justice and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, and for other purposes. (Passed 394 to 11.)	Nay.	H.R. 7974	A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide assistance and encouragement for the establishment and expansion of health maintenance organizations, and for other purposes. (Passed 369 to 40.)	Yea.
S. 504	Final passage of a bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide assistance and encouragement for the development of comprehensive area emergency medical services system. (Passed 306 to 111.)	Yea.	H.R. 8789	A bill to provide a new coinage design and date emblematic of the bicentennial of the American Revolution for dollars, half-dollars, and quarters, and for other purposes. (Passed 396 to 4.)	Yea.
H.R. 6078	A bill to include inspectors of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Bureau of Customs within the provisions of Section 8335(c) of Title 5, United States Code, relating to the retirement of certain employees engaged in hazardous occupations, and for other purposes. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 296 to 123.)	Nay.	H.R. 6576	A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to engage in feasibility investigation of certain potential water resource developments. (Passed 321 to 74.)	Yea.
H.R. 8949	A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code relating to basic provisions of the loan guaranty program for veterans to separate the Veterans' Administration's housing program from the FHA expiring deadlines and confer on the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs authority to set interest rates for the VA home loan program, thus giving back to the VA full authority over the GI home loan program. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 412 to 3.)	Yea.	H.R. 9639	A bill to amend the National School Lunch and Child Nutrition Acts for the purpose of providing additional Federal financial assistance to the school lunch and school breakfast programs. (Passed 389 to 4.)	Yea.
H.R. 9048	A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide improved medical care to veterans; to provide hospital and medical care to certain dependents and survivors of veterans; to improve recruitment and retention of career personnel in the Department of Medicine and Surgery, as amended. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 421 to 0.)	Yea.	H.R. 9553	A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 for 1 year with regard to the broadcasting of certain professional home games. (Passed 457 to 37.)	Yea.
S. 2120	A bill to amend the Federal Railroad Safety Act of 1970 and other related acts to authorize additional appropriations, and for other purposes, as amended. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 409 to 7.)	Yea.	H.R. 7265	A bill to provide for the operation of programs by the ACTION Agency, to establish certain new such programs, and for other purposes. (Passed 339 to 14.)	Yea.
H.J. Res. 542	A joint resolution limiting and defining the war powers of Congress and the President. (Passed 244 to 170.)	Yea.	H.R. 7730	A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to purchase property located within the San Carlos Mineral Strip, as amended. (Two-thirds required.) (Defeated 236 to 164.)	Yea.
H.R. 8860	A bill to extend and amend the Agricultural Act of 1970 for the purpose of assuring consumers of plentiful supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices. (Passed 226 to 182.)	Yea.	S. 1983	Final passage of a bill to provide for the conservation, protection, and propagation of species or subspecies of fish and wildlife that are threatened with extinction or likely within the foreseeable future to become threatened with extinction, and for other purposes, as amended. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 355 to 4.)	Yea.
H.R. 8538	A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934, to extend certain authorizations for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and for certain construction grants for noncommercial educational television and radio broadcasting facilities and for other purposes. (Passed 363 to 14.)	Absent.	H.R. 9715	A bill to authorize appropriations of \$203,279,000 for fiscal 1974 for the United States Information Agency. (Passed 305 to 108.)	Nay.
H.R. 5356	A bill to regulate interstate commerce to protect health and the environment from hazardous chemical substances. (Passed 324 to 73.)	Absent.	H.R. 9256	A bill to increase the contribution of the Federal Government to the health insurance program for federal employees, and for other purposes. (Passed 217 to 155.)	Nay.
			H.R. 981	A bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to extend to Western Hemisphere the seven-category preference system and the 20,000-per-country limit on the number of immigration visas available annually and to expand the present refugee category to include conditional entry for political refugees from any country in the world. (Passed 336 to 30.)	Nay.
			H.R. 8029	A bill to provide for the distribution of funds appropriated in satisfaction of certain judgments of the Indian Claims Commission and the Court of Claims, and for other purposes, as amended. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 331 to 33.)	Yea.

93D CONG., 1ST SESS.—Continued

Bill No.	Description	My vote	Bill No.	Description	My vote
S. 1914	A bill to provide for the establishment of the Board of International Broadcasting, to authorize the continuation of assistance to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, and for other purposes. (Passed 313 to 90.)	Nay.	H.R. 11459	Final passage of a bill making appropriations of \$2,658,861,000 for military construction and family housing for the Defense Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, and for construction in support of the Trident submarine and underwater-launched ballistic-missile systems, and for other purposes. (Passed 329 to 40.)	Yea.
R. 6452	A bill to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964, to provide a substantial increase in the total amount authorized thereunder, to increase the portion of project cost which may be covered by a Federal grant, to authorize assistance for operating expenses, and for other purposes. (Passed 219 to 195.)	Nay.	H. Res. 702	A resolution providing funds for the Committee on the Judiciary. (Passed 367 to 51.)	Yea.
H.R. 10088	A bill to establish the Big Cypress National Preserve in the State of Florida, and for other purposes. (Passed 376 to 2.)	Yea.	H.R. 11333	A bill to provide a 7-percent increase in social security benefits beginning with March 1974 and an additional 4-percent increase beginning with June 1974, to provide increases in supplemental security income benefits, and for other purposes. (Passed 391 to 20.)	Yea.
H.J. Res. 748	A joint resolution making an appropriation for special payments to international financial institutions for the fiscal year 1974, and for other purposes. (Passed 274 to 90.)	Nay.	H.R. 11324	A bill to provide for daylight saving time on a year-round basis for a 2-year trial period. (Passed 311 to 88.)	Nay.
H.R. 10614	A bill authorizing \$2,715,924,000 for 700 separate construction projects at 300 military installations in support of the active military forces and reserve components for the fiscal year 1974. (Passed 359 to 28.)	Yea.	H.R. 11010	Final passage of a bill providing ended authorizations for fiscal year 1974 through fiscal year 1977 for vocational education, public service employment in areas of substantial unemployment, for State and local comprehensive manpower programs, and for general programs to increase opportunities for employment and training to unemployed and underemployed persons. (Passed 330 to 33.)	Yea.
H.R. 10203	Final passage of a bill which provides authorizations of \$1,331,393,900 for the construction and the repair and the preservation of certain public works on rivers, lakes and harbors for navigation; also flood control, and for other purposes in order to protect the water supply and water transportation of the Nation. Bill covers a six-fiscal year period. (Passed 374 to 4.)	Yea.	H.R. 11575	Final passage of a bill providing appropriations of \$73,714,930,000 for the Department of Defense for active and retired military personnel, operation and maintenance programs, procurement and research and development and for other purposes. (Passed 336 to 32.)	Yea.
S. 907	A bill to authorize the appropriation of \$150,000 to assist in financing the Arctic Winter Games to be held in the State of Alaska in 1974. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 306 to 54.)	Yea.	S. 1191	A bill to provide financial assistance for a demonstration program for the prevention, identification, and treatment of child abuse and neglect, to establish a National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect, and for other purposes. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 354 to 36.)	Yea.
H.R. 8346	A bill to amend the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1970 to establish a nongovernmental instrument which can make definitive technical findings, insure that the findings are made available to all sectors of the economy, public and private, and provide an effective method for encouraging and facilitating Federal, State, and local acceptance and use of such findings. (Two-thirds required.) (Defeated 108 to 258.)	Nay.	H.R. 11710	A bill to insure that the compensation and other emoluments attached to the Office of Attorney General are those which were in effect on Jan. 1, 1969, to amend title 39, United States Code, to clarify the proper use of the franking privilege by Members of Congress, and for other purposes. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 261 to 129.)	Yea.
H.R. 9590	Final passage of a bill making appropriations for the Treasury Department, the U.S. Postal Service, the Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, and for other purposes. (Passed 403 to 10.)	Yea.	H.R. 9437	A bill authorizing \$60 million over a 3-year period to carry out the International Travel Act of 1961 to encourage foreign tourism in the United States. (Passed 272 to 120.)	Yea.
H.R. 6691	Final passage of a bill making appropriations for the legislative branch for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, and for other purposes. (Passed 400 to 11.)	Yea.	S. 1443	Final passage of a bill authorizing \$2,392,234,000 for foreign economic and military assistance. (Passed 210 to 193.)	Nay.
H.R. 10717	A bill to repeal the act terminating Federal supervision over the property and members of the Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin as a federally recognized sovereign Indian tribe; and to restore to the Menominee Tribe of Wisconsin those Federal services furnished to American Indians because of their status as American Indians, and for other purposes. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 404 to 3.)	Yea.	H. Con. Res. 173	A concurrent resolution declaring it the policy of the Congress to support and strengthen the U.S. fishing industry and to take all steps to provide adequate protection for our coastal fisheries against foreign fishing. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 405 to 0.)	Yea.
S. 1570	Final passage of a bill to authorize and require the President of the United States to allocate crude oil and refined petroleum products to deal with existing or imminent shortages and dislocations in the distribution system which jeopardize the public health, safety, or welfare; to provide for the delegation of authority to the Secretary of the Interior, and for other purposes. (Passed 348 to 46.)	Yea.	H.R. 7130	A bill (The Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1973) to improve congressional control over budgetary outlay and receipt totals, to provide for a Legislative Budget Office, to establish a procedure providing congressional control over the impoundment of funds by the executive branch, and for other purposes. (Passed 386 to 23.)	Yea.
H.R. 10586	A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to authorize the use of health maintenance organizations in providing health care. (Passed 345 to 41.)	Yea.	H. Res. 735	A resolution confirming the nomination of Gerald R. Ford, of the State of Michigan, to be Vice President of the United States. (Passed 387 to 35.)	Yea.
H.R. 3927	A bill to extend the Environmental Education Act of 1970 for 3 years to provide environmental education programs at all school levels and to provide \$5 million in appropriations for fiscal 1974, \$15 million for fiscal 1975, and \$25 million for fiscal 1976 to carry out the educational programs. (Passed 335 to 60.)	Nay.	H.R. 9107	A bill which establishes a minimum civil service retirement annuity benefit equal to the minimum social security benefit and increase annuities based on separations which occurred prior to Oct. 20, 1969, by \$300 in the case of a retiree and by \$165 in the case of a surviving spouse. (Passed 270 to 95.)	Nay.
H.R. 10956	A bill authorizing \$185 million over a 3-year period for grants and contracts for feasibility studies, planning, establishment, operation and expansion of emergency medical systems and for research and training. (Passed 364 to 18.)	Nay.	H.R. 10710	A bill (Trade Reform Act of 1973) to promote the development of international trade by broadening the negotiating authority of the President, providing domestic relief from injury caused by import competition, providing relief from unfair trade practices, by establishing nondiscriminatory treatment of the trade of Communist states and allowing preferential treatment of the imports from less-developed countries. (Passed 272 to 140.)	Nay.
H.R. 9456	A bill authorizing \$90 million over a 3 year period to fund drug abuse education programs and to support community education projects. (Passed 372 to 13.)	Yea.	H.R. 11088	A bill authorizing \$2.2 billion in emergency security assistance to Israel. (Passed 364 to 52.)	Nay.
H.J. Res. 735	A joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to receive for instruction at the U.S. Naval Academy two citizens and subjects of the Empire of Iran. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 343 to 28.)	Yea.	H.R. 11771	A bill providing appropriations of \$5,833,912,000 for foreign assistance and related programs for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, and for other purposes. (Passed 219 to 180.)	Nay.
H.R. 5874	A bill to establish a Federal Financing Bank, to provide for coordinated and more efficient financing of Federal and federally assisted borrowing from the public, and for other purposes. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 349 to 25.)	Yea.	S. 2166	An act to authorize the disposal of opium for medical purposes from the national stockpile, as amended. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 270-122.)	Yea.
H.R. 8219	A bill to amend the International Organizations Immunities Act to authorize the President to extend certain privileges and immunities to the Organization of African Unity. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 340 to 39.)	Nay.	S. 2316	An act to authorize the disposal of copper from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile, as amended. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 315 to 73.)	Yea.
H.R. 11104	A bill to provide for a temporary increase of \$13 billion in the public debt limit and to extend the period to which this temporary limit applies to June 30, 1974. (Passed 253 to 153.)	Nay.	H.R. 11450	A bill to direct the President to take action to assume through energy conservation, rationing, and other means that the essential energy needs of the United States are met. (Passed 265 to 112.)	Not voting paired against.
H.R. 9142	Final passage of a bill to restore, support, and maintain modern, efficient rail service in the northeast region of the United States, to designate a system of essential rail lines in the northeast region, to provide financial assistance to rail carriers in the northeast region, to improve competitive equity among surface transportation modes, to improve the process of government regulations, and for other purposes. (Passed 284 to 59.)	Nay.	S. 2582	A bill to amend the Small Business Act to increase the ceiling on SBA loan and guarantee programs; to allow livestock feed operators to obtain disaster loans; to set the terms of loans to farmers for natural disasters occurring after Dec. 26, 1972 but prior to Apr. 30, 1973; to provide low interest loans to small businesses affected by the closing of military installations; and provides that in all future loans, the Secretary of Agriculture shall make loans on the same basis and terms as those provided to homeowners and small businessmen by the Small Business Administration. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 339 to 21.)	Yea.
S. 1081	Final passage of a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to grant rights-of-way across Federal lands where the use of such rights-of-way is in the public interest and the applicant for the right-of-way demonstrates the financial and technical capability to use the right-of-way in a manner which will protect the environment. (Passed 361 to 14.)	Yea.	H.R. 11510	A bill to reorganize and consolidate certain functions of the Federal Government in the new Energy Research and Development Administration and in a Nuclear Energy Commission in order to promote more efficient management of such functions. (Passed 355 to 25.)	Yea.
H. Res. 128	A resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that Members who are convicted of a crime carrying penalties of 2 or more years' imprisonment should attend committee and subcommittee sessions but should not vote in those sessions and should also refrain from voting on the floor of the House. (Passed 388 to 18.)	Yea.	S. 1559	Final passage of an act to provide financial assistance to enable state and local governments to assure responsibilities for job training and community services, and for other purposes. (Passed 330 to 33.)	Yea.
			H.R. 11576	Final passage of a bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, and for other purposes. (Passed 329 to 10.)	Nay.
			H. Con. Res. 411	A concurrent resolution providing for the adjournment sine die of the first session of the 93d Congress. (Defeated 74 to 171.)	Yea.

93D CONG., 2D SESS.

Bill No.	Description	My vote	Bill No.	Description	My vote
H.R. 11387	A bill to amend the Comprehensive Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism Prevention, Treatment, and Rehabilitation Act of 1970 and other related acts to concentrate the resources of the Nation against the problem of alcohol abuse and alcoholism; to coordinate the National Institute of Mental Health, the National Institute on Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse; and the National Institute on Drug Abuse; and for other purposes. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 338 to 22.)	Absent.	H.R. 11105	A bill to amend title VII of the Older Americans Act relating to the nutrition program for the elderly to provide authorization of appropriations as amended. (Passed 380 to 6.)	Yea.
H.R. 11537	A bill to extend and expand the authority for carrying out game conservation, rehabilitation and management programs on military reservations, and to authorize the implementation of such programs on certain public lands. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 355 to 25.)	Yea.	S. 2747	Final passage of a bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum wage rates under that act and to expand the coverage under that act. (Passed 345 to 50.)	Yea.
H.R. 11809	A bill to expand the area of the contiguous fisheries zone off the coast of the United States by requiring the recharting of the zone within two years using the straight baseline method. Such recharting would increase the fishing waters reserved for United States vessels by an estimated two to ten percent. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 375 to 1.)	Yea.	H.R. 11929	A bill to amend 15(d) of the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933 to provide that expenditures for pollution control facilities will be credited against required power investment return payments and repayments. (Passed 209 to 193.)	Yea.
H.R. 11354	A bill which authorizes the Federal Government to pay to the International Development Association \$1.5 billion as the United States contribution to the Fourth Replenishment of the Resources of the Association. (Defeated 155 to 248.)	Nay.	H.R. 11793	A bill to recognize and consolidate certain functions of the Federal Government in a new Federal Energy Administration in order to promote more efficient management of energy and to roll back the price of propane. (Passed 353 to 29.)	Yea.
S. J. Res. 185	A resolution to provide for advancing to not later than Feb. 15, 1974, the effective order of the Interstate Commerce Commission in Docket No. MC 43 (Sub-No. 2), which requires carriers to reimburse their owner-operators for all increases in the price of fuel over the base period May 15, 1973. (Passed 374 to 6.)	Yea.	H.R. 12920	A bill to authorize additional appropriations to carry out the Peace Corps Act. (Passed 294 to 103.)	Nay.
H.R. 11221	A bill to provide full deposit insurance for public units and to increase deposit insurance from \$20,000 to \$50,000. (Passed 282 to 94.)	Yea.	H.J. Res. 941	A bill making urgent supplemental appropriations of \$750 million for fiscal year 1974 for the Veterans' Administration in order to readjust educational benefit payments to veterans. (Passed 398 to 0.)	Yea.
H. Res. 803	A resolution providing appropriate power to the Committee on the Judiciary to conduct an investigation of whether sufficient grounds exist to impeach Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States. (Passed 410 to 4.)	Yea.	H.R. 69	An amendment that prohibits the use of any funds under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to implement busing. (Passed 239 to 168.)	Yea.
H.R. 5463	A bill to provide a uniform code of evidence for use in the Federal courts, and to make conforming amendments to the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure and the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure. (Passed 377 to 13.)	Yea.	H.R. 69	A bill (the Elementary and Secondary Education Act) to extend and amend Federal aid to elementary and secondary schools. (Passed 380 to 26.)	Yea.
H.R. 11873	A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to encourage and assist the several States in carrying out a program of animal health research. (Passed 324 to 23.)	Yea.	H.R. 12412	A bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to authorize an appropriation to provide disaster relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction assistance to Pakistan, Nicaragua, and the Sahelian nations of Africa. (Passed 276 to 124.)	Nay.
H.R. 11864	A bill to provide for the early commercial demonstration of the technology of solar heating by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the Department of Housing and Urban Development, in cooperation with the National Bureau of Standards, the National Science Foundation, the General Services Administration and other Federal agencies, and for the early development and commercial demonstration of technology for combined solar heating and cooling. (Passed 253 to 2.)	Yea.	H. Res. 937	A resolution to provide funds for the investigations and studies of the House Committee on Internal Security. (Passed 247 to 86.)	Yea.
H.R. 12628	A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to increase the rates of vocational rehabilitation, educational assistance, and special training allowances paid to eligible veterans and other persons; to make improvements in the educational assistance programs, and for other purposes. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 382 to 0.)	Yea.	S. 2770	Final passage of a bill which increases the special pay structure relating to medical officers of the uniformed services in order to retain adequate military personnel under the all-volunteer military. (Passed 372 to 17.)	Yea.
H.R. 10834	A bill to provide that certain tracts of land, adjacent to the existing boundaries, to be added to the Golden Gate National Recreation Area in San Francisco and Marin Counties California, and that other specific parcels be excluded from the area. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 284 to 88.)	Nay.	H.R. 13163	A bill to establish a Consumer Protection Agency in order to secure within the Federal Government effective protection and representation of the interests or consumers. (Passed 293 to 94.)	Yea.
H.R. 12670	A bill to restructure the flight-pay system of the Armed Forces to attract and retain officer aviator crewmembers. (Passed 320 to 67.)	Yea.	H.R. 14012	A bill making appropriations for the legislative branch for fiscal year 1975. (Passed 373 to 17.)	Yea.
H.R. 2	A bill (Private Pension Reform Act) to revise the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act (1) to establish minimum standards of fiduciary conduct for Trustees, Administrators, and others dealing with retirement plans, to provide for their enforcement through civil and criminal sanctions, to require adequate public disclosure of the plan's administrative and financial affairs, and (2) to improve the equitable character and soundness of private pension plans by requiring them to: (a) vest the accrued benefits of employees with significant periods of service with an employer, (b) meet minimum standards of funding and (c) guarantee the adequacy of the plan's assets against the risk of plan termination prior to completion of the normal funding cycle by insuring the unfunded portion of the benefits promised. (Passed 376 to 4.)	Yea.	H.R. 13113	A bill to amend the Commodity Exchange Act to strengthen the regulation of futures trading under the Commodities futures trading Commission and to bring all agricultural and other commodities traded on exchanges under regulation. (Passed 281 to 43.)	Yea.
H.R. 11143	A bill to provide the authorization for fiscal year 1974 and succeeding fiscal year for the Committee for Purchase of Products and Services of the Blind and other severely handicapped, and for other purposes. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 308 to 0.)	Absent.	S. 623	A bill which eliminates the civil service annuity reduction made, in order to provide a surviving spouse of a Federal employee with a civil service annuity, during periods when the annuitant is not married. (Passed 296 to 102.)	Nay.
H. Res. 790	A resolution authorizing funds for the Committee on Armed Services. (Passed 312 to 1.)	Yea.	H.R. 11321	A bill ("Public Safety Officers Benefits Act") which provides a gratuity of \$50,000 to the spouse or eligible dependents of certain public safety officers who die in the performance of duty. (Passed 320 to 54.)	Yea.
H.R. 12466	A bill to amend the Department of State Appropriations Act of 1973 to authorize additional appropriations for the fiscal year 1974, and for other purposes. (Passed 331 to 75.)	Nay.	H.R. 13998	A bill which authorizes appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, construction of facilities, and research and program management. (Passed 341 to 37.)	Nay.
H.R. 3858	A bill to provide for the Anti-hijacking Act of 1974 to implement the international antihijacking convention drafted at the Hague in 1971 and to authorize the President to suspend air service to any foreign nation which he determines is encouraging aircraft hijacking. (Passed 361 to 47.)	Yea.	H.R. 13999	An amendment which sought to prohibit live fetus research. (Passed 281 to 58.)	Yea.
H.R. 12471	A bill to amend sec. 552 of title 5, United States Code, known as the Freedom of Information Act, in order to strengthen the procedural aspects of the Freedom of Information Act, improve its administration, and expedite the handling of requests for information from Federal agencies in order to contribute to the fuller and faster release of information. (Passed 383 to 8.)	Yea.	H.R. 13999	A bill to authorize appropriations for the activities of the National Science Foundation. (Passed 330 to 8.)	Yea.
S. 2771	A bill to revise the special pay bonus structure relating to members of the Armed Forces, as amended. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 237 to 97.)	Yea.	H.R. 11989	A bill to enhance the public health and safety by reducing the human and material losses resulting from fires through better fire prevention and control. (Passed 352 to 12.)	Absent.
H.R. 12503	A bill to amend the Controlled Substances Act to provide for the registration of practitioners conducting narcotic treatment programs. (Two-thirds required.) (Passed 375 to 0.)	Yea.	H.R. 14434	A bill making appropriations of \$2,269,828,000 for energy research and development activities for the fiscal year 1975. The amount is \$923,404,000 greater than the amounts appropriated for these purposes in fiscal year 1974, an increase of almost 70 percent. (Passed 392 to 4.)	Yea.
H.R. 12417	A bill to require the development of a long-range plan to advance the national attack on diabetes mellitus. (Passed 380 to 6.)	Yea.	H.R. 12993	A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to provide that licenses for the operation of broadcasting stations (TV and radio) may be issued and renewed for terms of 4 years instead of the present 3 years and to base such renewals on whether the licensee's broadcast operations during the preceding license period have followed prescribed ascertainment procedures and have been substantially responsive to the ascertained needs, views and interests of residents of its service area. (Passed 379 to 14.)	Yea.
			H.R. 14368	A bill to require the Federal Energy Administration to obtain reports from and inspect the domestic energy industry; to maintain an updated report on domestic energy reserves and production and foreign imports; and provide the FEA with authority to temporarily suspend clean air regulations on a qualified, short-term basis in order to meet energy needs. (Passed 349 to 43.)	Yea.
			H.R. 13053	A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to improve the National Cancer Program and to authorize \$2.765 billion during fiscal years 1975-1977 for cancer research which represents \$1 billion more than was provided during the last 2 fiscal years. The bill also provides a cancer control program funded at \$200 million for 3 years, \$110 million more than the preceding 3 years. (Passed 390 to 1.)	Yea.
			H.R. 6175	A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of a National Institute for Aging for the conduct and support of biomedical, social and behavioral research and training relating to the aging process and the diseases and other special problems and needs of the aged. No new authorizations are required to carry out the act. (Passed 379 to 1.)	Absent.
			H.R. 296	A bill to assist in preserving historical and archeological data. (Passed 296 to 23.)	Yea.
			H.R. 11035	On a vote to suspend the rules and pass a bill to declare a national policy of converting to the metric system in the United States, and to establish a National Metric Conversion Board to coordinate the voluntary conversion to the Metric system over a period of 10 years. (Defeated 153 to 240.)	Yea.

93D CONG., 2D SESS.—Continued

Bill No.	Description	My vote	Bill No.	Description	My vote
S. 3072.....	A bill to increase the rates of disability compensation for disabled veterans and the rates of dependency and indemnity compensation for their survivors. (Passed 396 to 0.)	Yea.	H.R. 10265.....	A bill to provide for an audit by the General Accounting Office of the Federal Reserve Board, banks, and branches; to extend sec. 14(b) of the Federal Reserve Act to allow Federal Reserve Banks to purchase directly from the Treasury public debt obligations up to a limit of \$5 billion; and to provide an additional \$60 million for the construction of Federal Reserve Bank branch buildings. (Passed 333 to 20.)	Yea.
H.R. 14354.....	Final passage of a bill to amend the National School Lunch Act to purchase agricultural commodities for distribution to schools. (Passed 345 to 15.)	Yea.	H.R. 13678.....	An amendment to the National Labor Relations Act Coverage For Employees of Nonprofit Hospitals requiring a 60-day "cooling-off" period whenever the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service determines that a dispute threatens to substantially interrupt the delivery of health care. (Passed 168 to 137.)	Yea.
H.R. 8193.....	A bill to further energy transportation security by requiring that a percentage of U.S. oil imports be carried on U.S. flag vessels. (Passed 266 to 136.)	Yea.	H.R. 13678.....	A bill to amend the National Labor Relations Act to extend its coverage and protection to employees of nonprofit hospitals. (Passed 240 to 58.)	Yea.
H.R. 12500.....	A bill (the Egg Research and Consumer Information Act) to enable egg producers to establish, finance, and carry out a coordinated program of research, producer and consumer education and promotion to improve, maintain, and develop markets for eggs, egg products, spent fowl and products of spent fowl. (Passed 302 to 90.)	Yea.	H. Con. Res. 271.....	A resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the Government of the United States shall cease all forms of aid, accommodation or communication with North Korea or the Viet Cong until agreements relating to facilitating knowledge of those missing-in-action in Southeast Asia are complied with. (Passed 237 to 0.)	Yea.
S. 3062.....	Final passage of the Disaster Relief Amendments which provides grants of \$250,000 to the States to assist disaster preparedness programs; authorizes federal payments of 75 percent (not to exceed \$5,000) to individuals or families to cover extraordinary expenses incurred by disaster and not covered by insurance or other disaster aid programs; encourages disaster insurance; increases loan eligibility; provides legal services; and contains general improvements in the Federal disaster relief program. (Passed 392 to 0.)	Yea.	H.R. 14833.....	A bill to extend the Renegotiation Act of 1951 for 18 months in order that the Renegotiation Board might determine if defense and space contracts have made excessive profits from their contracts or subcontracts with the Federal Government and if so, to determine the amount of the refund which must be made to the Federal Government. (Passed 278 to 2.)	Yea.
H.R. 13973.....	A bill to extend the Overseas Private Investment Corporation through 1977 and to express the intent of Congress that OPIC transfers its functions of writing and managing insurance contracts to private insurance companies. (Passed 225 to 152.)	Nay.	H.R. 13595.....	A bill to authorize \$122 million for fiscal 1975 for the Coast Guard for the procurement of vessels and aircraft and construction of shore and off-shore establishments, to authorize appropriations for bridge alterations, to authorize for the Coast Guard an end year strength of 37,748 and for other purposes. (Passed 365 to 0.)	Yea.
H.R. 14592.....	A bill to provide authorizations of \$22,642,963,000 for military weapons procurement and research for fiscal year 1975, \$487,176,000 below the amount requested by the Department of Defense. (Passed 358 to 37.)	Yea.	S. 2844.....	A bill which would reinstate the campground fee system for certain campgrounds at Federally operated outdoor areas, providing that at least one free primitive camp area be provided at any Corps of Engineers site which provides camping and that campers not be charged for facilities necessary to either the public health or safety, and which would expand the Gold Eagle-Golden Age Passport programs. (Passed 355 to 10.)	Yea.
H.R. 14832.....	A bill to provide for a temporary increase in the public debt limit from \$475.7 billion to \$495 billion. (Passed 191 to 190.)	Nay.	H.R. 14747.....	On a series of amendments which would improve the wage rates paid to sugar field workers. (Passed 244 to 143.)	Yea.
H.R. 14449.....	A bill to provide for the transfer of programs presently authorized under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1974, as amended, including the Community Action Program, Legal Services, Senior Opportunities and Services, Headstart, Follow Through, Migrant Programs, The Community Economic Development Program, Native American Program, Comprehensive Health Services program, and others, to a Community Action Administration under the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. (Passed 331 to 53.)	Yea.	H.R. 14747.....	A bill (Sugar Act Amendments of 1974) which would extend and revise sugar import quotas and set domestic sugar prices. (Defeated 175 to 209.)	Nay.
H.R. 13221.....	A bill to authorize \$13,910,000 for fiscal year 1975 for desalination research and substantial pilot plant development and testing on waste water for reuse and water quality maintenance; on an accelerated developmental program for seawater membrane systems, brackish water membrane systems, freezing and distillation of geothermal brines. (Passed 306 to 3.)	Yea.	H.R. 15155.....	A bill appropriating \$4,475,410,000 in new budget authority for fiscal year 1975 for public works and Atomic Energy Commission projects relating to water and power development. (Passed 374 to 21.)	Yea.
H.R. 14225.....	A bill to extend vocational rehabilitation programs authorized under the rehabilitation Act of 1973 for an additional year through fiscal 1976 at an authorized funding level of \$841 million. (Passed 400 to 1.)	Yea.	H.R. 10701.....	A bill providing for the licensing, construction, and operation of deepwater ports to facilitate importation of crude oil and petroleum products from overseas. (Passed 318 to 9.)	Absent.
H.R. 10337.....	A bill to authorize the partition of the surface rights in the joint use area of the 1882 Executive Order Hopi Reservation and the surface and subsurface rights in the 1934 Navajo Reservation between the Hopi and Navajo Tribes and to provide for allotments to certain Paiute Indians. (Passed 290 to 38.)	Yea.	H.R. 10294.....	On a resolution to provide for the consideration of the Federal Land Use Planning Act (H.R. 10294) which would authorize the Secretary of the Interior, pursuant to guidelines issued by the Council on Environmental Quality, to make grants to assist the States to develop and implement comprehensive land use planning processes. (Defeated 204 to 211.)	Nay.

EXIMBANK

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I am alarmed to see that the Eximbank is using its 30-day extension in projects of questionable foreign industrial expansion. The latest loan, which borders on a violation of its objectives, and perhaps of the law itself, is one where \$176 million of low-cost financing has been made available to two Yugoslavian electric firms to build an atomic nuclear project, this for the first time in history in a Communist country.

Under the excuse of creating American labor and making the loan to purchase American-made equipment, they have, for the first time to my knowledge, given 90 percent of the financing to the Yugoslavs where the normal financing by this agency has been approximately 45 percent. It also gives an additional loan of \$29 million to finance local Yugoslav labor, and equipment to be purchased with American money.

In my opinion, this is not the concept

of Eximbank financing that Congress supported. The American people are always fed the same story. This loan was justified by Warren Glick, Executive Vice President of the Eximbank, on the grounds that we had to do it to keep West Germany from getting the contract.

The annual Eximbank interest rate is 7 percent, which is 4 to 6 percent less than any American production facility of any kind can borrow money. In fact, it will cost the taxpayers a minimum of 1½ to 2 percent in the first year alone to finance this loan, because we do not have enough money in the Treasury to give to the Yugoslavs. What do you do when you need money? You borrow it. And so we are back on the merry-go-round.

As one of the Congressmen who fought the 30-day extension on these grounds, I believe my opposition has been vindicated by a recent statement of Exim President William J. Casey. He said earlier this week that new rates may be coming out, some of which might go as high as 8 percent.

Mr. Casey made another statement that ought to hold more than passing interest to Americans, especially motor-

ists and energy starved industries. He stated:

The bank will make loans to oil-rich Arab lands and gold-rich Russians, because that is the way business is done.

At this point, maybe Mr. Casey should read of recent events whereby West Germany refused to loan the Russians a billion dollars to buy a chemical plant. The Russians paid for it with their own billion dollars. When the English refused to loan \$48 million to Russia to buy a plastic plant from Great Britain, the Russians found the \$48 million and bought the plant. The Russians keep finding money so suddenly so often that I am envious of the rocks they must have there to look under.

This country is in a spiral downward, internationally, while other nations are going upward. We have got to stop the spiral.

Congress must write new rules bringing the World Bank, IDA, Eximbank, and other world and area development funding groups under one heading, under one law. That is the only way for the American people to know why the international debt is reaching \$500 billion this year. Otherwise we are all going to pay and pay and pay.

TURKEY DECLARES WAR ON THE UNITED STATES

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, the decision by the Turkish Government to resume growing of opium poppies will have tragic consequences for the American people. As I have warned since first coming to Congress, Turkish opium is a threat to our national security. In 1971, testifying before the Subcommittee on Europe of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I stated that there was no doubt that the danger posed by narcotics was just as deadly as the peril which President Kennedy had perceived from Russian missiles during the Cuban missile crisis.

The Foreign Assistance Act of 1971 contains a provision which I fought for, mandating that the President cut off all economic and military aid to nations which do not fully cooperate in the war against international drug trafficking. President Nixon has not used that power yet, even though the Turkish decision is tantamount to a declaration of war against the United States.

New York Post columnist Pete Hamill perceptively analyzed the true meaning of the Turkish decision to end its opium poppy ban. I include his column of July 8, 1974, at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

[New York Post, July 8, 1974]

ACT OF WAR

(By Pete Hamill)

For the first time since Pearl Harbor, this country has been given sufficient provocation to justify a full, open declaration of war, and the beginning of armed hostilities. Korea and Vietnam were ideological wars, based on the arrogant assumption that we could kill people in other countries because we disagreed with the way some of them wanted to live. Their quarrels were none of our business. There was never any possibility that Korean or Vietnamese communists could cause us direct harm at home. We killed them simply because they were communists and we were capitalists.

But Turkey is different.

Turkey is killing Americans right this minute. Turkey will be killing Americans at an even greater rate in the future. It is killing us with heroin. Heroin made from Turkish opium kills the brains of the people who O. D. on the streets of Harlem and Bed-Stuy and the South Bronx. That heroin flows in the bodies of people who kill old women in elevators for the price of a nickel bag. Heroin causes more than 50 per cent of all crime in this city, and that is more violence than the Korean, Vietnamese or Chinese communists have committed on our shores throughout history.

Last week, the government of Turkey decided to lift its two-year partial ban on the growing of opium. That was a direct act of aggression against the U.S., most particularly against the people of New York, which is the nation's heroin addiction capital. That decision is a decision to kill, destroy, steal and terrorize. It should be met with war.

Three years ago, when Nixon was looking forward to the 1972 election, he decided it

was time "to do something" about the flow of heroin into the U.S. For years, law enforcement people had known how it worked: Opium was grown in Turkey, processed in French plants in Marseilles and delivered through "the French connection" to the shores of the U.S. The amount of opium gum required for a kilo of heroin was sold in Turkey for \$220; by the time it reached the streets of New York, it was worth \$240,000.

Since Nixon was then still posing as a "law and order" man, he had to do something, so he came up with a solution. He decided to bribe the Turkish government. The Turks took a \$15 million down payment against an eventual bribe of \$35.7 million, to "study" ways to get Turkish farmers to grow other crops besides opium. That "study" money is probably safely ensconced right now in Switzerland.

According to Frank Rogers, the city's special narcotics prosecutor, there was still plenty of opium, even after the Turks announced their partial ban, most of it in the hands of middlemen. But with the Turkish announcement last week that full-scale opium farming would be resumed in six provinces this fall, the opium in "the pipeline" will be released. There has been a heroin shortage in New York; we can look forward now to a heroin glut, with its attendant cycle of homicides, robberies, and overdoses. Rep. Rangel says "New York will feel the effect within 60 to 90 days."

To me, if a government (in this case Turkey) sanctions the killing and terrorizing of another country's citizens (Americans, in this case), that is war. Forget the assurances of the Turkish government that the opium is only for legal pharmaceutical purposes and that illegal smuggling will be controlled. They didn't do it before; there is no reason to believe they will do it now. They are in opium for the money, and they don't care how many lives are destroyed as long as the profits are steady.

Nixon has called home the ambassador to Turkey for consultation, but that is clearly not enough.

The narcotics racketeers can only chuckle. What is needed is direct action. According to Newsday's Pulitzer Prize-winning study of the problem, there are 90,000 farmers engaged in opium growing in Anatolia in Turkey. Since 1971, the crop has legally been grown in only four provinces of Anatolia, but now the ban has been lifted, and opium will be grown to match the demand.

Those 90,000 farmers should be warned that we hold them and their government directly responsible for their acts of war against our citizens. They should be given a seven-day period in which to burn their crops, or move to safe areas, and then our B-52s should begin the systematic carpet-bombing of those fields, an act to be repeated every three months until they get the idea. The Russians will not interfere; the Turks, after all, are part of the "Free World," and have received more than \$3 billion in military and economic aid from us. And if the Communist countries want to rally to the defense of heroin, they are welcome to the opportunity.

In addition, Abe Beame, Malcolm Wilson and the State Dept. should issue a list of all products and businesses owned by Turkish nationals or the Turkish government, and call for a complete boycott of those goods. All foreign aid should be ended. All Turkish assets in the country should be seized and held in escrow against the lives of our children. On our side, all we would be doing is killing opium and money; the Turks are killing people. For the first time since Pearl Harbor, Americans are the injured party, and its time to start injuring our enemies back.

THE UNIVERSITY AND PUBLIC LIFE

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, "The University and Public Life" was delivered by Archibald Cox, Williston professor of law, at Harvard University on June 11, 1974, as the Phi Beta Kappa oration. It is well-worth reading:

THE UNIVERSITY AND PUBLIC LIFE

(By Archibald Cox)

Thirty-five years ago Judge Learned Hand, then President of the Harvard Phi Beta Kappa, paid tribute to those who taught him here for "an aloofness from burning issues, which is hard for generous and passionate men" but which is required for the "consecration of the spirit to the pursuit of truth." He pleaded that the scholar-teacher stand aside from public life:

"If he is fit to serve in his calling at all, it is only because he has learned not to serve in any other . . ."

Was Judge Hand correct? The question has long haunted me as one who has sat at his feet yet has traveled often between Harvard and Washington. What I have to say in addressing the question takes rather personal form, perhaps too personal. Still the question can hardly be my concern alone. To ask it, moreover, is one way of looking at the central function of the university and what above all else the scholar-teacher might wish students take away with them.

II

It would be easy to answer that events have overswept Judge Hand's opinion: that today's "knowledge-factory" or "multiversity" bears no resemblance to the Harvard he attended and the institutions of which he spoke; and that, in any event, Judge Hand's liberal, rationalist and essentially optimistic philosophy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although tinted with skepticism, is now outmoded.

The first proposition is beyond dispute; the second I reject out-of-hand; universities were remade by the scientific and technological explosion—by the voracious appetite of society for enormously complex bodies of knowledge and also for young men and women trained for professional, managerial and technocratic careers. The aspects of human activity deemed suitable for scholarly attention expanded at a rate almost equal to the rate at which the functions of government were enlarged. The area of overlap therefore widened enormously. State and federal governments, industry, foundations and community organizations call increasingly upon both individual professors and universities for active participation as well as expert opinion; and both the professors and their institutions value the opportunities.

The link between learning and policy, between academe and the realm of government, seems indissoluble. Government and those seeking to influence government have too much use for the scholar's skill and knowledge. Nor will the professor having tasted the joys of action willingly become the monk.

And so the question has shifted. It is no longer whether the teacher-scholar will abjure all other roles. It is—what will he bring to civil life besides his skill and knowledge. For if the scholar brings only those qualities to the service of government, or to business, labor unions, "public interests" lobbies or other civic organiza-

tions, great as his competence may be, he supplies and society acquires it at excessive cost.

I am not thinking only of the classes untaught, the books unwritten and the student neglected, because Professor A is too busy writing briefs, Professor B is away testifying before a congressional committee, and Professor C is at a meeting of the Caucus of Concerned Conservationists.

I am more concerned about the intellectual effort omitted in pursuit of political action. We might now have the breakthrough in economics needed for governments to avoid or reduce the almost-worldwide high rate of inflation if some brilliant young economist had devoted less time to political organization and more time to economic analysis.

I am most concerned about the de-based value of academic opinion. Teachers who have other allegiance, like those who rush into print upon every invitation, succumbing to the simplicities and exaggerations necessary to provide good copy, impair their own effectiveness when their views might count for more, and also the effectiveness of their colleagues. Every political party—every major candidate—has a reliable stable of professorial experts. A few years ago a Senate Committee had need of information concerning "the pill," and scientists were called to testify. The argument grew so vehement that one editorial writer likened the hearings to the trial of lawsuits resulting from personal injuries. Upon the trial two sets of professional medical witnesses engage in forensic competition: one set—always the same set—favors the plaintiffs; the members of the other set invariably give a view of scientific fact supporting the insurance companies from whom they draw their compensation.

Moreover, when academic scientists, lawyers and economists pledge their loyalty and political commitment to special interests, we should hardly be surprised that belief in free inquiry and rational discourse diminishes; that efforts are made to suppress debate; or that voices call for the politicization of universities.

III

It would be superfluous and even insulting to take the time of this company to argue that we may never compromise with the politicization of scholarship or the suppression of opinion. There is no place in the university for the silencing of heresy, such as the executive board of the American Anthropological Association voted in condemning publication of the works of Professors Herrnstein, William Shockley and Arthur Jensen as "racist, sexist, and anti-working class." Nor is there proper place for persuading student organization to cancel debate between invited speakers because another group of students considers the mere expression of one speaker's views offensive. The physical scientist knows that to bow before the burning bush is no substitute for the patient exploration of observable data and the constant checking and rechecking of induced hypotheses. The historian and humanist know that the record of human experience is replete with proof that some of the greatest wrongs have been done and many of the most civilizing and liberalizing ideas have been suppressed in the name of Truth and Conscience.

Some way must be found, therefore, to reconcile the scholar's participation in public life with his dedication and his university's dedication to the concerned and open-minded pursuit of truth. Not because the university is value-free but because the open-minded search is the highest value. Not because knowledge is amoral and teachers should confine themselves to discoverable "objective" data, but because ethical values can be resolved out of conflicting social, in-

tellectual and spiritual aspirations only by sustained rational endeavour.

IV

What can the scholar-teacher—indeed all university men and women—hope to bring to public affairs besides skill and knowledge?

Woodrow Wilson urged from this platform that—

"What we should seek to impart in our colleges, therefore, is not so much learning itself as the spirit of learning."

What Wilson meant by the "spirit of learning" Learned Hand described as the "consecration of the spirit to the pursuit of truth." Surely neither embraced the naive supposition that there is absolute truth. Quite the reverse: they postulated only that men by free and open inquiry can progress towards understanding. The spirit of learning is the way of freedom and reason, of mutual trust, civility and respect for one another. The spirit of learning is willing to reach conclusions and act upon them until a better hypothesis appears; yet it is a spirit that asserts no orthodoxy and is not too sure it is right.

All this you know better than I. The point I press is that it must be the same with our common human adventure. The qualities the teacher-scholar may bring to government that would reduce some of the heavy costs of involvement are those of mind and heart upon which scholarship depends.

It might be otherwise if we were content with authority, uniformity, and security of a sort for the conformist. But if men—and women too—are of equal dignity and worth, if, though destined to live and work together, our goal is the freedom of each to choose the best he can discern, if we seek to do what we can to move toward the realization of these beliefs, then authority will not suffice and some means must be found to mediate between the self-interested, passionate factions that demand all for themselves and the extinction of all opposition, and so initially repel the very thought of mediation. Yet the only means consonant with freedom—so far as discovered—is to impart to the State and its citizens some of the scholar's way; to apply to all our divisions what George Bancroft wrote of the conflict between employers and employees:

"The feud between the capitalist and laborer * * * is as old as social union, and can never be entirely quieted; but he who will act with moderation, prefer fact to theory, and remember that everything in this world is relative and not absolute will see that the violence of the contest may be stilled."

V

The forces and costs of unremitting divisiveness require no elaboration. Look to Northern Ireland if you require an example. It may clarify my theme, however, to particularize some details of what the scholar-teacher may aspire to bring to government and which alone would justify his venture.

One is a special degree of concern for the institutions that shape human affairs, in contrast to devotion to the fortunes of individuals, or of particular groups, or to the outcome of particular events. The impeachment proceedings furnish an example. Personal and partisan fortunes are at stake, and behind them the interests they represent. The course of proceedings may determine the outcome of national elections in 1974, 1976 and even beyond. For many there is the chance to vindicate the contempt they have always felt for Richard Nixon. Beneath the surface long-range questions are involved, and university men and women should try to focus attention upon them.

First, as a Nation we are shaping for future generations the instruments for dealing with wrong-doing by a President's close associates and the only instrument with which to deal

with a President alleged to be fundamentally unfaithful to his trust. The ill-constructed legacy of the impeachment of Andrew Johnson goes far to explain our present floundering.

Second, again as a Nation we are formulating, implicitly if not explicitly, some minimum acceptable standards of official behavior. The standards we set now will influence the conduct of many officials in high places for years to come. For the future shall be required no more than that an official in order to keep his office refrain from criminal offense? If there is suspicion that wrongdoing occurred down the chain of command, does the senior official come under a personal duty to ensure thorough investigation? When does the duty, if any, arise? How far, in the face of personal or political risks, does the duty extend?

Third, our confidence in our institutions, which means our self-confidence, hangs in the balance. The manner in which the proceedings are conducted—the role of reason, the degree of impartiality, the degree of effort to achieve justice—will affect our self-confidence more than the vote.

I do not know which way these questions cut, save that the recognition of the House's right to any evidence it deems relevant seems essential to the viability of impeachment as an institution. Nor do I suppose that such generalized questions will not be mixed with more passionate, selfish, and immediate ingredients. My point is that such institutional questions are important, and that if university men and women cannot present them with detachment, they will not be raised by other voices.

Next among the teacher-scholar's contributions might be an insistence upon reasoned and therefore principled action even at the cost of immediate objectives. Again, the drama of Watergate supplies an example. In the heyday of Joseph McCarthy the intellectual world, including the press, was properly outspoken about the danger of ex parte accusation, the unfairness of planting of charges in the press without adequate opportunity for denial, and the lack of true adversary proceedings. Should not the same objections be raised when the staff or possibly some member of the Ervin Committee leaks the results of incomplete investigation, gives out the accusatory inferences it draws from secret testimony, and even releases proposed findings of guilt upon men under indictment and awaiting trial? Procedural fairness does not depend upon whose ox is being gored.

Surely, there is also need for voices to stress the importance of constraints upon the means by which we pursue even the worthiest objectives. "The people in the White House," one of them recalls, "believed they were entitled to do things differently, to suspend the rules, because they were fulfilling a mission. That was the only important thing—the mission." Of course the White House aides were not the first so to justify physical aggression, lying and cheating, and disregard for the rights of speech, privacy, dignity and other fundamental liberties. Disregard of the constraints by some breeds further disregard upon the part of others. Brute power becomes the determinant of what is falsely labeled "justice." Only the spirit that is not too sure it is right speaks for the values of civility and reason.

We need the university's example, then, to hold us to a way of life. As the scholar does not know the truth he seeks, as he lacks assurance that there is a truth and knows only that by putting one foot before the other, despite false starts and blind alleys, he makes a little progress, so upon our joint human adventure we do not know the goal, we have no proof there is a goal but can catch glimpses of a bright potential and

perhaps can see that by reason, mutual trust and forbearance man can learn to walk a little straighter.

VI

And so one comes back to the question whether the scholar-teacher surrenders these qualities by entering government or can bring them to public life. Surely Judge Hand was right in saying—

"You may take Martin Luther or Erasmus for your model, but you cannot play both roles at once; you may not carry a sword beneath a scholar's gown . . ."

One recalls the scientists testifying about "the pill."

Nor is it just a matter of passion. Some years ago in advising Senators about labor legislation at the behest of the then-Senator John F. Kennedy I found myself wondering whether the "expert" opinions I expressed were the same as those I would have given in the classroom or written in a law review when freed from the awareness that one answer might help and the other might hurt the Senator's cause in the political battle. Can the teacher-scholar serve two masters? The prime source of these misgivings was probably the awareness that earlier, when engaged in wage stabilization, I had suddenly realized that while preaching internal union democracy to my Harvard classes, I was doing in Washington all I could to promote the strength of national union officials.

Perhaps you will tolerate another personal example. One of the most pressing issues of constitutional law is whether a university governed by the Fourteenth Amendment may give special weight to membership in a disadvantaged minority group—to blacks, chicanos and American Indians—in selecting an entering class of students out of a group of applicants more numerous than the places available. This winter I filed a brief *amicus curiae* supporting the universities' discretion. Where does this leave me as a scholar? Do I continue to present the matter as an advocate, which would be to default on the representation that I am a scholar? Do I keep still, which may be another form of default? Should I speak with the detachment of a scholar, which might in some small degree undercut the views and interests of my client? If I try the latter, how shall I or my audience measure the extent of my impartiality?

Perhaps my questions have no answer. We do not live in the world of "either . . . or . . ." Perhaps our status is ambivalent. But I think we can decide which is master: truth or political commitment, the scholar's way of reason and striving for all possible detachment or the path of political loyalties and the zealot's promotion of fixed commitment. We can sharpen our awareness that the qualities which Woodrow Wilson described as the spirit of learning are the prerequisites of free society; and that we have the best chance to exemplify and bring them to bear in our public lives and through our students.

VII

Can the scholar bring anything useful from public life back to his teaching?

He may bring a degree of knowledge, to be sure; and perhaps even a degree of political sophistication. The law professor who has drafted careful ambiguities to break a legislative impasse construes other statutes with better insight. Judicial rules about the weight to be given legislative history take on a different meaning after one has supplied some Senator with an explanation of a bill to be read to an empty Senate Chamber so that years later the explanation can be cited to a court as proof of the intent of the entire Congress. The role of the press, the problems of proper and improper political influence, the consequences of physical or emotional exhaustion are better felt than learned from treatises. But knowledgeability and even sophistication is surely small return for the classes untaught, the book un-

written, and the individual students neglected. Indeed, the teacher's familiarity with the side shows and gimmicks may have a minus value because their fascination distracts the inexperienced from the hard substance.

Two much simpler observations upon public life seem more important, and perhaps the scholar who ventures into government may bring them back as teacher.

One is that Hugh Sloan of the Committee to Re-elect the President was wrong when he said—

"I learned one thing in politics. If you go into it . . . then sooner or later you have to compromise. You either compromise or get out. It just, sooner or later, takes the edge off your values."

Hugh Sloan was wrong because he did not distinguish political aims and political opinions from ultimate values, from judgments of right and wrong, from the moral limitations whose observance is essential to the long-run legitimacy of political power. In the realm of policy one must often take half a loaf or even a quarter-loaf with a view to coming back for more. Compromise is unavoidable if conflicting goals and rival interests of competing groups are to be melded into consensus. This kind of accommodation in the interests of the whole social enterprise requires no surrender of moral limitations. Indeed, anyone who has served in government knows that along with the blunderers, the time-servers, the corrupt and the overly-ambitious, many men and women serve in offices, both high and low, who faithfully observe the line between policy and moral principle; and by their conduct they have gained both respect and power. Last October Elliott Richardson and William Ruckelshaus provided important examples.

Second, the teacher who has been in government may be able to testify more persuasively than others that the way of the scholar, the way of reason, the way of professional—name it what you will—is effective in ordering human affairs. To say that these qualities always prevail would speak absurdities. To deny the weight of ambition, stupidity, occasional corruption and—worst of all—indifference, would fool no one. But fact and reason have their day.

In the end, then, the scholar-teacher justifies his ventures into public life to himself by the hope that the experience will enable him to bear witness before his students more convincingly than before that for them to carry away with them as citizens "not so much learning itself as the spirit of learning" will contribute most to the common adventure of all mankind.

As part of this he might wish to be able to say out of experience a word for the value of the long view. Youth measures in only one direction, it is said: from things as they are to an ideal of what things ought to be; while the old measure things as they are against the past the old remembers. The students of recent years belonged to an idealistic, honest and courageous generation: idealistic enough to see what can be, honest enough to face the gap between what is and what can be, and courageous enough to seek instant correction. But of course the "boob-tube" is misleading and the millennium is never instantly achieved. As in the past men go blundering along, inept, selfish, power-hungry and filled with capacity for evil. I have heard it said that today's classes have, in their discouragement, retreated from idealism and commitment. It is honest, courageous and good to see ourselves for what we are, and I hope that neither those classes nor today's will ever become patient about the gap between what is and what ought to be. But disappointment with failure to achieve the millennium should not lead to obsession with whatever is bad, like the media's, and so to cynicism and despair or the search for escape in the perverse and abnormal. For those who take the long view of man's experience will find that from time

to time there were other societies no less honest and courageous than ours in facing all the ugliness, cruelty and indifference the mirror reveals, but which also held a brighter, nobler view of man and had the greater courage to pursue the vision. And perhaps, if we compare where men are with where they have been as well as with where they must be going, we can conclude that even if men cannot bring about the millennium, still they can help each other to suffer a little less and learn to do a little better. There is no assurance even of this, but there is joy in the endeavor.

PASTOR HONORED ON 25TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, last month I had the pleasure of participating in the observance of the 25th anniversary of the ordination of the Very Reverend Theodore J. Seginak, O.S.B.

Father Seginak, now pastor of St. John's Byzantine Catholic Church in Youngstown, Ohio, was ordained into the priesthood on May 8, 1949, at St. Mary's Church in Whiting, Ind. Since then, he has had many assignments, including the pastorate of St. Nicholas Church in McKeesport, Pa., part of my 20th Congressional District. Father Seginak served St. Nicholas from 1953 to 1955, when he was appointed superior of the Benedictine Fathers at Holy Trinity Monastery in Butler, Pa.

That year the monastery received the right to elect a major superior of its own, with jurisdiction comparable to that of a bishop in the church. On September 7, 1955, the Very Reverend Theodore J. Seginak became the first ever elected to that position.

During his tenure as major superior, Father Seginak had the honor of meeting three leaders of the Catholic Church: Pius XII, Pope John, and Pope Paul. Although now the pastor of St. John's, Father Seginak still maintains his ties with Holy Trinity Monastery, where he is in charge of monastic public relations.

On June 9, the spiritual family of St. John's, friends and religious associates of Father Seginak joined in honoring him at a divine liturgy of thanksgiving at St. Nicholas' Church, McKeesport, and a banquet in the Ascension Church hall in Clairton, Pa. Among those paying tribute to this remarkable priest for 25 years of service to God and man were:

The Most Reverend John Bilock, auxiliary bishop of the Munhall Metropolis; the Very Reverend Method A. Royko, prior of Holy Trinity Monastery; Rev. Msgr. Michael Hrebin, dean of Clairton Deanery and pastor of Ascension Church; Rev. Michael Pipik; Father Stephen Veselenak, O.S.B.; Dr. Michael Kulick, M.D.; George Pegula, executive vice president of United Societies of U.S.A.

Chester Glenn, a founder of the Associates of St. Benedict; the Honorable John Pribanic, mayor of the city of McKeesport; the Honorable Lloyd Fuge, mayor of the city of Clairton; Msgr. John Macko, vicar for religious; Msgr.

Daniel Maczkov, the United Cantors of Western Pennsylvania and the Slavjani Dancers of Holy Ghost Church, under the direction of John Poloka.

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the Congress of the United States, I take this opportunity to extend formal congratulations to Father Seginak on the 25th anniversary of his ordination and to wish him many fruitful and happy years in his service to God.

THE FOOD RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1974

HON. JOHN F. SEIBERLING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to reintroduce the Food Research and Development Act today with additional cosponsors: Ms. ABZUG, Mr. BIESTER, Mr. COTTER, Mr. KOCH, Mr. MURPHY of New York, Mrs. SCHROEDER, and Mr. WOLFF.

I would also like to draw the attention of Members of the House to the following article from a recent issue of *Catalyst for Environmental Quality* entitled "Wastes Offer Answer for Coming Protein Shortage" by Dr. Arthur Humphrey, dean of the College of Engineering and Applied Science at the University of Pennsylvania.

The article discusses the potential of micro-organisms to produce large quantities of "single-cell" protein to meet the enormous food needs of the future. The article points out that 50 million tons of protein could be produced from the 200 million tons of animal manure generated in the United States each year by using micro-organisms. Not only could this protein be used as livestock feed, the article notes, but it could be transformed into nutritious, palatable human food as well by new food processing methods.

The Food Research and Development Act would help to find ways of developing this and other new food techniques cheaply and abundantly.

The article by Dr. Humphrey follows: [From *Catalyst for Environmental Quality*, 1974]

WASTES OFFER ANSWER FOR COMING PROTEIN SHORTAGE

(By Dr. Arthur Humphrey)

Before the world has adjusted to the energy problem, it may be in for a severe shortage of vitally needed protein.

The demand for protein in the developing countries is increasing at the rate of 25 per cent per year. This increase is caused by such factors as increasing population, demand for better nutrition, and increasing demand for meat which in turn requires protein.

It has been estimated that by the end of this decade, 1980, 60 million tons per year of food protein and 100 million tons per year of animal feed protein will be required.

UNCONVENTIONAL PROTEIN SOURCES

Where will this protein come from? Obviously, much will come from cereal grain sources, particularly now that improved high protein varieties are being developed. However, it is clear that in the decades of the '70's and '80's, a period I think of as the

"protein crunch", we must turn to unconventional protein sources. These sources include leaf protein, fish meal, oil seed meal, and single cell protein.

Development of all such sources will be necessary to ease the protein crunch. Oil seed meals, specifically soy bean meal, is the most important immediate unconventional protein source. However, single cell protein has certain unique advantages over the other sources that make its long term potential very bright.

SINGLE CELL PROTEIN

What is single cell protein (SCP)? SCP is derived from single cell microorganisms grown on renewal agricultural resources, on agricultural wastes, or on fossil fuels, and, in the process, converting inorganic nitrogen to cellular protein. The protein in microbial cells is generally very high both in quantity and nutrition. Microbial cells often contain as much as 65 per cent protein.

There are many advantages to single cell protein. For example, SCP doesn't have to be grown in the ground, thus requiring acreage as cereals do, and its growth is not dependent upon favorable weather conditions. Moreover, it doubles rapidly. And genetic experimentation to improve protein content can be readily undertaken.

Some of the SCP processes developed by chemical engineers are derived from sources such as: fossil fuel, feed lot wastes, city refuse, paper plant wastes.

Obviously, there are many possible substrates that can be used for SCP production. These fall into three categories: materials that have a high value as a source of energy or are derived from such items, materials that can be derived from plants and hence are a renewable resource, and materials that are essentially waste and should be recycled back into the ecosystem by some minimal, non-polluting means.

Resource use as well as financial economy must be considered in choosing between these SCP substrate alternatives. For example, the ever increasing concern about environmental pollution has resulted in greater negative cost values of wastes and hence has increased their potential as SCP substrates.

Energy source materials include natural gas, N-Alkanes, gas oil, methanol, ethanol, acetic acid.

It is estimated that world energy consumption will double between 1970 and 1980, increasing from the energy equivalent of 100 million barrels of oil per day to 170 million barrels of oil per day. Over 60 per day of this energy will come from oil. In view of the present oil shortage and likely future oil shortage, there will probably not be much SCP production from energy source materials.

UTILIZING WASTES

Prospects look brighter in the field of utilizing wastes. Waste materials include such things as animal manure, sewage, bagasse, citrus waste, whey, sulfite waste liquor, molasses, carbon dioxide.

Last year, approximately one billion tons of solid organic wastes were generated in the United States. Included were agricultural and food wastes, manure, urban refuse, logging and other wood wastes, industrial wastes, municipal sewage solids, and miscellaneous organic wastes. Of this waste, nearly 200 million tons came from animal manure. It has been estimated that nearly one million barrels of oil per day could be obtained from the waste by a chemical CO reduction process. This is hardly significant in terms of the oil demand. However, 50 million tons of single cell protein per year could be derived from the manure wastes, and this is significant in terms of the protein needs.

With respect to this latter possibility, large feed lots for cattle are posing great pollution difficulties. Feed lots handling

from 10,000 to 100,000 head of cattle are becoming popular. The accumulation of manure from a 100,000 head feedlot is roughly equivalent to the municipal sewage disposal problem for a city of one million people. With the development of liquid ammonium fertilizers, feedlot manure is no longer an efficient or economical manner of fertilizing. Hence manure is now simply stacked and is becoming a significant source of pollution in some areas. It could and should be turned into energy or single cell protein.

FISH MEAL AND SOY MEAL PRICES ESCALATING

Fish meal and soy meal are other sources of protein. Fish meal production depends to a great measure upon the catch of anchovies off the coast of Chile and Peru. In 1972 and 1973 the catches were greatly reduced due to anomalies in the Japanese current behavior. This has caused an escalation of protein prices to a situation where fish meal prices at their peak in 1973 reached \$400 per ton and soy meal \$260 per ton. This is equivalent to 31 cents per pound for fish protein and 30 cents per pound for soy protein. The price of single cell protein has been estimated to be between \$270 and \$330 per ton, depending on the plant size and substrate used. This is equivalent to 21-25 cents per pound of crude protein. Thus it would seem that SCP could have been profitably produced in recent months.

PROTEIN IMPERIALISM?

I believe society is heading toward a world community of energy imperialists and protein imperialists where both protein and energy will be derived from many sources including oil, wastes, and renewable resources.

How will the technical feasibility of single cell protein be decided? Will the private sector be allowed to build SCP processes solely on financial considerations or will political pressures from the government weigh in such decisions? As Chairman of the Working Group on Production of Substances by Microbiological Means and hence a working member of the US-USSR Commission on Cooperation in Science and Technology, I have observed how political considerations have weighed in the Soviet decision to produce single cell protein from oil products. But in Japan, political protest caused the demise of Japanese SCP processes based on oil.

FABRICATED FOODS

The most important innovative foods of the '70s may be foods which are engineered to achieve given nutritional specifications as well as physical form. Bulk relatively pure protein will be a basic raw material for these fabricated foods. The different protein materials will derive value from their spinability, extrudability, color and flavor retentivity, and nutritional toning characteristics.

How will this bulk protein be transformed into acceptable food? Key to this transformation has been the achievement of spun protein fibers, a process developed by chemical engineers at several food companies. In these processes protein is solubilized in an alkali solution and spun (much like a polymer fiber is spun) into an acid solution where shanks of fibrous materials are produced. This fibrous material can be colored, flavored and pressed in various recognizable food forms. The advantage of the fibrous form is that it provides texture, so essential to food acceptance.

I believe protein raw materials will be bought and sold much as the various flours are now for the baking industry. Many feel oilseed meals—i.e. vegetable proteins—will continue to be the important source of protein concentrate and single cell protein largely to the area of animal feeds. I do not share this view. SCP has a unique characteristic in terms of the ease, relative to other protein sources, with which the amino acid profile and hence protein characteristics can be genetically manipulated. I believe this will be one of the prime advantages of single

cell protein. The ultimate value of SCP will be its programmed protein characteristics, not necessarily its value as a large bulk supply of cheap protein.

EMERGENCY LIVESTOCK ACT

HON. PETER A. PEYSER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. PEYSER. Mr. Speaker, next Tuesday the House is scheduled to debate the Emergency Livestock Act. As I have stated many times, I consider this to be ill-conceived legislation which should be defeated. In this regard I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a letter which I recently sent to all of the Members of the House with 14 of my colleagues representing both parties from all across the country.

The letter follows:

DEAR COLLEAGUE: The House is soon scheduled to consider the "Emergency Livestock Credit Act of 1974." We urge you to vote against this ill-conceived legislation.

We certainly understand the problem of the cattle producer and some of the other producers who are covered by this legislation. However, after considerable study and investigation we have come to the conclusion that this legislation will not help the people it is intended to help. Instead it will merely be a bank bonanza bill which will bail out banks and other investors in tax shelters who made ill-advised investments in an inflated cattle and hog industry during a period of unprecedented high prices.

By granting a government guarantee on new loans, we permit producers to refinance their old loans at the present 11½ or 12 percent interest rate. There can be little reassurance for the already heavily indebted producer who, a year from now, will again have to face the possibility of bankruptcy when the loan program ends and he is still heavily in debt.

Meanwhile, consumers continue to pay near all-time high prices for food and the reduction in price is not passed on by middlemen.

We are convinced the only long term answer to the problem is to increase consumption of beef and hogs. This will not be done until middlemen pass on lower prices to the consumer.

The cattle industry is presently overproducing, partially because of tax shelter money lured in by the promise of attractive benefits, partially because of Canada's ban on United States beef, and due to many other causes. In most industries, overproduction would lead to a lower price to the consumer. Instead, we have seen a reduction in demand since prices have not come down. If all involved in this market really want to help themselves in the long run, they should worry about increasing the demand for meat by passing on price reductions to the consumer and force the middlemen to release some of the tremendous amount of warehoused beef they now hold.

This bill which is the result of a total of 20 minutes of discussion in the Full Agriculture Committee should be defeated.

Sincerely,

Peter A. Peyser, Margaret M. Heckler, Benjamin S. Rosenthal, Thomas M. Rees, John Conyers, Jr., William R. Cotter, Gilbert Gude, Mario Blaggi, Ella T. Grasso, George E. Brown, Jr., Charles A. Vanik, John H. Dent, Yvonne B. Burke, Joseph P. Addabbo, Michael Harrington, William J. Green.

LIFTING OF TURKISH OPIUM POPPY BAN THREATENS UNITED STATES

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, Prime Minister of Turkey Bulent Ecevit's decision to permit new poppy plantings by Turkish farmers has triggered a United States-Turkey crisis. Clearly this move by the Prime Minister to resume cultivation of the opium poppy is a domestic political move to keep his struggling, weak coalition government from splitting apart.

It is nonetheless a considerable setback for the United States. When the ban was imposed in 1971 at U.S. urging, opium from Turkish farms represented 80 percent of the narcotics entering the United States illegally. Today many of our colleagues believe that the ban has been largely responsible for the decline in illicit drug traffic since then.

In the Turkish political context the opium decision becomes a populist move aimed at appeasing the discontented poppy farmers who represent an important segment of the electorate. Premier Ecevit asserts that the opium crop will be used exclusively for pharmaceutical industry, and proposes tighter security measures in the hopes of curtailing clandestine markets.

Clearly, as has been shown in the past, it has been proven nearly impossible to control what the farmers do in remote areas of Anatolia where the poppy flourishes. For this reason the resumption of cultivation and the lifting of the ban is a devastating blow for the entire United States.

Therefore, I would like to share with my colleagues the Evans and Novak column from the May 8, 1974, Washington Post which vividly depicts the present situation, which will have a negative impact on the lives of millions of Americans:

[From the Washington Post, July 8, 1974]
THE OPENING ROUNDS OF THE "POPPY WAR"

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

ANKARA, TURKEY.—Despite confrontation of potentially tragic dimension between Turkey and the U.S., Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit pledged in an exclusive interview here to "keep anti-American reactions within limits" if Congress terminates U.S. aid in reprisal for renewed poppy-growing in Anatolia.

Ecevit, the left-leaning intellectual who translates Ezra Pound and once audited a Kissinger course at Harvard, has been carefully briefed on congressional aid threats by hard-driving American Ambassador William B. Macomber.

Those threats, running the gamut from conservative New York Republican James Buckley to liberal Democratic presidential hopeful Sen. Walter Mondale of Minnesota, stem from Ecevit's decision to resume poppy-growing after a two-year ban. The ban was imposed under extraordinary U.S. pressure to ease an American narcotics or hard drugs epidemic.

Some U.S. experts claim that elimination of the Turkish poppy (source of raw opium) is the main explanation of a dramatic 50 per

cent decline in the number of U.S. heroin addicts to an estimated 250,000 today. Turkish farmers have sold poppy oil and seed for generations in legitimate trade; the underworld reaped millions in illicit opium profits.

Ecevit's decision to permit new plantings by impoverished Turkish farmers comes as his political fortunes are finally rising after a shaky start six months ago. It was not only a popular decision; it had been virtually pledged by all candidates in last fall's election.

Yet, it now has triggered an escalating U.S.-Turkish crisis, with the U.S. accusing Ecevit of breaking the planting-ban "agreement" made by the 1971 army-dominated government and the Turks angrily saying the U.S. cannot dictate their domestic economic policy.

Stark overtones derive from Washington's dependence on its NATO alliance with Turkey for indispensable gathering of highly classified military information from across the Soviet border. There are no fewer than 25 joint Turkish-American bases. Nevertheless, the congressional target of reprisal is U.S. military aid here (now running at \$35 million a year) and about \$55 million in economic aid. The danger of infuriated Turkish response to U.S. pressure is evident from recent history: an attack on former Ambassador Robert Komer's limousine five years ago by anti-American left-wing students.

Ecevit draws support from these same liberal forces. Some Western experts here believe that with U.S.-Soviet detente in full bloom, Ecevit may be coming under subtle leftist pressures to begin modifying the special U.S. Turkish relationship. The poppy war could be a harbinger.

If so, Ecevit disguises it. To the contrary, he told us in his parliamentary office that "the U.S. link is indispensable." Indeed, he said, a decision not to resume poppy planting would itself have led to virulent anti-Americanism (a thesis of dubious validity).

Yet, Ecevit is clearly aiming at alterations in Turkey's foreign policy. No Turkish government, he told us, can afford to appear "submissive" to a bigger ally. Some senior members of his government feel that in the past, particularly during interludes of covert army domination such as 1971, Turkey was indeed "too submissive" to the U.S. Ecevit now courts closer ties with the Arab world, with Europe, both East and West, and with the underdeveloped world.

Ecevit, a new-look Turkish leader of charm and poise, absolutely ruled out any negotiations with the U.S. on the poppy war as "an infringement of our sovereignty." That dramatizes the developing split with the U.S. which claims the 1971 poppy deal was an "agreement," tied to special economic aid for poppy farmers, that can't be broken unilaterally.

Ecevit told us he would cooperate with the U.S. or any international consortium to police the new poppy crops and keep opium out of the hands of underworld dealers. Knowledgeable westerners scoff at this as unworkable, and they are probably right.

The prospect of the U.S. Congress fanning the flames of Turkish chauvinism by eliminating aid is ominous. Some Turkish politicians believe President Nixon himself may turn against Turkey in his political writhing for popular acclaim, but that seems highly unlikely.

Nevertheless, so grim does the poppy war look that Macomber, on first learning of Ecevit's final decision late last Monday, demanded a formal diplomatic appointment at midnight to gain time. He came away, as he had been warning Washington for months, empty-handed.

LABOR-CIVIL RIGHTS COALITION

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, the friendship between the AFL-CIO and civil rights groups has furthered the cause of equal opportunity and civil rights for all Americans. Particularly as the opposition to a government which displays unconcern for the rights of the people, labor and civil rights proponents must continue to work together as a united front to defend the progress we have made, in the past two decades, toward racial justice.

In the wake of the deaths of former Chief Justice Earl Warren and Mrs. Martin Luther King, Sr., I hope all Members of Congress will think about the effort, the sacrifice, the tears and hopes which made change possible. This movement toward a more just society must continue. It can only do so if the labor-civil rights coalition remains a buttress against the regressive attitudes of the Nixon administration. I insert in the RECORD for the attention of my colleagues an article from the July 6 AFL-CIO News which describes a message from President George Meany to the NAACP convention urging a renewed, strong coalition between the two groups.

MEANY HITS NIXON ASSAULT ON CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRESS

NEW ORLEANS.—AFL-CIO President George Meany called for strengthening the alliance between labor and civil rights groups to recover ground America has lost under the Nixon Administration.

Meany charged in a message to the NAACP convention here that President Nixon has shown "relentless hostility" to the civil rights principles for which the AFL-CIO and the black community have fought.

But it isn't just blacks and other minorities that have been the target of the Administration's policies, Meany emphasized. It is all "part of a larger assault on the economic interests of all workers and consumers, on the civil rights of all Americans and on the foundation of democracy itself."

The "massive counterattack" on the progress made in the 1960s and 1950s is evidence that "the battle is far from won," Meany said.

"We cannot afford to rest or go separate ways," he said. "We cannot allow demagogues to divide our ranks."

Meany recited some of the setbacks under the Nixon Administration.

"Badly needed housing, education, manpower, health and welfare legislation has been blocked time after time by White House opposition or crushed by veto after veto."

He noted the dismantling of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the double squeeze of inflation and recession on workers and consumers. And unemployment, while high for both races, was "as always" highest in the black community.

Meany cited areas of progress as well, in his message to the NAACP's 65th anniversary convention.

While the first minimum wage bill passed during the Nixon Administration was vetoed by the President, this year the long-sought increase and expansion of coverage was passed by so great a margin that Nixon "did not dare to veto it again."

In that legislative battle, Meany noted, the NAACP's Washington director, Clarence Mit-

chell, again proved "one of the most effective legislative agents" in the capital.

Meany noted progress also within the labor movement towards ending discrimination and widening job opportunities.

He cited the 29,000 minority youngsters in Outreach apprenticeship programs, an increase of 7,000 over the previous year.

"We are very proud of Outreach," Meany said. "It has a lower dropout rate than any other apprenticeship program in America. No more effective program exists to equip young blacks with the skills they need to share equally in the world of work and the rewards of work."

Because the AFL-CIO rejects "the idea that any segment of society can prosper at the expense of any other segment," the federation has helped set up the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement as a vehicle for Spanish-speaking workers, and has aided the A. Phillip Randolph Institute to expand its voter registration and education programs in 35 states.

And, Meany added, the AFL-CIO Dept. of Civil Rights and Director William E. Pollard work "day in, day out . . . to eliminate discrimination of every kind in every AFL-CIO union."

In the months ahead, he declared, labor will do all it can "to help elect a Congress that will put people above profit" so that "next year will see America resume its progress toward civil, social and economic equality where it halted in 1969."

Meany voiced confidence that labor and the civil rights movement "will be working side by side" toward that objective.

A PENNY SAVED IS NOT EARNED

HON. ROBERT P. HANRAHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. HANRAHAN. Mr. Speaker, the penny shortage is causing quite a bit of concern. Because of this, the Treasury Department has begun a nationwide campaign to curtail this shortage. For the benefit of my colleagues, I insert the following article from the Star-Tribune:

A PENNY SAVED IS NOT EARNED

Faced with a critical shortage of pennies in circulation throughout the country, the federal government has come up with a new twist to an old proverb. In effect it is telling the public not "a penny for your thoughts," but "Give us your thoughts on pennies."

To help relieve the coin shortage, the U.S. Treasury department has launched a nationwide campaign to get the lowly penny back into circulation. Only the penny isn't so lowly anymore, it seems. In fact, the copers are becoming so scarce that many merchants are rounding off sale prices to the next highest nickel. And this, the government warns, is inflationary.

As an extra incentive for public co-operation in the campaign, the Treasury department will award a special citation to every person who cashes in \$25 or more in pennies at a bank. The citation bears the signature of Mrs. Mary Brooks, director of the mint.

Since 1959 the mint has turned out 60 billion pennies. At present, however, only about 30 billion are in circulation. Most of the others, the government believes, are being hoarded by coin collectors and speculators in hopes of profiting from the scarcity or as a result of rising prices for copper.

But this won't happen, the government says. Copper prices are leveling off and the

number of pennies still in circulation is much too large for them ever to have any numismatic value.

Meanwhile, however, unless at least 15 billion pennies can be lured out of hiding, the government will have to coin the same number, at a cost to taxpayers of \$150 million. This also will require the use of approximately 100,000 tons of copper, a valuable natural resource that cannot be replenished by man.

The Treasury department program appears to have a number of helpful things going for it. Among other things it offers every member of the family an opportunity to help control inflation, protect the environment and cut government expenses. Who would have thought any amount of pennies could help accomplish so much?

MAN'S CHALLENGE IN AMERICA'S FUTURE

HON. JOHN P. MURTHA

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. MURTHA. Mr. Speaker, I had the honor and privilege of participating in the eighth annual "Old Fashioned" Fourth of July festivities in the progressive borough of Brockway, Pa.

It was most heartening to see the thousands of people who gathered to pay tribute to the true meaning of July 4—the birthday of the United States of America.

It was my special privilege to give the Independence Day address as arranged by the Patriotic Committee of the Brockway 4th of July Committee.

In this day of unrest of our youth and a questioning in the minds of some adults as to what our young people believe in, I was most impressed to meet Miss Debie Galluzzi of Brockway who wrote the following article which was used as a part of the cover of the official program for the Fourth of July festivities. I would like to share Miss Galluzzi's thoughts with my colleagues as I know they, too, will be most interested in hearing what this one youth of our country expressed:

MAN'S CHALLENGE IN AMERICA'S FUTURE

Challenge—a call to fight. America's challenge—a call from other nations to lead the world toward freedom. This American challenge is one of leadership to the many oppressed nations who look upon us as the defenders of freedom and peace.

We, the Americans, must dedicate ourselves to this struggle toward independence for the world through the knowledge that our own freedom and faith in God will bring us ever closer to this goal and its synonymous happiness.

However, because the United States has always possessed these fine qualities, we have become the target for world-wide criticism. This criticism has taken some effect on the American people, but the majority of Americans realize that the only way we will ever achieve world peace is to strive toward the goal of freedom for all nations. We will conquer hunger with food, strife with hope, and anarchy with justice. When we dedicate ourselves to this, nations will no longer surrender to the hopelessness on which strife and war feed. Instead they will look to us for hope and a guiding light. We will be re-

membered not only for our bravery but also for our justice and liberty.

After we, the Americans, have accomplished our task of leadership, we will then be even more thankful for our own freedoms and opportunities. We will see that this is the way to lead the world—not to cringe in slavery but to be united in freedom.

COAL RECLAMATION FEE: COST IS LOW, BENEFITS ARE HIGH

HON. JOHN F. SEIBERLING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Speaker, when the surface mining control and reclamation bill, H.R. 11500, reaches the House floor, I intend to offer a substitute for the reclamation fee provisions of title IV.

The bill, as it now stands, would do much to prevent future devastation of our coal mined lands. It would do little, however, to repair the enormous devastation that remains from the past.

According to the latest survey by the U.S. Soil Conservation Service, over 2.5 million acres of strip mined lands lie unreclaimed. These lands are not merely an eyesore. They pose serious physical hazards to people who live near them. They mean a tremendous economic loss to the communities' tax base. And they represent an enormous loss of food and water for our Nation's population.

The fund raised by my reclamation fee would be used primarily to restore these ravaged lands. The basic fee of \$2.50 per ton on all coal mined would be reduced on the average to 92 cents per ton by credits for coal mine safety equipment and activities, already required by law, and for reclamation activities required by the present bill. These credits would lower the fee substantially, while offering the industry a strong incentive to do a better job of coal mine safety and reclamation.

The net reclamation fee is estimated to average around \$1.60 per ton to strip-mines and only 25 cents per ton for deep mines, with their high coal mine safety costs.

This is a small price to pay for the great benefits that would be gained. The average cost of coal would still be less than half the cost of the equivalent amount of oil, at current prices. Such a fee would add only six hundredths of a cent per kilowatt hour to the average cost of electricity generated with coal—a cost to the consumer of only 36 cents per month on the home electric bill.

REVITALIZATION OF DEEP MINING

The fee would also benefit the coal industry. It would offer the industry a great incentive to open or expand deep mines. This is vital if the coal industry is to meet the heavy demand for coal in the near and far future.

Only 3 percent of the Nation's coal can be strip mined. The other 97 percent must be deep mined. Our country's future in coal thus rests largely in a viable deep mining industry. Yet in recent years, deep mining has been declining while stripping has grown to 50 percent of our

coal production. Since 1970, 1,585 deep mines have closed, a loss of hundreds of jobs and a loss of almost 29 million tons of annual coal production.

We cannot rely on strip mining to fill our Nation's need for coal. As an Interior Department task force report pointed out, if we put maximum reliance on surface mining to expand production, we will "exhaust a very high portion of reported surface reserves in both the East and West by the year 2000," and surface mine reserves in the West would be totally exhausted by 1996. Accordingly, the task force found such a strategy unacceptable.

My amendment would restore the competitive balance between deep mining and strip mining. By encouraging deep mining it would assure that our country has an adequate supply of coal, and the means to obtain it, for hundreds of years to come.

LOWER COST FOR CONSUMERS

My amendment would also assure that consumers in the East and Midwest do not pay for greatly increased rates for electric power as they would if they were forced to depend on coal hauled in from the West, at transportation costs already running as high as \$14 a ton.

By contrast the reclamation fee in H.R. 11500, as presently written, would further penalize Appalachian and midwestern coal. It favors low energy content western coal, with no compensating benefits. This means a loss of coal production and jobs in the midwestern and eastern mining regions. And because the money raised is so small, it would generate less than one-third the amount of my proposed fee, it would require at least 45 years to reclaim the land and water ravished by previous mining. And for many years to come, the people who live in the blighted coal mining communities must continue to face the physical hazards and economic deprivation of their wasted land and polluted water.

Mr. Speaker, a copy of my proposed reclamation fee amendment follows these remarks:

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. SEIBERLING TO H.R. 11500

Section 401, page 250, line 5 through page 251, line 5, strike subsection (d) and (c), substitute the following new subsections, and renumber the remaining subsection accordingly:

(d) All operators of coal mining operations which are subject to this Act shall, not later than 60 days following the end of the calendar year 1975 and each calendar year thereafter, pay a reclamation fee to the Secretary equal in amount to \$2.50 per ton of coal mined by the operator during the preceding calendar year, except that:

(1) A credit, in the amount of \$0.10 for each 1000 British Thermal Units (BTU) or major fraction thereof by which the weighted average BTU value of coal mined by the operator during the year falls below 16,000 BTU per pound, shall be allowed upon presentation of reasonable proof; and

(2) A credit not to exceed 90 per centum of the total fee due shall upon presentation of reasonable proof be allowed for any incremental costs and expenses which have been incurred by the operator during such year for—

(A) reclamation activities, facilities and equipment required in order to comply with the standards established by or pursuant to sections 201, 211, and 212 of this Act;

(B) activities, facilities and equipment

required in order to comply with the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969 as amended (Public Law 91-173; 83 Stat. 742);

(C) activities, facilities and equipment required in order to comply with the Federal Water Pollution Control Act (33 U.S.C. 1151-1175) in connection with the mining operation; and

(D) the amount of any reclamation fee, license fee, severance tax or other similar charge required by law to be paid by the operator to any State with respect to coal mining operations in such State, in the proportion that the proceeds of such fee, tax or charge are used by the State to support reclamation activities comparable to those provided for by this Title, but not to exceed 16 per cent of the total fee due before the credits allowable under paragraphs (1) and (2) of this subsection;

(3) Incremental costs and expenses, as used in paragraph (2) of this subsection, means all costs and expenses (including costs of equipment and facilities previously purchased but not previously amortized in accordance with generally accepted accounting practices) which have been necessarily incurred by the operator for the purpose of complying with the particular provisions of law referred to in subparagraphs (A) through (E) of paragraph (2) and which would not have been necessary in the absence of such provisions of law. In no event shall the total of such costs and expenses allowable to the operator under subparagraph (A) of paragraph (2) for a particular calendar year exceed the total amount of the bond or bonds required under section 216(a) with respect to the area in which the operator has completed the extraction of coal during such calendar year.

(e) The Secretary shall make a study of the effect of the reclamation fee and, within six months after the close of the twelve-month period ending June 30, 1977, and in each twelve-month period thereafter, shall report to Congress the results of the study with respect to its effects on the coal mining industry, including the relative competitive positions of deep coal mining and surface coal mining in each major coal mining region of the United States. With his report, he shall include his recommendations as to the extent, if any, that the reclamation fee should be increased or decreased in order to enable the deep coal mining industry to compete effectively with the surface coal mining industry.

(f) The Secretary shall periodically cause an audit to be made of the operations and records of each operator required to pay a reclamation fee under subsection (d) of this section, to determine the correctness of any credits claimed under said subsection. The Secretary shall promulgate regulations governing the imposition, collection, and audit of the reclamation fee and credits. In preparing such regulations, the Secretary shall consult with the Secretary of the Treasury to arrange, so far as feasible, for the Internal Revenue Service to assist in performing auditing activities under this subsection. Any amount taken by the operator as a credit under subsection (d) of this section that has been finally determined as not qualifying for credit thereunder shall be repaid by the operator to the Secretary promptly after such final determination shall have been made, together with interest, at the rate of 6 per centum from the date such credit was taken, and any penalty imposed by law. A determination by the Secretary as to the amount of fee or credit payable by or allowable to an operator shall be deemed prima facie correct.

(g) On or before July 1 of each year, 37½ per centum of the amounts received into the fund from reclamation fees paid under subsection (d) of this section with respect to coal mined in each State shall be paid to the governments of the respective States

in which the coal was mined. Such money shall be used by such States, or political subdivisions thereof, for acquisition, reclamation, conservation or development of the public lands of the State, or political subdivisions thereof, or of lands reserved to or owned, within the State, by any Indian tribe, giving prime consideration, in accordance with the priorities set forth in section 402, to the needs of communities which supply or have supplied the major part of the work force for current or former coal mining operations.

CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN AND THE FULFILLMENT OF THE AMERICAN DREAM AS CONTAINED IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1974

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, I rise to add my voice to that of a multitude of Americans who mourn the passing of the Honorable Earl Warren, late Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

If ever a Justice of that Court could challenge the preeminent place that Chief Justice Marshall holds in the Court's history, Justice Warren could do so.

During his tenure on the Court he frequently asked the simple question "is it fair," and the constant repetition of that simple question led Justice Warren and the Warren Court to make good on the promise of America, first set out in the words of Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution of the United States by the framers of that document.

The history of our republic could be as studied as the constant expansion of full democratic rights for all its citizens. Justice Warren played a great role in the 1950's and the 1960's in that march to full equality for all Americans.

Among the issues resolved by the Warren Court under his leadership were:

First. The outlawing of school segregation.

Second. Enunciation of the one-man, one-vote doctrine.

Third. Made the Bill of Rights binding on State Governments.

Fourth. Curbed wiretapping.

Fifth. Upheld the right to be secure against unreasonable searches and seizures.

Sixth. Buttressed the right to counsel.

Seventh. Underscored the right to a jury trial.

Eighth. Barred racial discrimination in voting, in marriage laws, in the use of public parks, airports and bus terminals and in housing sales and rentals.

Ninth. Extended the boundaries of free speech.

Tenth. Ruled out compulsory religious exercises in the public schools.

Eleventh. Restored freedom of foreign travel.

Twelfth. Knocked out the application of the Smith and McCarran Acts.

Thirteenth. Held that Federal prisoners could sue the Government for injuries sustained in jail.

Fourteenth. Said that wages could not be garnished without a hearing.

Fifteenth. Liberalized residency requirements for welfare recipients.

Sixteenth. Sustained the right to disseminate birth control information.

All of these great legal triumphs came at a time when America was rich, contented and American society had become very complex, when basic American liberties were becoming rusted by time. He restored to its full vigor what the Marshall court had established in an infant nation.

Promises made by the Founding Fathers were fulfilled for minorities and others, and the law took on new and vigorous life.

That I think is the greater triumph than the establishment of a great legal system.

Chief Justice Warren was our greatest Chief Justice. He left American law, alive and well and the pride of democracy everywhere in the world.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN B. CONLAN

HON. JOHN B. CONLAN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. CONLAN. Mr. Speaker, in view of my expressed interest in honest government and clean elections, I believe it only fair and proper for me to make full disclosure of the sources of my income and assets, and a list of debts or other business activities or investments which could have any possible conflict of interest with my duties as an independent elected representative in Congress of the people of Arizona.

The following information is above and beyond that asked for by the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. In addition, as required by Federal and State law, my reelection campaign contributions will be fully reported by the Conlan for Congress Committee.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

A. Sources of all income in 1973: Salary received as U.S. Congressman—\$38,722 (11 months); December 1972 Arizona State Senator salary received in January 1973—\$407; earnings as an attorney from the practice of law—\$4,227; honoraria for speeches—\$2,000; interest earned on personal savings accounts—\$525.

B. Donations received from 106 friends and constituents of my district to assist in publication costs of a periodic newsletter to my constituents—\$2,592.

C. The names of companies in which I own stock, and any position of management held in any business entity doing business with the Federal Government or subject to Federal regulatory agencies—None.

D. Creditors to whom I am indebted: other than the monthly mortgage payments on my house and the occasional use of an American Express credit card, I have no financial debts.

E. My assets consist of: approximately \$6,205 in checking accounts in Washington, D.C. and Phoenix; ownership in two residences and home furnishings in Bethesda, Maryland and Paradise Valley, Arizona valued at \$150,000 and subject to Mortgage of \$73,974; a limited cash value in outstanding life insurance, and less than \$2,000 in

contribution to the Arizona public employees retirement system; I have \$28,406 in savings accounts in Phoenix and Washington, D.C. of which \$12,000 is for the college education of my two children; and I also own 3 cars, a 1968 Dodge, a 1963 Cadillac and a 1971 Pontiac, combined value of \$3,000.

F. I paid 1973 Federal and State taxes in the amount of \$9,355 and have filed a report of my earnings and sources of earnings with the Clerk of the House pursuant to Rule XLIV of the House of Representatives.

REPEAL DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME

HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill that will help to lead us out of the darkness on the issue of daylight saving time.

In the past, I have introduced measures to provide for daylight saving time from Memorial Day to Labor Day each year. Further, I have sponsored legislation to terminate the Emergency Daylight Saving Time Energy Conservation Act of 1973. Now, I am combining these two measures in an effort to bring about some reason, commonsense, and sound judgment in this matter.

I want to point out that the Department of Transportation has recommended that our Nation return to standard time. Year-round daylight saving time has not proved to be an energy saving measure. Indeed, before enactment, there was no concrete evidence that such action would provide meaningful conservation of our valuable energy resources. Further, I have often pointed out the danger that year-round daylight saving time causes for our young schoolchildren who must wait on dark mountain roads for their buses each morning.

I submit that year-round daylight saving time has resulted in more harm and inconvenience than proving to be of any real benefit.

My bill would also narrow the effective period of daylight saving time to those days falling between Memorial Day and Labor Day of each year. I believe that this would be a most important step and I urge my colleagues to support this measure.

I include for the RECORD the text of my bill:

H.R. 15857

A bill to repeal the Emergency Daylight Saving Time Energy Conservation Act of 1973, and to provide for daylight saving time from Memorial Day to Labor Day during each calendar year

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Emergency Daylight Saving Time Energy Conservation Act of 1973 is repealed.

SECTION 2. Section 3(a) of the Uniform Time Act of 1966 (15 U.S.C. 260a(a)) is amended—

(1) by striking out "the last Sunday in April" and inserting in lieu thereof "Memorial Day, the last Monday of May,"; and

(2) by striking out "the last Sunday of October" and inserting in lieu thereof "Labor Day, the first Monday of September,".

Sec. 3. This Act shall take effect at 2

July 11, 1974

o'clock ante meridiem on the fourth Sunday which occurs after the date of enactment of this Act, except that if such Sunday occurs in April or May, this Act shall take effect on Memorial Day of the same year.

**REPRESENTATIVE JACK KEMP
PRAISES ERIE COUNTY LEAGUE
OF WOMEN VOTERS INNOVATIVE
RECYCLING PROGRAM**

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, at a recent meeting of the Amherst League of Women Voters, I was introduced to an exciting and constructive new program undertaken by this group to encourage the recovery of reusable materials from municipal wastes. I have been consistently impressed with the outstanding commitment to community service exemplified by the Erie County League of Women Voters, and am pleased to report that their new recycling program, although only 6 weeks old, has received the enthusiastic endorsement and cooperation of many Amherst residents and hopefully will spread throughout the county and the Nation.

Obviously, there are some difficulties inherent in a volunteer program of this scope, however, as the following status report indicates, the Amherst League under the direction of Lilly Anne Gorbaty as president and chairman of the recycling committee, has met with impressive success and is well on the way to overcoming the monumental problems connected with solid waste management.

Janet Massaro, water quality chairman of the Environmental Quality Committee of the Amherst League has prepared this status report which, in addition to describing the goals of the program, and the ingredients of success, provides a sample of the flyers publicizing the program.

I especially commend to the attention of my colleagues Ms. Massaro's thoughtful comments regarding the role of this Congress in promoting source reduction, as the essential step in any serious attempt to preserve and protect our environment.

The status report follows:

STATUS REPORT

The voluntary program of the Amherst League of Women Voters provides door to door collection of metal, glass and paper products before these items enter the solid waste stream. Items are cleaned, separated, and/or bundled by residents, collected by the Amherst Highway Department, and sold to scrap dealers. The mechanics of the program are outlined in the enclosed flyer which was distributed to all Amherst households through the schools, libraries and service organizations. The program has been given widespread publicity by the news media. The Amherst Bee has done a tremendous job with weekly pictures and news articles and TV coverage has greatly boosted our efforts in informing residents of the project and urging their participation. And the Amherst League's backing of the project through the sale of containers for recyclable materials with the message "project environment: in

Amherst we care" has proved an eye-catching reminder and an invitation to join. (Amherst highway vehicles now carry the same message.)

The program is now just six weeks old. In spite of some difficulties inherent in alternate weekly pick ups for items, we can report with great satisfaction that the program is working well. The Highway Department assures us that the program is more than breaking even, it is showing a profit.

The cooperation and enthusiasm of many Amherst residents and the initiative, enterprise, and just plain hard work by the town's Highway Department and many volunteer organizations are the ingredients of our initial success. We are all understandably proud of the program's trial run and we expect the Amherst Town Board will support its continuation on a long term basis.

However, this is only a modest beginning by one town in meeting head-on the monumental problems of solid waste management. There are difficulties with the program as it is presently being conducted. Many of these are beyond our community's ability to control or effect. We must turn to our elected officials to replace outmoded legislation with bold and decisive measures that get to the root of this nation's growing solid waste problems.

As a first step Congress can equalize the costs of shipping virgin and secondary materials to make the use of scrap materials more economically attractive and to provide readily available markets for collected items. To discourage waste we must change the rate structure which at present rewards heavy users of energy and natural resources. We must carefully examine the outrageously wasteful practices of the packaging industry. We must establish regulations that will promote the most efficient use of packaging materials and will require materials to be recovered, reused and recycled rather than disposed of.

The League of Women Voters has repeatedly stated that in judging the value of solid waste management programs, source reduction should be the first principal by which our legislators should be guided. Primary reliance on resource recovery is a one-sided approach that seeks to protect many wasteful practices at the expense of taxpayers and the environment. In congressional testimony Thomas L. Kimball, Executive Vice President of the National Wildlife Federation, spoke to this issue: "We must seek to minimize waste, using improved techniques of waste collection to handle unavoidable waste, not to perpetuate its generation to support a solid waste management industry."

PROJECT ENVIRONMENT: IN AMHERST WE CARE

The Town of Amherst is initiating an ambitious new resource recycling program. Beginning in May the Amherst Highway Department will make weekly curbside collection of economically valuable recyclable material (regular weekly garbage collection service by independent refuse companies will continue as usual). "There's cash in trash."

HERE'S HOW THE PROGRAM WILL WORK

What: Paper—all unsold paper products are included, i.e., newspapers, magazines, mail, cardboard, egg cartons, cereal, tissue, toothpaste boxes, etc. Tie your paper items securely or pack tightly into large grocery bags.

Glass—Wash jars and bottles, remove lids and metal rings and store in separate containers according to color—Clear, Green, and Brown.

Metals—soak cans in warm water to remove labels and food residue, cut out ends and flatten (for more convenient storage).

Where: The town ordinance for refuse pick-up will apply also to the collection of recyclable materials. Durable covered containers are to be used. Containers must be

placed at curbside no more than 24 hours before pick-up and removed the same day. If collection day for recyclables occurs on the same day as regular garbage collection, place each group on opposite sides of the driveway.

When: Starting the week of May 6, 1974 on your regularly scheduled debris pick-up day the Amherst Highway Department will collect *natural debris plus metals*. On the following week and on alternate weeks thereafter *glass and paper* will be collected.

Your pick-up day for recyclable materials is determined by geographical area. If you are not sure what your collection day is, call the Amherst Highway Dept. at 631-5990.

With just a minimum of time and effort on our part in preparing the items and placing them no further than our front curb, we can cut down disposal costs for the one ton of solid waste generated by each person in America every year (at ever increasing costs to us for land and labor). We can help conserve our country's natural resources (for which we will eventually pay higher prices as these resources become scarce). The League of Women Voters, Conservation Council, Jaycees, Housewives to End Pollution, American Association of University Women, Sierra Club, Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts of Amherst are actively supporting our town's recycling program. But if it is to be a success for ourselves and a model for other communities we need you.

Support Amherst's Curbside Recycling Program—prepared by the League of Women Voters of Amherst—Lilly Anne Gorbaty, Pres. 839-3408; Solid Waste Management, Recycling Committee—Gail Macakanja, 633-6244.

**MARCH OF DIMES BIRTH DEFECTS
PREVENTION MONTH**

HON. GEORGE M. O'BRIEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. O'BRIEN. Mr. Speaker, with a number of my colleagues in the House of Representatives I am sponsoring a joint resolution to establish January as "March of Dimes Birth Defects Prevention Month."

In this way we hope to focus the Nation's attention on the volunteer effort which is working to solve the No. 1 child health problem in the United States.

Around a quarter million babies are born in the United States each year with some type of defect—mental or physical. This is approximately 7 percent of all live births. More than 60,000 deaths annually—in infancy, childhood, or adulthood—are officially attributed to birth defects. Researchers believe the actual number may be more than twice as many. In addition, defective fetal development causes some 500,000 spontaneous abortions, stillbirths, and miscarriages a year.

An estimated 15 million living Americans suffer from birth defects that are serious enough to affect their daily lives. Of this number, 3 million persons are mentally retarded, 4 million are diabetics, 1 million suffer from congenital bone, muscle, or joint disease, 500,000 are totally or partially blind, 750,000 have impaired hearing, 350,000 have congenital heart or circulatory defects, and 100,000 have severe speech problems.

January has been designated March of

Dimes month by many States, including Illinois. The proceeds for many years were used to finance the successful fight on polio. With its victory over polio, the National Foundation/March of Dimes began in 1958 to focus its full resources on the campaign against birth defects.

National Foundation/March of Dimes volunteers throughout the country carry the word in person and through hundreds of thousands of pamphlets and booklets to all parts of the community. By authorizing the President to designate January of each year as "March of Dimes Birth Defects Prevention Month," the Congress can help these volunteers in their work of disseminating information about education, nutrition, and prevention of birth defects to the public.

WE NEED RADIO LIBERTY

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker—

Everyone has the right to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers.

This fundamental statement makes up article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Yet as fundamental as this right is to us in the United States, it continues largely but an elusive dream for the millions of citizens of the Soviet Union and her Eastern Europe satellites.

In March of 1953, Radio Liberty first went on the air to serve as the main alternative media for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. They incorporated the above article as their motto, and embarked upon a course to provide the millions of peoples under the control of the Soviet Union with news undistorted by censorship.

Radio Liberty, which has been financed the last three years by congressional appropriation is based from New York and Munich. It is largely staffed by natives of the U.S.S.R. who were able to escape Communist domination and thus are in a good position to determine what their counterparts who remain behind the Iron Curtain would be interested in hearing.

The Soviet government, continues despite its pursuit of détente with this nation, to attempt to block the transmissions of Radio Liberty. Throughout its 21-year history, Radio Liberty has survived the challenges of the Soviet government that the news they report is both distorted and provocative. Yet, the argument of the Soviet Union is specious when one considers that the Radio Liberty's own self-imposed rules restrain it from belligerent language, blatant propaganda, petty attacks, the very foundation of the Soviet's own news coverage to its people.

In recent years, the focus of Radio Liberty's attention has been focused on the internal turmoil in the Soviet Union spearheaded by such esteemed intellectuals as Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Radio Liberty has been able to acquire the lat-

est privately circulated writing of Soviet dissidents, "samsizdats" as they are called, and have included them in their broadcasts to the news starved peoples of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Radio Liberty has also championed the causes, most especially the tragic plight of the Soviet Jews who continue to seek the fundamental right of emigration. Their efforts have been instrumental in the relaxation by the Soviet Government of some of their more rigid policies.

As important as Radio Liberty and the other voices of freedom, the Voice of America, and Radio Free Europe among others, they are currently enduring their most difficult financial period. Already their important Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R. in Munich has been forced to close, as well as one of their primary transmitter sites in Taiwan.

We in the House will shortly consider the Foreign Assistance Act which includes appropriations for Radio Liberty. It is my fervent hope that we will vote to provide the funds necessary to continue this important alternative voice for the millions of oppressed peoples of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Mr. Speaker, we are embarking on a new era of détente with the Soviet Union. Many people have hailed this as an important first step toward the relaxation of world tensions. Yet while we can all applaud the prospect of peace, let us not become overzealous in our efforts at achieving this peace. The goals of communism continue as they have been since the days of Karl Marx and Lenin; namely, complete world domination. They have had to coerce peoples into agreeing with their positions, and have kept these people under strict and rigid controls to maintain their loyal Radio Liberty and her counterparts represent one of the few hopes which the citizens of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have to hear unbiased and unpropagandized news broadcasts. It has kept the fires of eventual freedom alive in the hearts of these brave people.

BARSTOW, CALIF., RESIDENT HONORED BY FREEDOMS FOUNDATION

HON. JERRY L. PETTIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Mrs. Sally Ballard, of Barstow, Calif., was recently awarded the George Washington Medal of Honor by the Freedoms Foundation At Valley Forge, for her leadership efforts to strengthen the public understanding and dedication to the traditional principles of freedom inherent in America's free society.

As a result of her award, Hon. George E. Goldsmith, mayor of the city of Barstow, proclaimed a citywide day in Sally's honor. I am pleased to take this opportunity to bring these happenings to my colleagues' attention and to add my personal commendation to Sally Ballard for her unstinting devotion to the principles and causes in which she so firmly believes.

WE GO ON AS A PEOPLE

HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, one of the truly disturbing aspects of life in the United States today is the poisonous atmosphere so apparent in many thought circles. This has been either generated, or at least encouraged by some of the activist news media. Many of us had hoped for a period of real reconciliation in America following the trauma of Vietnam, and the termination of the draft. But it has been almost a death wish on the part of some people in our country that hate, distrust and controversy be played up in the media every day.

The British magazine Encounter, reporting on the scene in the United States summarized by saying:

On almost every hand, the irritability quotient appears to have risen. If once an act of coldness or unpleasantness seemed worth marking, now an act of decency is. Where apathy is the rule, the merely helpful seems saintly.

In the June 10 issue of Time magazine, Hugh Sidey has written a column on the Presidency which touches upon this entire subject in connection with the funeral of Stewart Alsop. I include this column for the thoughtful consideration of all Americans who are interested in the subject:

WE GO ON AS A PEOPLE

We are passing through the longest and bitterest political struggle that our nation has had in 100 years. Families have been split, old friendships shattered, careers ruined, public men disgraced, and great quantities of hate pumped into the American system.

And yet beneath it all, something special endures, some sense of common purpose held by Republicans and Democrats, liberals and conservatives, ins and outs, accused and accusers. This unity has too often been obscured by the smog of contention. But last week there was a quiet interlude in Washington that reminded us that we are, after all, going the same way.

It began as a somber occasion—the memorial service for Columnist Stewart Alsop, a civilized man who succumbed to leukemia after waging an inspiring fight with his will, his wit and his body (see THE PRESS).

The White House men walked across Lafayette Park to St. John's Church, the small stately structure that has welcomed Presidents and their associates since the time of James Madison. Pat Buchanan, a Nixon speechwriter, his wife, and Richard Moore, presidential friend and assistant, were there. So was former Treasury Secretary George Shultz.

Out of the great legal and corporate offices of Washington came figures from the past, some in big black limousines that told of their huge financial success since leaving the Government decades ago. Others shuffled through the rain with umbrellas raised high. Jim Rowe and Paul Porter were New Dealers. Thomas Corcoran, when he was not redesigning the Government 40 years ago, used to play the accordion for Franklin Roosevelt out at Joe Kennedy's place. Robert McNamara, John Kennedy's and Lyndon Johnson's Secretary of Defense, attended, and so did Mrs. Dean Acheson, the widow of Harry Truman's Secretary of State.

Ted Kennedy caused heads to swivel when he was shown to a seat near the front of the

church. Lady Bird Johnson was in the congregation. Alice Roosevelt Longworth, the 90-year-old daughter of Teddy Roosevelt, walked gracefully to her seat, back straight, huge black hat firmly in place.

They read the *Psalm* together—old, simple, still full of special meaning. One could sense the impact. "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death . . ." They heard the words of St. Paul to the Romans: "For as many as are led by the spirit of God, they are the sons of God." They all rose and sang with remarkable force a 19th century hymn: "I fear no foe, with thee at hand to bless; Ills have no weight, and tears no bitterness." The church was not really sad just then—the significance of the moment to the men and women there went beyond grief. Hate died. As the service ended, there seemed to be almost a conscious effort by adversaries to seek each other out and say a kind word.

George Bush, the Republican national chairman, waved and called to almost everyone within sight. Bryce Harlow, who had worked for Dwight Eisenhower as well as Nixon, turned to the man beside him for a chat. It was NBC's Ray Scherer. Phil Geyelin, editorial-page editor of the Washington Post, ran into former Attorney General Richard Kleindienst, who had recently pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor in the Nixon scandals. The Post was a leader in uncovering Watergate, but they shook hands warmly and exchanged quiet greetings.

The mourners stood in clusters outside St. John's, the White House looming in the mist just beyond the park. There seemed to be a reluctance to break the spell, to resume the family fight.

There have been hints of this same kind of fraternal undercurrent in other Washington events these past days. When Bill Simon was sworn in as Secretary of the Treasury, the East Room of the White House was a grand mixture of political dissidents invited by Simon and tolerated by Nixon as the Marine Band played soothing background music.

In Florida on one of his helicopter shuttles, a tired and beleaguered President looked out the window at four reporters, the arch-enemy, watching from the wash of the rotors. Even in his state of Watergate fatigue, there was an old tug down there somewhere, and Nixon raised his arms and waved. The newsmen returned the gesture. On the yacht *Sequoia* the other night with Nixon, the congressional guests were mostly conservative, but there were some of independent mind with deep doubts about the President's leadership capacity. This group slid down the Potomac embraced in good fellowship. Perhaps some of these gestures are just a reflex. Still, even while contending with each other, we go on as a people.

ERNEST H. GRUENING

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, it was with a great deal of sadness that I learned of the death of Ernest Gruening, former Alaskan Governor and Senator. Not only have the people of Alaska lost a great man and a good friend, but so have people throughout the Nation and the world.

Among his many achievements, Ernest Gruening was a medical school graduate, newspaper editor, a Governor and a

Senator. However, the integrity and perseverance he manifested in fighting for the things he believed in are as memorable as any of his accomplishments.

Of course we all recall that it was Senator Gruening who, along with Senator Morse of Oregon, had the courage years ago to stand alone and vote against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. Furthermore, Alaskans will always remember Ernest Gruening as one of the leading figures in their fight to gain statehood.

Mr. Speaker, Ernest Gruening leaves behind a very special legacy. While his record of public service was unsurpassed, his courage and resourcefulness remain monumental.

REUNION OF 94th INFANTRY DIVISION TO BE HELD IN CHICAGO

HON. SAMUEL H. YOUNG

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. YOUNG of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask my colleagues to join with me in paying tribute to the members of the 94th Infantry Division that served in World War II. The members of this division will be holding their 25th reunion in Chicago, Ill., on July 18, 19, and 20.

I would like to insert some information about the history of the 94th as prepared by Robert C. Higgins of Glenview, Ill. I know that my colleagues join me in wishing these men well and in thanking them for their service to the United States in the traditions of the "Spirit of '76."

The information follows:

THE 94TH INFANTRY DIVISION

Mayor Richard J. Daley has proclaimed that three days of July be set aside to honor the men of World War II's 94th Infantry Division. More than 7,000 men from Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana and Michigan served in the battle scarred ranks of the unheralded Division which suffered close to 11,000 casualties during 195 consecutive days and nights of man-to-man, toe-to-toe slugging with some of Hitler's finest combat troops.

Chicago's Mayor Daley urged "all citizens to take cognizance of the 94th Infantry Division which served our country gallantly and with great distinction, compiling a brilliant campaign record in World War II."

Although the 94th saw some of World War II's heaviest fighting and was selected to spearhead two famed American Armies (3rd and 7th) in the final drive to the Rhine River, it received little publicity or recognition. One reason for this could be the fact that it was not a Regular Army Division. The unit was one of the first American Divisions totally filled with citizen-soldiers and was de-activated soon after the cessation of hostilities. Yet, the 94th was unique in many ways.

Though it was filled with "raw recruits", the 94th won the honor of becoming the first Division in the history of the United States to qualify as an "Expert Infantry Division" entitling the men of its three Infantry Regiments the right to wear the little known "Expert Infantryman's" badge.

The 94th also has the distinction of holding the longest battle line in the history of the U.S. Army. It stretched for 450 miles through

Brittany, France where the men of the 94th, during 111 days of continuous combat, contained a German force of 60,000 in and around the ports of Lorient and St. Nazaire. During this period, the Division assaulted and crushed the final section of Hitler's Atlantic Wall.

During the Battle of the Bulge, the citizen-soldiers of the 94th were rushed into the heavy snows and rugged country of the Saar Mountains where they spearheaded Patton's Third Army through the so-called "impenetrable" Siegfried Switch Line. This was a double defensive line of pillboxes, tank traps and mine fields made even more formidable by the natural barriers of the Moselle and Saar Rivers.

In 39 straight days of bitter fighting during the winter of 1944-45, the 94th, suffering heavy casualties, smashed through all defenses and destroyed the vaunted Siegfried Switch Line. During this fighting, the 94th fought and destroyed several German units including the 416th Infantry Division and the 11th Panzer Division.

The 94th men were next selected to spearhead the drive to the Rhine by both the U.S. 3rd and 7th Armies in March, 1945. After 8 days of slugging it out with desperate German troops who fought with their backs to the wall, the citizen-soldiers of the 94th reached the banks of the Rhine. In less than a month they went from mountain fighting to the intimate combat of house-to-house fighting as they took the prize industrial city of Ludwigshafen on the west bank of the Rhine.

In the run to the Rhine, the 94th Reconnaissance Troop, in one day, captured 15 towns and took prisoner 1,000 of Hitler's Supermen. The Division's 302nd Regiment was the first Allied unit to reach the Rhine.

The civilians from the dairy farms of Wisconsin, the auto plants of Detroit, the streets and suburbs of Chicago and the corn fields of Illinois and Indiana fought some of Germany's best and most experienced combat troops for 209 days of combat. They captured more than 26,000 prisoners.

Many of the battle seasoned men of the 94th came from within a 300 mile radius of Chicago. At the end of the war they were anxious to return to the peace and routine of midwestern farms and cities. They had fought from Normandy to the Ruhr Valley, the heart of industrial Germany. They were well-seasoned combat troops having assaulted the pillboxes of the Atlantic Wall and the Siegfried Line, experienced hedgerow, mountain and street fighting. They fought and defeated German infantry, SS, marines, paratroopers, mountain troops and panzers. Their service ended in Czechoslovakia which country they occupied together with Russian combat troops.

Being a "citizen-soldier" Division, the 94th was disbanded and deactivated early and its veterans sent home. Their battle flags were wrapped and placed in storage. Their uniforms were hung in closets and exchanged for bib overalls, business suits and coveralls. Many of their dead rest quietly in cemeteries of Normandy, Luxembourg, Peoria, Fort Wayne, Eau Claire, Grand Rapids and in the farmlands of Iowa and Ohio.

On July 18, 19, and 20, a few hundred men of the 94th will gather and be honored by the City of Chicago. Thirty years ago they were quick-eyed, fast stepping, razor sharp combat infantry fighters whose presence on the battle line was recognized as a death notice by opposing German troops. In 1974 they will pass unnoticed on the streets of Chicago because they are typical mid-westerners. Their step and the color of their hair will match their age. If you were to ask them what they are, the answers would be, "Farmer, factory worker, school teacher, minister, senior citizen."

In the annals of Military History the 94th

Infantry Division will receive no more than a footnote: Activated—Ft. Custer, Michigan; Training—Camp Phillips, Kansas, Camp McCain, Mississippi; European Theater of Operations. It will always be known as a Division of non-professionals. The men of the 94th produced no military greats and they are nothing more today than they were then . . . Mid-Westerners who after a few months of Basic Training left their homes and families, traveled to Europe and defeated many of Hitler's finest and most experienced troops. Then, some of them returned home.

Let us who enjoy the freedoms of America hate war . . . not the warrior.

THE DRUG SCENE

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, this past Monday, July 8, 1974, I sponsored hearings in New York to examine the effects of the ending of the Turkish opium poppy cultivation ban on the drug scene in the United States, with particular emphasis on New York City and the surrounding counties. Joining me were my colleagues, Representative TENNYSON GUYER of Ohio, as well as Representatives BENJAMIN GILMAN and JOSEPH ADDABBO of New York. We elicited the testimony of several individuals knowledgeable in this field, which indicates the seriousness of the probable effects of the actions of the Turkish Government. For the information of my colleagues in the House, who will soon be considering proposals for this Nation to respond to the hostile and irresponsible actions of the Turks, I am inserting in the RECORD the testimony of several of the expert witnesses at our hearings:

OPENING STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE LESTER WOLFF

I have asked you to meet with me today to focus on the consequences of Turkey's decision to resume opium poppy cultivation with the fall planting season and to ascertain, in greater detail, the scope of the impact the dissolution of the two-year-old ban will have on the new York "drug scene".

Specifically, I called this hearing as a working session to precede the formal Congressional hearings to be convened next week in Washington by the full House Foreign Affairs Committee to consider Concurrent Resolution 507. This Resolution—which I introduced with Congressmen Rangel and Rodino, and which is now cosponsored by a majority in the House, 238 Members, including Speaker Albert, Majority Leader O'Neill, Minority Leader Rhodes and my distinguished colleagues who are with me today, Congressman Guyer, a member of my Subcommittee on International Narcotics Control, Congressman Gilman and Congressman Addabbo—directs the President to cut off both military and economic assistance to Turkey since the nation chose to breach its agreement with the United States and rescind its ban on opium production.

Already, in light of the Turks' action, there are intelligence reports indicating the infamous French Connection is being re-established—in fact, the links were being forged well in advance of the announcement that the ban was being lifted. And, despite

the assurances being proffered by the Turkish government that it will strictly control all opium sales, there is every indication that the Corsicans and others, under the cover of legitimate business operations, are merely waiting for the first harvest to re-instate their link with U.S. drug peddlers—a connection that will once again convey their lethal traffic to plague upon untold numbers of men, women and youngsters in this country.

Law enforcement and addiction agency officials concur that the opium ban was directly responsible for sharply curtailing the number of heroin addicts in the United States and particularly in the New York metropolitan area where, prior to 1972, more than 80 percent of the illicit heroin emanated from the poppy fields of Turkey.

What is to happen now?

Turkey's callous decision to resume opium production opens up a Pandora's Box of modern-day human ills. Everyone concerned with narcotics abuse and crime in the United States knows that we do not grow opium-based heroin in this country and that one prime way to attack the multi-faceted problem of heroin addiction is to stop the flow of heroin at its source—the poppy. This is why Turkey's decision is so alarming and so critical.

Today, we will explore Turkey's re-entry into the opium business and the effect it will have, all too soon, on our communities and our youth. In our discussion we also will deal with the peripheral aspects of illegal drug trafficking and how profiteering narcotic entrepreneurs kindle and perpetuate other illicit business operations around the world.

Your statements and testimony will be made part of the permanent record of the Foreign Affairs Committee hearings and, you may be assured, will be of valuable assistance to Members of Congress as they deliberate the new foreign aid bill which includes \$250 million in aid to Turkey, at this time.

America is engaged in a war on drugs—a war we cannot afford to lose. I sincerely appreciate your being here today and welcome your remarks.

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

Mr. Chairman, I welcome this opportunity to express my deep personal concern over the proposed lifting of the ban on opium poppy production by the Turkish Government. For several years a number of Congressmen, including myself, had advocated greater U.S. efforts to persuade other governments to crack down on the production and distribution of narcotics and illicit drugs. I was quite pleased when the Turkish Government agreed in 1972 to ban the growing of opium poppy, the base for nearly 80 percent of illicit heroin entering the United States at that time, in exchange for \$35,700,000 in assistance from the United States for losses to Turkish farmers and for assistance in developing alternative crops. I was even more pleased when the implementation of this arrangement with the Turkish Government resulted in tangible evidence of a reduction in the number of heroin addicts in this country by some 60 percent.

Suddenly this improvement in a most tragic and dangerous situation is in jeopardy due to current deliberations within the Turkish Government over the possible lifting of the ban on opium poppy production. The implications of this proposed lifting of the ban on U.S. addiction rates are alarming and for that reason bold action is called for by our own government. Our response must not only be bold but it must be swift and forceful. I have joined with a number of my colleagues in the House of Representatives and our New York Congressional delegation to

sponsor a Resolution outlining the need for such official action and specifically calling on the President to initiate high level diplomatic negotiations aimed at preventing the resumption of opium production and if necessary to exercise his authority to terminate all foreign aid to Turkey should the ban be lifted.

Our Resolution, H. Con. Res. 520 sponsored by Congressman Rangel together with Reps. Abzug, Badillo, Biaggi, Bingham, Brasco, and myself from the New York delegation and many other Members of the House has been referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs where I know our colleague Rep. Wolff will press for early consideration.

Normally one nation tries not to interfere in the internal affairs of another nation. This is clearly not a question of the agricultural policies of Turkey but rather one of life and death for people all over the world. For that reason intervention is clearly justified and our resolution calls for the President to take all appropriate steps to prevent the production of opium.

These hearings today are part of the effort to convince the President to be more aggressive in meeting this challenge from the Government of Turkey and to instruct the Secretary of State to assign a priority to diplomatic steps to prevent the lifting of the opium ban. Should those negotiations prove unsatisfactory, the President has the authority under the Foreign Assistance Act to cut off aid to any nation which does not take adequate measures to stop the illegal flow of drugs to the United States. That authority should be exercised to terminate aid to Turkey in the event the opium ban is lifted.

These hearings will, I hope, help persuade the Congress and the President that this is the only course of action which will be effective in continuing the decline in the number of heroin addicts in our nation.

I also would like to commend my colleagues in the House who are here today at these important hearings and those who are supporting the Resolution urging negotiations on the Turkish Opium Ban.

STATEMENT BY BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

Permit me to take this opportunity to commend Congressman Lester Wolff, chairman of the Subcommittee on International Narcotics, for bringing about this timely panel-discussion on the resumption of Turkey opium production.

Turkey's unilateral decision in the resumption of opium cultivation strikes a severe blow to narcotic enforcement not only in America, but throughout the world.

Turkey was the source of approximately 80 percent of the total amount of heroin used by American addicts. So much of the Turkish opium found its way into the illegitimate heroin market that in 1972 the United States pledged \$35.7 million to assist Turkey in the phasing out of its production of opium. As a result of these efforts, there was a dramatic decrease in both the quality and quantity of heroin on the streets with a corresponding drop in the level of heroin addiction.

Of the 35.7 million dollars pledged to Turkey, 20 million was allocated for programs and projects to create a new source of income for poppy growers and approximately 15 million would have been used to repay money which would have been earned through projected illegal opium sales.

Of the \$35 million pledged, 10 million has gone for exchange replacement and 10 million for development, leaving 15 million unexpended.

It has been estimated that the resumption of opium exports from Turkey would result in an increase in the number of heroin addicts to 250,000 Americans . . . a tragic loss

of American resource . . . and in many cases . . . American life.

Turkey, in announcing its decision to lift the ban on the cultivation of the poppy as of July 1st, in its "issuance for permission on cultivation of opium property" in seven Turkish provinces, stated that the order came about "to improve the living conditions of farmers whose livelihood depends on this production and to meet the need of raw materials for pharmaceuticals".

With regard to pharmaceuticals, a recent preliminary finding by the GAO indicates that synthetic substitutes could satisfy any predicted opium shortage. As for the needs of the 90,000 farmers . . . they have already been handsomely rewarded for their efforts under the \$35 million subsidy program. Moreover, the Turkish government has not yet requested the unexpended funds made available by our Nation.

Turkey's outrageous decision is illogical . . . considering the fact that the Government of Turkey stands to lose more than \$200 million in foreign aid and assistance in the coming fiscal year as compared to a net gain of 1/4 of 1 percent of its total national export.

Turkey's total lack of humanitarian concern coupled with its clear breach of its earlier agreement with America to stop growing poppies mandates immediate action. I propose the following:

First: The withholding of payment of the unexpended remainder of the \$5.7 million dollar fund for Turkey's opium growers.

Second: Pursuant to House Concurrent Resolution 507, which I am co-sponsoring, I call upon the administration to impose Presidential authority to suspend all further economic and military assistance to the Government of Turkey based upon its failure to cooperate with us in curbing international traffic in hard drugs.

Third: The immediate suspension of any and all pending foreign aid military assistance to the Government of Turkey until such time as it revokes its order permitting opium cultivation.

I urge all nations to join with our country in condemning this short-sighted decision by the Government of Turkey.

STATEMENT BY JOHN T. CUSACK

By 1965 the post World War II heroin addiction problem in the United States which had been stabilized at about 50,000 addicts began to escalate. While there were sociological factors which brought about this increased demand for heroin in the United States as well as worldwide, investigation clearly indicated that 80% of the heroin supplied to the United States came from clandestine heroin laboratories in the Marseilles region of France where it was converted from morphine base illicitly produced in Turkey from opium diverted from legal production in that country.

In 1960, United States and French narcotic control authorities estimated that two hundred kilos of heroin per month were being smuggled to the United States from the Marseilles region. This would amount to 2,400 kilos annually or 2.4 metric tons of heroin. By 1965, this traffic and addicts had doubled and on the basis of illegal opium supplies available in Turkey, the ability of the Turkish underworld to produce morphine base for the French illicit laboratories, it became apparent that the Turkish-French connection could supply several hundred thousand heroin addicts in the United States if not a million.

The need for the Government of Turkey to begin to bring its opium production under a system of control became apparent to the world community and the United States as early as 1931 and Turkey was urged to do so. In 1933, it enacted a law which established a system for the purchase of opium from farmers and its legal export for pharmaceutical purposes. By 1948, as the post World War II

heroin problem developed, it became apparent that the 1933 Turkish opium law required strengthening. In 1950, the GOT enacted a law which increased the penalties for narcotic violations including the death penalty for illicit manufacture and certain trafficking offenses.

Regrettably this law did not prove effective. In 1953 the United Nations Opium Protocol was completed to create a worldwide system for the effective control of legal opium production. Unfortunately, it was not until 1960 that Turkey placed into effect a system of licensing required by the treaty.

While there had been much hope that the new licensing system would curtail the extensive opium diversion to the illicit traffic, it failed to do so. By 1966, working with the determined that its licensing system was United Nations, the Government of Turkey faulty and moved to correct this situation. However, it took six years from 1966 to 1972 to enact and implement legislation correcting the weaknesses in the opium cultivation licensing law. During the period 1966-1971 it is estimated that the failure of controls in Turkey resulted in doubling or even tripling the illicit heroin traffic affecting the U.S. The new licensing regulations were utilized for the 1972 or last opium crop in Turkey. However, observers considered it only marginally effective and estimate that it would take at least five years of trial and error to develop a reasonably effective system but would still suffer a loss to the illicit traffic of 10 to 20 per cent.

On the basis of morphine base and heroin seizures in the traffic from France and Turkey affecting the United States, it became apparent that the problem from 1960 onward began to increase and by late 1965 began to reach alarming proportions. Dialogue with the Turkish Government on this problem was opened in 1966 by the United Nations, the United States and other governments. Beginning in 1967, the Government of Turkey, under Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel, with the encouragement of the United Nations and the support of the United States, began a program to gradually prohibit the cultivation of the opium poppy in Turkey.

Indications were that in 1967 the Government of Turkey clearly recognized its responsibility under Article 22 of the U.N. Single Narcotic Convention of 1953 which states:

"Whenever the prevailing conditions in the country or a territory of a Party render the prohibition of the cultivation of the opium poppy, the coca bush or the cannabis plant the most suitable measure, in its opinion, for protecting the public health and welfare and preventing the diversion of drugs into the illicit traffic, the Party concerned shall prohibit cultivation."

Beginning in 1968 and through 1971, the Demirel Government reduced poppy cultivation from 21 to 4 provinces. In 1972, the Turkish Government under Prime Minister Nihat Erim, Mr. Demirel's successor phased out the last four provinces.

Between 1968 and 1971, the overall production of opium in Turkey and diversion to the illicit traffic was substantially reduced but the quantity entering the illicit traffic was still very great and more than enough to supply what was necessary to create and sustain a heroin epidemic in the United States. In fact, by 1970-1971, observers estimated that from 8 to 12 tons of heroin manufactured from Turkish morphine base was being smuggled to the United States. By 1972, opium production in Turkey had been sufficiently reduced to bring some relief and with no opium crop in 1973, the shortage of heroin which began in mid-1972 increased and remains to the present.

The opium production ban in Turkey has been remarkably effective. Heroin addiction in the United States has decreased from an estimated 500,000 in 1971 to about 200,000. The street level price of heroin has quadrupled while the purity has been reduced by half. In 1973, the rates of overdose deaths, drug related hepatitis, and property crimes, indicators of instances of heroin addiction, declined throughout most areas of the United States for the first time in six years. A heroin shortage has existed for 24 months, particularly in our eastern and midwestern States traditionally supplied with heroin of French origin produced from morphine base originating in Turkey.

At the Third Special Session of the U.N. Commission on Narcotic Drugs at Geneva in February, the representatives of the United States, France, Canada and Interpol stated that the poppy ban in Turkey had dramatically curtailed the illicit traffic and addiction to heroin in Europe and North America. The representative of Iran stated that prior to 1969, before gradual poppy prohibition in Turkey began to take effect, his Government annually seized eight tons of opium coming from Turkey. In 1973, only 2/10ths of one ton was seized. Representatives of Arab Governments have also reported a sharp diminution in the quantities of opium entering their territory from Turkey.

Notwithstanding the fact that opium production in Turkey had been gradually reduced since 1968 and ended entirely in 1972, there have been substantial supplies still available from clandestine stocks hoarded by growers and traffickers. This testifies to the enormity of the leakage to the illicit traffic from legal production in Turkey. After two years of no opium production in Turkey it is estimated that about 2,400 kilos of heroin are still entering the United States annually from France and Lebanon produced from morphine base originating from stocks in Turkey.

In May 1974, the Turkish Jandarma seized a large morphine base laboratory in Denizli Province, along with 69 kilos of morphine base and 20 kilos of opium. There has not been opium production in Denizli since 1971.

For many months now, we have been following statements made by Turkish officials that it would be necessary to return to poppy cultivation to relieve the economic and social hardships experienced by the "poor poppy growers". The farmer in Turkey who grew poppy was a general farmer, growing wheat, barley, other grains, sugar beet, vegetables and seed oil crops. Poppy was an extra cash crop which because of its high risk of failure due to weather conditions, was never grown exclusively. The average grower earned from \$10.00 to \$60.00 in an environment where his income totalled about \$850.00 annually. The cultivation of the opium poppy was one-tenth of one percent of the overall agricultural production in the regions in which it was grown. Opium poppy and its products amounted to three-fourths of one percent of Turkey's total exports. Annually, Turkey cultivates about 30 million acres. Yet at the height of opium production only 112,000 acres of poppy were cultivated; and in 1972, the last year of production, only 18,000 acres were cultivated by farmers, amounting to only one-tenth of one percent of Turkey's population.

Because poppy was such a soil depleting crop, farmers always rotated it with wheat, barley, other grains and melon. The transition to substitute crops was therefore quite easy and normal most of the substitutes earn as much for the grower as poppy provided he did not sell to the illicit traffic.

If the grower depends upon sales to the illicit market, there is no crop that can compete with the poppy. Farmers advocating a return to poppy cultivation are likely to be those who supplied the illicit market.

When the Government of Turkey decided to end the cultivation of poppy after the 1972 harvest, the United States Government pledged \$35 million to assist Turkey in phasing out opium production. Twenty million

dollars of this fund has been allocated to programs and projects which could produce new sources of income for the poppy farmer. Fifteen million dollars was to be spread over three to four years to help replace losses in foreign exchange that would have been earned by Turkey through legal opium sales.

The Government of Turkey on its own paid subsidies in 1972 and 1973 to farmers who ended opium production the previous year. It is my understanding that these payments amounted to the equivalent in Turkish currency of about \$5 million and were successful in easing the transition of farmers to other crops. The subsidy phase of the Turkish program to terminate opium production has ended. Of the \$35 million pledged by the United States, \$10 million has already been provided as foreign exchange replacement and \$10 million for development programs to raise the level of agriculture and economic development in the former poppy growing regions. Of the remaining \$15 million pledged by the United States, \$10 million is allotted for development programs and \$5 million for foreign exchange relief.

On July 1, 1974, the Government of Turkey published a decree authorizing a fall 1974 planting for the cultivation of poppy for gum opium in seven provinces. This returns production to the 1971 level, and by Turkish estimates will produce 200 tons of opium. Outside observers believe this might well result in an equal amount entering the illicit traffic.

On July 2, Prime Minister Ecevit in speaking to Parliament indicated that if control measure proved inadequate, Parliament would be asked to enact additional laws to prevent illicit diversion.

While we are inclined to accept the good intentions of the Turkish Government in its promise to adopt a fool-proof system of control, should it reestablish opium production, we must be guided by past experience where the most conservative observers estimate that at least half of the opium produced in Turkey entered the illicit traffic. The conditions responsible for this situation have not changed. To a great extent, they are beyond Turkish control and involve narcotic traffickers in the United States, Western Europe, as well as those in Turkey. There are numerous unscrupulous individuals who, through their interaction, have been in the past and would be again responsible for penetrating the Turkish system of opium control and diverting vast quantities to the illicit traffic for heroin manufacture to again infect Western Europe and North America.

It is simply impossible to control the production of opium by 100,000 farmers on half-acre plots in Turkey. This production is simply too vulnerable to criminal elements in Turkey and abroad, and there is no system that can prevent substantial diversion. The cost of attempting to develop and implement such a system would be economically prohibitive.

In addition to citing farmer hardship and the fact that poppy growing was a way of life for farmers in Turkey (which statistically it is not), Prime Minister Ecevit said the ban was imposed in 1972 to protect the health of humanity, but now the health of humanity was neglected because of a shortage of opium. Turkey's return to opium production would now meet that opium shortage.

For some time now Turkish officials have stated that the Turkish opium ban has created a deficit of 200 tons for the world pharmaceutical industry.

During 1973, a drought in India did result in a gum opium shortfall of about 200 tons. On this point, the U. N. International Narcotic Control Board in its report for 1973 issued on February 25, 1974, stated that "It appears that whereas the 1973 production schedules will not in itself suffice to meet

demand, the 1974 schedule might be expected to lead to a possible equilibrium". On this point, at the recent Third Special of the United Nations Narcotic Commission, Sir Harry Greenfield, President of the International Narcotic Control Board cautioned against any hasty decisions by governments to begin or to reestablish opium production to fill the 1973 shortfall which production schedules by 1974 could well end.

During the last five years of opium production, Turkey only managed to purchase an average of 93.2 tons of opium from farmers and during the last ten years of production, an average of only 101 tons was purchased from growers.

The demand for illicit opium supply in Turkey at greatly increased prices has traditionally prevented the government from obtaining sufficient quantities from farmers to make an adequate and dependable annual contribution to legal world requirements. This failure has been the reason for an increase in Indian opium production and has caused countries by 1973 to produce 36 per cent of the world's opiate alkaloid requirements through the industrial poppy straw process.

During 1974 increased use of this process is expected to alleviate the 1973 shortfall in opiate raw materials.

An added challenge to developing opium production controls in Turkey has been the amnesty in May which liberated about 25 major narcotic traffickers in Turkey including Nuri Boston, Mehmet Akman, Ahmet and Hassan Karagulle and Ismail Ozdemir. Many other violators also had their sentences reduced. Another development which has caused very great concern has been the appearance of illicit heroin activity in Turkey. In March 1974 a clandestine heroin laboratory was seized in Usak Province and we have several reports from our Western European police colleagues that Turkish nationals are beginning to offer heroin purportedly of Turkish origin for sale.

While Turkey may have a sovereign right to reestablish opium production, if it wishes, it also has a solemn responsibility to consider whether in the interest of humanity it does not have an obligation to maintain the ban which has had such a remarkable effect in reducing the traffic in heroin and addiction in Western Europe and North America.

SURFACE MINING CONTROL AND RECLAMATION ACT OF 1974

HON. MARK ANDREWS

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker I submit herewith a copy of an amendment I intend to offer next week when the House considers H.R. 11500, the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act of 1974. The text of the amendment follows:

AMENDMENT TO H.R. 11500, SURFACE MINING CONTROL AND RECLAMATION ACT OF 1974

In Sec. 225(c), page 239, line 20, delete the word "may" and insert the word "shall."

If amended, this provision under the Federal Lands section would read as follows:

"The Secretary shall require as one of the terms and conditions of any permit, lease or contract to surface mine coal owned by the United States that the lessee, permittee or contractor give satisfactory assurances that the anti-trust laws of the United States will be complied with and that no class of purchasers of the mined coal shall be unreasonably denied purchase thereof."

The rationale behind my amendment is to guarantee to smaller coal companies and other purchasers with smaller requirements the availability of Federal coal. At the present time, sales patterns of coal leased by the Federal government are characterized by disproportional availability to the larger purchasers resulting in a disadvantage to the smaller purchasers.

What this amendment simply does is to require the Secretary of the Interior to see to it that lessees-permittees of Federal coal comply with our nation's anti-trust laws.

The necessity of guaranteeing smaller companies access to Federal coal is seen by noting that fewer than 5% of the surface coal mines in the United States produce as much as 200,000 tons of coal annually. In addition, 65% of the 2300 surface coal mines in the U.S. produce 50,000 tons or less a year. Certainly, the small surface coal mines should have the protection of this country's anti-trust laws without waiting for the Department of Justice to initiate proceedings or having to undergo the large economic burden themselves and perhaps experience long judicial delays. With the demands of the energy crisis upon us, everyone should have equal access to the vast reserves and stripable Federal coal.

For these reasons, I urge your adoption of this amendment.

U.S. TECHNOLOGY EXPORTS

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, for some time I have been concerned over the difficulty American firms encounter when trying to export technological advances they have developed. We have let our hands be bound by cold war attitudes which are, in fact, not relevant to international trade. These attitudes preclude advances we must make in the international marketplace, not only because of the balance-of-payments situation but also because of the salutary effect an increase in U.S. export would have on job conditions here at home.

Our present policy of making it as difficult as possible for U.S. firms to export technology is a movement backward; which is both distressing and destructive. The following article appeared in the June 1974 issue of Government Executive. Two American businessmen, Bill Norris of Control Data Corp., and Dr. Lester Hogan of Fairchild Camera & Instrument demonstrate the disastrous effect this policy is having on efforts to expand U.S. participation in foreign markets. I recommend it to all of my colleagues:

TECHNOLOGY EXPORT

Three years ago, the Canadian government gave Control Data Corp. a grant of \$20 million to help create an indigenous computer industry including a facility near Toronto. It now employs 430 persons, mostly Canadians, and is already delivering two economic results—technological developments at the new plant are being incorporated into CDC computer advances in the U.S. and CDC is now a major manufacturer of large scale computer systems in Canada.

At about the same time all this was happening, CDC was being hammered by a handful of Congressmen on Capitol Hill for

"selling our technology to the Russians and (thus) jeopardizing our national security." U.S. born and raised, CDC must wonder who their friends are.

In late April, before the International Trade Subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee, here's what CDC Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Bill Norris, had to say about what one friendly Congressman called "that silly charge:"

"Since 1945, the restrictive nature of export legislation and the lengthy administrative procedures which surround export licenses for computers have served the United States poorly. We have violated the cardinal rule (of export success) by being difficult to do business with."

In contrast, he points out, under Russian leadership the communist-governed European countries have developed a family of machines popularly called the *Ryad* series. Result: U.S. computer firms dragging a Government anchor are seeing potential East European customers being directed to use *Ryad* equipment rather than U.S. or West Europe-made computers.

On top of that, "Western Europe and Japan are rapidly approaching, and in some cases have achieved, a technological parity with the U.S." In addition, "Peripheral equipment technology now available in Eastern Europe is only three to four years behind the U.S."

The result: "To avail ourselves of dwindling opportunities, it is essential to move rapidly into the USSR and East European marketplace which hold significant potential over the next ten years. Otherwise, our foreign competitors and the indigenous industry that I referred to will preempt the opportunity."

BEYOND MERE BUSINESS

But Norris' concern is far more basic than just making a sale. "There is a basis for a natural marriage on projects with the USSR. It is important to keep in mind that Russia has more basic scientists than any other country. In the U.S., most of our technical talent resides in applied scientists and engineers as opposed to Russia, where many of the better ones have gone into the pure sciences of physics, mathematics, chemistry, etc."

As to computers, themselves, "Computer hardware has reached the stage of development where it is quite adequate for most applications—the pacing element now is applications software."

In addition, as the May, 1972, U.S.-USSR summit agreement on scientific and technological cooperation supports, "We believe the U.S. should rapidly and aggressively pursue cooperative programs with the USSR as well as other countries."

"Otherwise, we will deny ourselves the opportunity to add significantly to the timeliness and adequacy of solutions to many long-term problems, including energy, environmental protection, transportation, education and health care."

"It is becoming increasingly clear that the U.S. by itself does not have the resources to adequately solve long-term energy and environmental problems . . . present sources of U.S. funds are strained merely to support the present inadequate educational system . . . what does the U.S. pay for better medical care?"

"Technological development could provide it—if there were additional resources to commit to it. Cooperative efforts with the USSR could provide more effective and less costly solutions much sooner. . . . I am pleased to see some significant progress already in cooperative efforts in the medical health field."

Another plus for the U.S.: "The USSR has a highly structured system for health care, while in the U.S. our system is highly decentralized. . . . (Because of that) they can

(quickly, in a comparative sense) make tremendous efforts to determine the status of the health of their citizens as well as the health care they receive."

"This type of sweeping systems approach (literally questioning and examining upwards of one million persons) is possible in the USSR in the field of education as well."

"It makes the USSR an extremely attractive partner for cooperative activities in health and education, since they have the structure to implement pilot procedures on a substantial scale—a necessary ingredient, we believe, to major progress in applying computer technology to these fields."

But even at that, Norris told Congress, that before CDC will get involved, several key concepts have to exist. Among them:

"Basic to our concept of cooperation is our policy that Control Data does not normally sell technology for cash. We will offer technology where improved access to the market is realized or where technology of equivalent or greater value is received or some combination thereof."

Moreover, "We advocate long term arrangements. We're not interested in one-shot deals because it's very hard to evaluate where the technology will lead . . . program phasing is a key ingredient of technology interchange. By that I mean the transfer of CDC technology will be related to the flow-back of technology to Control Data . . . in order to assure the desired reciprocal benefits are attained by both sides."

The most likely early payoffs to the U.S. Norris sees are in education and medicine where the USSR could "easily provide technology of a value greater than that which we will be furnishing the USSR."

Among Norris' recommendations that would make Government a help, not a hindrance:

A four-year extension of the life of the Export-Import Bank because "the extension of credits and loan guarantees is the very essence of international trade."

Strengthen the role of the technical advisory committees (to the Secretary of Commerce) in determining which commodities and technical data should no longer be subject to export controls for national security reasons. "To date, these committees have been misused or not used at all in that role."

"The Office of Export Administration is seriously undermanned in numbers of people and in technical competence to process export license applications expeditiously."

In similar vein, he listed for the committee some administrative-type suggestions mostly designed to upgrade Governmental talent and cut down the currently horrendous mass of duplicative paperwork and reports.

Finally, against the charge that he was being the instrument "to make a sale" for giving away U.S. military security, nee technology, he had a pair of answers:

The computer power ("thruput") capacity than has been sold to the Russians by all U.S. manufacturers put together is considerably less than that owned by any one of several U.S. universities and individual companies.

"I have asked repeatedly, in the Pentagon and elsewhere, and have yet to hear of a single instance where the USSR was unable to carry out any important military project for lack of computer technology."

HOGAN: A MARKET WILL BE LOST

Like Bill Norris (see accompanying story), Fairchild Camera and Instrument Chief Executive Officer, Dr. Lester Hogan, warned the same committee that Governmental restrictions could force U.S. loss of its leading position, in this case, in world semiconductor markets.

High technology, he said, is a perishable product. If it's not perishable, it's not high technology. "By selling Eastern Europe to-

day's technology, we are not threatening our future competitive position which depends on tomorrow's technologies."

"But," he said, "the semiconductor industry faces an unparalleled opportunity in East Europe which it must move quickly to capture or it will lose." What most threatens the loss? "Unnecessarily restrictive U.S. trade policies."

Some examples he cited of what technological vigor can deliver economically:

Three years ago, some 75% of the handheld calculators sold in the U.S. were made in Japan. Today, 75% of them are made in the U.S.

Dominance of the wristwatch industry is returning to the U.S. "In a very few years, the electronic wristwatch housing thousands of transistors will be the only watch sold in the world."

"We are working on a 'one-chip' AM/FM radio which will bring back to the U.S. the radio industry which long ago left."

But that research and development, he pointed out, is funded as a result of sales. Assuming the capture of 45% (about the U.S. Free World semiconductor market now) of the Eastern European potential from 1974-1980, that translates into sales of roughly \$2.3 billion.

"This volume would permit U.S. companies to: (1) improve their positive impact on the U.S. balance of trade; (2) employ additional U.S. workers, scientists and engineers; (3) invest more in research and development which will encourage and produce more sophisticated products; (4) strengthen and protect their world competitive position; and (5) benefit other U.S. industries which are suppliers to the U.S. semiconductor business."

But the competition, particularly from the Japanese, is becoming fierce and effective. Probably the only thing flawed in Hogan's presentation is that, of the 16 committee members, only three were around to hear him at any one time—and one of those was too busy talking on the phone to listen.

Commented one observer: "Here you've got the top officers of two of the Nation's leading companies and only three people can show up for the hearing. No wonder industry, like everybody else, looks down their nose at Congress."

"TODAY SHOW" INTERVIEW

HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, one of the key issues facing the Congress soon will be the question of subsidizing cattle producers since H.R. 15560 has just been reported from the House Agriculture Committee. I thought my colleagues would be interested in a recent interview on the Today Show of Congressman PETER PEYSER and Congressman THOMAS FOLEY.

The interview follows:

BARBARA WALTERS. If U.S. cattle producers face financial disaster because of low prices, should the government come to their aid with federally guaranteed loans? The House Agriculture Committee has approved a bill for two billion dollars in loan guarantees for livestock and poultry producers. But the bill faces a fight on the House floor. And we want to discuss this issue now with Congressman Thomas Foley, who's a Democrat of Washington, and he favors the loan program. Congressman Peter Peyser, Republican of New York, opposes it. And they're in

our Washington studio with "Today" Washington editor Bill Monroe.

Good morning, Bill.

BILL MONROE. Good morning, Barbara.

Mr. Foley, I take it the main purpose of the bill is to keep cattle and poultry producers from going bankrupt.

Representative THOMAS FOLEY. Exactly. And I think the program is a very moderate one. These are not government loans. The government guarantees, and they cover only eighty percent of the loans. So the commercial bank or farm credit bank that's involved will have to undertake a responsibility to see that the loan has sufficient security and can be repaid.

Also, there's no subsidy of interest. The interest rates will be standard market interest rates at the time. But many cattle and livestock producers have exhausted their credit, and if we have them liquidating their herds or going bankrupt, it's only going to mean that a year or two years from now there's going to be a shortage of meats and there's going to be higher prices for the consumer as a result.

MONROE. Mr. Peyser, what is your objection to the bill?

Representative PETER PEYSER. Well, Bill, I feel this is nothing more than a program to bail out the banks, in the first place. The banks love this bill. This lets banks re-finance existing loans that are at lower interest rates; gives them an eighty percent government guarantee and lets them charge the so-called going rate, which, today, would be eleven or twelve percent. It is a bill that does nothing, in my opinion, for the consumer. In fact, the only thing I think it guarantees the consumer is as high or higher prices of beef.

I think the real problems today don't deal with the banks and with what the cattlemen are getting as producers, but what is being charged to the consumer. The rate is so high that the consumer just won't buy. And if they won't buy, then the cattle growers have got a problem. If we can get the meat packers, the major meat packers, the processors and the major retail chains, the major supermarkets, to be willing today to take a little less profit and lower the prices on their retail sales and even to pay a little more to the growers, I think the problem can solve itself. But to bail out the banks at this point I think is an absolute disgrace.

MONROE. Mr. Foley.

Representative FOLEY. It's not really a question of bailing out the banks; it's a question of providing enough credit so that the adjustments that have to be made in the livestock industry are going to be possible.

Now, this bill doesn't do everything, admittedly. But I don't think Mr. Peyser would argue that cattle producers and livestock producers are not getting a sufficient return to allow them to stay in business. It's true probably that prices at retail have been too high, considering lower livestock wholesale prices recently. But I don't know that they're too high considering what we're going to have to expect. We're going to have to expect that in the chain of production, from the time the calf is bred until the steer is slaughtered, that there's going to be a return for that. Feed costs have doubled and more than doubled. The prices of fertilizer have gone up. Everything that the farmer and rancher inputs into this operation has increased. And I don't think it's wise or beneficial to promise the consumer that we're going to go back to sixty cent bacon or back to thirty-five cent hamburger. It's not going to happen as long as these other costs in the chain of production stay up.

But the point for the consumer is that if livestock producers go under in the process of adjustment, there simply isn't going to be the supply later on. It takes about three years from when the time the calf is bred until the meat reaches the retail market.

And we're going to pay a price if we don't see these cattle operators stay in business.

MONROE. Mr. Peyser, a question on what Mr. Foley is saying. How will it help consumers if cattlemen go broke?

Representative PEYSER. Well, I guess the real question here, Bill, is I don't think the real cattlemen are going to go broke. Just on Friday of this past week, I had a call from the Idaho Cattlemen's Association, from the California Cattlemen's Association saying they are in complete opposition to this bill. They are going to make their views with many other associations known this week.

I don't think it's a question of the cattlemen, the real cattlemen. I think what we're doing here—there are many investments that have taken place. This has been something that's been used, frankly, in Wall Street, as well, as a tax write-off for a lot of people. A lot of investment interests have been making a lot of money out of this program. And it's interesting to me to see the cattle industry, where a year ago they were saying, "Look, let the free market take over here. Let's everybody keep your hands off; don't let government controls come in." They were charging all-time highs for beef. They were making all kinds of money in the cattle industry itself at prices they've never duplicated before. And they were saying "Keep your hands off." And now things are beginning to work out, hopefully. I think that if we leave it alone, with warehouses at an all-time high on the amount of beef being held, if you'll leave it alone I think the market will settle down. We are going to lose some producers. But I suspect we should lose them. And I don't think we ought to bail them out.

And one other thing, Bill, that really gets me on this bill. This was supposed to be a cattle program. We now have in this program hogs, sheep, goats, chickens, turkeys, all of them covered in here. And I know there are a number of amendments, if this reaches the floor, to add other items, such as the vegetable farmers who are having a real problem. And I'm not going to argue that point. They feel they ought to be in it.

MONROE. Congressman Foley, what about the free market argument? If cattlemen take risks, they turn out to be bad risks, the government bails them out: aren't we out of a free market?

Representative FOLEY. I don't think we're bailing out the livestock producers. We're just giving them a chance to get credit at admittedly high interest rates. This isn't a subsidy program. It doesn't, hopefully, require appropriations by the government. If these loans are paid back—and the Secretary of Agriculture has authority under the bill to insure that the loans are made in a way that will be likely to be repaid—then everybody benefits. All it does is provide short-term credit at market rates. But because of the enormous trouble that the market is presently in, it's needed. We don't do a thing in this bill that we don't do for small business loans. In fact, small business loans are guaranteed at ninety percent. This bill only guarantees them at eighty percent and has the same limits that we apply to small business loans.

Mr. Peyser says that some of the producers ought to go under. Well, I think that's a pretty tough attitude, considering the fact that a lot of people have their life savings involved and their life investments involved in this business. It's not a business to bail out the banks, not a program to bail out the banks or to bail out Wall Street investors. The bill requires that the loans can only be made to persons directly involved in the breeding or fattening or marketing of livestock. It isn't a program for investors.

MONROE. Mr. Peyser, the Senate passed this bill by an overwhelming margin and the House Agriculture Committee has reported favorably on it by an overwhelming margin.

Do you have any hopes of turning this bill around, of preventing its passage in the House?

Representative PEYSER. Yes, I do, Bill. I think the Senate's action was inexcusable. And I think it's as inexcusable as when they passed the Chicken Indemnity Bill a month ago with no hearings to presumably pay ten million dollars to Mississippi chicken growers, and they didn't even know what the problem was. I think the Senate has acted under pressure from Mr. Mansfield, Mr. Eastland and the people of this nature who are trying to promote what they feel is the right answer for their people. But I don't think it's going to go. I think the House has really had its fill now of the automatic approval of agriculture programs.

If I felt this was going to hurt the consumer for one instant, I would support it. But I am totally convinced now that what we're dealing [with] here is a high financial operation. And when people say the banks won't be helped, can you imagine if you were a bank who an individual owed a hundred thousand dollars and you were charging eight or nine percent, and you could take that loan back in, have the government guarantee eighty percent of it and be able to charge eleven or twelve percent? Why the banks have got to love this, and they do. They were here in force to testify, as were many of the people who owed the banks money.

So I think if the consumer is going to get a break, we cannot go in and, in effect, have the taxpayer and the consumer, who are the same people, finance the bill. I think we can beat the bill. I honestly feel the groundswell in the Congress, the public being aware of what is happening, the consumer groups who are now coming into the picture in our support. I think we can beat it and give the consumer and the taxpayer a decent break.

MONROE. Are you pretty confident . . . ?

Representative FOLEY. The same arguments were made, I might say, about the Sugar Bill, which Mr. Peyser also opposed when it came to the floor a couple of weeks ago. And sugar prices to the consumers are up twenty percent since that bill was defeated by the House.

So I think that very often the plea that we're taking care of the consumer turns out to be a kind of a vicious fraud. The consumer is going to be helped by adequate supplies, and he's not going to be helped by a shortage. And the shortage is going to result if we have livestock operators, including poultry operators, going into liquidating their herds and going bankrupt all over the country.

I wonder if Mr. Peyser supported the guaranteed loan program for the northeastern railroads which passed the Congress. . . .

MONROE. We'll give Mr. Peyser a fifteen second last word.

Representative PEYSER. My last word is the sugar program defeat will help the consumer, not today, but by next year. And the program of defeating this bill will also help the consumer in the marketplace.

MONROE. Gentlemen, thank you very much for being with us, Congressman Thomas Foley, Democrat of Washington, Congressman Peter Peyser, Republican of New York.

Now back to Barbara.

WHERE IS THE JUSTICE FOR
EDWARD N. EVANS

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, for the past 26 years, a constituent of mine, Mr.

Edward N. Evans, has been engaged in a lonely, frustrating battle with the Federal bureaucracy to win compensation for permanent injuries sustained in connection with his military service. Mr. Evans is neither the first nor the last citizen to undertake such a struggle, but his case is a particularly moving one which concerns me deeply.

The left half of Mr. Evans' body is paralyzed because, he believes, of malaria which he first contracted while serving in the Army Air Corps in Panama. On the basis of more than 3 years of involvement with his case, I believe his assessment is correct, and that the U.S. Government has been wrong in not assuming full responsibility for his plight. It is deplorable that to this day our Government has not recognized this responsibility.

Mr. Evans' incredible plight was first brought to my attention in 1971. My staff reviewed his case file item by item, and the following are the essential facts of this long and tangled case: In 1946, Mr. Evans was hospitalized for treatment of what was diagnosed on the basis of his medical history as malaria.

During that hospitalization, he also developed pneumonia, and a few days later he had contracted left spastic hemiplegia, and it is this paralysis which he suffers from today. Through a long and tangled history of claims and reviews, Mr. Evans has tried to convince the Veterans' Administration that this paralysis was caused by his malaria and is therefore a service-connected disability for which he deserves full compensation. He had entered the service a healthy man and performed his duties well—receiving a Soldier's Medal for Bravery, for example—only to find himself crippled for life through no fault of his own within 18 months after discharge.

For more than two decades, Mr. Evans has tried unsuccessfully to convince the Veterans' Administration that his paralysis is a service-connected disability and to win the benefits such a determination would bring him.

I felt so strongly that the case of Mr. Evans had not been properly handled by the Veterans' Administration that I went to the extraordinary extent of testifying personally before the Board of Veterans Appeals—the only time in my 10 years in Congress I have been moved to do so. I presented authoritative medical and legal evidence that cast substantial doubt upon the VA's position that Mr. Evans' hemiplegia was not service-connected, and I established that hemiplegia as a secondary condition to service-connected malaria was well within the "range of probability" as required under the reasonable doubt rule (38 C.F.R. 3.102) of the veterans compensation law. I pointed out that several medical authorities who had Mr. Evans under observation had stated that they considered malaria to be the cause of the hemiplegia. For example, a diagnosis in Mr. Evans' file by Dr. I. Mazelaner, medical superintendent of Kings County Hospital, marked "privileged and confidential," dated March 23, 1948, reads as follows:

Thrombosis of right cerebral artery due to malaria. Convulsions, post thrombotic.

However, the Board of Veterans Appeals, in its reconsideration decision of May 3, 1973, again denied Mr. Evans' claim for entitlement to service connection for left hemiplegia, despite the fact that the Board's decision explicitly recognized that the cause of Mr. Evans' hemiplegia would probably not ever be proven.

The evidence I have contributed to this case goes beyond speculation or remote possibility. It establishes Dr. Mazelaner's diagnosis—a recurrence of service-connected malaria as the most probable explanation of Mr. Evans' condition. It should be noted that Mr. Evans was diagnosed, treated, and rated 30 percent service connected for malaria on November 21, 1946, approximately 1 month before the hospitalization for malaria when the hemiplegia developed.

The VA's refusal to recognize and apply the reasonable doubt rule of the veterans compensation law forces me to conclude that the only chance for just compensation for this long suffering veteran, whose present condition is precarious, is for the Congress to carry this case forward. I am, therefore, appealing to the Congress to grant relief to Mr. Evans on humanitarian grounds and I am today introducing legislation to that effect which reads as follows:

For the relief of Edward N. Evans

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury, not otherwise appropriated, to Edward N. Evans (recipient of Soldier's Medal for bravery, United States Air Force (6145775)) of Bronx, New York, the sum of \$100,000 in full settlement as recognition and assumption of the compassionate responsibility of the United States in connection with a permanent paralysis he sustained after discharge from military service which for a technicality is not otherwise compensable under existing Veterans' Administration regulations but which fairness and equity requires.

SEC. 2. The payment of the compassionate compensation provided for in this Act shall not be interpreted as interfering with or barring any rights of the said Edward N. Evans to compensation or benefits accruing to him by research of his military service, and its acceptance by him shall be in addition to any such rights to compensation or other benefits from the United States.

WILLIS M. HAWKINS, DISTINGUISHED EXECUTIVE, RETIRES FROM LOCKHEED

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. Speaker, recently Mr. Willis M. Hawkins retired from the Lockheed Aircraft Corp. as senior vice president for science and engineering. As senior adviser to Lockheed, Willis Hawkins ended an illustrious career that spanned more than three decades with this great aerospace firm.

Prior to his retirement, Willis Hawkins delivered an address on energy to the Natural Resources Section, Town Hall of California, that is a most timely and thought-provoking treatise on the Nation's energy problems and potential. I recommend this address to the Congress and the Nation as follows:

ENERGY—TAPPING NEARLY INFINITE SOURCES

Today I am addressing a subject that will carry us far into the future—energy.

Speaking as a practitioner of aerospace technologies, the conjectures you will hear are based on experience gained in an industry where all of us have had to be as efficient with the energy we had at our command as we knew how. Also, particularly significant for its long-range import, the aerospace community has had operational experience with solar power, nuclear power, and with exotic fuels including hydrogen and oxygen. I hope to show you that all of this experience is pertinent to our future here on earth. I should warn you at the start that I am prejudiced—I would like to sell you on the fact that we have enough knowledge and enough talent and enough new ideas that we should not let current fears about energy limits curtail our enthusiasm for the future.

Implicit in my remarks will be the suggestion, in some detail, that our future problems are not all technical. The financial, political and management problems are formidable. We will have to change some of our personal habits and some of our governmental habits, but I think that if we do, we can have all of the energy we need or want. And now is the time to start.

WHAT ARE OUR REAL SHORTAGES?

America's energy problems, although currently localized in the fuel crisis, are substantially broader than that, and in many respects the current fuel shortage may be just the catalyst we need to address all of our potential future shortages and to do something about them. The environmentalists tell us that we are running out of oxygen pure enough to breathe and to grow things with, and in certain areas I am sure they are right. We all know that we are running out of fuel to light and heat our homes, our offices, our industry. Oddly enough, the fuel crisis is in a resource category where we are relatively self-sufficient.

Prior to our recent crisis we were importing approximately 33% of our petroleum products, not so much because we didn't have enough but because it was cheaper that way. And when you look at the list of other things we import, it turns out to be something of a shock. In a list of approximately one dozen imported critical items, fuel is 12th.

Today we import over 50% of our needs in chromium, tin, manganese, nickel, lead, aluminum and zinc, and by the year 2000 we must add copper, iron, tungsten and finally, perhaps, petroleum. So our current fuel crisis will not be the only resource problem we face in the future. I only hope that we have been awakened enough by this present national inconvenience that we can start making plans about the others.

There is one other shortage that people rarely consider, and that is time. When we as individuals consider the things that we would like to do, and through our communications media find out all that is going on in the world, no mature, interested individual ever finds time enough for all the things he wants to do or see. Let's not get so fascinated with all the other shortages that we cut off the means whereby we can expand our interests to other peoples and other worlds with the time each of us has left.

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT

The environmental problems which have been brought to our attention in the last few

years are really so pertinent to our daily life that any new potential source of energy will be the source of major public debate and will understandably attract an unbalanced fringe. We must strive to avoid unnecessary restrictions which are bound to be championed as we change power concepts. There are excellent prospects for future power systems that can be good neighbors in our limited atmosphere. I think a little patience will perhaps lead to a middle course through these worries.

Hydraulic power from our rivers is certainly a means of satisfying our growing need for electricity in the areas where water is plentiful. I believe we should develop this kind of power and, if need be, ask some of the natural wildlife to move over a bit.

In the nuclear business the safety programs entered into in the earlier days were so thorough as to be almost ridiculous, and to have people criticize these now as not being enough is almost unbelievable. The nuclear scientists and the people in charge of control since the beginning of these experiments have acted most responsibly and when they say a reactor is safe, they deserve to be believed. We must move forward to nuclear power and can, with equanimity.

With respect to our automobiles, I feel we all should agree that improvement is still necessary to protect the environment. The basic concept of a personally controlled vehicle, however, is convenient and right, and there are ways to make it clean.

In the transition between now and the far future we have other impedimenta that are being imposed under the guise of environment. The pipeline in Alaska is one example and I am sure we will continue to hear dissonant outcries before we finally get at deep water drilling of oil, which should be done.

One of the fundamental problems in addressing the environmental impact is that, so far, we have not managed to obtain a real cost for energy that is clean. On the one hand we tend to stop programs completely because it will be too expensive to protect the environment, or we go through a long development cycle and then back up from environmental requirements in order to get needed services. This is characteristic of many national programs. To change that pattern the one thing we must do, and reasonably soon, is to set up realistic standards and calculate the costs of such standards. There is no question about it—we have to pay for a clean environment, and I believe we would if we knew what these costs really were.

ENERGY FOR TRANSPORTATION

All transportation demands made on petroleum products constitute 25% of our total demand and have a major impact on the environment. Before we address the specific problem of automobiles, ships, and aircraft, let me state one fundamental belief that I have: It is not necessary, in my opinion, and may be counter-productive, for us to try to solve all of our energy problems in the same way. We use enough energy in our automobiles, homes, civic establishments and industry that we can afford the best solution for each.

With respect to the automobile, it is my suggestion that we should aim our future at keeping the automobile in about the form that it is in today, but fix its emissions, and my candidate for doing that is to burn alcohol.

As a fuel, alcohol has emissions that are non-toxic and, since it can be processed from forest products, one could say that we can "grow" the fuel. Also, I am told that the amount of waste from homes (garbage and paper) and from the lumber industry (bark and scrap) is sufficient today that if converted to alcohol would fulfill approximately 20-25% of our automotive fuel needs.

There are some cost comparisons between alcohol and our petroleum fuels but they have been made on the basis of normal fuel consumption of automobiles before we have controlled all emissions. Furthermore, they have been made on the basis of former fuel costs. I believe cost comparisons based on today's prices, and the expected drop in with petroleum fuels, will show the costs to be very close together. The only real drawback is that alcohol does not contain very dense energy and the motorist would have to carry approximately 40% more fuel by weight for the same cruising distance that petroleum fuels provide. That sounds like a lot, but what it really means is that for a reasonably large automobile you could add an additional 70 pounds of fuel—the equivalent of an eight-year-old in the back seat. I believe alcohol fuel would be economically competitive and could be used for trucks and buses as well as automobiles.

Let's move to the high seas. I won't spend much time on ships because they probably are the most efficient energy users in the business. Even here, however, an improvement is available. The Navy has shown the way and a nuclear ship is, I think, the perfect answer for the future. We have done it, we have done it well. And, as long as we are going to subsidize our shipping as we do now, I believe we should put nuclear power into as many ships as we can and get the world used to the right ultimate answer.

Now I come to aircraft. Air transporters use only 9% of the transportation fuel today, so anything we do with aircraft wouldn't make much of an impact on our total supply. Next, any fuel switch on aircraft is going to take a long time and involve many hundreds of millions of dollars. Finally, of all the fuel users, the airplane has the lowest pollution impact per passenger or ton mile of any of the major transportation systems.

There is no obvious substitute for normal fuels that won't change aircraft completely. Alcohol is far too heavy for economical aircraft use, nuclear systems become far too heavy unless the aircraft is very large, and hydrogen involves complete redesign of the aircraft and a complete redo of the fuel distribution system throughout the world. So, in the immediate future, it seems to me that we should do what we can obviously do with other modes of transportation and save changing our aircraft concepts for a decade or two.

Advanced concepts can come later but I believe we are going to need a lot more airplanes reasonably soon. Prognostications on how the world is growing have been made by many students of economic change and most agree that approximately 3 billion people in newly emerging nations are about to enter the modern commercial world. They have inadequate roads, limited money, and aircraft afford the quickest means to travel throughout their country and to the rest of the world. Air transportation systems can be installed rather quickly, they have relatively low-cost facilities compared to railroads and concrete ribbons, and these emerging nations can move forward faster with aircraft than with anything else.

Cargo aircraft have only just begun to make the contributions that they eventually can make. It is a fact that today you could haul 50% of the current overseas container freight for long ranges cheaper by air than the current combination of ship, railroad and truck. The containers are handled only three times instead of seven to ten on typical hauls, and on an overseas shipment there would be substantially less damage in the ten-hour transit time than in the fifteen days that might otherwise be required. This may be even more important to emerging nations than it is to the fully developed nations where surface freight systems have existed since before the airplane.

The predictable need for more aircraft is

going to impact our industry before we can do our homework on alternate fuels, but eventually we will move to new energy sources. My candidate is hydrogen. We have handled it in space vehicles, we know how to use it, and it has real advantages.

A long-range hydrogen-powered airplane would require only 72% of the gross weight for the same payload carried by airplanes today. Thrust of the engines could be less by 34% and we would still fly the same 5,000 mile routes at Mach No. .85. A short-range airplane's gross weight would be down by 11%; its thrust could be down by 18%; and its noise and pollution would be substantially reduced.

During a recent cryogenic conference one speaker noted that hydrogen might even be a prime candidate to be developed from coal. He was speaking particularly of shale deposits and he thought hydrogen could be produced at a cost of \$2.5 per million Btu's. That is equivalent to the price of fuel at 28 cents a gallon—higher than the airlines have been paying but not very far from what they are probably going to pay. There may be the possibility of fairly early transition to hydrogen using coal as a source until nuclear power sources are available for large scale hydrogen production.

Perhaps we should think our way through what type of aircraft might be best to initiate such an experiment. My candidate is a cargo aircraft. Cargo aircraft are still more efficient as they get larger, and they wouldn't have to be much larger to make the wings sufficiently thick to carry the cargo while saving the round fuselages (the ideal shape) for the hydrogen. A transport system connecting as few as 12 of the world's cargo generating and receiving cities would carry the lion's share of all the potential cargo suitable to being carried by air. Thus the hydrogen fuel facilities could be limited to these few sites while still serving almost the whole market.

For passengers the day is going to come when, with hydrogen powered aircraft, we really can travel by air the world around—and do it in the way to which we would all like to become accustomed. With hydrogen many new concepts are possible—not only do we reap the benefits of its high energy density, we can also use it for surface cooling.

A transport is conceivable that could carry 400 to 500 passengers over 10,000 miles at six times the speed of sound. This is equivalent to flying anywhere in the world in 3 or 4 hours. Furthermore, the hydrogen plane's cruising altitude (approaching 100,000 feet) makes its boom signature on the ground sufficiently small that even the most sensitive would have no problem.

EARTH ENERGY

Our power and heat for earth-bound needs could be met substantially by the energy available from lumber processing waste and from domestic trash. But, as I have said before, I think that energy source is ideal for the automobile. All of our fossil energy potential today approaches 250×10^{18} Btu's. Some people feel, however, that only 5-10% of this amount is really economically usable. In the face of these numbers, those who know say that breeder reactors have the potential of furnishing our country 30-40 times the amount of energy that we could economically get out of the ground. This is certainly a real promise for the future, and I am personally certain that the breeder must come. The environmental impact, with the standards which I am sure we would set for such installations, will be minute. And breeder reactors, when they come into being, will have potential byproducts like hydrogen and oxygen that will be valuable elsewhere. This, I think, should be counted on as our basic future ground-based power source.

Enthusiastic as I am about our nuclear

potential, I am equally intrigued by the use of solar energy for our civic buildings and our homes. Systems have been conceived and, in fact, quite thoroughly designed, where output can be achieved at \$1.5 to \$4.00 per million Btu's. Oil is somewhere between \$1.5 and \$3.00, and gas—the cheapest—is currently between 80¢ and \$3.00, depending on location. Thus, solar heating systems are not completely out of sight from the standpoint of operating expense and, of course, the sun always shines somewhere on earth.

Experts in the field have estimated that many homes could be converted for solar heat today, all types of residences could be converted by 1993, and by early in the 21st century we could be using direct energy in industry.

Those who calculate cost are almost frantic when there is talk about direct solar to electrical energy systems, but I found an interesting number that is impressive. If we could create a system with 30% efficiency in converting solar energy to electricity, we have enough area in present United States roofs to accommodate all of our industrial and permanent installation power requirements. As a matter of fact, it would represent only 2% of the area we now have in our road systems. We can build extensive systems if we put our minds to it. The direct conversion of solar energy to electricity may be too expensive now but I can remember when TV sets were not contemplated for homes and were to be used in theaters at about \$10,000 per unit.

Direct solar electrical systems could be helped by a reincarnation of a very old principle—the flywheel. With modern materials, modern bearings, spinning in a near vacuum, I believe the flywheel could be the battery that stores solar energy during the day and gives it back to the homeowner at night. They would be much less expensive for years of use than rechargeable batteries.

I also would like to suggest that burying our nuclear wastes in remote, unpopulated and infertile parts of our country, and the contemplation of expensive systems for launching these same wastes into infinite space, is all wrong. We made excellent power systems for space vehicles by taking irradiated material and using its residual radiation for power. I doubt that you will find many nuclear experts who would risk the ire of the environmentalists in our current public state of apprehension to support the following suggestion—but I see no unsolvable problems in the installation of an almost permanent power source in our own backyards, about 300 feet deep. Such a source might last as long as the house.

THE PROBLEMS

Why shouldn't we use all of these concepts and maybe others that might be even more attractive? I recently read a serious article where a thoughtful man said that the energy limitations now being imposed on us were the best things that ever happened, because they would serve to limit the population on earth, and that this was needed since we could not solve our political problems with the people we already had. I personally am more optimistic about capability to think our way through anything we want to. Technical progress will always disturb politics. Let's not dodge this—let's figure out what we want to do and then make the politics fit. But our most immediate inhibition is not politics but dollars—financing type dollars. The elements of this problem are:

1. Our current financing systems demand pay-back in $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ the lead time of most of these new energy systems. This is the kind of problem we have faced in the past in developing urban systems such as streetcars and subways. We will need that kind of financing to put in the systems which will give us power.

2. As soon as we talk about systems of finance beyond normal commercial practice we are bound to bring in the government with potential of excessive control, the limitation of risk, the ever changing political winds, and the potential that we won't be permitted to reach far enough technically to bring about the best possible end result.

3. Social pressure will force the government, if it addresses the problem at all, to very low-cost ultimate systems which will further tend to exclude commercial dollars since the return on investment will be so low.

Assuming the government must be involved, we should start now to make the exercise more productive. The first thing we might do is to start our technical homework on most of the elements of these energy systems. We have the vision—let's spend some of our money to pioneer—to find out what gopher holes we have to dodge, which ones are real and which are illusory. We can certainly afford to do detail national planning.

In addition to doing this technological part of our homework, let's work on the impediments to financing. We should look at potential financing modes with particular reference to those which are consistent with the long lead times that are characteristic of most of these systems. We should start financing some of the fundamental research and development work that is necessary. The results of the research and development and the systems studies should then be converted to potential budget dollars so that the public can be told how much a full, bright, future might cost.

I hope I have made it clear that energy is all around us and it is not the lack of vision nor the capacity of the technical community that is limiting our future. The real limit is our lack of knowledge of the costs and the limitations of our financing habits which keep us from having pollution-free power to fulfill our future needs. I suggest we go to work on these problems while we have time.

A LONG LOOK AT THE EX-IM BANK

HON. ROBERT P. HANRAHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. HANRAHAN. Mr. Speaker, there has been legislation introduced which would extend the authority of the Export-Import Bank. The authority expired last week on June 28. The following editorial from the Wall Street Journal is in support of the expiration of the Bank. I insert this for the benefit and interest of my colleagues:

A LONG LOOK AT THE EX-IM BANK

The authority of the Export-Import Bank expires today, which simply means that until Congress renews its authority the bank cannot make new loan commitments. How nice it would be if Congress took its time, say a year or two, before acting one way or another. It might even find that U.S. economic interests would be served by liquidation of the bank, which by our reckoning stays in business by sleight of hand and covert use of the taxpayers' money.

After all, the only thing the bank really does is subsidize exports. No matter how you slice it, it is a subsidy to provide 7% money to finance sale of a widget or an airplane to Ruritania or a computer to the Soviet Union, when an American businessman can't finance purchase of either for less than 11 1/2%. The

bank gets privileged rates in the private capital market, because the United States puts its full faith and credit behind the loans. Why the U.S. government should give the Ruritanian businessman a sweetheart deal that it won't give an American, save those at Lockheed, is beyond us.

The alleged economic justification for the bank's operation, which Ex-Im Bank Chairman William J. Casey pushes with great fervor, is that it improves the U.S. balance of trade. Granted, an export is an export. But Mr. Casey would have us look at only one side of the transaction. There's no way he could persuade us that wresting capital away from Americans, then forcing it abroad through the subsidy mechanism, does anything but distort relative prices, misallocate resources and diminish revenues, with zero effect, at best, on the trade balance.

Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas sees part of the economics when both sides of the transaction are analyzed. He has an amendment that "would prevent Ex-Im financing of those exports involving the financing of foreign industrial capacity whenever the production resulting from that capacity would significantly displace like or directly competitive production by U.S. manufacturers." He has in mind Ex-Im's subsidizing of a foreign textile or steel plant that competes with its U.S. counterpart, to the detriment of our balance of trade.

Senator Bentsen thinks it's okay to subsidize finished products, like airplanes, which the Ex-Im Bank does plenty of. But Charles Tillinghast Jr., chairman of TWA, doesn't like the idea. He says TWA is losing piles of money flying the North Atlantic against foreign competitors who bought Boeing 747s and such with subsidized Ex-Im's loans. If TWA got the same deal, it would save \$11 million a year in finance charges. Mr. Tillinghast is currently pleading for a government subsidy so he can continue flying the North Atlantic and providing revenues in support of, ahem, our balance of trade.

Even if Ex-Im Bank subsidized only exports of goods and services which could not conceivably come back to haunt us directly, we see adverse economic effects. Subsidizing the export of yo-yos to the Ruritanians gives them a balance of trade problem that they correct by subsidizing the export of pogo sticks to us. Taxpayers both here and in Ruritania are thereby conned by this hocus pocus into supporting lower prices for yo-yos and pogo sticks than the market will support. In fact, all our trading partners have their own Ex-Im Bank to achieve exactly this end.

Two and three decades ago, when the Ex-Im Bank was a modest affair, its impact was relatively trivial. Now, it has \$20 billion of lending authority and is asking Congress to bump this to \$30 billion. By 1971, its impact on federal budget deficits had grown so large that Congress passed a special act taking the bank's net transactions out of the federal budget, so the deficit would look smaller. But the transactions have the same fiscal effects as a deficit, and the same drain on the private capital market. In the fiscal year just ending, the bank took \$1.1 billion out of the capital market. In the next fiscal year, it expects to take \$1,250,000,000 out of it.

There being no economic justification for the bank, Congress should feel no qualms about letting its authority lapse for a few years to watch what happens. The Russians, eager to continue getting something for nothing through the Ex-Im Bank, would be mildly unhappy. But they'd adjust by getting into the private capital markets with the under-privileged. We'd be surprised, too, if our trading partners didn't follow suit by scrapping these nonsensical subsidies. And if they don't, why should we complain about their taxpayers sending us subsidized pogo sticks?

THE LAKE PLACID WINTER
OLYMPICS: 1980

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, the Congress can strengthen Lake Placid, New York's bid to become the site of the 1980 winter Olympic games immeasurably by passing Senate Congressional Resolution 72, officially designating Lake Placid as the Nation's choice for the winter Olympics in 1980.

The resolution expresses the sense of the Congress in support of Lake Placid's application to the International Olympic Committee and pledges "cooperation and support" in the "successful fulfillment" of the games.

At a time when the process of "détente" has become an ongoing and affirmative method of furthering understanding among the peoples of the world, we should recognize that the world of sport has been the most consistent and successful elements of "détente" long before the world itself came into vogue. We again have an opportunity to demonstrate our belief in the transcendence of sport as a means of affirming the universality of peoples.

As one of the sponsors of the identical House resolution, I am gratified to see the overwhelming support we have received in the Senate and expect my colleagues in the House are similarly supportive. I wish to thank my distinguished colleague from New York, Mr. McEWEN, as well as New York's two distinguished senators, Mr. JAVITS and Mr. BUCKLEY, for their leadership in this effort. The resolution follows:

S. CON RES. 72

Whereas the International Olympic Committee will meet in October 1974, at Vienna, Austria, to consider the selection of a site for the 1980 winter Olympic games, and

Whereas Lake Placid in the town of North Elba, County of Essex, and State of New York, has been designated by the United States Olympic Committee as the United States site for the 1980 winter Olympic games, and

Whereas the residents of Lake Placid and the town of North Elba in Essex County, New York, have long been recognized throughout the world for their expertise in organizing, sponsoring, and promoting major national and international winter sports competitions in all of the events which are a part of the winter Olympic games, and

Whereas it is the consensus of the Members of the Congress of the United States that the designation by the International Olympic Committee of Lake Placid in the town of North Elba, Essex County, New York, as the site of the 1980 winter Olympic games would be a great honor for all of the people in the United States: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the International Olympic Committee be advised that the Congress of the United States would welcome the holding of the 1980 winter Olympic games at Lake Placid in the town of North Elba, county of Essex, and State of New York, the site so designated by the United States Olympic Committee; and be it further

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States expresses the sincere hope that the

United States will be selected as the site for the 1980 winter Olympic games, and pledges its cooperation and support in their successful fulfillment in the highest sense of the Olympic tradition: *Provided, That Olympic activities and plans in all respects fit within the present laws and adopted State plans, rules, and regulations respecting the entirety of the Adirondack Park; and be it further*

Resolved, That Congress shall not support, financially or otherwise, any activities or plans which are in conflict with the letter or spirit of those laws, plans, rules and regulations, or which would require any modification of them.

STANTON ASSAILS PRESIDENT'S RESPONSE TO JUDICIARY'S SUBPENAS

HON. JAMES V. STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. JAMES V. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, on July 8, 1974, within the halls of the Supreme Court, our Nation witnessed the spectacle of the President of the United States being sued by the United States of America in the person of Leon Jaworski, the Watergate Special Prosecutor. One of the basic principles of our democratic system of government is that no one man is above the law. In a nation that embraces the principle of government by and of laws, not by and of men, it is insulting that this Nation's Chief Executive should seek to place himself above those laws through the so-called doctrine of Executive privilege.

But it is even more serious that this same person, the President of the United States, has refused to comply with the subpoenas issued by the House Judiciary Committee pursuant to its impeachment inquiry. Under our Constitution, the power of impeachment is assigned solely to the Congress. Yet by his refusal to comply with these subpoenas—once again on the ground of Executive privilege—the President seeks to dictate the rules, regulate the conditions, and restrict the scope of the impeachment proceedings.

Raoul Berger, a leading constitutional scholar and an expert in both impeachment and Executive privilege, addressed himself to the issue of the President's refusal to comply with the Judiciary Committee's subpoenas in the July 8, 1974, issue of the New York Times. I include the article below because I believe it deserves wide dissemination. I particularly call to the attention of my colleagues the statement of Edward Livingston, with which Mr. Berger concludes his article:

No nation ever yet found any inconvenience from too close an inspection into the conduct of its officers, but many have been brought to ruin and . . . slavery . . . only because the means of publicity had not been secured.

The article follows:

MR. NIXON'S REFUSAL OF SUBPOENAS: "A CONFRONTATION WITH THE NATION"

(By Raoul Berger)

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.—The American people must be alerted: By refusing to comply with the subpoenas of the House Judiciary Committee, President Nixon is setting himself above the Constitution. He would nullify

the constitutional provision for Presidential accountability that was designed to prevent dictatorial usurpations.

The issue far transcends a confrontation between the President and the House; it is a confrontation with the nation. "All officers of the Government, from the highest to the lowest," said the United States Supreme Court in 1882, "are creatures of the law and are bound to obey it; no officer of the law may set that law at defiance with impunity." A people that tolerate such defiance by the President is sowing the seeds of its own destruction.

The Presidential claim of constitutional right to withhold information from Congress is labeled "executive privilege." A limited power of secrecy was given to Congress, not to the President. No word about "executive privilege" or "confidentiality" is to be found either in the Constitution or its history. On the other hand, the Supreme Court recognized that parliamentary inquiry was an established "attribute" of legislative power and held that it was conferred upon Congress by the grant of "legislative power." No minister challenged the right of Parliament to inquire into executive conduct; no member of the executive branch has ever summoned a pre-1789 "precedent" for executive refusal to honor legislative subpoena; and so far as my own search of parliamentary record goes, there are none.

James Wilson, second only to James Madison as architect of the Constitution, wrote admiringly that in "the character of grand inquisitors of the realm," the House of Commons "have checked the progress of arbitrary power," and that the "proudest ministers . . . have appeared at the bar of the house to give an account of their conduct." This inquisitorial function was known as the "Grand Inquest of the Nation;" and the Grand Inquest alone, said Lord Justice Coleridge, was entrusted with the determination of what falls within the limits of its powers of investigation. References to that function were made in four or five of the United States Constitution's ratifying conventions, with never a word that the power must be cut down for the protection of the President. The absence of such remarks is but another example of the pervasive distrust and fear of executive usurpation that found expression in convention after convention, and that lies at the root of Congressional power to impeach the President.

Thus, the President's reiterated incantation—the separation of powers—lays claim to a power that was not given to him. The purpose of the separation of powers said John Adams, was to prevent encroachment by one branch on the powers of another. Before separation of powers comes into play, therefore, it is first necessary to demonstrate that a power was granted to the President to withhold information that a legislature traditionally could demand. Such proof simply cannot be made; Mr. Nixon's claims are merely based on self-serving assertions.

The case for Congressional inquiry as a prelude to impeachment stands even stronger, for arguments that impeachment violated the separation of powers were summarily brushed aside by the Framers themselves. In the Convention, Rufus King and Charles Pinckney protested that the proposed impeachment provision would destroy the independence of the President and violate the separation of powers—the very arguments Mr. Nixon now interposes to the subpoenas. Notwithstanding, they were voted down, 8 to 2, because, as George Mason said, "No point is of more importance than that the right of impeachment should be continued." Note that Mason took for granted that it was the familiar, established "right of impeachment" that would thus be "continued".

Apart from the total lack of historical warrant for the President's attempt to set the bounds of inquiry by the House Judiciary

Committee, Mr. Nixon insists on a prerogative to which no other suspect can lay claim before any investigative body. His insistence that he can dictate the rules of the inquiry exhibits contempt for the common sense of the American people. A series of Presidents, from Washington through Polk and Buchanan to Mr. Nixon himself, have recognized the paramountcy of the Grand Inquest of the Nation. Polk put the matter most forcibly; given an inquiry into executive misconduct, the "power of the House . . . would penetrate into the most secret recesses of the Executive Departments."

The House's need for all the facts, surrounding suspected Presidential offenses cannot of course be circumscribed by an executive determination of what is relevant. Long since, Chief Justice Marshall declared that what is relevant cannot be left to the determination of the executive. The Constitution does not change according to whose ox is gored.

In the discussion of the alternatives open to the House and the people, there has been a sense of helplessness that does not benefit a great people. The starting point is that Mr. Nixon is in violation of the Constitution, that he "shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed," of which the Constitution is the "supreme law". Just as the sole power of impeachment conferred on the House is not subject to limitation by the President, so he cannot lay down the ground rules for the preliminary investigation that is required for the informed and effective exercise of the power. If the people understand that, then they must exercise that right that John Adams enshrined in the 1780 Massachusetts Convention, the "right to require of their lawgivers and magistrates an exact and constant observance" of the "fundamental principles of the Constitution."

Let the people require of Congress and the President that a halt be called to Presidential attempts to thwart the investigatory function of the House. President Nixon can understand the voice of the people, as his retreat in open court after the Archibald Cox firestorm illustrated. In acting as Grand Inquest, the House is no less entitled to respect than the courts; indeed the powers to impeach and convict the President are perhaps the most important powers conferred by the Constitution. Defiance of the Constitution, the people must tell Mr. Nixon, is intolerable.

It is open to the House Judiciary Committee to ask the House to cite and hold Mr. Nixon for contempt in disobeying the subpoenas of the committee. Such a contempt is plainly an impeachable offense; on a number of occasions the House of Commons brought impeachments for encroachments upon its prerogatives or for thwarting its orders.

When Representative Don Edwards of California stated that the committee cannot force its will upon Mr. Nixon because "he's got the Army, Navy, and Air Force and all we've got is Ken Harding" (the sergeant-at-arms) he did not say that the Supreme Court also does not have the ability to call on the armed forces.

The Supreme Court has always assumed that its decrees would be obeyed, and they have been, as when President Truman surrendered the steel plants during the Korean war. If we pursue the Edwards approach, it may be asked what reason there is to believe that Mr. Nixon will surrender his office if he is impeached and convicted.

The Commander in Chief was not given command of the armed forces in order to defy the law but to enforce it. In 1788 James Wilson assured the Pennsylvania Ratification Convention that "not a single privilege is annexed" to the President. And in 1791, Wilson, then a Justice of the Supreme Court, stated: "the most powerful magistrates should be amendable to the law . . . No one

should be secure while he violates the Constitution and the laws." We are not yet a banana republic; the American people will not allow Mr. Nixon to defy the law.

The times call upon us to return to the egalitarianism of the Founders and once and for all to strip away the pernicious mystique with which we ourselves have surrounded the President. We too must regard him as but a man, all the more when he is suspected of impeachable offenses, even of crimes, and firmly maintain that he is subject to the law in all its manifestations, including, if need be, arrest. Finally, I would recall to the nation the words of a great statesman, Edward Livingston, in the early days of the Republic: "No nation ever yet found any inconvenience from too close an inspection into the conduct of its officers, but many have been brought to ruin and . . . slavery . . . only because the means of publicity had not been secured." That was a lesson the Founders had learned.

MEDICARE

HON. THOMAS A. LUKEN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. LUKEN. Mr. Speaker, on July 2, I introduced legislation which I believe will significantly reform the medicare program. That such reform is necessary and in fact long over due is all too apparent. When the medicare program was instituted over 8 years ago, its avowed purpose was to provide some measure of financial relief to our elderly citizens from the high cost of medical care. This relief has come in smaller and smaller doses over the past several years while physicians' fees and other medical costs have risen faster and faster.

My legislation will substantially increase the likelihood that the medicare program, and not the medicare patient, will pay the doctor's bill. Today, in Ohio, almost 7 out of 10 medicare patients end up paying large bills on top of the 20 percent coinsurance and the \$60 deductible they already must pay. This figure is way too high, and must be cut. To do this it is necessary to increase the incentives for physicians to take cases on an assignment basis. There are three main features of my bill which I believe will provide this incentive.

First. Replacement of the overly bureaucratic reasonable rate structure with a fee schedule worked out through the joint efforts of physicians and State representatives.

Second. Participating physicians would receive the patients' coinsurance and deductible directly from the medicare carrier. Presently, physicians have to bill their patients separately for these charges.

Third. Participating physicians could consolidate the bills of each of their patients into one simple form, and thereby relieve his office of much of the burdensome paperwork presently required.

I am confident that these three reforms, combined in one legislative package, will strongly induce physicians to bill the medicare program and not the patient.

This entire reform package, however,

would be completely optional. Each State could decide for itself whether it wanted to hold onto the present system or go with the new system. If the State opts for the new approach, it must make sure the costs of the program do not exceed present costs.

Physicians also retain their complete freedom with respect to whether or not they care to participate. If, however, a physician decided not to participate, the system would work much as it does now. The program would pay the fee schedule amount, less any deductibles, and coinsurance amounts, directly to the patient, and the patient would be responsible for paying the physician whatever the patient and physician had agreed on as the charge.

Mr. Speaker, the legislation which I am introducing today would be a tremendous boon for patients, physicians, and the Government alike. By cutting the needless redtape of the reasonable-rate structure, by reducing the burdensome paperwork, and in short, simplifying the entire procedure, the Government and private sector together will be better able to bring to the people the quality medical care they deserve.

WHY PRIVATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES?

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker. Private colleges and universities have always played a vital role in American education. Rising costs, increased competition from new low-priced community colleges, and a slowing down of enrollments generally have brought hard times to many of these institutions.

Some individuals are asking the question, "Why should public policy encourage the continuation of private educational institutions?" One very cogent reply to that question was given by Dr. Sidney A. Rand, president of St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minn. Dr. Rand made his remarks to a meeting of the National Council of Independent Colleges and Universities, of which he is serving as chairman of the board of directors.

I have known Dr. Rand for many years and consider him to be one of our finest, most articulate leaders in private higher education. A few of us in the Congress heard Dr. Rand give this particular talk. I commend it to everyone interested in maintaining a viable private sector in postsecondary education.

The speech follows:

WHY PRIVATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES?

I

With regularity we see printed in our favorite publications a paragraph in which the writer decries what is happening to the youth. They are disrespectful of elders, given to excesses and generally not behaving well. When we reach the end of the quote we discover it is attributed to a pre-Christian era Greek observer of the life of his time.

There is a sense in which history repeats

itself or to conclude that there is "nothing new under the sun".

We who live and work in institutions of higher education, especially those we call "provide", are inclined to believe the problems we face are more severe than any faced before or that ours are new and different. The fact is that colleges have always been "in trouble", if by that we mean they have needed more support or sought a larger number of highly qualified students.

As we talk about ourselves and contemplate our problems and our opportunities, we must always place ourselves in perspective.

We are part of a larger program, first of all. Private higher education is a segment of a vast enterprise of educational institutions and programs, all of which exist to serve the society of which they are part. Colleges are not ends in themselves, institutions to be kept alive by society for their own sake. They are either making meaningful contributions to the lives of people, or they should not be encouraged to continue.

Also, we need to recognize that we cannot play our proper role as colleges without public approval and support. For some of us there is a rather narrowly defined constituency which is our chief basis of support and interest. For others the base is much broader. But in the long run, and indirectly if not directly, all of us survive and grow only if we are doing what our society wants done. And for our continuing life we must take chief responsibility ourselves. We cannot throw ourselves on the mercy, or even the common sense, of society and expect a vote of confidence backed up with funds. The story of the beginnings and the growth of our colleges is the story of personal sacrifice by thousands of people who identified themselves with a "cause". This spirit must never give way to a willingness to let others be responsible for us.

We should also realize that throughout our nation's history, but perhaps increasingly in our day, all "private" colleges and universities are also "public". Harvard was a "public" enterprise when founded, as were other early universities. Today also every college and university shares in a public enterprise. Our legal identity may be defined in terms which indicate we are non-tax-supported institutions, our origins may lie in the initiative of interested individuals and groups rather than in the action of government, but we are nevertheless publicly involved and always, in some measure, publicly supported.

II

Dr. Howard Bowen, Chancellor of the Claremont Colleges and one of our most perceptive analysts of private higher education, has recently suggested that in studying the future of the private college or university we should make three assumptions: (1) that the private sector is indispensable in American higher education, (2) that the private sector is presently in jeopardy, and (3) that coherent policies need to be designed to strengthen private colleges and universities.

May I direct our attention to these assumptions.

Some would argue with the first. Why should we regard private colleges and universities as indispensable? Some would say we should let them live if they can, die if they can't avoid it, but not get publicly concerned with their survival.

Private institutions are part of our history. The American way has been to look with favor on the initiative of persons, apart from government sponsorship, to perform tasks for our society. So these colleges are here. Furthermore, any fair assessment of their history indicates they have served well. Their graduates have gone on to distinguished as well as more ordinary careers, graduate schools have found some of their best stu-

dents among the graduates of private institutions. The quality of their work has been generally sound and they have frequently led the way in educational innovation and development.

Also, the principle of balance or even tension between public and private sectors of higher education has served as a prod in both directions to maintain quality and to improve programs. America has never had a "national" program of education. Chances are that there are few who would argue for one. We do believe in variety and heterogeneity in order that varying constituencies in our nation may be served and varied talents fully exploited for the common good. This opportunity for variety needs to be continued and strengthened in the name of a healthy educational program for our people.

If we grant the validity of the argument that the private sector has value and that colleges and universities such as ours should continue, then what should we be doing now in these times when inflation of costs on the one hand and shrinking enrollments on the other seriously threaten the quality of our program, if not our very existence?

First, we as colleges and universities should accept major responsibility for our own lives. We try to help our students learn that lesson for themselves. We should learn it too. No one else, be it government, business, foundations or the accidents of time can be expected to do our worrying or working for us. It is we who must seriously tackle our problems and lay out plans for their solution.

And we should never forget that it could be better if some of us did not survive. There are times when colleges have served and their lives are "over".

Second, we must exploit all possible private sources of support. Few of us have really claimed what we should in terms of support from our alumni. Sophisticated methods of fund-raising are available to us. We can tell our story better than we have. There are dollars to be claimed which we have not claimed, whether we think of our alumni, other friends, business and industry, foundations or other sources.

Third, there are sound ways for the state and federal governments to be of assistance to private higher education. They have been throughout our history. These ways are varied and should continue to be.

Student assistance is an especially significant way for government units to assist private higher education. The "price differential" between relatively high cost private colleges and relatively low cost public colleges is a fact of life which will never be eliminated. But the difference in direct cost to the student can be minimized by grants and loans which enable him to give serious consideration to attending a college which charges "high" tuition. Programs of grants which recognize this difference, not based upon or related to the financial need of the student's family and not limited to the best students, is one of the best ways for the federal and state governments to help insure the meaningful continuation of private higher education.

As important as student aid is the continuation of favorable tax policy. Encouragement to individuals to make contributions to private colleges and universities is an effective way for the government to show concern for the contributions of these institutions. Tax policy which presently enables persons while living or through their estates to enjoy a tax advantage in view of contributions to colleges is sound public policy because it encourages private support of institutions which serve the public interest and which, if absent from our society, would result in an increased direct burden on the tax-payer to provide similar services. Such tax policy should not be viewed, therefore, as providing "loopholes" for avoiding the payment of taxes, but instead as an alternate way for the

resources of our nation to be channeled into programs for the public good. It should be noted that taxes not paid as a result of such policy are not retained by the individual for his private use, but are channeled into programs which serve society.

Another significant way in which government can be of assistance to private colleges and universities is by keeping to a minimum the policing and regulating of education. Some regulation must be present, especially where government funds are channeled into educational programs. And we as colleges must continue to answer questionnaires, provide information to government agencies and respond to authorized government audits. But unless care is exercised in the matter of increasing "supervision" of college and university programs on the basis of bureaucratically imposed regulations, we could find ourselves overwhelmed by the demands in terms of time, energy and record-keeping which such regulations tend to require.

Private colleges and universities in the United States have enjoyed the opportunity to live and grow in an environment of maximum encouragement and minimum limitation by government. We believe a continuation of that policy is vital to our continued life and our service to the society of which we are a part.

SIDNEY A. RAND,
President, St. Olaf College.

THE LIVESTOCK INDUSTRY AND BANKING

HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, recently, Bob Walton, president of the Farmers and Merchants Bank in Bushnell, Ill., pointed out the need to insure a strong livestock industry during this period of adverse prices. His statement to the House Agriculture Committee makes many good points, and I was particularly encouraged that he urged bankers to assist livestock producers during this crisis.

Mr. Speaker, for the review of my colleagues, I include the following statement by Bob Walton of my congressional district:

TESTIMONY BY ROBERT L. WALTON,
JUNE 17, 1974

My name is Robert L. Walton. I am president of the Farmers and Merchants State Bank, Bushnell, Illinois. My bank has \$23 million in total assets and is located in a West Central Illinois agricultural trade area of 4,000 people. Presently 73 percent of my bank's deposits are loaned to people in the community with 43 per cent of these to farmers. I am here today as chairman of the Agricultural Bankers Division of the American Bankers Association (ABA). The Association has a membership of approximately 14,000 banks located throughout the nation—96 per cent of the industry total. It is estimated that approximately 85 per cent of these banks serve agriculture. For a large number of them, agriculture is the single most important industry in their community.

Bankers are vitally concerned about the heavy financial losses which have been sustained by the livestock industry. The continuation of such losses could drive producers out of the livestock business. Any major loss in the number of producers could bring about

a serious reduction in the country's meat producing capability. The result over the long run would be less meat at higher prices. This is an inflationary consequence that no one wants. We believe, therefore, that the present—and we are confident temporary—plight of the livestock producers is a broad public issue and should be dealt with accordingly.

We urge appropriate steps be taken to assure that the livestock producers come through this adversity as a strong industry. We recognize that some important things can be done by the producers themselves. This certainly includes following a realistic production and marketing program as well as careful planning with lenders. At the same time, it is essential for the entire food marketing system, through to the retail outlet, to maximize its efforts to move the present backlog of marketable meat to the consumer.

Banking recognizes the importance of providing livestock producers with necessary funds to carry them through this emergency situation. It is here that I wish to make some specific points.

We firmly believe that banks have an obligation to take all possible, prudent steps to assist their livestock producers through this crisis. This was the primary thrust of a statement released by the ABA on June 13 at the close of a 3-day meeting of the association's agricultural bankers division executive committee.

We are pleased that a similar statement has been made by Dr. Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board of Governors. We believe banks will make an intensive effort to finance their livestock producers. After all, livestock represents the major industry in the trade area of a large number of banks across the country.

We have been in contact with many bankers during the past few days. Our assessment is that, as a result of careful planning with their livestock producers, the credit presently outstanding can be justified and is sound. However, many lines have deteriorated to the point where further extension of credit would be imprudent. It is our belief, therefore, that it would be in the best interest of livestock producers and the public to provide livestock producers a temporary special credit program. We urge that this be done with a minimum cost to the Government. Our confidence in the livestock industry is such that we believe it can be achieved at practically no cost to the Government.

We understand that at least four bills have been introduced in the Senate to accomplish this objective. We recommend prompt enactment of legislation with the following provisions:

First. The emergency loan program be established by an amendment to the Rural Development Act of 1972 authorizing the Farmers Home Administration to make guaranteed loans of an appropriate size to bona fide livestock producers. This provides the great advantage of utilizing an existing widespread and currently functioning delivery system. This is vitally important in view of the urgency of prompt implementation.

Second. The guarantee provision should be handled along the same lines as that now being used in the FmHA farm operating loan program: a guarantee of up to 90 percent of the loss, with a maximum term of 7 years. However we feel strongly that there should be no Government subsidy in connection with the interest rate. Instead, a rate negotiated between the borrower and lender should be authorized. This would be comparable to the business and industrial rural development loan program. There is no need or justification—in fact no desire on the part of the livestock producers—for a Government subsidy. These guaranteed loans at market rates also would provide the added advantage of being suitable for resale to secondary

investors. This offers the opportunity to bring outside investment money into the flow of funds to the livestock industry.

Third. This loan program should be available only to livestock producers whose normal source of credit is no longer available without the guarantee. It should be limited to those certified by their lending agency to have been a bona fide livestock producer over the past 18-month period, and the producer should be required to show a loss in his livestock operation during this period.

Fourth. To assure that the program is available to all bona fide livestock producers, a loan ceiling should not be established by law. Instead, it should be handled by regulation. We believe, however, that the \$250,000 ceiling suggested in some of the proposed legislation would take care of most of the legitimate individual livestock producers, where the concern is the greatest. We also believe the scope of the livestock industry justifies an overall authorization of at least \$3 billion.

Fifth. In our opinion, this special credit program should be terminated when the emergency is over. We, therefore, recommend the legislation to be re-examined at the end of a reasonable time. We suggest such a review at the end of 2 years with the option of being terminated sooner by Congress based on the recommendation of the Secretary of Agriculture.

In our opinion the Congress should enact such legislation promptly and in doing so strongly urge the Farmers Home Administration to release implementing regulations, including procedural guidelines and forms, immediately. Since a large part of the loan program will be handled by local lenders, we believe that there will be minimal delay once the regulations are issued.

Thank you. I will be glad to answer questions.

RAYMOND NOYES

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, Raymond Noyes, an employee of the Government Printing Office for 39 years, and the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD clerk for the past 16 years, has retired from a remarkable career as a devoted public servant. Throughout his long service, Mr. Noyes consistently and effectively assisted anyone who contacted him for help, whether it was a Member of Congress, an office assistant or a congressional intern. Through the knowledge and skill he acquired in dealing with every aspect of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Raymond Noyes became an invaluable asset to the U.S. Congress.

As the fourth CONGRESSIONAL RECORD clerk since the creation of the office, Mr. Noyes' record for reliability and responsibility in ordering public documents, in processing orders of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for Members and in handling CONGRESSIONAL RECORD correspondence to Members' constituents has been outstanding. In addition to Mr. Noyes' effectiveness, he has worked 39 years without ever being late or absent.

I extend to Mr. Noyes, for myself and all those in my office who have worked with him, our thanks and our best wishes for a happy retirement.

THE DIFFICULTY OF COMPARING U.S. AND COMMUNIST AID TO VIETNAM

Hon. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, last month our colleague from Wisconsin (Mr. ASPIN) provided Members with an interesting comparison of the amount of outside aid which he believed to have been received by each side in the Vietnamese war. While I am unsure of the possible impact of this analysis, I am concerned that Mr. ASPIN's service on the House Armed Services Committee and his previous role as an adviser to a former Secretary of Defense, may lend undue credence to what I feel is a rather hasty analysis of the problem. Some comment on the comparative data seems to be in order, particularly since the House Foreign Affairs Committee is currently considering future aid levels for our friends in Southeast Asia.

The fundamental problem is that Mr. ASPIN has put himself in the unfortunate position of trying to compare apples with oranges. The lack of relationship between the figures he cites can be demonstrated in several ways. First, in the text of his remarks, Mr. ASPIN refers to Sino-Soviet aid to North Vietnam, but the accompanying table, purporting to show that "the United States has spent 29 times as much as Russia and China together," is entitled "Military Aid to Southeast Asia, 1966-73." It seems hardly reasonable to compare our assistance to all of Southeast Asia with Communist aid channeled to Hanoi. In fact, there is no way of knowing just what the geographical term "Southeast Asia" includes—presumably South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos—but what about Thailand, Indonesia, and countries even further removed from the fighting?

Second, the \$290 million in estimated Sino-Soviet aid to North Vietnam in 1973 includes only military hardware costs; that is, weapons, ammunition, missiles, tanks, communications equipment, and so forth. The cost of U.S. military aid, on the other hand, includes total program costs—not only hardware, but rations, uniforms, spare parts, POL, procurement costs in the United States, transportation from the United States, training contracts and maintenance contracts.

Third, U.S. figures provided by Mr. ASPIN are on a fiscal year basis, while Communist aid estimates are on a calendar year basis. This may appear to be nitpicking, except for the fact that fiscal year 1973 included 7 months of aid prior to the conclusion of the Paris agreement on January 27, 1973. As was widely publicized at the time, this was a period when we pumped a massive infusion of equipment into South Vietnam to help compensate for the withdrawal of U.S. firepower and air support. The estimates of aid to North Vietnam, on the other hand, include only 1 month before the Paris agreements were signed. In other

words, the U.S. figures are greater because the level of activity was far greater in the 7-month period prior to the signing of the Paris agreements.

Finally, the problem of arriving at meaningful comparisons seems strained in the extreme if one includes, as Mr. ASPIN does, the costs of direct U.S. military involvement as part of our aid effort to Vietnam. Everyone knows that many of those costs resulted only from the fact that American troops were involved in active hostilities, and under such circumstances I doubt that anyone would wish to begrudge our own men the best support possible. Moreover, some items represented obviously one-time costs, such as expenditures for air base and other facility construction, and for other items which the Vietnamese themselves may not have requested.

Another major problem with Mr. ASPIN's comparative data is that hard, provable statistics for U.S. assistance have been compared to estimates of Sino-Soviet aid. These estimates presumably are based only upon what we have been able to detect in a closed totalitarian society where such information is closely guarded. Our intelligence on Communist aid to North Vietnam has always been fragmentary, although intensive efforts have been made to uncover details of foreign shipments. One needs only recall the genuine surprise registered when huge arms caches were discovered in the Cambodian sanctuaries, or when the North Vietnamese used tanks in South Vietnam for the first time. The intelligence problem regarding estimates has been further complicated by the June 13, 1973, joint communique, which required the United States to cease flying reconnaissance aircraft over North Vietnam. Because of that major limitation on our capacity to develop meaningful estimates, our information regarding levels of support for Hanoi in 1973 is probably less accurate than for any other period since the early stages of the war. So, I emphasize, we must realize that Communist aid figures are estimates only and are quite likely to be on the low side.

There is a further problem in accepting Mr. ASPIN's data. The situation must be looked at from a tactical, rather than a statistical, point of view. Put in simple terms, it costs far more to build and guard a bank than to rob it. Thus, South Vietnamese defense forces are necessarily larger and more expensive to maintain than Communist forces. ARVN must defend virtually all of South Vietnam all of the time, while Communist forces are free to pick and choose where they will strike next.

At the risk of overemphasizing a metaphor, I might note that a person can still rob a bank with a rubber face mask, a pistol, and a paper bag to carry off the loot, but bankers must build vaults, install secret alarms and hidden cameras and employ guards trained to protect innocent bystanders. So it has been in Vietnam. U.S. forces, when they were still involved, employed more sophisticated, and therefore more expensive, weapons systems than the enemy—and the South Vietnamese understandably were quick

to absorb our lectures on the advantages of "modern warfare."

Since we Americans believe strongly in the value of a single human life, I really do not see how we can fault our friends for wishing to achieve a maximum effect with a minimal loss of their own personnel. South Vietnamese combat doctrine emphasizes high equipment utilization; in contrast, North Vietnamese doctrine substitutes a higher expenditure of manpower. Even if one is repelled by the thought of war, it is worth noting that our method of going about that grisly business unquestionably costs more money, but it does save the lives of people. It seems to me that if we consider these fundamental differences in philosophy, it should make more tolerable the costs of a troublesome situation, a situation which everyone obviously would just as happily wish away, if it were possible to do so.

In conclusion, let me say that I personally doubt if the figures supplied by my colleague from Wisconsin are helpful. My own strong feeling is that we should continue to provide an adequate level of support for an ally which is still beleaguered, regardless of what we may guess is being supplied by others to North Vietnam.

JACK KEMP SALUTES THE BUFFALO FELICIAN SISTERS

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, in 1874 five sisters of the Felician Order traveled to the United States with the hope of continuing the meaningful work of their founder, Mother Angela. Settling in Sharon, Wis., these five sisters established a parish school, an orphanage, a novitiate, and a school for aspirants in a remarkably short period of time.

In 1881, three sisters left Sharon to teach at St. Stanislaus School in Buffalo, N.Y., where, today, they have literally served hundred of thousands of people in many ways. Their tireless work has encompassed working with the youths of Buffalo and other communities to working with the mentally retarded.

There are approximately 5,000 Felician Sisters throughout the world serving people in seven countries. In the United States alone their service extends to seven different provinces encompassing seven major cities.

The five sisters voyaged to the United States during a period of expansion and exploration—when the United States was a wild and unknown country relying on the missions of brave men to forge the frontier and carve futures from abundant opportunities. The pioneer sisters contributed to this effort by undertaking a journey of sacrifice, hard work and devotion to those who were in need of their leadership and help.

The Felician Sisters deserve the attention of my colleagues. They have laid the foundation, and continue to establish

precedence for the many charitable organizations who have so unselfishly contributed to the growth and welfare of our great Nation.

It is my privilege to have this opportunity to offer my sincerest wishes of thanks and appreciation to the Felician Sisters of Buffalo and the rest of the country and to ask my fellow Congressmen to join me in commemorating their 100th anniversary.

SPECIAL TRIBUTE TO FATHER FRANK HOLLAND

HON. SAMUEL H. YOUNG

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. YOUNG of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take a few moments to pay special tribute to a man who has selflessly served his fellow man in the promotion of a better and more fruitful life for all. I refer to Father Frank Holland, pastor of Holy Family Church, in Chicago, Ill.

Father Holland is a member of the Jesuit Community and for the past 7 years, has served the needs of the people of Holy Family Church, an inner-city church. During his life's endeavors, Father Holland has worked with people of all races, colors and creeds to inspire them to attain a more fulfilling life. His human concern has served to instill dignity within the many people with whom he works. Under his direction, the staff of Holy Family Church is directing its efforts and resources in the areas of education, community action, youth program and social services for the members of the parish.

Father Holland's approach to community action is to listen to the people of the community, to respond to their needs and desires and, more importantly, to involve them in the operation and the administration of the various programs established. One such program is COUP—"Community of United People." This organization has been successful in motivating the people of the community to pool together their resources in the pursuit of the well-being of the entire group.

The educational needs of the community are met by the parish's Montessori School, which was established over 3 years ago and is unique to the inner city, and a grade school, as well as various scholarship programs. A senior citizens club, volunteer program, and the provision of emergency food distribution are responsive to the social needs of the community. The spiritual needs of the parishioners are met by the religious program, the various prayer groups, and the Baptismal instruction sessions.

Father Holland's work has made possible such valuable innovations and contributions as offering educational opportunities to hundreds of aspiring people, establishing numerous recreational activities for young and old, acquiring local land on which 985 low- and middle-income housing units will be built, and organizing community members to effec-

tively work together in the administration of these programs. More importantly, his work has served to nourish the intangible needs of the members of the community, their need to be productive, secure, and happy in the service of one another.

Father Frank Holland is truly a humanitarian, and what is most inspiring about him is that his humanitarianism is infectious. He has been and no doubt will continue to be for many years, a moving spirit within the community. Very few individuals who know him and who are associated with him, have gone untouched by Father Holland's concern, zeal, and love for his fellow man.

THE BELL ERA

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, Frank Bell, a man who has had tremendous impact on the history of high school athletics in Bergen County, N.J., recently retired as Ridgefield Park High School athletic director.

The Bell era began 50 years ago, when as a student at Ridgefield Park High School, Mr. Bell played on the baseball, basketball, and football teams. He returned to Ridgefield Park in 1942 as athletic director, and baseball, basketball, and football coach.

Both his performance as an athlete and his record as a coach were characterized by excellence. He played on two State championship basketball teams himself, and coached two State championship basketball teams as well. More importantly, however, both on and off the field, Frank Bell set a fine example for the athletes he coached.

Mr. Speaker, an interesting article concerning Mr. Bell's career, appeared June 13 in the Record, a Bergen County daily newspaper. Entitled "Bell Era Coming to Close" and written by Bob Whiting, the article gives further insight into Frank Bell's remarkable career; and I would like to take this opportunity to share this story with my colleagues. The article follows:

[From the Bergen County (N.J.) Record, June 13, 1974]

BELL ERA COMING TO CLOSE

(By Bob Whiting)

RIDGEFIELD PARK.—The Frank Bell era, spanning most of the 50 years from 1924 through 1974, comes to an end in Ridgefield Park on June 29 when Bell retires as high school athletic director.

The Bell era includes four years (1924-1927) as a member of the Scarlets' teams in baseball, basketball, and football. After a lapse of several years to permit him to earn his degree from Arnold College in New Haven, Conn., plus time to receive a master's degree from Columbia University and coach at Pingry School and Bergen County Junior College (now FDU), he returned to Ridgefield Park in September of 1942. He came back as athletic director and baseball, basketball and football coach.

Bell played on two State championship basketball teams and also coached a pair of

State title clubs in the same sport. One was in 1944 when the Scarlets won the Group 3 title. The other was 1960 when they took the Group 2 crown.

"I think the 1944 team was the best we had at the Park," he reminisced last night prior to a dinner given him and retiring teachers by the Ridgefield Park Board of Education.

"We had Art Fitzgerald, Jim Duran, Ed Fisco, Bob O'Brien and Bill Seine, and won 24 games and lost two. We also beat Erasmus Hall in Madison Square Garden." The Erasmus game was one of the five Ridgefield Park played in MSG. They won four of them.

Bell started to relinquish some of his coaching chores as early as 1947 when he gave up baseball. He dropped football the following year, and after the championship season in 1960, also gave up basketball.

"Just about that time the board made the position of athletic director a full-time administrative job," Bell said. "It carried the title of director of health, physical education and athletics."

Because of the pressure of his administrative duties, Bell, like most others with a similar job classification, was forced to quit coaching.

Bell and his wife have prepared for his retirement by buying a small farm in northeastern Pennsylvania, near Honesdale.

"We'll raise a few registered cattle," he said. "We have no big plans. But the view there is terrific from the old farmhouse we have purchased and are remodeling. There will be enough work to keep us busy, but if we feel like it, we can sit back and look at the scenery."

THE KURDS IN IRAQ

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, almost unnoticed in the newspapers these days is yet another armed conflict now raging in the Middle East. It is between Kurdish irregular forces and supporters of the Kurdish Democratic Party on the one hand and the Iraqi Armed Forces on the other side. At issue is what kind of regional autonomy the Kurds should have within an independent Iraq. This struggle is not a new one and open conflict has occurred intermittently for some 13 years.

Recently, Congressman FRASER and I met with representatives of the Kurdish Democratic Party—KDP—at their request to discuss the war and its implications for peace and stability in the Middle East. Without commenting on the merits of the Kurdish case, possible human rights violations in recent escalations of the fighting, and other essentially internal Iraqi matters, we do believe that the Kurdish viewpoint needs to be heard, and to that end, we asked the Department of State to meet informally at the policy level with these representatives of KDP. The Department of State declined.

While I believe that the question of any aid, overt or covert, to the Kurdish rebels is absolutely out of the question, I regret the unwillingness of senior State Department officials to meet informally with two former Iraqi ministers who are also members of the KDP. A useful opportunity to keep informed about one viewpoint of a war that has escalated con-

siderably in the last two months was thereby lost.

Copies of the letter to the Department of State and its reply follow:

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Washington, D.C., June 13, 1974.

Hon. HENRY A. KISSINGER,

Secretary of State,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: We would like to request that a senior representative of the Department of State, Under Secretary of State Joseph J. Sisco, or Assistant Secretary of State Alfred Atherton, meet with Messrs. M. M. Abdul Rahman and M. Dizayee, two former Iraqi ministers, and Shafiq Qazzaz, all senior officials of the Kurdish Democratic Party who are currently in the United States making a presentation to the United Nations.

Without passing any judgment on the merits of their appeal, we believe that their case deserves a hearing by senior representatives of the Department of State. The civil war in Iraq, which has gone on intermittently for some thirteen years now, has recently degenerated in more serious and more bloody fighting with considerable loss of life. We believe that because this fighting has the potential of affecting the delicate situation in the Middle East and of involving some of Iraq's neighbors, the United States must be informed directly on all facets of the continuing controversy.

We would appreciate your immediate attention to this matter.

Sincerely yours,

LEE H. HAMILTON,

Chairman, Subcommittee on the Near East and South Asia.

DONALD M. FRASER,

Chairman, Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, D.C., July 3, 1974.

Hon. LEE H. HAMILTON,

Chairman, Subcommittee on the Near East and South Asia, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The Secretary has asked me to reply to your letter of June 13, also signed by Chairman Fraser, requesting that Under Secretary Sisco or Assistant Secretary Atherton meet with senior representatives of the Kurdish Democratic Party.

We have received several requests from Kurdish representatives for meetings. For the past year, contacts with the KDP have been limited to the Country Officer or Country Director level. To change this policy at this time could well be subject to misinterpretation by both the Kurds and the Government in Baghdad. We have noted as a result of our policy, a fall-off in Iraqi allegations that the United States is supporting the Kurdish insurrection.

While many Americans are sympathetic toward the Kurds the Department of State takes the position that the conflict is primarily an internal Iraqi problem. We do not wish to encourage the Kurds to believe that we are prepared to support overtly or covertly, their insurrection in Iraq.

This being the case, we seek to afford Kurdish representatives every opportunity to state their case, but do not wish to hold out the prospect of support. Our contacts with the KDP are, of course, reported to Assistant Secretary Atherton and the Under Secretary.

If we were to break with precedent and receive KDP representatives at a higher level this fact would inevitably come to the attention of the Government of Iraq and other Arab states. It could be interpreted as meddling in Iraq's internal affairs and might militate against any possible improvement in U.S.-Iraqi relations. Any encouragement we might offer to a minority in its battle for autonomy against an Arab state could

raise suspicions of our intentions in the Arab world. Consequently, I do not think it would serve a useful purpose to raise the level of reception.

The above is not intended to imply an endorsement of Iraqi policy vis-a-vis the Kurds or to disparage the national aspirations of the Kurdish people. Our position is essentially one of neutrality toward an internal dispute in which we do not feel we should become involved.

While we do not believe it would be in our best interests to change our policy toward the KDP at this time, I would be pleased to arrange a meeting between Mr. Abdul Rahman, Mr. Dizayee, and the appropriate Country Director at a mutually convenient time. Mr. Chafiq Qazzaz of the KDP was received in the Department of State on June 19 and three other Kurdish representatives called at our United Nations delegation on the same day.

Please let me know if you or Chairman Fraser would like an informal briefing on our policy regarding the Iraqi-Kurdish problem.

Cordially,

LINWOOD HOLTON,
Assistant Secretary
for Congressional Relations.

INSECT EXPERT

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1974

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, the spring, 1974, issue of Maryland magazine carried an interesting article on Dr. Morton Beroza, a research chemist with the U.S. Department of Agriculture Research Center in Beltsville, Md. Dr. Beroza's efforts are centered around the desperate need to develop a wide range of integrated biological pest controls for use as alternatives to highly toxic and persistent chemical pesticides.

We are all aware of the tremendous damage which prolonged use of chemical pesticides has done to our ecosystems. In the lower Potomac River and the Chesapeake Bay areas, for example, there is every reason to believe that the reproductive failure of certain species, notably the osprey, is directly attributable to residues of DDT in the food chain. The pesticide has caused the shells of the osprey eggs to become so very fragile that few young can be hatched, although recent and ongoing efforts by the Interior Department has been making real strides in helping to bring back the osprey.

Dr. Beroza has specialized in one particular aspect of integrated biological controls—the development and testing of various chemical sex attractants, which when used cause the reproductive chain of unwanted pests to break down. Dr. Beroza's present efforts are directed at finding ways to best deal with the devastating gypsy moth problems, and I include in the RECORD a copy of the Maryland article for my colleagues to review:

DR. MORTON BEROZA—INSECT EXPERT

(By Bonnie Joe Ayers)

Dr. Morton Beroza once considered a career in art, but found another job which he feels is equally creative. As a research chemist with the Agricultural Research Center in Beltsville, he has become an authority on the chemical aspects of entomology. Simply stated he and his staff seek means of controlling insect pests with harmless chemicals, particularly insect sex attractants.

Dr. Beroza's research hasn't always held the public interest it does today. The soft-spoken scientist, who uses terminology readily understood by the layman, recalls that "in the 1950's people laughed at the idea of using insect sex attractants, but today they are accepted as an effective tool for pest control." The turning point, the researcher feels, came as a result of the elimination of the dreaded Mediterranean fruit fly in Florida (in which an attractant developed by Dr. Beroza and his team played an important role), and the publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, which advocated the use of insect attractants.

Dr. Beroza's current top-priority project is devoted to combatting the destructive gypsy moth which has moved into Maryland from the northeast and threatens to spread across the country. Together with his team of scientists in Beltsville and other laboratories he believes they can prevent its spread if their

research is successful. In laboratory trials they have developed an attractant whose effectiveness lies in its ability to simulate the odor of the female moth which normally attracts the male for mating. With the product spread everywhere, males are confused in their search for females, thus curtailing reproduction. The attractant is currently being fieldtested in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Canada. First reports are promising.

A notable earlier achievement for Dr. Beroza and his collaborators was the discovery, at Beltsville and in Florida, of *muscalure*, a sex attractant for the housefly. A clear, odorless oil, it takes advantage of the fly's natural tendency to respond to the chemical and lures it to any one of several kinds of traps or bait. *Muscalure*, now available commercially, attracts both the male and the female fly.

Another project of Dr. Beroza's is to aid beneficial insects in parasitizing harmful ones by providing chemicals that will keep the desirable insects where they are needed to counter undesirable ones. "We're just starting to make progress in this effort," he reports.

The main purpose of these and similar projects, according to Dr. Beroza, is "to find alternatives to pesticides, thereby improving environmental quality. We're not looking for a single 'silver bullet' to solve the problem, but we are approaching it from several viewpoints in a harmonious manner. Our objective," he adds, "is to minimize the exposure of people to insecticides."

Although the doctor has been cited for "outstanding research" by government and scientific organizations (he is the author or co-author of over two hundred publications and articles and holds fifteen patents on research development), he quickly acknowledges the role of his co-workers in the various projects.

Despite a heavy work schedule, the Silver Spring resident does find time to pursue other interests. He believes his concern for a clean environment and safe control of insect pests has rubbed off on his children. One of them, a son, operates a local health food store. Dr. Beroza enjoys movies, "playing bridge with my wife and friends, and walking." For him, physical exertion is a "must," and he works out on a fairly regular basis, frequently riding a bicycle.

"I used to have a motorcycle," he admits with a sheepish grin, "but my wife talked me out of that. I do like to draw and paint when time allows," which only proves that those first inclinations toward an art career are not entirely gone.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Monday, July 15, 1974

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rev. Leroy Cannady, Refuge Way of the Cross, Church of Christ, Baltimore, Md., offered the following prayer:

Preserve me, O God; for in Thee do I put my trust.—Psalms 16: 1.

Almighty, all wise, and eternal God, it is in Thee that we put our trust and confidence. In these times of distress and perplexity, we are asking Thee for strength and guidance as we take in hands to deal with the pressing problems of today. I pray that Thou will bless the Chief Executive of this country. Bless him with wisdom, health, and strength. Grant that he may lead this Nation in the ways of peace and that his endeavors will be for the welfare of all. Bless the Members of the House of Representatives. Grant them wisdom and understanding as they endeavor to carry on the great work in this conference. May they have the assurance that Thou art

with them. Lead them in the path of peace toward the goal that is good for all.

There we pray in Jesus' name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

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

Without objection, the Journal stands approved.

There was no objection.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 8543. An act for the relief of Viorica Anna Ghitescu, Alexander Ghitescu, and Serban George Ghitescu.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the amendments of the House to bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 724. An act for the relief of Marcos Rojas Rodriguez; and

S. 1803. An act to authorize the waiver of claims of the United States arising out of erroneous payments of pay and allowances to certain officers and employees of the legislative branch.

The message also announced that the Senate disagrees to the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 628) entitled "An act to amend chapter 83 of title 5, United States Code, to eliminate the annuity reduction made, in order to provide a surviving spouse with an annuity, during periods when the annuitant is not married," agrees to the conference requested by House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. McGEE, Mr. BURDICK, and Mr. FONG to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.