

MOTION TO INVOKE CLOUTURE  
VACATED

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the motion to invoke cloture be vacated.

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

## PROGRAM

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, the Senate will meet tomorrow at 11 a.m.

After the two leaders or their designees have been recognized under the standing order, Mr. TALMADGE will be recognized for not to exceed 10 minutes, after which there will be a period for the transaction of routine morning business, of not to exceed 10 minutes, with statements therein limited to 2 minutes each.

At the conclusion of routine morning business, the Senate will proceed under

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

controlled time to consider the motion to concur in the House amendment to the Senate amendment to H.R. 7824, with a vote—presumably a rollcall vote—to occur at no later than 2 p.m. on the motion to be offered by Mr. HELMS to amend the House amendment to the Senate amendment to H.R. 7824, with a number of amendments which will be voted upon as a unit.

Immediately following that vote, a vote will occur—presumably, it, too, will be a rollcall vote—on the House amendment as amended, if amended.

Upon the conclusion of that vote, the Senate will proceed to the consideration of the agricultural appropriation bill, and I so ask unanimous consent.

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

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. There is no time limitation on that bill. Presumably, amendments will be offered thereto, and rollcall votes could occur thereon.

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So it seems that there will be a number of rollcall votes on tomorrow.

Mr. President, I thank all Senators, especially the distinguished assistant Republican leader, for their cooperation in arriving at the agreement which has been stated in connection with H.R. 7824.

ADJOURNMENT TO 11 A.M.  
TOMORROW

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, if the distinguished assistant Republican leader and no other Senators have anything they wish to bring to the attention of the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 11 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and at 6:05 p.m., the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, July 18, at 11 a.m.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## LIBERTY AND UNION NOW AND FOREVER, ONE AND INSEPARABLE

## HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, last month James Madison Senior High School in my district of San Diego received a 1974 Freedoms Foundations Award. Upon accepting this award for the school one of its outstanding teachers, Oscar Baer, delivered the following address. During this month when all of us have rekindled our patriotic spirit during the Fourth of July celebration, I know that Mr. Baer's comments will be of particular interest to our colleagues. I place his address in the RECORD at this point:

## LIBERTY AND UNION NOW AND FOREVER, ONE AND INSEPARABLE

It took a man like Daniel Webster to remind Robert Hayne, the senator from South Carolina and champion of states rights, that liberty and Union have a spiritual dimension transcendent of any and all constitutional issues bent upon destroying the Union.

Webster's famous reply to Hayne in a debate before both houses of Congress and a packed gallery, a historic debate that lasted eight days, January 19-27, 1830, dealt with a critical decision that had to be made.

Daniel Webster took his case directly to the Higher Law which left no other choice: (Joshua 14:15), (Luke 16:18) Liberty and Union, Now and Forever, One and Inseparable, "Choose you this day whom you will serve."

The Declaration of Independence was Daniel Webster's inspiration to remind Robert Hayne and all mankind that the unity of liberty and the unity of Statehood are inviolable, one and inseparable, indivisible.

"We Mutually Pledge" . . . And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

"We Mutually Pledge" . . . In 1776, that unity was an assembly of 56 representatives from 13 colonies along the Atlantic coast,

all whose signatures are forever engraved on the Declaration of Independence.

"We Mutually Pledge" . . . In 1830, the question of unity involved 12 slave states and 12 free states and whether they could remain half slave and half free. Today, the wonder of wonders, this nation, a union of 50 states, approaches an unbroken Bicentennial with awesome appreciation for all this nation, under God has accomplished and recorded in a relatively short span of years; particularly now that we stand at the threshold of far greater wonders due this beautiful land.

We can be reminded in 1974 that Liberty and Union Now and Forever, One and Inseparable applies to the true spirit of this age.

"We Mutually Pledge" . . . And as we approach our 200th milestone the philosophies, ideologies, principles and spiritual insights are dynamically evident in every one of those years. The faith of our forefathers in the American Way of Life is one with our faith as we pledge allegiance in positive terms. That handful of homeless Pilgrims embarking on the Mayflower seeking freedom to worship God in their own way—Think of it—in their own way. Did they not build awareness of Divine Guidance among them that to worship God in their own way meant making a portion of the world a better place to live? Was this not the American Dream? Were they not building greater than they thought? Shouldn't we then believe in greater expectations? Without faltering, without losing heart, without fear and with no qualms as to the outcome?

Oh, thus be it ever when free men shall stand . . . And stand they did through trials and vicissitudes through Independence and war's desolation that freedom might be proclaimed throughout the land, preserved, protected for all generations. This consciousness knows illimitable dimensions individually and nationally when we undertake our commitments for public interests totally compatible with the common good. God has favored our undertakings in the betterment of all mankind and for all time. This consciousness is the very root of all government when based upon the consent of the governed.

We stand as a nation upon these promises: through all our trials and ordeals, through all the detractions and travails, liberty and union one and inseparable now and forever shall prevail.

WILLIAM J. USERY: OUR NATION'S  
TOP NEGOTIATOR

## HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the people of my congressional district, and indeed people all across the Nation, owe a great debt of gratitude to Mr. William J. Usery, Jr.

In his capacity as both Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, and as the President's Special Adviser for Labor Relations, Bill Usery has tirelessly devoted his full energies toward keeping America strong. He has resolved labor-management disputes in such vital areas as the railroads, airlines, Postal Service, independent truckers, et cetera—disputes which could have crippled the Nation had it not been for the indefatigable efforts of Bill Usery. At a time when our Nation's economic outlook is in doubt, Mr. Usery has improved conditions for the worker and preserved the worker's job, while keeping industry running and production up. He has performed monumental feats, against great odds, and at great personal sacrifice, at a time when America most needed his services to remain a strong and independent economic power.

While most public attention has been focused on the negotiations performed by Henry Kissinger on the international front, even more significant negotiations were being performed by Bill Usery on the domestic front. It would, in fact, be inadequate to describe Mr. Usery as the Henry Kissinger of Labor negotiations since the strength which Dr. Kissinger wields in international forums is based upon the domestic strength of the United States, and upon the strength of the U.S. economy. Mr. Usery, with his determined efforts, his unwavering sense of fairness, and his unprecedent skill as a negotiator, has not only maintained, but has en-

hanced the domestic strength of our Nation.

Last week, Mr. Usery applied his talents toward ending the second longest strike then in existence—the General Dynamics Fore River Shipyard strike in Quincy, Mass. The 116 day strike by 1,700 shipbuilders seemed deadlocked until Bill Usery arrived. Calling upon the experience which he gained in his 25 years with the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, and exemplifying the negotiating skill which earned him the role of chairman of the union's negotiating committee, Bill Usery attacked the problems which had left others stymied. Bill Usery attacks negotiating problems with a determined and realistic approach. After 48 hours of nonstop negotiation, the doors of the bargaining room were swung open to announce that a tentative agreement had finally been reached, with ratification expected this week.

The announcement was more than welcome news to the city of Quincy. The end of the strike means jobs for shipbuilders in a region of the country where the shipbuilding trade has been all but outlawed by Defense cutbacks. The shipyard now has the single largest private contract ever awarded to an American firm.

The yard now has orders for the construction of eight liquefied natural gas tankers—LNG's—and a strong chance to receive contracts on an additional three to five tankers. This will result in up to 5,000 jobs and will transform Quincy into the shipbuilding capital of New England. It will mean over a billion dollars worth of income to the area. Of equal importance, these contracts will enable the United States to take a giant step forward, and perhaps lead the world in LNG technology. This, of course, is of prime importance during the current age of energy uncertainty. The opportunity for American leadership afforded by the Quincy contracts are preserved through the outstanding efforts of William J. Usery, and I think all Americans owe him their heartfelt appreciation.

Mr. Speaker, one of our Nation's finest journalists, and a man who has done an excellent job of keeping Massachusetts residents informed of the developments in the General Dynamics strike, is Mr. Marvin Pave, of the Boston Globe. Mr. Pave has written an extremely informative article regarding the outstanding work performed by William J. Usery in bringing about a settlement in the Quincy strike. I hope that all of my colleagues will have the opportunity to read Mr. Pave's article, and to reflect upon the valuable contributions which Mr. Usery has made to the Nation's economy.

Mr. Speaker, I include Mr. Pave's article at this point:

FOR MEDIATOR IN GENERAL DYNAMICS STRIKE,  
IT WAS A NONSTOP, NO-SLEEP WEEK

(By Marvin Pave)

It was the week of the packed suitcase and the baggy eyes for William J. Usery, Jr., director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

He came to Boston last Monday night, bedded down at the Parker House and told a reporter the next morning: "We're going to negotiate around the clock if we have to in order to settle the General Dynamics strike."

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Usery, true to his word, left Boston on Thursday morning with the strike tentatively settled, and with five hours sleep in a 48-hour period.

(The 1800 production workers at the shipyard will meet Wednesday to vote on the new contract. The strike now in its 118th day and members of the executive board of Local 5, Shipbuilders Union, AFL-CIO, are meeting today to discuss the agreement.)

"Don't ask me where Bill gets his stamina," Norman Walker, an aide, said. "Nobody around our Washington headquarters knows the answer."

Usery is a Georgia native who likes monogrammed shirts and a good cigar, and who has been called by the man who appointed him, President Nixon, "one of the great mediators of our time."

Usery also is one of the busiest mediators of our time, because his office is now involved in 600 strikes nationally. The General Dynamics strike was the second most lengthy, and it didn't take long for Usery to plunge right into the third-longest after leaving Boston.

"We got back to Washington at noontime Thursday," Walker said. "Bill grabbed some lunch, went to the office and at 1:30 p.m. was negotiating again. He didn't quit until early evening."

His project as the week drew to a close was a strike by 5000 employees at the Dow Chemical Co. of Midland, Mich. It began on March 17, a day after General Dynamics closed its production lines.

"Hardly a week goes by," Walker said, "where Bill leaves one session and starts another without getting a night's sleep."

Usery's reputation for getting a job done has resulted in numerous offers from private industry (at double his \$40,000-a-year salary) and from the AFL-CIO to leave the Mediation Service.

But those close to Usery say he has stayed with the government agency because of his concern over the growing number of strikes and his feeling of responsibility for settling them.

Last October the AFL-CIO's executive council voted to select Usery as director of its new department of organization of field services. Acceptance of the job would have made Usery the third-ranking official in the AFL-CIO.

It could have meant eventual elevation to the presidency of that body, whose president, 80-year-old George Meany, once called Usery "that country slicker."

The quote, according to a mediation service official, was an admiration for Usery's firm, sometimes humorous, approach to difficult negotiations.

In January the speculation about Usery's possible jump to the AFL-CIO hierarchy ended. He withdrew his resignation as the government's top labor trouble-shooter and was named a special assistant to the President on labor matters relating to the energy shortage.

It was in that dual role that Usery became involved in the General Dynamics strike. He said during the two-day negotiating marathon last week: "Settlement of the Quincy strike is important to the shipbuilding industry and to easing the energy shortage."

The shipyard has contracts worth more than \$700 million for eight liquefied natural gas (LNG) tankers, whose capacity would be five times as large as any LNG tanker now in operation.

Arthur Batson, chief union negotiator and president, came away from the talks with great admiration for Usery.

"He's tough," Batson said.

"He knows what he wants, and he did something nobody else did for 17 weeks. He got us to agree with each other." Usery said his optimistic approach to seemingly diffi-

cult labor disputes is based on "my confidence in the judgment and abilities of labor and management to resolve their differences."

"Despite the rising strike level (more than 50 percent since last June) hundreds of bargaining attempts are being settled."

Before his appointment as Mediation Service director, Usery was assistant secretary of labor for labor-management relations for four years. In that capacity, he was the government's chief mediator in railroad and airline disputes and in labor problems arising from discrimination cases.

From 1956 through 1969 he was grand lodge representative of the International Assn. of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, with the responsibility of head negotiator.

During much of that time he was industrial union representative on the President's Missile Sites Labor Committee at the Kennedy Space Center in Florida and the Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville, Ala.

Born in Hardwick, Ga., in 1923, Usery attended Georgia Military College and Mercer University. He received Georgia Military's Distinguished Alumni Award in 1971 for his work in labor-management relations.

He has been described by those who have watched him in negotiations as "innovative, fair, tough . . ."

GOD BLESS AMERICA WEEK  
JUNE 30-JULY 6

## HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I was thrilled to be able to participate in a ceremony a few days ago in San Diego honoring "God Bless America Week."

I presented a 13-star Betsy Ross flag to a young American who made us all stand taller. He is James Aceron, son of Filipino-American parents, and he won first prize with his essay "God Bless America, What My Country Means to Me."

I urge my colleagues to ponder on this young 11th grader's philosophy. It is heart warming indeed.

I insert this as a portion of my remarks:

### WHAT MY COUNTRY MEANS TO ME

(First Place Winner: James Aceron, 11th grade at San Diego High School)

America is a country that was built on dreams. Visions of a better life have been her cornerstone. It was the imagination and back-breaking work of ordinary men that gave America her grandeur and magnificence.

To me, America means people that dream. People that are constantly seeking a better way. I think that the extent of dreams and dreamers determines the extent of her success: success as a government as well as a society of people.

There is and will always be dissent in America. Dissent in ideas and dissent in attitudes. I think it shows that people still dream and are willing to make their dreams work to change and possibly better America and her people.

It is only when people drift in the sea of indifference that America will reach a state of decadence. Unconcerned people who have lost the ability to dream and the courage to make their dreams known will destroy America. A people who have lost the willingness to participate because everything is thought to be in vain will destroy America.

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But I think that America's refusal to accept still waters is what makes her such a great country. The clinging to an ideal and the perseverance of working toward a distant star is what has made America what it is, and what it means to me.

## HEROIN—THE TURKISH MENACE STRIKES AGAIN

## HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, I join with millions of other Americans in soundly renouncing the recent decision of the Turkish Government to resume widespread production of the deadly opium poppy. This tragic and ill-conceived decision represents a major setback in our Nation's struggle to rid itself of the menace of heroin abuse.

In 1971, I introduced legislation to cut off all economic and military aid to Nations that were not cooperating in curbing the flow of illegal drugs into the United States. As a result of mine and other efforts, the U.S. Government was successful in urging the Turkish Government to stop growing poppy plants. Prior to securing this ban, these same opium poppy fields had supplied more than 80 percent of this Nation's heroin through the infamous "French Connection" and was directly responsible for the numbers of heroin addicts reaching epidemic proportions in this Nation.

It was obvious then, as it is now, that the most important strategy to curb heroin abuse was to reduce availability through eliminating the source. We sought to do this by providing the Turkish Government with 35.7 million dollars to compensate for losses accrued from not growing poppies, as well as to develop alternative crops to revitalize Turkey's agriculture.

When this agreement was completed it was widely hailed by Americans, and for good reason. Since 1971, the number of heroin addicts has decreased by 60 percent to a present figure of 250,000. Not only was the quantity of heroin reduced, but so was the quality, making it extremely difficult for the heroin user to sustain his habit at former levels. These addicts were then able to be taken off drugs and rehabilitated into productive members of the society.

Directly tied in with the problem of heroin abuse are the increased incidences of drug-related crimes, namely robbery, prostitution, and even murder. In my home city of New York which is estimated to have almost one-half of the addicts of the Nation, more than one-half of the crimes committed in 1970 were drug related, yet, statistics in all major cities indicated dramatic drops in the numbers of drug-related crimes since the ban was instituted in 1971.

Yet, these and other dramatic accomplishments registered in the past 2 years stand to be completely negated as a result of the irresponsible actions of the

Turkish Government. Once again, the poisonous needles filled with heroin will find their way into the innocent veins of thousands of young Americans, reducing them in their prime of life, to worthless members of society, slaves to the drug habit, and those who can maintain it. Once again, families and loved ones of these addicts will be forced to endure the personal and social traumas associated with drug abuse.

Yet, while the tragedy and human suffering may be confined to the individual addict and his family, the social and economic crisis will be again placed on the shoulders of all Americans. We will be paying billions of dollars for the increased crime and social disruption as well as the costs of treating the victims of one of America's most serious health problems, this compared to the mere 35.7 million we are presently paying Turkey not to grow the opium poppy.

How did the Turkish Government rationalize this tragic decision? Only by claiming that the 35.7 million provided by the United States was inadequate to compensate the farmers for loss of one of their most important crops. This statement takes on some credibility when measured against the widespread allegation, that much of this money was actually pocketed by the government, and the farmer, to whom this money was designed to help, saw virtually none of these funds.

The Turkish Government has assured American officials that every safeguard will be taken to prevent the diversion of the poppy into heroin production. Yet, as most Americans recall, these assurances have been received in the past, and they proved to be virtually worthless, as they are today.

Our course of action as concerned Americans should be clear. We must initiate all necessary steps to persuade the Turkish Government to reverse this decision and maintain the ban on opium production. I have already joined over 200 of my colleagues in sponsoring a resolution which calls for the termination of all aid to Turkey if the opium production is started once again. Shortly the Congress will be considering legislation to provide the annual distribution of foreign aid. One of the biggest recipients happens to be Turkey, which is seeking some \$230 million in aid in fiscal year 1975. I am now adding my voice to those who will support a denial of Turkey's request unless—and until—the decision to resume poppy production is reversed.

How can we as a Nation, burdened as we are by inflation, justify doling out \$230 million to a nation which has in effect declared war on the youth of our Nation, and has so effectively sabotaged our efforts to curb drug abuse? Providing aid to Turkey under these conditions is akin to supporting the killing of thousands of Americans who will likely die at the hands of heroin. I, for one, refuse to tolerate this reckless and hostile action by the Government of Turkey.

Any prohibition of U.S. economic aid to Turkey will have an immense effect, and would easily wipe out any economic gains which they would register with the

resumption of poppy production. It is the best vehicle we have to persuade the Turks to change their minds.

It is time for the President to demonstrate the same resolve and leadership which resulted in the 1971 ban. It is time for the Congress to stand up and show Turkey and any other nation that we are committed to ridding our Nation of the evil scourge of drug abuse, and are not afraid to use any method to do so. Those who fail to act in the wake of this action will be guilty of an inexcusable dereliction of duty, for which they should and will be held accountable by the American people in November.

## TESTIMONY ON TURKISH OPIUM BAN

## HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, this morning I testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on my resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 507, which calls for a firm response by the United States to the announcement by the Turkish Government permitting the resumption of the cultivation of opium poppies. I would like to insert that testimony in the Record, so that the American people might have a complete summary of the situation as it exists today and why passage of this resolution is essential to the protection of thousands of young Americans:

## TESTIMONY OF REPRESENTATIVE LESTER L. WOLFF

Mr. CHAIRMAN. The legislation we are considering today is significant in several respects. First, it is an entirely appropriate response to a policy by a foreign government that has acted in a way hostile to the interests of the United States and the world community. Second, it will require the President of the United States to act within his statutory powers enumerated in the Foreign Assistance Act to protect the United States from the return of a massive influx of heroin. Finally, it will set the important precedent that foreign assistance given by this country is not a "dole" to be handed out without any regard to the consequences of our actions. We must establish once and for all that the United States will not stand for other nations profiting from our generosity, and then turning around and inflicting immeasurable human misery on our people, the dollar cost of which alone runs into the billions annually.

Perhaps an appropriate starting point for consideration of Congressional action is the firm and sensible policy enunciated by President Nixon in September, 1972. Before a conference of senior American narcotics officials, the President said,

"Winning the battle against drug abuse is one of the most important, the most urgent national priorities confronting the United States today.

"In working on narcotics control around the world, I want you to convey this personal message from me to the foreign officials . . . Any government whose leaders participate in or protect the activities of those who contribute to our drug problem should know

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that the President of the United States is required by statute to suspend all American economic and military assistance to such a regime and I shall not hesitate to comply with that law where there are any violations.

"I consider keeping dangerous drugs out of the United States just as important as keeping armed enemy forces from landing in the United States."

These remarks were not made lightly, and they should not be taken lightly, either by foreign nations who encourage narcotics trafficking, or, indeed, by the United States Congress, which initially gave the President the authority to cut off assistance. Nor do I believe that the action by the Turkish government can be interpreted in any way other than as an action falling within the prohibitions of the statute, for reasons which will be enumerated in my discussion.

An examination of the situation within the Turkish economy will give some indication of the motivations of the Turkish government in lifting the ban, and will strengthen the argument of those of us who argue for a firm United States response. The 1972 "World Opium Survey" put out by the Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control, indicated that "poppy growing is an insignificant part of total Turkish agricultural production (which reached about \$3 billion in 1970). It also constitutes a minor factor in Turkish export earnings as exports of opium gum, seeds, and pods have constituted less than 1% of total export earnings in recent years . . . In 1971, 89,283 farmers cultivated poppies. For the economy as a whole, income from opium growing amounted to an estimated \$5 million to \$6 million."

The 1971 agreement between the United States and Turkey in which Turkey banned the cultivation of opium poppies, was achieved by an American promise to pay Turkey \$35.7 million, significantly higher than any reasonable offset of losses from legitimate income from poppy production for several years. Of course there is no question that the illicit underground market for Turkish opium to be refined into heroin for peddling by organized crime elements added income to the Turkish farmers' pocket, and the loss of this blood money was felt by them. But the critical question remains, of course, should the United States acknowledge the legitimacy of this extra income, by its docile acquiescence in the resumption of poppy cultivation? I think that question answers itself.

Why then, despite legislation, Sec. 109 of P.L. 92-226, the Foreign Assistance Act Amendments of 1971, clearly mandating a cutoff of assistance when a country permits illegal narcotics trafficking, should the Turkish government take the drastic action that it has? The Turkish government has stated in its communique of July 1 that it chose to permit recultivation because of the needs of the Turkish farmers and the needs of the legitimate opium market for medicinal uses.

I would even question that apparently forthright statement. We know that some farmers have been hurt—but why—and that our government has been more than lethargic in instituting effective development and crop substitution projects. We also know that there is a great deal of confusion as to how much of the compensation has actually reached the farmers, very little I am told. Nonetheless, the Turkish government never made any efforts to remove these stumbling blocks and clarify any ambiguities in the bilateral understandings. Nor did it even seek to renegotiate the agreement with the United States.

The only conclusion that can be drawn from these actions is that the government was not interested in actually helping the

Turkish farmers, for it cannot be denied that the potential benefits available under the agreement might well have left the Turkish farmers in a vastly improved position. Rather, some demagogic Turkish politicians chose to use this issue as a symbol of Turkish nationalism, as a means of using a convenient target to forward their own aims, trying to show this new coalition government was better(?) than the one that negotiated the U.S. agreement.

I do not wish to belittle the propriety of developing nationalistic appeals, in underdeveloped areas, but at the same time I must point out that this particular issue was built upon deception and in fact undermined pressing humanitarian concerns of the Turks, the Americans and in fact the entire world community.

The success of the appeal cannot be doubted—all Turkish political parties adopted the cry, which was framed as a reaction to the former government. But once again I ask, is this sufficient reason for the United States to forego its obligation to protect its own young people, and continue to subsidize the illicit activity which wreaks devastation wherever its effects are felt?

The other reason put forth by the Turkish government is the legitimate medicinal needs of the pharmaceutical concerns. Here again, the Turkish government position is less than selfless. We have been bombarded with propaganda over the last several years from the pharmaceutical companies informing us of a licit opium shortage throughout the world. Yet the facts belie this contention, at least insofar as we are talking about the availability of opium to the pharmaceutical companies.

Indeed, the interests of the large multinationals have been contrary to this agreement or in fact any agreement that would reduce the legitimate market—note that I say market, not supply—for many years. In May of 1973, Walter Minnick, who at that time was the Chief of the Division of Federal Drug Management for the Office of Management and Budget, testified before the Government Operations Committee that "the drug companies were opposed to our getting the Turks out of the business, because that eliminated their source of supply."

In the same testimony, Minnick further said, however, that according to the World Opium Survey, only five percent of the licit world supply came from Turkey, with about half coming from India.

Nonetheless, a bad growing season and extraordinary purchases by the Soviet Union were said to have caused a shortage for the current fiscal year, and based on that assumption, we acted in Congress. According to a letter I received recently from Linwood Holton in the State Department, "The President and the Congress have acted to avert a temporary shortage of medicinal opiates in the United States by providing for the release of up to 45% of the strategic opium stockpile.

Periodic releases will be made to the extent needed to enable U.S. manufacturers to maintain minimum, yet safe inventory levels. We assume we shall continue to receive our proportionate share of opium imports from India. The U.S. stockpile release should not, therefore, affect the marketing of world production of opium for medical and scientific requirements."

In addition, to the availability of the American stockpile, it is expected that improved climatic conditions, and the absence of abnormal purchases by the Soviet Union which were witnessed last year, coupled with improved procedures which will lead to a higher yield of morphine base, from existing acreage will combine to significantly raise the amount of licit medicinal product available from India in the coming year.

In light of these considerations, it becomes increasingly clear that Turkish politicians have been using the rallying mechanism of the opium ban and its anti-American slogans to make the more fundamental and serious problems faced by that government, such as the tremendous increase in the numbers of Turkish laborers returning after working in other European nations.

In viewing the Turkish announcement, we must consider the situation that will evolve concerning the enforcement efforts that will be made to prohibit the massive new quantities of opium from being diverted into illicit channels.

That a massive new enforcement mechanism would be essential is beyond doubt; we are all familiar with many of the facts and figures concerning the heroin epidemic which swept our nation in the late 1960's, due largely to the illegal entry of Turkish derived heroin. To briefly highlight some of the critical problems that will surely arise, however, I would like to offer a few quotations:

"As commissioner of (New York City's) Addiction Services Agency, which cares for over 40,000 addicts in 400 treatment facilities of every modality at a cost of about \$90 million annually, I can state with some degree of authority that the lifting of the opium ban by Turkey will have serious consequences for all New Yorkers."

"If the United States Government, bowing to pressure from Turkish poppy growers, agrees to a lifting of the ban, it will be a backward step that is almost guaranteed to lead to an upsurge in heroin addiction nationally, with a consequent rise in addict-related crime . . . I therefore urge all Americans to support resolutions that give the President authority to withhold military and economic aid to Turkey unless that nation agrees to cooperation with us in the war against heroin."—Jerome Hornbliss, Commissioner, New York City Addiction Service Agency.

"Lifting the ban on growing the opium poppy by the Turkish government would definitely have a severe impact on the already overburdened law enforcement efforts of the New York City Police Department. Any addition to the necessary and legitimate supply of opium for medical use on the world market will correspondingly increase the supply in the illicit market. Police Commissioner Michael Codd has stated that any overproduction in excess of world market needs can only exacerbate the conditions and situations with the result that the excess would find its way to the underworld."

"Since the Turkish ban went into effect, a definite downturn was noticed in the heroin availability in New York."

The crimes of robbery and burglary are often associated with the heroin addiction problem of a city. These crimes become the source of money for the purchase of narcotics to maintain the addict. The crime analysis section of the New York City Police Department reported an 18% decrease in burglaries and a 12% decrease in robberies in the year 1972 against the same period in 1971. The 1973 figure for the same crimes were practically the same as the year 1972. This is but one indication of what can be accomplished when drugs are in short supply. The increased supply of heroin as a result of the Turkish government's lifting the ban on poppy growing will reverse the downward trends still prevalent in 1974 in these two key drug related crimes.

"It is my belief and the belief of my staff of investigators that should the Turkish government resume production of opium, the results will be measured in New York City in the number of human casualties; first, in the form of an increased number of heroin addicts and second, in the form of the vic-

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tims of violent street crime. There is no worthwhile benefit to be gained from the removal of the ban in Turkey."—Daniel Courtney, Community Officer, Narcotic Division, N.Y. City Police Department.

Every empirical study indicates that the Turkish poppy growing ban has dramatically diminished heroin supply on the East Coast of the United States. Dr. Robert DuPont, Director of the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention, cites statistics concerning the decrease of drug availability since the ban went into effect.

"From the peak of over 1/2 million heroin addicts, 1973 saw for the first time rates of overdose deaths, drug related hepatitis, and drug related property crimes (all indicators of heroin dependency) decline throughout the United States. The quality and quantity of heroin have decreased, while the price has increased. One milligram of heroin in New York City cost 44 cents in 1972; by mid 1973 it had risen to \$1.52. Street level purity of heroin sold to addicts decreased 52% during the same period, from 7.7% to 3.7%. A heroin shortage has existed for almost 24 months."

It is common knowledge that Turkey was unable or unwilling to control the diversion of opium in the past, and actions taken to date offer no hope of any change in that situation when the farmers again enter cultivation. The profits from illegal sales are simply too great, the incentives too high, to assure a sufficient control situation. As John Cusack, Chief of the International Operations Division of the Drug Enforcement Administration testified to an ad hoc hearing I sponsored in New York last week.

"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 and 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."

Following his statement, I further questioned Mr. Cusack on control possibilities. I would like now to play a tape of that portion of the questioning.

This attitude was reflected at the Third Special Session of the U.N. Commission on Narcotic Drugs at Geneva last February, and has been echoed virtually every time a narcotics enforcement official discusses the Turkish opium ban. I would further cite a General Accounting Office Report, which discussed the possibility of customs agents and border patrols reducing the smuggling of heroin.

The GAO said "Although these efforts may deter amateurs and small scale smugglers, they have not had and probably cannot have any real impact on the organized groups engaged in large-scale heroin smuggling." And it must be noted that the Turkish government, despite its promise for tough controls, has already taken the first step to flood the illicit market by permitting cultivation

in seven provinces, which is an increase from the four provinces that were permitted to grow opium immediately prior to the ban.

So once again the choice for the Members of Congress becomes stark and clear. If we do not act to cut off assistance, it cannot be on the premise that this time opium production will be controlled—no one seriously believes that. Heroin will flow into this country once again virtually unchecked, for once it is in the traffic channels, large scale control is impossible. The French Connection now broken stands ready to resume traffic. The problem is either eliminated at the source, or it is permitted to return to crisis levels.

Another aspect of the proposition we consider today must be dealt with—we must review the likely consequences of United States action to cut off assistance to Turkey in light of our own military defense requirements. There has been a fear expressed that if we cut off assistance—if we deny the President's request for over \$200 million in military and economic assistance for FY 1975—Turkey will retaliate against our NATO commitment.

We have, since World War II, given the Turks almost \$6 billion. To first dispose of this apparent threat, I cite the statement by Turkish Foreign Minister Turan Gunes in the New York Times last Thursday, July 11. Gunes said that even if Washington cut off aid to Turkey, as some Congressmen had threatened, Ankara would not "change the status" of about two dozen vital military bases maintained there under the joint command of the two North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies. I think this position is understandable, in light of the real defense requirement of Turkey. The likelihood of such a response from Turkey—particularly if all other assistance is cut off—is, from a strategic standpoint, very small.

Even if we take the military possibilities on a "worst case basis", General Goodpaster assured this committee only three weeks ago that we would still maintain the capability of knocking out the Dardanelles and bases available in the Mediterranean, should that unlikely necessity occur, denying to the Soviets their use and bottling up the entire Soviet Mediterranean fleet.

Let us turn, however, to the scenario which would unfold when the heroin market is back in action. It is appropriate to recall America's experience in Indochina, when, according to Marine General Lew Walt testifying in Senate testimony, "our forces were caught up in a massive heroin epidemic when, overnight, high grade heroin became available elsewhere at \$1 a vial."

Only recently, Admiral Noel Gayler told this committee that during the Vietnam conflict, difficulties faced by our Pacific forces from drug abuse resulted in the impairment of the effectiveness of our fighting forces.

As late as February, 1974, UPI carried a story quoting General Michael S. Davison, the American Army Commander in Germany, as saying that drug abuse was the "single greatest threat to the discipline and professionalism of the Army in Europe." Since our NATO troops will soon be availed of large quantities of low priced heroin, the meaningfulness and security of NATO forces may hinge on the Turkish action, and this situation ultimately puts in jeopardy the security of the United States itself for what we face is a repeat of the Indochina drug epidemic that has produced 350,000 Indo China addicts veterans.

Mr. Chairman, the legislation we are considering today will put our nation firmly on record, not only in words, but in definitive action, against the tolerance by foreign nations of the trafficking in death which the opium trade represents.

This approach will send more than a message—it will send an unmistakable warning—that United States generosity will no longer

be extended to nations which spit in the face of mankind. If the Turks say that the drug problem is ours, not theirs, let us say to them that economic development and military supply is *their* problem, not ours.

What is actually involved here is that the Turks do not believe we will take meaningful action—that we are in reality a paper tiger. Let them know that we place a non-negotiable price on the lives of the kids of this nation.

We cannot afford \$27 billion in drug related crime in this country. Our constituents want to walk our streets in safety without fear of some junkie beating them over the head for money to buy the next fix.

This approach, which was taken before by the House and Senate in relation to Thailand at the height of the Indochina conflict, was dramatically successful in winning the cooperation of the Thai government without any serious long-term rupture in Thai-American relationships. It will be successful in this case.

When efforts to halt heroin traffic are characterized as a "war," that characterization is carefully chosen. Indeed, the Washington Post, in a recent editorial, pinpointed the accuracy of the analogy. The editorial reads:

"Indeed, if the Turkish Government had announced that it intended to land secret agents at night on American shores to poison and kill thousands of Americans and to subvert the foundations of American society—which, of course, is exactly what heroin does—then that would be regarded as an act of war and handled accordingly."

The condemnation which the outrageous act by the Turkish government merits in the civilized world cannot be mistaken. Perhaps the most eloquent statement of the interests of mankind in stopping drug traffic was made by President Nixon, who said in 1972:

"The men and women who operate the global heroin trade are a menace not to Americans alone, but to all mankind. These people are literally the slave traders of our time. They are traffickers in living death. They must be hunted to the end of the earth. They must be left no base in any nation for their operation. They must be permitted not a single hiding place or refuge from justice anywhere in the world and that is why we have established an aggressive international narcotics control program in cooperation with the governments in more than 50 countries around the world."

Mr. Chairman, this legislation should be reported out promptly, so that the Government of Turkey, and our own foreign policy officials, understand that the American people cannot and will not tolerate a reestablishment of the heroin trail. The Senate acted last week on a similar measure, by an 81-8 margin. If it is to be argued that this move will strain relations with Turkey, it is even more important that our closest relations are our children.

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#### FOURTH OF JULY ADDRESS BY COL. JOHN D. BLAGG, JR.

#### HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, I had the pleasure of participating in the Fourth of July program in the North Oahu community of Waialua-Haleiwa. Special tributes were paid during the program to the armed services, and a spokesman representing each was called upon to say a few words.

One of the speeches presented that

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morning I thought was exceptional; and so, I would like to share that address by Col. John D. Blagg, Jr., Hq 15 ABW, Staff Judge Advocate:

Ladies and gentlemen, in this year of our Lord 1974, in this place, we are gathered to celebrate the founding of our country, The United States of America. We are not alone. Throughout the width and breadth of the Nation other bands are listening to other speakers. Other hands raised too, in salute to the flag of our country. We are a nation, joyful this day for the courage our forebears had to oppose a tyrant king who had failed so miserably to meet his citizens' needs. And proud of their wisdom in crafting so magnificent a system of laws under which we are governed. "We have given you a Republic," Benjamin Franklin said, "If you can keep it." In that simple statement, he expressed the essence of the spirit of the American system of Government. We are free citizens whose political institutions are responsive to the people, yet, we must be a responsible people who direct our freedom to useful purpose.

Have we met his challenge? Have we kept our Republic, given to us by those wise patriots so long ago? We are now a vast nation who has explored the depths of the oceans and the reaches of outer space. We have fought wars and survived famine. We have given to the world great men and women of letters, art, medicine and science. The peace of the world today, such as it is, is an American Peace. Our granaries and warehouses have fed the world's starving people, and we have exported the concept of freedom wherever we have gone.

And yet, in all of business, fertility and wealth, have we somehow failed to grasp that essential quality of the Republic? We see around us everywhere, evidence of our greatness. Have we failed to see, however, the price of greatness. Look closer. Is the water in that stream still fit to drink? Do fish still populate our shorelines and animals the fields? Has the waste of industry and war depleted our natural resources and made us dependent upon others for our needs? Have we come to accept planned obsolescence as being "good for us"? Have we abandoned our children to a subculture of nothingness, presided over by the great God "Hash"? Have we come to count our personal reputes in terms of material gain? Do we fear for our safety on the streets of our cities and would we respond to our neighbor's call for help in the middle of the dark night? Do we applaud a shrewd deal and laugh at the sucker? What is our divorce rate? Has the family become passe? Do our politicians serve us, or do they march to a different drummer? Has that great instrument, the Constitution, somehow been turned against us to justify outrages? And what of our dollar, that altar upon which so much has been sacrificed? Is it sound? Does it have the respect of the nations it has succored during their times of need? Yes, my friends, there is much awry in this great Republic today. We recoil with horror with each day's accounting of the Watergate debacle, we see our cities turned into breeding grounds for crime, and watch stately buildings decay and we have accepted the plastic, unreal world of television and the Madison Avenue hucksters. Is this our just desert? Are we presiding over the fall of another great Empire? I most fervently hope not!

But a point has been reached. The alarm bells are ringing. The excesses of our supreme indifference to our responsibilities as citizens of this Republic have encouraged the weak and corrupt within our society to grab an even bigger share of material gain, and they're strangling this great nation of ours, and we should feel shame.

The time has come to join in a national renewal of spirit! We must now resolve to do those things we have neglected or ignored

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

for so long. We must learn to despise deceit, wherever we find it. We must demand honesty and integrity in business, in Government at all levels and in our own personal lives. We must compel the enactment of proper laws to combat crime, be it white collar or blue collar. We must clean our environment and demand of industry that it place the consumer's interest ahead of gross profits. We must, foremost among all things, begin to think for ourselves. We must form the public opinion and the public conscience of the Nation, not some nameless, faceless pressure group. We must cease being anyone's "silent majority." "We, the People," our Constitution begins. We, the people must get on with the business of being good Americans, here, in this place, in the year of the Lord, 1974.

### ISRAEL'S POSITION AND LONG-TERM GOALS

#### HON. EDWARD MEZVINSKY

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. MEZVINSKY. Mr. Speaker, the long summer before the opening of the Geneva peace talks is a good time to re-evaluate Israel's position and long-term goals. The basic dilemma facing Israel is a matter of trust—whether or not to trust her Arab neighbors and whether or not to trust the international community.

The Israelis are understandably uneasy. In 1957, world pressure forced Israel to withdraw from Sinai with the assurance that the Egyptian army would not reenter Gaza and the Strait of Tiran would remain open. Yet when the Egyptians moved back into the Gaza and closed the strait, the international community was mute. World indifference to the continuing acts of guerrilla terrorism, too, has deepened Israel's wariness.

Nevertheless, though it is true that Israel has every reason to mistrust both her neighbors and the world community, the fact remains that her future depends on a negotiated peace with the Arabs accompanied by international guarantees. The alternative is the disturbing notion that armed force and only armed force of a crippling magnitude can keep Israel alive, now and forever.

Changing world circumstances make it clear that Israel cannot hope to rely forever on military superiority. The Arabs' improving military prowess has been buttressed by the Soviets' apparent willingness to supply unlimited arms, and there is an increasing danger that the Arabs may seek to counter Israel's military strength by developing nuclear capacity. Clearly, in today's world Israeli military superiority alone can neither guarantee peace nor Israel's survival.

This is not to say that the United States should stop providing Israel with the military supplies necessary to maintain her strength. I believe that the recent \$2.2 billion emergency security assistance for Israel—which I supported—demonstrates Congress continuing commitment to insuring Israel's integrity and freedom.

Although Israel and her neighbors may never achieve more than a tenuous détente similar to that between the U.S.

and the U.S.S.R. today, there is a world of difference between a commitment to obliterate the adversary and a mutual mistrust in the context of resigned co-existence. I am hopeful that continued U.S. support will give Israel the reassurance she needs to attempt once again to negotiate a lasting peace with her Arab neighbors.

### LEVITCH FAMILY WILL LEAVE FOR ISRAEL

#### HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, the message that the Soviet Union plans to release the Levitch family ranks as one of the most joyous and poignant pieces of news I heard this year.

On a cold, snowy night in January 1973, in Moscow, I clandestinely met Dr. Benjamin Levitch, his charming wife, Tanya, and his two sons, Yevgeny and Alexander. During this moving encounter, the Levitch family poured out their heart regarding the harassment and suffering they were undergoing from the Soviet authorities as a result of their wish to emigrate to Israel. They particularly emphasized the value of protests in the free world as a means of persuading the Communists to permit Jewish emigration.

In view of the eminence of Dr. Levitch as an electrical chemist and as a member of the Soviet Academy of Science, the Communists were reluctant to allow him to leave. In the meantime, the Soviets drafted into military service one of Dr. Levitch's sons despite the fact that he was suffering from a tumor and forced him to serve in the cold region of the Chinese-Soviet border.

According to the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, the Soviet Union will permit Dr. Levitch's two sons to emigrate to Israel in 1974, and the parents will be allowed to depart in 1975.

The main lesson that I learn from the Levitch matter is that the Soviet Union responds when respected, prominent voices in the West speak out clearly on behalf of human rights. The importance of human rights in the U.S.S.R. whether they be for Jews or other dissidents is not an internal affair, as the U.S.S.R. has argued. At least 10 U.S. Presidents over the past century have intervened on behalf of Soviet Jews, as they have on behalf of other oppressed minorities.

In this connection, I support the position of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry in rejecting Secretary of State Kissinger's offer of 45,000 visas for Soviet Jews annually in return for providing the Soviet Union with most-favored-nation trade status. While 45,000 visas—should they materialize—would be welcome, the goal must be that any Jew seeking to emigrate to Israel should be permitted to do so.

The idea of quotas is anathema to Americans. Every individual must be allowed to live in the homeland of his choice. There can be no compromise on human rights.

## GREEK GIFT TO CYPRUS

**HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL**  
OF NEW YORK  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times today, in an excellent editorial, outlined the problem the United States now faces in Athens due to the attempted coup on nearby Cyprus. This coup, clearly the responsibility of the discredited dictatorship in Athens, threatens to provoke the most serious Mediterranean crisis in a decade.

The editorial follows:

[From the New York Times, July 16, 1974]

## GREEK GIFT TO CYPRUS

In a letter to the President of Greece dated July 6, Archbishop Makarios accused the military rulers in Athens of planning to murder him and furnished what he called "irrefutable" evidence that Greek officers commanding the Cyprus National Guard were plotting with "EOKA-B" underground forces to overthrow his Government. He demanded that Greece recall the 650 officers.

Athens either stalled or refused the Archbishop's request. The result was the tragic event of yesterday, which threatens to ignite not only civil war in Cyprus but conflagration between Greece and Turkey that could destroy NATO's southern flank and carry the seeds of a wider, multinational conflict.

The situation on Cyprus and the fate of President Makarios remain unclear, but there can be no doubt that the responsibility for this barbaric putsch rests with the squalid military dictatorship in Greece. General Ioannides and his faceless henchmen consciously and deliberately condoned aggression against another country in direct violation of the pledge that they reaffirmed only last month in NATO's Atlantic Declaration.

It is almost beyond belief that the Greek officers would attempt to install as President of Cyprus one Nikos Sampson, confessed murderer, professional bully boy and fanatical supporter of Enosis (union with Greece). This action leaves no doubt that the goal of the coup against President Makarios is in fact the union with mainland Greece which the Archbishop long ago abandoned as unrealistic in the face of Turkish opposition.

Enosis is indeed an unrealistic objective and the first move in that direction by the usurpers in Nicosia is certain to bring a military reaction from Turkey that will shatter the fragile peace between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, maintained for the last ten years by a United Nations force.

Clearly the first goal of American, allied and United Nations diplomacy must be to prevent war between Greece and Turkey. Unless that can be headed off, the whole volatile eastern Mediterranean could blow up. The United Nations is unquestionably the place for the legitimate Government of Cyprus to bring its case against Greece and Greece's agents on the island.

Once the immediate crisis is passed there may be time for serious rethinking on the part of the State Department and especially the Pentagon about the wisdom of propping up with economic assistance and modern military hardware a regime in Athens that has buried freedom, tortured its citizens and now has committed aggression against another country.

What happened on Cyprus yesterday dramatizes the bankruptcy of a cynical United States policy toward Greece. After that tragedy it should be more difficult for American policymakers to argue that the tyranny in Greece is strictly a problem for the Greeks to resolve.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## THE NEED FOR NEW LEADERS

**HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON**  
OF MASSACHUSETTS  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, in one of his typically perceptive articles, David Broder in the July 3, 1974, Washington Post discussed a coming change in the generation of leadership in the United States. He points out that in an era of dramatic change—in other matters as well as politics—this Nation has not experienced any turnover in its leaders.

At a time when the public is growing more cynical about politics, it is hopeful to think, as Mr. Broder does, that after 20 years it is only natural for new leaders to emerge who will be able once again to restore public confidence and trust in the processes of government. I commend to my colleagues' attention the article by Mr. Broder, which follows my remarks:

## NEEDED: A NEW GENERATION OF LEADERS

Another Independence Day is upon us, and, once again, it's a lucky thing the politicians don't have to deliver their bicentennial speeches just yet.

The efforts of the Democratic orators to sound an upbeat note on their 21-hour weekend telethon-marathon were, frankly, strained. The speeches of the Republican leaders at last week's campaign school here were even more synthetic in their optimism.

From the depths of the Watergate wallow, with double digit inflation blocking the horizon, it's hard to see a clear path from here to the big 200th birthday party in 1976.

The pollsters report that their measures of public pessimism are worse than ever before. Cynicism about the national leadership is unrelieved by Mr. Nixon's summity or the Democratic Congress's wrestling with budgetary and tax reform.

The public is weary of Watergate, provoked with the press for pursuing the story, and tuning out the television newscasts that bring it into their homes. The pattern of the spring primaries has shown a plague of non-voting. We are approaching the bicentennial in a totally turned-off temperament.

Yet, the one thing that is most reasonable to expect from 1976 is also the one thing that might well do most to improve the mood in which we begin our third century as a nation.

That would be, quite simply, a change in the generation running American government.

Thomas Jefferson (the man it is both necessary and proper to quote in a July 4 essay) wrote: "We may consider each generation a distinct nation, with a right, by the will of its majority, to bind themselves, but none to bind the succeeding generation, more than the inhabitants of another country."

The argument has been made here before that the normal cycles of generational change in American politics were thrown off—in a fundamental way—by the murder of John Kennedy. Kennedy himself was the first President of a new generation—27 years younger than the man he succeeded and the first President born in this century.

Had he lived to run for re-election in 1964 and succeeded in defeating Barry Goldwater (as was likely), he would have retired at the end of a second term in 1963, at the age of 51. In those circumstances, it seems unlikely that either party—let alone both—would have reached back to candidates who were older chronologically, and older in their political instincts, than the retiring President of the United States.

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But that is what the Republicans and Democrats did in 1968, when they nominated Richard Nixon and Hubert Humphrey as their candidates.

The consequences of that alteration of the generational timetable were borne home again this past weekend, when the television screens were dominated by Mr. Nixon as the happy tourist in Yalta and Mr. Humphrey as the genial host of the Democratic telethon.

At it happens, both of them do their thing very well. No American politician has more practice at looking alert in foreign settings than Richard Nixon or at being bouncily optimistic while hustling campaign dollars than Hubert Humphrey.

But, Lord, there must, sometime, be a halt. Twenty years ago, bouncy and ebullient Hubert Humphrey was gearing up to try to grab the Democratic vice presidential nomination against globetrotting Republican incumbent, Richard Nixon.

The world has changed, the country has changed, the politics of this planet and this nation have changed—but the national leadership looks the same as it did 20 years—a full generation—ago.

That has to change in 1976. It just has to. And when it does, so may our view of our situation.

Two more years. And counting.

## EARL WARREN

## HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, last week witnessed the death of one of the great defenders of our liberties in American history, Earl Warren.

Earl Warren's career of public service spanned 45 years, and included tenures as a district prosecutor in California, Governor of California, and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

While Chief Justice, Earl Warren furthered constitutional principles which prohibit school segregation, racial discrimination, and malapportionment of legislative representation, and which require searches and seizures to be reasonable, counsel to be provided to accused, and free speech to be inviolate from all but the most important countervailing considerations.

He exhibited the honesty and independence that the American people expect from the Chief of the Highest Court in the land.

Finally, he was wise in his understanding that the United States both retains the potential of greatness and faces the danger of straying from the path of freedom.

He said after his retirement as Chief Justice:

This is a young nation, we haven't yet reached our potential in any sense of the word. I believe that our forms of government are still on trial, that we are still going through the growing process, that we are learning from day to day.

The legal heritage that Earl Warren left us is nothing less than monumental. We mourn his passing, but rejoice in our inheritance.

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"1974: THE YEAR OF THE QUIET REVOLUTION," AN ADDRESS BY ARTHUR J. DECIO

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, one of the most public spirited citizens in the District I have the honor to represent in Congress is Arthur J. Decio of Elkhart, Ind.

Mr. Decio, chairman of the board of Skyline Corp. Industries, is active in a wide variety of religious, educational, philanthropic, and civic endeavors.

Recently, in an address delivered before the West Virginia Mobile Homes Association in Charleston, W. Va., Mr. Decio spoke eloquently of what he called "the year of the quiet revolution".

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert at this point in the RECORD the text of Mr. Decio's address on this occasion:

SPEECH BY ARTHUR J. DECIO

Because I'm a people guy I want to talk to you about people. American people. Mobile home people. What I'm really saying is I want to talk about you and me, I want to tell you that I see a new era of responsibility for us in our country and in our industry. Since industry well-being is dependent on the condition of the country, let me first discuss what I believe to be our responsibility as Americans.

I believe that history will record 1974 as the Year of the Quiet Revolution. Right now in America the Quiet Revolution is underway. Because it is quiet, it may have escaped your attention. And that is unfortunate because it needs the support of every American.

On the American scene today there exists the most unusual combination of conditions in the nearly 200 years of our Nation's existence. Runaway inflation, the highest interest rates since the Civil War, consumer confidence at the lowest level in 25 years, politics at every level the object of scorn, the President himself the subject of impeachment proceedings while law and order in Government and on the street is at a dangerously low ebb.

Government institutions may be in less than good health but let me tell you that there is nothing wrong with the American people. All over America people are aroused and the quiet revolution is underway. With the fairness that has always marked their action, American people are starting to get their house in order. And as a result inflation will be checked, interest rates will fall, the President will be exonerated or impeached, the press will be applauded or chastised, law and order will be restored in Government and on the street, consumer confidence will be renewed, politics will once again be an honorable profession. *Because the People will it!* After all, people are America. The President and Congress notwithstanding, what the people want will come to pass. Building a strong America has never been a spectator sport. It requires active responsible citizens.

Now I urge you to join the quiet revolution. Be informed. Be involved. Be responsible. That's the key word: *responsible*. Democracy has always charged its citizens with responsibility. And when its people accept the challenge of responsibility no system of government in the long history of the world has ever produced more blessings for its people. If you think there is anything patriotic about being a member in good standing of the silent majority, stop fooling yourself. It's an irresponsible cop out. Now is the time to speak

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out for America. No need to shout. A quiet revolution will get the job done. But we must stop letting detractors and prophets of doom win by default.

As a responsible American desirous of preserving the climate of freedom for your family and your business, you might consider performing these services in the quiet revolution:

(1) Keep informed, read or listen to the news, and from more than one source to reduce bias.

(2) Tolerantly discuss current events with family and friends.

(3) Make up your own mind on the issues.

(4) Act on your convictions through the ballot box, the only weapon of the quiet revolution.

(5) Have due respect for public office, but never hesitate to ask public officers for an accounting of their stewardship.

I see a parallel situation in industry. Perhaps the quiet revolution in our industry is not so quiet. It is called consumerism and it is the revolt of an aroused American public against products that don't work, high prices for junk, advertising that is misleading and no service after sale. Too often industry people tend to get sensitive about consumerism and act as though it was invented just to harass them. To see it in perspective it must be remembered that we are all of us consumers. As consumers, industry people complain about can openers that don't open cans. And well they should. So should people complain about mobile homes that aren't right. Regardless of how good or bad we were as an industry in the past we must now recognize and accept a new burden of responsibility for customer satisfaction with our product.

Now I happen to believe that the mobile home industry has done more on its own to evidence product responsibility than any other industry I know. Of course we haven't reached perfection. But we have voluntarily evidenced a determination to achieve it. And that's more than half the battle. Whatever your role in the mobile home industry I cannot urge you too strongly to join the not so quiet revolution now going on in the total area of goods and services. Only by your so doing can our industry capitalize on its near exclusive hold on the market for middle and low income housing. It is time for mobile home manufacturers, suppliers, dealers, and park operators to be responsible in their respective area or get out of the business. Get out of the business or be run out by an aroused American public who will no longer tolerate irresponsibility in consumer goods.

For mobile home people determined to perform a responsible function in the quiet revolution now going on in our industry I submit the following for consideration:

(1) Hold your head up high. Remember your industry served America with distinction in war and peace and natural disaster for the past 35 years.

(2) Hold your head up high. Remember your industry provided more and better housing for low income families under the free enterprise system than the Government did with all its taxpayer funded subsidy programs.

(3) Hold your head up high. Remember that if the American dream of home ownership is to be realized by 70% of the Nation's families, your industry has the only affordable answer.

(4) Don't be timid about telling your alderman, building commissioner, zoning board member, State representative and United States Congressman and Senator about this proud record.

(5) Stop being paranoid about mobile home problems. They are not a mobile home exclusive. Remember that no other shelter product is subjected to as many inspections.

Just be sure you act as a responsible person whatever your role in the mobile home process.

(6) Establish a service program that has customer satisfaction as its goal and is designed to achieve it.

(7) Do something extra to improve the mobile home image. Clean up your factory or sales lot, sell consumer benefits rather than price, take zoning board members through your mobile homes and parks.

(8) Be active in your State association. Make its legislative and public relations programs work.

(9) Make no compromise with profit. Without the profit incentive you are doomed to failure for profit is the fuel that keeps you working.

In 1963, the late President John F. Kennedy paid a sentimental visit to Ireland and he told an audience in Dublin something that can be applied to all of you here tonight. "Your future," he said, "is as promising as your past is proud."

Our challenge is to convert opportunity into accomplishment, to work together to make tomorrow even brighter than today.

SUBMARINE "SILVERSIDES"

HON. ROBERT P. HANRAHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. HANRAHAN. Mr. Speaker, the historical significance of the submarine *Silversides* has made the ship eligible for Federal funds for renovation. William Clark, Riverdale, Ill., who was a quartermaster for 18 months on this submarine, was at the ceremonies to make the *Silversides* part of the National Historic Register. In the following article from the Chicago Tribune, Mr. Clark relates some of his experiences on the submarine:

SUB SAVED FROM SCRAP HEAP—MEMORIES REVIVED AS "SILVERSIDES" IS HONORED

William Clark stood on the deck of the submarine *Silversides*, moored off Randolph Street, and gazed across Lake Michigan, recalling a day in 1942 when a Japanese destroyer rocked the sub with a 14-hour barrage of depth charges.

"They worked us over pretty good," said Clark, who was a quartermaster on the sub for 18 months during World War II. "It was a cat and mouse game and we escaped."

Clark, of Riverdale, was aboard the sub yesterday for ceremonies that made *Silversides* part of the National Historic Register, saving it from being scraped.

William Farrar of the Illinois Historical Site Survey stood near Clark. In his hand was the certificate, dated Oct. 18, 1972, which declared the historical significance of the ship and made it eligible for federal funds that will be used to renovate the vessel.

"This sub had one of the best records of World War II. The Fourth of July is a good time to remember it because it contributed immeasurably to the success of the Pacific campaign," he said.

"There's always a click just before the depth charge goes off," said Clark, a photo-engraver, recalling his wartime experience aboard the sub.

"They dropped about 100 of them on us that day. Some of them came so close they tore the cork off the walls and shattered lights. We just sat there, quiet and scared, and waited for the clicks. When the charges went off, they sounded like a muffled roar."

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Wayne Schmidt received the certificate from Farrar during brief ceremonies. Schmidt and a crew of men who led a campaign to save Silversides have spent more than a year renovating the sub. The work is 30 per cent finished.

Schmidt recited Silversides' history from memory: She went on 14 war patrols, sunk 23 ships, damaged 15 others. She was third highest in the number of ships sunk, and fifth highest according to tonnage.

Clark recalled the famous appendix surgery done by a pharmacist's mate who had never operated before. Officers read directions from a medical book to him during the surgery, which took place deep under the ocean and dangerously close to Tokyo.

"They told the fella they'd either have to operate or he'd die; so he let them operate; Clark recalled. "It took them so long to find what they needed in the books that the anesthetic started wearing off. But he pulled thru with a scar no bigger than your finger, and was on duty in 10 or 12 days."

## INFLATION AND SHORTAGES

## HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

MR. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, inflation and shortages of necessary commodities have affected every segment of the population during the past year, but none quite as much as the American farmer.

Although he alone is responsible for producing virtually all the food for a hungry nation, the farmer has suffered time and again from price freezes, export embargoes, double digit inflation, and OSHA, EPA, and FDA restrictions. Despite these repeated assaults, the resilient American farmer has survived—emerging from the fray stronger and wiser than before.

To profit by this new strength and wisdom, I have sent a farm newsletter and questionnaire to every farmer in my district.

Farmers in western Illinois, like others across the country, have faced many difficulties in the past year, and hopefully this survey will provide a guide to public policy improvements.

The questions in my questionnaire are:

1. Were you able to get adequate fertilizer supplies this year?
2. Do you have as many sources of fertilizer supply in prospect for next year as you did two years ago?
3. In general, do you consider the revised EPA regulations applying to agriculture acceptable?
4. Have you hedged in the futures market in the last five years?
5. In recent years, export and import embargoes have usually been imposed by the U.S. only in rare circumstances and for short periods of time. Should this policy be continued?
6. Should the products of all nations (including the Soviet Union) be subject to the same tariffs when they enter the United States?
7. Should the U.S. government purchase and maintain reserve stocks of soybeans, corn and wheat?
8. Should the use of DES be permitted if a fixed withdrawal period precedes marketing?

## I TOLD YOU SO

## HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

MR. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a recent Washington Post article citing USDA's sharply lowered estimate for this year's wheat harvest—a fact which will unquestionably mean increased prices for bread, flour, and all of those products which are dependent upon feed grains, like dairy products and meat.

I regret to say "I told you so," but several months ago, I predicted that USDA had seriously underestimated the impact of unprecedented exports on our wheat supply and had grossly overestimated the possibility of bumper harvests this year to help ameliorate inflationary food costs largely created by the boom in export demand.

The House Banking and Currency Committee has before it the Export Priorities Act (H.R. 10844), legislation which I introduced to stop the Department of Agriculture from speculating about our wheat supply and get down to serious business to insure Americans an adequate food supply at reasonable prices. I urge my colleagues on the committee to take a look at Jack Egan's article and consider the potential ramifications of the fact that the Department of Agriculture can overestimate our supply of a basic food commodity by as much as 150 million bushels.

The Post article follows:

UNITED STATES LOWERS WHEAT ESTIMATE; HIGHER PRICES SEEN ENSUING

(By Jack Egan)

The Agricultural Department yesterday sharply lowered its estimate of this year's wheat harvest—by 150 million bushels or 7 per cent—because of recent bad weather in growing areas. It also cut the number of corn and soybean acres it expects U.S. farmers to harvest this fall.

The news contained in the eagerly awaited July crop production report is almost certain to increase prices for these fundamental food and feed grains in the short run. It also dims administration hopes for bumper harvests large enough to moderate the current rate of inflation.

The latest USDA wheat projection totals 1.925 billion bushels (including both winter and spring wheat harvests), up 12 per cent from last year's record but down significantly from the 2.074 billion bushels the Agriculture Department predicted only a few weeks ago. This in turn was down from the nearly 2.2 billion-bushel wheat harvest the USDA expected in May, when the winter wheat harvest started.

The department's crop reporting board said the revised figure was the result of "continued dry weather in some areas, excess moisture in others, and advancing disease damage."

Wheat, a staple in most diets in the form of baked goods, has fluctuated spectacularly in price in the last year. It rose from \$2.50 a bushel last July to nearly \$6.50 a bushel in the early part of 1974, largely on the basis of heavy export demand. Some groups expressed fears that exports could lead to a shortage of wheat in this country.

When it became apparent that there would be sufficient wheat for domestic needs and when this year's harvest came into view with early optimistic projections, the price

plunged to around \$3.50 a bushel in May. It has since returned to the neighborhood of \$4.50 a bushel, still high by historical standards.

The USDA predicted that 67.6 million acres of corn will be harvested this fall, down from the 68.3 million acres projected earlier but up 9 per cent from 1973. Soybean acreage was put at 52.5 million acres, down from the earlier forecast of 55 million based on farmers' intentions in March and a decrease from last year's 57.3 million acres.

The Agriculture Department made no official harvest estimate for either corn or soybeans in yesterday's crop report. The first official forecast based on samplings of the condition of these crops in the field comes out a month from now. But the USDA is expected to issue a range of possible yields in today's supply and demand situation outlook report.

However, the department several weeks ago predicted a 6.4 billion-bushel corn harvest, down in turn from an earlier projection of 6.7 billion bushels. Bad weather in the corn belt during planting has caused both estimates to be greeted with skepticism by both farmers and those in the grain trade.

The head of the National Corn Growers Association Wednesday said this year's corn crop is in worse shape than any other in a decade because of losses from hail, water and erosion.

"I don't know anyone who would look at this crop that would estimate it would come out at 6.4 billion bushels," Washington agriculture consultant Howard J. Hjort said, commenting on the corn situation. "People are estimating between 5.8 billion to 6.2 billion," he said. "Only the Agriculture Department sees 6.4 billion."

He added that recent downward revisions in corn and wheat estimates are "one of the most dramatic deteriorations in crop prospects that we've ever seen in the United States in such a short period."

Don Paarlberg, chief economist for the USDA, conceded that "delayed plantings are likely to reduce the yield below trend projections" for corn. He said that feared fuel and fertilizer shortages will not have a major impact. "The big difference is old man weather," he said, noting some improvement in weather in the corn belt in the past 10 days.

Last year's corn crop was a record 5.6 billion bushels.

## CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN

## HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

MR. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, it was with a great deal of sadness that I learned of the passing of one of America's most well-respected and influential men, former Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren.

Chief Justice Warren dedicated his entire life to improving the society in which he lived. Both as Chief Justice and Governor of California, he fought relentlessly for the things he believed in; and millions of Americans have benefited from the wisdom of his judicial and political leadership.

Earl Warren presided over the Supreme Court from 1953 until 1969. During this time, America changed rapidly, and often turbulently; and the wisdom and dignity of the Warren court helped

steady our Nation through a period of triumph and tragedy.

Though many of the major decisions of the Warren court were met with a great deal of controversy at the time they were handed down, we can see in retrospect what a vital role the court played in moving our Nation forward along the path of human progress.

Mr. Speaker, America will miss this man. The greatest tribute that Congress, the courts, and the Nation can now pay to the former Chief Justice is to rededicate ourselves today to the principles of individual freedom and human dignity.

#### TIM CORLISS RECEIVES AWARD

#### HON. ALPHONZO BELL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, recently the California Jaycees named the recipients of their Five Outstanding Young Men of the Year Award, and among those named was Tim Corliss of Santa Monica.

The award is presented to five young men between the ages of 21 and 35 who have demonstrated outstanding service to their community and to the overall welfare of their fellow man.

Tim Corliss, a friend of mine, is a sixth generation Californian, born and raised in Santa Monica. He attended Santa Monica College and UCLA, and obtained his real estate broker's license at the age of 22. By age 23, he had his own office.

He has gone on to become one of the outstanding real estate figures in Los Angeles. He is a past president of the Santa Monica Junior Chamber of Commerce and the Santa Monica Board of Realtors, a member of the Santa Monica Boys Club, a recipient of the Young Man of the Year Award for Santa Monica, and vice-president of the California Real Estate Association.

He is also a member of the board of directors for Saint Monica's Mens' Club, a committee chairman for Community Chest, a lay lecturer for his church, and a member of the board of directors for operation SER—Services, Employment, and Rehabilitation of the Mexican-Americans.

Tim Corliss resides in Santa Monica with his wife and their three children.

He received his award at the 30th annual congress of the California Jaycees, held on May 11 in Sacramento. The guest speakers included Earl W. Brian, M.D. and Thomas R. Miller, both 1973 recipients of the award. Dr. Brian is a former Secretary of Health and Welfare in California, and Mr. Miller is a city councilman from Berkeley.

Other past recipients of the award include: Willie Mays, Mike Garrett, Bob Moretti, Richard G. Capen, Jr., former Undersecretary of Defense, and Robert Acosta, the first blind teacher in a secondary school in California.

Mr. Speaker, it is with special pleasure that I call attention to this outstanding tribute to Tim Corliss.

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

#### REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE STATEMENT ON SURFACE COAL MINING REGULATION LEGISLATION

#### HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, under date of July 16 the House Republican Policy Committee issued a statement concerning the pending strip mining legislation. The statement listed seven requirements for a satisfactory bill and declared that the Hosmer substitute, H.R. 12898, is substantially consistent with "most of these concerns."

In fact, the statement satisfies six of the seven, all but item six. The Udall bill, H.R. 11500, of course, satisfies none of the concerns. That is why I drew up the substitute.

The Policy Committee statement follows:

#### STRIP MINING LEGISLATION

In order to meet energy needs and reduce U.S. dependence on foreign oil in the years immediately ahead, we will need to increase, and perhaps double, coal production. Strip-mined coal already accounts for half the 600 million tons annual coal production, and by 1980 some 800 million tons of coal may be strip-mined annually. Significant increases in coal production are expected to occur, particularly in western states where abundant quantities of low sulfur content coal are readily accessible through strip mining.

The House Republican Policy Committee supports enactment of legislation to regulate strip mining and surface mining of coal.

It is vital in this legislation that we take strenuous steps to avoid turning those portions of the nation where there are coal deposits into devastated areas devoid of economic or ecological value. The nearly 100,000 acres that are strip-mined annually must be restored during the mining process to mitigate the environmental impact of mining.

The legislation enacted by the Congress, therefore, should strike a judicious balance between the legitimate requirements of both objectives: permitting significant expansion of coal strip mining while at the same time protecting the environment.

An extreme approach to strip mining is represented by the Heckler bill, H.R. 15000, which will be offered as a substitute. It would entirely phase out strip mining of coal over the next four years. We reject this as unrealistic in light of current energy demands and the environmental and economic costs of shifting entirely to the more expensive mining techniques.

Two other measures to regulate strip mining will also be considered—the Interior Committee bill, H.R. 11500, and the Hosmer substitute, H.R. 12898. These bills provide for the development of state programs to regulate strip mining and require the subsequent reclamation of strip-mined lands according to specific minimum federal environmental standards.

There are many important provisions on which the two major proposals agree. It appears probable that either of these proposals will be amended before final vote on the resulting version. For this reason, the House Republican Policy Committee has elected to list some of the points in controversy and its preferred approach.

1) The environmental performance standards must be further clarified to make sure that they neither prevent strip mining nor threaten the successful reclamation of mined areas. Specifically, sufficient flexibility should

be allowed regarding the placement of spoil on the down-slope below mining operations to permit a variety of environmentally sound solutions to the treatment of these spoils. Similarly, the requirement that the mined areas be restored to its "approximate original contour" should not preclude strip mining on mountain tops or in the deep western coal deposits and should be flexible enough to allow the possibility of various final uses of the reclaimed lands. The requirements regarding subsidence of ground above deep mining should be understood to allow use of the "long wall" mining technique which causes immediate, controlled subsidence.

2) Both bills provide for designating certain areas unsuitable for surface coal mining. This determination should not rest on current economic criteria which are subject to change with new technology or price increases. Even within lands designated as unsuitable, a permit-by-permit approval procedure should be provided to allow for surface coal mining where reclamation is possible.

3) The legislation should not require surface owners and holders of water rights to consent to the strip mining of Federally-owned coal. We favor requiring a bonding procedure to protect surface owners from unavoidable damages caused by the mining operations.

4) Both bills provide for citizen suits against violations of the requirements of the legislation. So that such suits are not abused to delay and possibly altogether prevent strip mining, only those citizens who have been adversely affected or who have actively participated in the permit process should be allowed to bring suit.

5) Both bills provide for an initial interim period of federal regulation prior to the approval and implementation of state regulatory procedures. The phase-in period should be sufficiently gradual to enable an orderly transition to the requirements of the legislation to occur. Too sudden a changeover could result in unnecessary loss of needed coal production.

6) The legislation should allow States which have failed to develop an approved regulatory program to do so at a later date.

7) The first priority must be to require the reclamation of lands currently being strip-mined. Taxing current coal production to reclaim abandoned lands that were strip-mined years ago, although desirable, is a secondary priority. It would add to the already skyrocketing cost of coal and would tax a single industry to pay for what is rightly a national responsibility. Reclamation of abandoned lands should be considered separately in other legislation.

The House Republican Policy Committee supports inclusion of these recommendations in legislation to regulate strip mining. The Hosmer substitute, H.R. 12898, is substantially consistent with most of these concerns. We urge the enactment of a measure that will allow both strip mining and the protection of the environment.

#### ILLINOIS ASSEMBLY FAVORS RETURN OF MEMORIAL DAY TO MAY 30

#### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I respectfully direct the attention of the Members to the passage by the Illinois General Assembly of its House Resolution 985, which calls for the reinstate-

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ment of the annual observance of Memorial Day to May 30 program. The resolution passed the State legislature by an overwhelming vote on June 15. The chief sponsor of this resolution was Representative George Ray Hudson of the 41st District of the Illinois House of Representatives. I insert a copy of H.R. 985 at this time. Its language very properly speaks for itself:

H. Res. 985

Whereas, the Congress and the President of the United States have enacted a change in the observance of Memorial Day to the last Monday of May; and,

Whereas, the State of Illinois for one year followed the example of the United States government in celebrating Memorial Day on a floating Monday; and,

Whereas, in their wisdom, the General Assembly and the Governor of the State of Illinois in 1973 enacted a statute returning the observance of Memorial Day to the traditional Day, May 30, in Illinois; and

Whereas, it is the sense of this body that the celebration of a holiday on a fixed date encourages the recognition by the citizenry of the reason and basis for the holiday and that its celebration on a floating "long weekend" basis encourages the casual treatment of holidays as mere "days off work"; and,

Whereas, the artificial creation of long weekends annually results in unnecessary loss of lives on the nation's highways because of the convenience of travel; and,

Whereas, it is the sense of this body, as illustrated by its action in 1973, that holidays should be regarded as commemorations and not as "days off work" to be linked whenever possible to weekends; and,

Whereas, a great deal of confusion reigns among Illinois citizens with respect to the observance of Memorial Day; and,

Whereas, Memorial Day is a holiday of great importance to all Americans, as we commemorate our valiant servicemen who have given their lives that we may remain a free people; now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, by the House of Representatives of the Seventy-Eighth General Assembly of the State of Illinois, That we do memorialize the Congress and the President of the United States of America to enact a law calling for the annual observance of Memorial Day on May 30.

Be it further resolved, that a copy of this preamble and resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to the members of the Illinois delegation to the United States Congress.

## INVOLVEMENT OF BUSINESS IN CIVIC AFFAIRS URGED

## HON. GEORGE E. DANIELSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. DANIELSON. Mr. Speaker, I recently came across a statement by the president of one of the most progressive small industries in my district that I felt I would like to share with my colleagues.

I would like to insert at this point in the RECORD an excellent statement by Mr. Carlos A. Mollura, president of Quality Vinyls Corp., located in South El Monte, Calif., concerning his views regarding the involvement of business and industry in local civic affairs. The statement follows:

## A WORD FROM THE PRESIDENT

Not too long ago, Quality Vinyls Corporation was involved in the fabrication of some tarps to cover the baseball fields of the Golden Hills Little League, in the city of Fullerton. Even though the League was determined to pay for the work done, we decided to charge only a nominal amount to cover costs of raw materials and direct labor. Such action was being inspired by an attitude which, we believe, should be observed more often by every business concern in the nation.

Regardless of its size, each and every business concern is intimately associated with the environment in which it is being conducted, and should never allow itself to become a cold, uninvolved entity with profits as the only objective. Whether it is understood by high levels of management or by the various echelons in the organization, contribution—in all its forms—represents a most noble and positive attitude towards people and institutions whose goals are so important for the community and society as a whole.

It could be the Little League developing our boys into tomorrow's better men; or the Girl Scouts taking our daughters by the hand into excellent womanhood; or the PTA; or the City of Hope; or any one of thousands of non-profit organizations. All of them signify people—people willing to devote and invest their time (man's most valuable asset) and talents in fostering noble causes for a better world.

Helping them in their material and physical problems is, in fact, an easy way to show our appreciation for their efforts.

At times, I have been given the "We pay taxes" bit, or "Let the Government do it." To those who think this way I would like to say: Apathy and negativism were never a part in the building of our nation. Involvement has always been the key factor in the development of America's strength.

It is very encouraging to see how many large companies pledge their support to organizations like the ones mentioned above. We can only applaud their attitude and wish an increasing, wider participation everywhere.

We shall continue to engage ourselves in such endeavors, with the certainty that the intimate satisfaction and pride of running a "Company With Feelings" will, indeed, make up one hundred to one any possibly small loss in business profits.

CARLOS A. MOLLURA, President.

## FRASER PROTESTS VISIT BY SECRETARY OF THE ARMY CALLAWAY TO CHILE

## HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to place in the RECORD the text of a news release issued by my office July 15. Secretary Callaway's visit disturbs me greatly:

## FRASER PROTESTS VISIT BY SECRETARY OF ARMY TO CHILE

Congressman Donald M. Fraser (DFL-Minn.) protested today the official visit planned to Chile by Secretary of the Army, Howard H. Callaway. Callaway plans to be in Chile from July 20-24, and will be meeting with top government and military leaders.

Fraser declared it is highly inappropriate for the Secretary to be making the visit in the light of the flagrant abuses of human

rights being committed by the Government of Chile. "An official visit by the Secretary," Fraser pointed out, "gives valuable political support to the Chilean Government at a time when it has not modified its repressive policies."

The Minnesota congressman expressed concern that Callaway may be discussing with the Chilean military regime their desire for increased U.S. military assistance. Fraser noted that the Administration has asked Congress to approve \$21,300,000 in military assistance and credit sales to Chile in fiscal 1975 (in contrast to \$15,900,000 in fiscal 1974). He announced plans to introduce an amendment to the foreign aid bill which would reduce or eliminate military assistance to Chile in fiscal 1975. "The United States," Fraser said, "should not increase the Chilean Government's ability to repress its people."

"In contrast to our generous attitude on military assistance to the Government of Chile," Fraser continued, "the United States has a grossly inadequate record in accepting political refugees from Chile. The Department of State indicated in recent testimony that the U.S. has only accepted 25 persons under the special procedures instituted at the request of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Informed sources at the United Nations tell us that the United States rejected a request by the High Commissioner's office to accept more Chilean refugees."

Fraser is Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the Foreign Affairs Committee. His subcommittee held a series of hearings with the Inter-American Subcommittee reviewing the human rights situation in Chile. In March of this year, following an extensive series of hearings, the subcommittee adopted a report containing recommendations for increasing the priority given to human rights in U.S. foreign policy and for strengthening the effectiveness of international organizations in the human rights field.

## ABOLITION OF STRIP MINING OF COAL

## HON. ANDREW YOUNG

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. YOUNG of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I favor the abolition of strip mining of coal in this country as a minimal act of decency by this Congress, and I urge my colleagues to support H.R. 15000 as a substitute for H.R. 11500 when the issue is before us tomorrow. In the unhappy event that Mr. HECHLER's substitute measure is not adopted by this body, I intend to offer an amendment which will ban strip mining on slopes greater than 20 degrees from the horizontal.

This amendment, which follows, is set forth here to qualify for the necessary time to present it to the House:

## AMENDMENT

Page 157, after line 2, insert the following subsection:

"(1) Six months after the date of enactment of this Act, no surface coal mining operation shall be conducted on slopes greater than 20 degrees from the horizontal."

Page 195, line 8, strike all through Page 197, line 20, inclusive.

(Renumber the following subsections accordingly.)

## Conforming Amendments

Page 198, line 1, strike the words "and in subsections 211(c)(1) and (2)".

Page 198, line 13, after the number "211 (b)(8)" strike all through "(2)" on line 14, inclusive.

## ON SOUTH VIETNAMESE PRISONS

HON. ROGER H. ZION

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. ZION. Mr. Speaker, in view of attempts which have been made to discredit the Government of South Vietnam, I think it important that the facts should be allowed to speak for themselves. With the aim of persuading this country to cut off its aid to the people of South Vietnam, a totally false picture has been presented of allegedly inhuman prison conditions there, and of so-called atrocities.

For people who have actually been to Vietnam to see for themselves, including Members of the House and their staffs, the facts speak differently. The infamous Con Son Prison, for example, has been visited by many observers, and has been seen to resemble in no way the lurid picture painted of it by hostile propagandists. Conditions were found to be clean, with no evidence whatever of any mistreatment of prisoners. The rice ration of 570 grams per day, even for uncooperative prisoners, is greatly in excess of the 360 grams per day which is the current ration for the civilian population of North Vietnam. It allows the prisoners a small surplus to trade for extra fish and vegetables. Over half of the prisoners have elected to work in the farms and workshops on the island, or to take part in the regular fishing which adds extra protein to the prison diet. The prisoners who work at producing traditional craft products are allowed to sell these to visitors, and to keep the payments received.

The "tiger cages" were found by visitors to be above ground and well-ventilated, despite highly misleading and cleverly angled photographs of them released in this country. More to the point, the cells were overgrown with weeds, and had obviously lain unused for years. James Dornan and Peter Hughes were among those who have visited South Vietnamese prisons; and the third article in their series in the Indianapolis News, dated April 7, 1974, deals with the conditions which they observed:

## SAIGON HOLDS FEW PRISONERS

(By James Dornan and Peter Hughes)

In a letter to his colleagues, Texas Congressman Bob Price recently wrote:

"Arriving amidst the fanfare trumpeted by the Washington news media and cast in the role of a romantic folk hero and people's lobbyist, this past week actress Jane Fonda and her accomplice (husband Tom Hayden) have arrived in town.

"Thanks to the generosity of an accommodating faction of the membership of the House (of Representatives), Miss Fonda and Company have taken up residence in a Judiciary subcommittee room, courtesy of the United States taxpayers, where congressional staff personnel will allegedly be educated in the facts of life . . ."

The seminars—to which congressional staff aids were refused admittance presumably because they were not of similar political persuasion held by Hayden and Fonda—were

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entitled "American imperialism," and they focused, according to Rep. Price, on the so-called atrocities and crimes against humanity which are being committed by the "Thieu clique," and which are being supported by the U.S. government.

In response to the Hayden-Fonda activities, a handful of congressmen went to the floor of Congress to voice their disapproval over the misuse of congressional office space. Needless to say, this congressional opposition received no national media coverage.

Miss Fonda's campaign, which has captured the enthusiasm of American peace groups, some journalists, and some aides on Capitol Hill, charges that Saigon is holding 200,000 civilian political prisoners and that it has undertaken systematic torture and repression of the people of South Vietnam. The purpose of the campaign, according to Graham Martin, ambassador to Saigon, is to create the impression that "if you're against evil, torture, and repression, as most Americans are, then we don't want to give aid to a regime like this."

Having had the opportunity recently to visit South Vietnam, including a visit to the Con Son Prison Island, we have the following observations to offer on the charges being made by Hanoi, various peace groups and Miss Fonda, pertaining to the issue of political prisoners in South Vietnam.

Con Son, because of photographer-journalist Don Luce's sensationalized series on the Tiger Cages, is the most infamous of Saigon's penitentiary centers. It currently has a prison population of approximately 6,000, and a capacity of 9,000. Five hundred of these prisoners are classified as Communist civilian prisoners. The remaining prison population is made up of common criminal offenders.

Many of the prisoners (slightly over 3,000) have accepted the opportunity to work in the island's industrial centers, made up of prison farms, a brick factory, and a workshop. The prisoners who have elected to work are under minimum security, have the opportunity to grow their own vegetables and receive 650 grams of rice a day, as compared with 570 grams of rice for prisoners who refuse to work. These "unco-operative" prisoners are kept in large 50-man cells.

We had the opportunity to walk from cell to cell and talk with the Viet Cong prisoners freely. It was evident each cell was well organized, with its own internal infrastructure and internally designated spokesmen, who were well versed in English and/or French.

The Viet Cong inmates charged they were not getting enough medicine and food (although they conceded they were, in fact, receiving 570 grams of rice daily and that they have the opportunity to grow their own vegetables). Conditions in the cells were Spartan, but generally clean, and there were no signs of disease or prisoner abuse. The latter point was also confirmed by the prisoners themselves.

Our conversations with the Viet Cong prisoners confirmed Ambassador Martin's contention that the U.S. embassy had not been able to identify a single prisoner who was in prison solely for his beliefs and opposition to the Thieu government. When asked why they were in jail, the Viet Cong response was because of their desire for peace. When pressed further, the inmates acknowledged they had been involved in various forms of terrorist activities.

Because of mounting criticism by American peace groups, the U.S. embassy in Saigon, under the auspices of Ambassador Martin, has undertaken three intensive staff-level investigations into the political prisoner issue in South Vietnam. The embassy's conclusion was that there is a civilian prisoner population of approximately 35,000 in South Vietnam. It further concluded that if mistreatment of prisoners exists, it is not systematically controlled and widespread.

Ambassador Martin also indicated that the embassy, if given the name of a political prisoner, is more than willing to undertake an investigation on the prisoner's behalf. But the embassy, to date, has not found any organized effort to jail people strictly on the basis of their political beliefs, or philosophy. To the contrary, Martin argued that these so-called political prisoners had all committed acts which would have placed them in jails in other countries.

## EDWARD HUDON WRITES ON THE LATE HUGO L. BLACK

HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, it is my great pleasure to call to the attention of my colleagues an article in the June American Bar Association Journal by Edward G. Hudon, Librarian of the Supreme Court and an outstanding Maine citizen. This article, entitled "John Lilburne, the Levellers, and Mr. Justice Black," deals with the recent donation of the late Justice's private library to the Supreme Court's collection. I know that Members on both sides of the aisle will be interested in Mr. Hudon's excellent piece, and I am pleased to commend it to their attention:

JOHN LILBURN, THE LEVELLERS, AND MR. JUSTICE BLACK  
(By Edward G. Hudon)

(Hugo Black's private library, now a part of the Supreme Court's collection, reveals much about the man and his work. One book, an account of seventeenth century social democrats called Levellers, is particularly intriguing in light of the justice's dissent in *Barenblatt v. United States*.)

At the end of the summer of 1973, the family of the late Hugo L. Black presented the Justice's private library to the Supreme Court of the United States. The purpose of the presentation was to make the library available to students and scholars so that they might better understand the work the Justice did during his thirty-four years as a member of the Court. The approximately one thousand volumes of this private library have been catalogued and made a part of the collection of the Supreme Court Library. However, the Justice's library is being preserved as a special collection; it is hoped that the books will be located in a separate reading room for security and convenience.

Mr. Justice Black collected books not only to have them around but to read them. This is made very evident as one leafs through the volumes and finds his pencil notations and comments written on the margins of the pages. His library indicates the broad scope of the Justice's interests. Included are the best of ancient and modern authors: Aristotle, Seneca, Epicurus, Tacitus, Livy, Aristophanes, Plato, George Bernard Shaw, Thomas Hobbes, Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Henry Hallam's *View of the State of Europe During the Middle Ages*, Plutarch's *Lives*, Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws*, Maine's *Ancient Law*, Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, and a host of others such as André Maurois, Catherine Drinker Bowen, Arnold Toynbee, Henry Adams, Robert Browning, Daniel Webster, Dumas Malone, Benjamin Franklin, Fisher Ames, Charles A. Beard, Henry Cabot Lodge, Edward Dumbauld, Benjamin Nathan Cardozo,

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Edward S. Corwin, Milton R. Konvitz, Thurman Arnold, Felix S. Cohen, and many others.

The list is too long to do it justice in an article, but suffice it to say that even as he carried a heavy share of the work of the Court and managed to write more than his share of opinions, Justice Black read constantly in nearly every field of literature, both ancient and modern. His thirty-four years as a member of the Court were years of self-education, as well as years during which he became one of the greatest justices ever to serve on the Court.

Among the books in the justice's library, certainly one of the most interesting is Joseph Frank's *The Levellers, A History of the Writings of Three Seventeenth-Century Social Democrats: John Lilburne, Richard Overton, William Walwyn*, which was published by Harvard University Press in 1955. It is interesting not only because of its subject matter, but also because of the care with which Justice Black read it and the use that he made of the information he gleaned from it.

On almost every page of the book there are underlined passages. On more than half of the pages appear his marginal notes—some two, three, or four lines and others covering almost the entire margin from the top to the bottom of the page. Some of the notes are only one, two, or three words describing the adjacent text; others are comments that indicate the justice's reaction to the reading. Some are easy to read, others more difficult until one becomes familiar with his handwriting. However, all of the notes reveal the close attention and the concentration with which the justice read the book.

THE LEVELLERS IS ABOUT THE RIGHT TO DISSENT

*The Levellers* was about something that interested him very much—the right of a person or a group to dissent, particularly as this is guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. On the flyleaf at the end of the book there is a table of contents written in longhand by the justice of the parts of the book that apparently interested him the most.

*The Levellers* is more than an account of a movement that flourished during the first half of seventeenth century England. The author analyzes the writings of the chief architects of the movement—John Lilburne, Richard Overton, and William Walwyn—and also the writings of the movement's opponents. In a brief introductory chapter, the author discusses the ancestry of the Levellers and then traces the rise and fall of the movement through seven chapters, which start with the birth of Lilburne in 1615 and end with "The Death of the Leveller Party." These are followed by two chapters entitled "Aftermath: November 1649 to May 1660" and "The Contribution of The Leveller Party."

The name "Levellers" was given to the movement by opponents who sought to suggest that Lilburne and his followers wished to "level" men's estates, just as the rioters of 1607 did—the original "Levellers" who had rioted against enclosures. The movement that reached its zenith in 1647-48 was made up of the radicals of the day who supported Parliament and demanded that true sovereignty be taken away from the king and the lords and given to the House of Commons. They called for a wider franchise and a redistribution of seats in the House of Commons to make it more representative of the people and believed in decentralization of government. Lilburne and his followers advocated equality before the law, freedom of religious worship, law reform, the abolition of conscription or impressment, the abolition of tithes, and a program of economic reform that would favor the low and the humble. These are all matters that are taken for granted today, but in the 1640s their proponents were considered extremists. Those like Lilburne and his

friends who were too persistent in their demands and beliefs were fined and imprisoned—particularly if they wrote pamphlets and tracts, as did Lilburne, Overton, and Walwyn.

LEVELLER LEADERS FOUGHT FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

Before the Leveller movement brought them together, Lilburne, Overton, and Walwyn were all involved in the fight for religious liberty—Lilburne as a Puritan who spent time in solitary confinement and on the pillory, Overton as a non-Calvinist Baptist, and William Walwyn as an independent in religion who advocated the separation of the holy and the secular. As a part of their movement, the Levellers sought to win over the New Model Army at a time when unpaid soldiers who had fought in the civil war were dissatisfied with their lot, and at a time when there was unrest within the military because of the manner in which Parliament dickered with the king to arrive at a settlement of the differences that still existed between the Crown and Parliament after the latter's victory in the first phase of the Civil War.

The Leveller movement never won material support, and it failed to win over the army. It was crushed by Cromwell early in 1649 after Lilburne, Overton, and Walwyn had been arrested and imprisoned in the Tower of London. Released in November of 1649, the three found that the movement they had led no longer existed.

Lilburne, forever a crusader, later took up residence in London and was elected to the Common Council. Here again, Lilburne asserted his beliefs. When it came time to take the oath, he wanted to limit it to his concept of the Commonwealth—the people and the basic laws of the land—not the system established by the Council of State and the army. For that reason he was deprived of his office. Undaunted, he took up soap boiling but soon went from that to the part-time practice of the law, for which he was without formal training. But if he lacked legal knowledge, he had an abundance of aggressiveness. In 1651 he became involved in litigation over properties and rents of which he claimed his family was unjustly deprived. Not content to confine his activities to the courtroom, he wrote a tract accusing his opponent of greed, extortion, cruelty, and bribery and then signed a petition to Parliament that repeated many of his accusations. The Parliament construed the petition as a libel and banished Lilburne from England, imposing on him the sentence of death if he should ever return.

One year later Lilburne was back, publishing tracts in his defense, when he was placed on trial as a returned felon. He attracted considerable public support as he publicized what he considered to be his fifteen-year battle for "the ancient laws and ancient rights of England." (See his *The Just Defense of John Lilburne, Against Such as Charge Him with Turbulency of Spirit*.) He once more became the hero of the hour when the verdict of the jury was "not guilty of any crime worthy of death." But that provoked the Council of State to summon the jury and examine its members on their motives for having acquitted him. Meanwhile, Lilburne remained a prisoner until his death on August 29, 1657, although he was allowed brief periods of liberty and managed to publish an account of his conversion to Quakerism (*The Resurrection of John Lilburne*).

Without a doubt, Lilburne and the others who led the Leveller movement were considered troublemakers, which they could very well have been. But throughout history the same has been said of most reformers by those who have wanted to preserve the *status quo*. History shows, however, that when a movement succeeds, its leaders become heroes. Furthermore, one must remember that many of the rights we enjoy today were introduced and fought for by religious fanatics and

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troublemakers long before the American Revolution made our Bill of Rights possible. Lilburne, Overton, and Walwyn feared neither imprisonment nor persecution. Indeed, Lilburne appears to have thrived on it. Although the movement that he and the others headed fell apart before it accomplished anything, the principles for which they fought and suffered imprisonment lived on—freedom of conscience, religious liberty, separation of church and state, and constitutional democracy secured by a bill of rights.

It may well be that Lilburne and the others of the Leveller movement claimed the rights that they did in a way that was quite troublesome and indeed idealistic. Certainly, no one today would deny that they were entitled to freedom of conscience, freedom of religion, a democratic form of government, and a bill of rights—at least under our Constitution. However, it was not only the fact that they were denied these rights that troubled Mr. Justice Black and drew his interest to the Leveller movement. It was also the fact that they were denied the right to dissent. It is because of this denial that he reached back to Lilburne and the Levellers in his dissent in *Barenblatt v. United States*, 360 U.S. 109, 134, 160 (1959), when he wrote that the Founding Fathers—

"Believed that punishment was too serious a matter to be entrusted to any group other than an independent judiciary and a jury of twelve men acting on previously passed, unambiguous laws, with all the procedural safeguards they put in the Constitution as essential to a fair trial—safeguards which included the right to counsel, compulsory process for witnesses, specific indictments, confrontation of accusers, as well as protection against self-incrimination, double jeopardy and cruel and unusual punishment—in short, due process of law. Cf. *Chambers v. Florida*, 309 U.S. 227. They believed this because not long before worthy men had been deprived of their liberties, and indeed their lives, through parliamentary trials without these safeguards. The memory of one of these, John Lilburne—banished and disgraced by a parliamentary committee on penalty of death if he returned to his country—was particularly vivid when our Constitution was written. His attack on trials by such committees and his warning that "what is done unto any one may be done unto every one" were part of the history of the times which moved those who wrote our Constitution to determine that no such arbitrary punishments should ever occur here. It is the protection from arbitrary punishments through the right to a judicial trial with all these safeguards which over the years has distinguished America from lands where drumhead courts and other similar "tribunals" deprive the weak and the unorthodox of life, liberty and property without due process of law."

Mr. Justice Black read history well, judging from the thoughtful and frequent annotations penciled on the pages of his books. But the justice knew also how to apply what he read, and it was this skill he so ably brought to his opinions.

CRACKING DOWN ON ILLEGAL GUNS

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL  
OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent editorial appearing on WJBK-television channel 2, given by Mr. Lawrence M.

Carino, vice president and general manager, urging intelligent handling of criminal firearms misuse in Wayne County, Mich.

That excellent editorial entitled "Cracking Down on Illegal Guns" points out the urgent need to vigorously punish criminal firearms misuse and criminal violence under existing law as the best method of preventing that kind of outrageous misbehavior.

When charges are made as to homicides, criminal misuse of firearms, and other unfortunate events in the Detroit area, it is hoped that the comments of an outstanding public service-oriented television station, WJBK, will receive careful attention. The editorial follows:

**CRACKING DOWN ON ILLEGAL GUNS**

The Wayne County Board of Commissioners recently heard some shocking figures on the handling of gun law violations in re-corder's Court.

Of 903 defendants convicted on concealed weapons charges involving guns last year, only 138 got so much as a day in jail.

As one commissioner said: "No wonder Detroit is an armed camp and nobody is safe from random violence. Nearly anyone caught carrying a gun has little more to worry about than a slap on the wrist."

State law provides up to five years in prison and a \$2,500 fine for illegally carrying a weapon. That law needs more than just token enforcement or none at all.

In addition, the State Senate has just passed a bill that would force judges to hand down prison terms of at least five years for using a firearm in the commission of crime. The State House should also approve this mandatory, additional penalty without delay.

That's TV2's Viewpoint. I'm Larry Carino. What do you think? Let us know by mail ... or by phone during business hours.

**WHAT MY FLAG MEANS TO ME**

**HON. ELWOOD HILLIS**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. HILLIS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share a poem written by 11-year-old Greg Augustinovicz. The students in Greg's fifth grade class in St. Ambrose School in Anderson, Ind., were assigned poetry writing as part of their study of the love of God and country. Greg's poem was voted the best by his fellow classmates.

Greg has received a letter of congratulations from President Nixon for the love and pride of America and the American flag shown in his poem. I believe that Greg's poem shows great spirit and displays a strong sense of patriotism. Greg's poem, "What My Flag Means to Me," follows:

**WHAT MY FLAG MEANS TO ME**

The thirteen original stars have grown in number to fifty

To make our flag look really nifty.

It has been to lots of places, the moon and such . . .

But there are some people who don't respect it much.

It has been through war and peace,  
And still waves brightly in the breeze.  
It stands for people brave and strong.  
To the United States it will always belong.  
I will always stand and salute it with manner,  
When I hear the Star Spangled Banner.

**EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS**

**KAISER STEEL TO INSTITUTE NEW CONTROLS TO REDUCE POLLUTION**

**HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call your attention, and that of our colleagues, to an agreement which was reached a few days ago by the Kaiser Steel Corp. and the Environmental Protection Agency. As I have mentioned many times before, the area I represent has a critical air pollution problem—caused primarily by the internal combustion automobile engine—and every move to reduce that problem is beneficial to the interests of my constituents.

I should emphasize, Mr. Speaker, that this new emission control program at Kaiser Steel's plant in Fontana will not solve the air pollution problem in San Bernardino and Riverside Counties. Stationary sources are not the major causes of our smog problem, and Kaiser's plant is already, in EPA Administrator Russell Train's words, "one of the cleanest in the country."

But every effort helps, and I am pleased by Kaiser's readiness to spend more than \$20 million on this emission control program.

I only wish that we could reduce the amount of pollutants emitted in my congressional district by automobiles to the level emitted by Kaiser Steel's plant in Fontana.

At this point I would like to submit for the RECORD the press releases from both Kaiser Steel Corp. and the EPA describing the new agreement:

JULY 12, 1974.

Kaiser Steel Corporation and the Environmental Protection Agency have reached agreement on a \$20 million plus emission control program at the company's Fontana, Calif., plant.

The signing of the agreement, a consent order, expected to be formally announced by Russell C. Train, EPA Administrator, was made public today by John D. Saussaman, vice president, Kaiser Steel Corporation, and chairman of the company's environmental quality control committee.

According to Saussaman, "The agreement represents one of the most ambitious and comprehensive emission control programs in the steel industry today. It is the culmination of months and years of work with our San Bernardino County Air Pollution Control District and many months of close liaison with representatives of the EPA and the State Air Resources Board."

The consent order takes the form of a series of "compliance schedules" covering eight separate emission control projects. In addition to setting deadlines for final compliance with emission regulations, the schedules also establish deadlines for the various steps such as completion of engineering, ordering of equipment, start of construction, etc., in the development and completion of control devices.

"To date," Saussaman, said, "Kaiser Steel has spent nearly \$60 million on environmental quality control facilities and has been successful in controlling the major emissions from steelmaking. These projects are designed to deal with emissions which are relatively minor but still constitute violations of the new, stricter regulations which will go into effect on January 1, 1975.

The new agreement details several major

new control projects and also incorporates the emission control program which was announced by Kaiser Steel last year and is currently underway at the Fontana plant. That program was approved by the San Bernardino County Air Pollution Hearing Board when it was submitted in the form of applications for variances, with accompanying compliance schedules. The Kaiser Steel/EPA agreement calls for certain relatively minor modifications to the already approved compliance schedules but in effect confirms the locally approved program."

According to Saussaman, at least three of the projects are of a "pioneering nature," that is, they concern areas in which there is no proven technology available. Two such projects center around the cokemaking operation at Fontana.

Earlier this year, Kaiser Steel had to apply for an extension to a variance concerning emissions from a coke oven stack because an experimental afterburner, installed at a cost of about \$150,000, proved unsuccessful. One of the compliance schedules approved in the agreement calls for the development of some other means of controlling this occasional emission.

A separate compliance schedule calls for the control of the other five coke oven stacks after a successful method control has been developed.

A recent major addition to the previously announced program is a project to desulfurize coke oven gas. In the coke-producing operation, a large quantity of gas is generated. This gas is used throughout the steel mill in a number of combustion and steel reheating operations.

Saussaman said that, "Technology to remove the sulfur in the gas without creating severe water pollution problems for us does not exist at present. However, several experimental plants are under construction elsewhere which may solve the water pollution problem as well as removing sulfur. If one of these operations is successful, Kaiser Steel will install the process."

Other compliance schedules approved by the EPA in this agreement include the control of emissions that occur when molten pig iron is poured into ladles at the plant's basic oxygen steelmaking shop, improvements in equipment and operations at the coke plant, the control of charging and tapping emissions in the oxygen steelmaking shop, a project to improve the efficiency of electrostatic precipitators at the open hearth shop, and the construction of a building with an emission control device in which to flame-cut large pieces of steel scrap.

**EPA ISSUES ORDER TO LARGEST WESTERN STEEL MILL—JULY 12, 1974**

Russell E. Train, Administrator of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, today announced agreement between EPA and Kaiser Steel Corporation to clean up air pollution emissions from their Fontana, California, steel mill. The agreement is in the form of a Consent Order, issued under the authority of the Clean Air Act. The order established a schedule of compliance with air pollution regulations of the San Bernardino County Air Pollution Control District.

"The Order we are issuing today to Kaiser Steel Corporation represents a significant step in the application of air pollution controls in the steel industry," Train said. "It will bring Kaiser's Fontana Plant, already one of the cleanest in the country, into compliance with stringent local regulations."

Train acknowledged the cooperation of Kaiser in consenting to the Order, which will result in compliance in most production areas within the next year and a half. Final compliance with all regulations will be attained by December, 1977, after extensive research and development work designed to reduce the sulfur content of coke oven gas.

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Company spokesmen estimated that the new environmental controls would cost in excess of 20 million dollars.

The Order provides for additional controls on coke oven operations, coke oven battery stacks, basic oxygen steel processing, open hearth furnace stacks, hot metal transfer operations, and scrap metal cutting as well as desulfurization of coke oven gas.

The EPA enforcement action commenced on August 3, 1973, when the Agency cited Kaiser for violating California's Federally-approved State Implementation Plan provisions for visible emissions and sulfur content of fuel. Frequent conferences have been held since that date to discuss control programs with the California State Air Resources Board and the San Bernardino County Air Pollution Control District and with the company.

**JOPPATOWNE JAYCEES OPTIMISTIC ABOUT AMERICA**

**HON. ROBERT E. BAUMAN**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. BAUMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have recently received a copy of a resolution unanimously adopted by the Joppatowne Jaycees from Harford County, Md. This fine organization headed by its able president, R. Calvin Jordan, is typical of the Jaycees who are dedicated to the growth and improvement of their communities. At a time when some individuals are casting doubt on the ability of America to survive its 200th birthday, it is refreshing to hear from a group that is seeking to rekindle individual pride in the tenets which have guided our Nation's growth since its inception. The approaching Bicentennial celebration will be an appropriate occasion for each citizen to reaffirm his or her faith in America, and I direct my colleagues attention to the Joppatowne Jaycees resolution which seeks to encourage public "Pride in America":

**A RESOLUTION**

It is becoming increasingly difficult to appreciate that our country offers more opportunity than any nation in the world. . . . Because . . . today this country's detractors show little regard for our institutions.

However most Americans have strong convictions in these institutions which are the cornerstones of our great country:

Faith in God

Brotherhood of Man

Free Enterprise

Government by the People

Individualism

Service to Humanity

It is constantly repeated that Americans no longer enjoy individual expression.

But the Joppatowne Jaycees know better. History has proven that the American people can unite when threatened! Once again, we are threatened, but not by outside forces.

Our new threat is one of self doubt reinforced daily by the repetition of negative examples.

The Joppatowne Jaycees are tired of those who daily condemn our society as deteriorating!

The time is now for the sleeping giant of public "Pride" and positive individual participation to awaken.

Unite with the Joppatowne Jaycees in rekindling our "Pride in America"—the key is You!

**TURKEY RESUMES OPIUM PRODUCTION**

**HON. PAUL G. ROGERS**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, last week the Government of Turkey announced that it was going back into the opium business. For 2 years, both the United States and Turkey abided by a 1971 agreement in which we pledged \$35.7 million in aid in return for cessation of opium production. That understanding has now been unilaterally violated by the Turkish Government. The people of the United States must respond to this action which promises to fill our streets with a plague we had hoped to eradicate. That plague is the presence of heroin. Accordingly, on July 9 I introduced House Concurrent Resolution 558, which urges the President to suspend all economic and military assistance to Turkey.

This step was not taken lightly, Mr. Speaker. The seriousness of the Turkish decision demands an equally serious decision on our part. As I can see no justification for lifting the opium ban, I can see no justification for subsidizing opium production.

Previous to the imposition of the ban, a commonly held estimate was that 80 percent of the illicit heroin being smuggled into this country was of a Turkish base. Since the ban was imposed, a congressional study group reports that the addict population in the United States has decreased from about 600,000 to 200,000. It is clear that the ban on Turkish opium was successful in curbing both the amount of heroin entering the United States and the number of heroin addicts. The lifting of the ban can only serve to reverse those successes.

In addition to the increased availability of Turkish heroin, recent disturbing reports from Mexico indicate that soon, heroin traffic into the United States will be greater than ever. Drug Enforcement Administration officials suggest that heroin is flowing over United States-Mexican borders in larger amounts. One cannot fail to realize the enormous impact the Turkish decision will have on our Nation's efforts to eradicate the heroin plague. Indeed, the consequences are inevitably bound to be staggering.

In addition to the personal effects that heroin addiction has upon the addict himself, and his family and friends, the whole of society is similarly affected. DEA statistics indicate that the average cost per day to support an addict's habit of 50 milligrams is \$51.50. In order to obtain that much heroin, the average addict must resort to crime. Crime is a phenomenon which affects all of society; therefore, it becomes a national problem when heroin forces its dependents to resort to crime. Since the imposition of the ban, as the Special Ad Hoc Subcommittee on International Narcotics Problems of the House Foreign Affairs Committee reports:

The rates of overdose deaths, drug related hepatitis, and drug related property crimes, indicators of instances of heroin dependence,

have declined throughout most areas of the U.S. for the first time in 6 years.

Clearly, the effects of the opium ban were beneficial in reducing dependence, and therefore, crime.

Until such time that Turkey demonstrates an effective control system, this country should not give aid to a country which does not cooperate in halting the drug flow into the United States. I am confident that any other country would make the same stipulation.

It is up to Congress to show Turkey, and other countries which evidences such callous disregard for this human problem, that the U.S. Congress does not take lightly its commitment to the welfare of the people it represents. Mr. Speaker, I therefore urge my colleagues to suspend aid to Turkey, and to send that message to the President.

**THE HUSTLERS ARE BACK**

**HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, the major oil companies are in bad enough repute with the motoring public without permitting the hustlers to operate again at their filling stations along the heavily traveled tourist routes.

The hustlers are those attendants who try to sell unneeded air filters, fan belts and other accessories to the unsuspecting stranger who stops for gasoline. It is an old practice and one that has been exposed time and time again.

In recent years, the racket was believed under control, principally because the oil companies themselves, in a consumer-oriented age, clamped down. But now, according to word I have received, the thing is reviving. It began in the midst of the recent gas shortage when a motorist would buy anything to get his tank filled.

The attendant is paid a premium for every such item he manages to sell. And he tries at every opportunity. An oil check brings an unasked examination of the air filter and the word that the autoist better have it changed—"it is clogged"—or run into trouble on his trip. Fan belts are made suspect and often are replaced unnecessarily.

A constituent of mine tells me that he was hustled twice for air filters on a recent short trip. And this despite the fact that his car had less than 4,000 miles of use and that a filter should last at least 10,000. His filling station at home checked and found the filter was in good shape. Another motorist says he was similarly hustled when the filter in his car had been there for only 900 miles.

There is not much that we, in Congress, can do about this except to call it to attention and especially to the attention of the consumer organizations. But it is something that ought to be stopped. The American motorist is being taken for far too much already when he meets the new inflated gasoline prices. He should not be hustled, too. My advice

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to the tourist is to check his car out with his regular gas dealer before he leaves on his summer trip and then to report any instance of hustling to the oil company whose station is involved. The companies bear the chief responsibility for stopping this.

**DR. MURPHY RESPONDS TO CANCER ACT CRITICISM**

**HON. JAMES F. HASTINGS**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, last week the House passed and sent to the Senate the National Cancer Act Amendments of 1974 providing for a 3-year extension of our national cancer program which was originally enacted in 1971.

The 1971 legislation was historic in that for the first time it mobilized Federal resources in a coordinated battle to find the cause and cure for cancer. Recently that program has come under attack from some quarters.

It should be remembered that when this program was being developed, many inside and outside the medical and scientific community contributed, not the least of whom was Dr. Gerald P. Murphy, director of Roswell Park Memorial Institute in Buffalo, N.Y., which is noted world-wide for its advances in cancer research and treatment.

Hearings held by the House Subcommittee on Public Health at Roswell Park were of inestimable assistance to the committee in writing the original legislation and several key recommendations by Dr. Murphy were incorporated into the act.

Dr. Murphy serves on the President's National Cancer Advisory Board, created by the act and because he is deservedly recognized as one of the most respected and responsible leaders in cancer research and treatment, his words have special significance in responding to the recent criticism of the cancer programs. Therefore, I am including for the RECORD his remarks as contained in a recent Buffalo Courier-Express news story. I recommend their reading to everyone:

**ROSWELL HEAD RAPS CANCER ACT CRITICS**

Dr. Gerald P. Murphy, director of Roswell Park Memorial Institute and a member of the President's National Cancer Advisory Board, Saturday criticized scientists who have attacked the Nixon administration's war on cancer.

"Those scientists who have criticized the program are speaking in half-truths," he said. "Contrary to their statements, basic scientific research has increased rather than decreased since the National Cancer Act of 1971." Dr. Murphy made the comments in an interview in response to recent criticisms of the cancer act.

The act set forth a detailed program of conquering cancer including new research programs, the establishment of additional comprehensive cancer centers, education and treatment programs.

Some scientists including Dr. Arthur Kornberg, a professor of biochemistry at Stanford University have claimed that be-

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cause of the act, funds have been diverted from basic, general research for programs to conquer cancer and heart disease. They have further argued that medical conquests cannot be predicted and managed in the manner of other scientific programs such as going to the moon and general research is necessary for any medical advances.

Dr. Murphy said the scientists' criticisms were based on certain misconceptions about the national cancer act.

"Federal funds for cancer programs have not been increased at the expense of non-directed or basic research," he said. "Indeed, we at Roswell Park are involved in basic research including studies of the cell which have direct applications in other fields such as the understanding of genetics."

He explained that all cancer programs involving patients have been developed from basic research programs or have followed carefully organized clinical trials.

"Cancer programs are not responsible for the cutbacks in federal support for pre- and post-doctoral training programs as some scientists seem to believe," he added. "Certain training programs were eliminated and we at Roswell testified strongly for the need for such programs. They are slowly being restored in new forms."

Dr. Murphy stressed that the United States has supported medical research to a degree greater than any other country during the last 25 years.

"Many important advances have occurred as a result of this support but in this era of inflation and high taxes it is proper for legislators to ask scientists what are they doing with the money," he said.

"Scientists should not sit in some mindless fashion in ivory towers but should be directly involved in solving the health problems of the day," Dr. Murphy stressed. "Certainly cancer and heart disease are major problems which can be best approached in a planned, organized fashion."

He noted that polio was conquered in such a planned manner.

**THE AMERICAN FOLKLORE FESTIVAL**

**HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Smithsonian Institution and the National Park Service for sponsoring the eighth American Folklife Festival on the Mall which recently ended July 14, 1974. This event entertained and educated hundreds of thousands of Americans in one of the most delightful festivals in this area in 7 years.

The surest way the American people can better understand each other's problems, aspirations, and lifestyle is for them first to learn about the contributions of the various races, faiths, and ethnic groups that have brought this Nation forward through almost two centuries. To this end, it is imperative that we make a determined effort to preserve our cultural heritage and ethnic traditions. We can do this in many different and interesting ways—by sponsoring more festivals like the Park Service and Smithsonian festival on the Mall; by educating our people to the songs, music, art, and culture of their ancestors; and by supporting efforts to preserve our

heritage through worthwhile congressional legislation.

That is why I cosponsored a bill, H.R. 9640, to establish an American Folklife Center in the Library of Congress. This bill would make it a statement of national policy that it is in the welfare of the Nation to preserve, support, and revitalize American folklife traditions and arts.

Mr. Speaker, there is an urgent need for more research, for more festivals of folk culture, and for means of preserving the traditions which might otherwise be lost. An American Folklife Center located in the Library of Congress could fill these needs. I urge my colleagues' support for action and speedy passage of this legislation.

**FBI DIRECTOR CLARENCE M. KELLEY'S REMARKS**

**HON. WENDELL WYATT**

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Clarence M. Kelley, on July 9 completed 1 year as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I wish to congratulate Mr. Kelley on the outstanding service he has performed in this vital position and to share with my colleagues Mr. Kelley's remarks at his news conference with respect to his first year's stewardship of the FBI.

**FBI DIRECTOR CLARENCE M. KELLEY'S OPENING REMARKS AT HIS NEWS CONFERENCE**

On July 9, 1973, I took the oath of office as Director of the FBI. I have called this news conference today to report to you on my first year in office. During this year, I have had some memorable experiences.

First, I want to say that my reassociation with the personnel of the FBI has been a happy experience. I have found their dedication still complete, their capabilities still matchless, and their integrity unsullied.

My first priority was to begin talking to people both within and without the FBI. I have continued this at all levels—Agents, file clerks, stenographers, and Assistant Directors. I found, of course, as in any organization, there appeared to be some need for changes. There is always room for improvement. The management of the Bureau during this period has been shifted to a noticeable extent from an autocratically directed organization to one of greater participation in plans and decisions. It is recognized there is still the need for centering of responsibility, and I assume this responsibility with great confidence that I will never be disappointed.

In discussions with persons outside the Bureau I have tried to get some indication of the public's opinion of us and determine how we might regain any lost confidence. In this I have found that the FBI commands a high position of respect among our citizens. Some, of course, do not share this opinion; and with many of them, I have tried to discuss their criticisms in detail. This has helped to influence many new policies and procedures, including the very one in which we are engaged here today; that is, a more open position insofar as our relationship with the news media.

Paramount in my mind at the time of my return to the Bureau was to establish the fact that we are free of political influence and that every effort should be extended that

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we might remain so. This does not forestall us from working in a cooperative and mutually assistive basis with the members of the Senate and the House, before committees of which I have appeared on numerous occasions. I have been particularly pleased with the keen interest shown by the Senate Committee on FBI Oversight and intend to continue to work closely with them.

In these appearances, there still remain some conflicts of viewpoints, as exemplified in the maintenance and use of police records. In particular I find it difficult to understand the misgivings expressed concerning our National Crime Information Center, the Computerized Criminal History program, and the general handling of information maintained by us.

I have spoken frequently on the needs for technological advances which I feel under proper guidance and control can make the system of criminal justice more effective, fair, and efficient while still protective of individual rights. Of course, there must be safeguards—safeguards to protect the confidence and privacy of persons, particularly where they have furnished information to investigative agencies.

I join in the strong admonition to all law enforcement that we should prevent misuse of law enforcement files and records by anyone within or without the law enforcement profession. Again, I welcome the creation of legal sanctions against any such abuses.

July 1st marked the 50th Anniversary of our Identification Division as the national repository for fingerprints. Those 50 years have witnessed sweeping changes in the policies and procedures governing our handling of fingerprints—changes designed to steadily improve the quality of our services to the law enforcement community while, at the same time, building constantly stronger safeguards against possible misuse to the detriment of any citizen.

Early in 1973, for example, the Identification Division ceased its previous practice of retaining arrest fingerprint cards of persons under 18 years of age. These are returned to the law enforcement agency that submitted them *unless* the juvenile is to be tried in court as an adult. Furthermore, fingerprint cards containing nonspecific charges of suspicion or investigation, as well as those submitted for nonserious offenses such as drunkenness and loitering, are no longer recorded or retained, and the Identification Division is presently in the process of removing and returning nearly 2,000,000 such fingerprint cards from its files.

In the Fall of 1973, procedures were publicly announced whereby any person can request and receive a copy of his own Identification Record. Furthermore, if he questions the accuracy or the completeness of any entry on that record, he can arrange for it to be amended by the law enforcement agency which furnished us the information originally.

At the request of the submitting agencies, in the past year nearly 20,000 arrest fingerprint cards have been expunged from the Identification Division's files. The vast majority of these have involved first offenders.

To further minimize possible inequities that can arise when Identification Records are used for non-law enforcement purposes, another new policy has just been adopted. Laws and directives in some legal jurisdictions require that the fingerprints of applicants for certain types of licenses or occupations must be checked against the files of our Identification Division. As of July 1st, in the processing of these civil-type fingerprints, we have discontinued furnishing the inquiring agency any information regarding arrests that are more than one year old *unless* the disposition of that arrest is also shown on the individual's Identification Record.

New methods and approaches have also

been introduced in other areas of our cooperative services. Last December, for example, we launched a new program in support of state and local police laboratories by sponsoring the first National Symposium on Crime Laboratory Development. As an outgrowth of this Symposium, the FBI Laboratory has undertaken a significantly expanded role in the training and developmental fields.

Our statistical accomplishments are outlined in the release which was given you. We are well aware of the need to report on our performance and intend to continue this regularly. It should be recognized, however, that it is much more laudatory to prevent crime than to prosecute criminals. We are likewise well aware that we should direct our efforts to help all law enforcement to secure the streets, our businesses, industries, and our homes from the threat of crime. This may mean a redirection of our thrust possibly to place more emphasis on organized crime, white collar offenses, research to develop our general investigative techniques, and on security, both foreign and domestic.

The FBI has been an effective institution for many years. Time, however, has not made us weary and resigned to the burden, and we will not overlook any possibility for improvement. Terrorist activities, for example, present a real challenge, but I am confident here, too, we can prevail.

I can understand why citizens would fear the terrorists who are marrow of the Black Liberation Army, the Weather Underground, the Symbionese Liberation Army, and similar revolutionary groups. But I cannot understand how any law-abiding American could aid, abet, or adopt a neutral attitude toward such armed extremists. Yet day after day, these militants rely upon—and too frequently they receive—the quiet acquiescence, if not the actual support, of nonmembers in the war they wage against our society.

As a career member of this profession, I can assure you that no law enforcement agency has any desire to become involved in gun battles with terrorists or others who violate the laws of the land. In law enforcement, firepower is a defensive weapon, a last resort to be used by the officer to protect himself or innocent citizens or fellow officers whose lives and safety are being jeopardized.

Members of revolutionary groups claim they seek a better world. However, they fail to recognize that those who live outside the law must accept the consequences of their violent choice and cannot be permitted to hide behind a facade of idealism.

While I can well understand the anguish suffered by those whose loved ones have somehow become swept up in a violent anti-social movement, this compassion cannot lead to disregard of the rights of our body of citizens. Let there be no question concerning either the responsibility or the determination of the law enforcement profession to prevent terrorism and to enforce the laws which terrorists violate.

One of the most serious criminal phenomena confronting the American people today is the resurgence of kidnaping. Our first concern in these cases is the safe return of the victim. This does not mean, nor should anyone erroneously infer, that the FBI adopts a "hands tied" stance until the fate of the kidnap victim becomes known to us.

Additional emphasis is also being given to our counterespionage operations—a move necessitated by the fact that the number of persons arriving in the United States from Communist nations, both as visitors and as official representatives, has increased greatly in recent years... as have the intelligence-gathering capabilities of these countries.

In brief, we are assigning top priority to investigative matters that have the most heavy influence upon the fiber and fabric of life in this country—regardless of what weight they may carry on the scales of FBI statistical accomplishments.

During the past year, I believe we have

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lifted to some degree the shroud of mystique which some felt has enveloped the Bureau. To dissipate this, we have held sessions with the Senate Oversight Committee, met with other Congressional committees to explain our position, needs, and philosophies, and have joined with outside experts in appraisals of our philosophies. We have also developed our own analyses of the concepts of management, intelligence bases, and training as well as laboratory techniques. We have coupled these with a number of conferences which, I am confident, have extended our lines of communications and at the same time enhanced our expertise.

As this year has passed, I have been reminded of the long and successful Directorship of J. Edgar Hoover. Some say that he was ultra-conservative and possessed singleness of purpose and determination to achieve his goals by any means. I do not feel Mr. Hoover necessarily needs an advocate. I do feel, however, that it is most necessary for me to state my own position regarding him.

I have found through my short tenure as Director that he built exceedingly well and passed on a marvelous institution for me to lead. Uncompromising as he was reported to be, it is most significant to me that his legacy has proven itself to be a most flexible and innovative organization. He had determination to excel, concentrated on integrity, and insisted on a structure of service. As a beneficiary of his genius, I intend to continue to build on this great body of principles and people.

And so, the year has gone—not without some mistakes and certainly not without occasional criticism. I have the utmost confidence that there is solid integrity and devotion to duty in this great institution which has no peer. In other words, I am completely sold on the Bureau.

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### TRIBUTE TO SENATOR ERNEST GRUENING

#### HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to pay tribute to a distinguished former colleague, the late Senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska. I was honored to consider him my friend. He will serve as an inspiration to us all for his wise and courageous service to the American people.

Senator Gruening was a true public servant. Medicine, journalism, conservation and lawmaking are only a few of the areas in which he contributed to make our country a better place for all.

A staunch opponent of the war in Vietnam, Ernest Gruening was one of only two Senators to vote against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. He foresaw the perils of American involvement in Southeast Asia and will long be remembered for this action.

Because of Ernest Gruening's advocacy of statehood for Alaska, we were all made aware of the great beauty and resources of this region. His fight to secure statehood for Alaska won the love and respect of thousands of Alaskan residents.

A longtime champion of civil rights, Senator Gruening became a leader in attempts to raise the quality of individual human lives through population control and the prevention of widespread famine

and human suffering. He fought valiantly for a nuclear test ban treaty and eventual nuclear disarmament. His desires for a peaceful and secure world were so passionate that it was only fitting that he was nominated earlier this year for a Nobel Peace Prize.

It was an honor to have been associated with this great man, and my hope is that the respect and admiration which we all felt for Senator Gruening will be of some comfort to his family. I hope his wife Dorothy and his family can take consolation in knowing that the American people share with them their loss and their pride in the legacy left by Senator Ernest Gruening.

**YOUNG AND ELDERLY ALIKE FACE PROBLEMS WITH SOCIAL SECURITY IN YEARS AHEAD**

**HON. ANCHER NELSEN**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, this month our elderly who are on social security are receiving the second step in an increase in benefits we voted last year. In view of the economic situation over the past 18 months, it is impossible to say these increases were not needed by those on fixed incomes. But anyone who takes a close look at the social security system cannot help but be alarmed about the future viability of the trust fund. Monday's *Wall Street Journal* carried an excellent and alarming editorial on this subject and it follows my remarks. Those who take the time to read it will share my concern, I am sure.

As do all of my colleagues, Mr. Speaker, I regularly receive letters from the elderly who say they need even more than they are presently receiving from social security to get along. Needless to say, I also receive letters from those who are paying the rapidly increasing payroll tax to support the system who believe that the tax has risen far enough. I have been telling both groups that it is obvious to anyone who gives the slightest thought to the matter that down the road we are facing a grim situation for our elderly. Today, the World War II and postwar baby boom is supplying us with a large pool of workers who can be taxed to support the current level of benefits. But these same young workers and professionals are having smaller families, and when they reach retirement age there will be a significantly smaller labor pool to supply their own benefits. The editorial to which I have alluded is particularly alarming in its prediction that the fund faces problems well in advance of the 2000-2015 period, when the present younger labor force will be reaching retirement age.

Mr. Speaker, I do not have the whole answer. As yet I have not heard any of my colleagues come up with a totally sound one. I will not be here when the Congress has to address this problem, and I know many of my colleagues will not be here either. That is no excuse for us to look the other way, fearing to face the crisis that is developing. In its

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report on H.R. 11333 last December, the Ways and Means Committee recognized this problem and ordered some work on it. I commend the committee for that action.

Looking ahead, the time may well come, because of the severe shortfall in social security revenue, when a future Congress will feel compelled to limit recipients to only one source of Government-sponsored retirement benefits, banning multiple pensions accruing from military or civilian service, plus social security. Accordingly, a strong private pension system capable of comfortably supporting retirees is growing more important with every passing day. It is a point I have repeatedly stressed.

Last year when I submitted a statement to the Ways and Means Committee on pension reform, I said:

If this committee . . . can develop a measure which expands pension coverage and makes it a more significant part of the individual's retirement income, we may relieve some of the pressure on social security taxes in years to come.

At another point in my statement I suggested that the provision allowing individual's who work in a firm which does not have a pension plan to make tax exempt contributions to a self-established and self-funded pension program may also help to reduce reliance on social security. I am sure we will pass the pension bill soon, Mr. Speaker, and I believe more and more attention will be given in the future to regulating pension funds in such a way as to expand their coverage and benefits so as to lift from the social security system the onerous burden it is facing.

Again, I commend this editorial to the attention of my colleagues and hope they will share it with their constituents.

**A LONG LOOK AT THE SSS**

We read with interest last week's cover story in U.S. News and World Report on the Social Security System, which concludes that the system is in desperately poor financial condition. "The failure to reform Social Security, almost everyone agrees, could lead in the long run to disaster."

It is worse than that. USN&WR says that by 1990, even though a worker pays a maximum Social Security tax of \$2,070.45, which has to be matched by his employer, the system will be paying out \$20 billion more in benefits than it takes in that year. Unhappily, the assumptions cranked into these numbers are those of the Social Security Administration, numbers that are obsolete and ridiculously optimistic. Unless taxes are increased substantially, or benefits reduced substantially, deficits on the order of \$20 billion could arrive by 1980, growing by leaps and bounds from there.

The most disheartening number, an official one, is provided by the Treasury Department. As of June 30, 1973, the unfunded liability of the system was \$2.1 trillion. Another way of putting it is this: In a very real economic sense, the national debt is at least \$2.1 trillion larger than the politicians say it is. If, as of June 30, 1973, the system had refused to accept new workers, saying it would only collect taxes and pay benefits to those already covered, its outlays over the next 75 years would exceed receipts of \$2.1 trillion, plus market rates of interest compounded annually. In the last year, this number has grown by about \$300 billion.

So far, Congress has blinked away this enormous pool of debt by passing a law that defines "actuarial soundness." Its reasoning is that the SSS would never close off to new

work-force entrants, hence there would always be new workers to pay the benefits to the new recipients. By the congressional "dynamic assumptions" definition of actuarial soundness, the system is only in deficit by \$62 billion, spread over the next 75 years.

As it happens, for the dynamic assumptions method to hold up the assumptions have to be as dynamic in reality as they were on the planning boards. They have not been. Working on the 1960 Census figures, the Social Security bureaucrats projects a 1964-1975 birth rate gradually declining from 21 per 1,000 to 20 per 1,000, then climbing again. Instead, the birth rate dropped like a stone throughout the period and now stands at around 15 per 1,000. The bureaucrats projected a growth in real wages over the period of 2.1% a year; between 1965 and 1973 real wage growth averaged 1.7%.

The errors imply much higher taxes are required to sustain benefit levels, and of course imply economic insanity if Congress continues to hike benefit levels. How much higher taxes? In their "Actuarial Audit of the Social Security System," Robert Kaplan of Carnegie-Mellon University and Roman Weil of the University of Chicago assert that realistic assumptions "imply taxes 50% to 75% higher than current levels." The SSS actuaries will not be able to avoid admitting some of this when they put out their new assumptions based on the 1970 Census. The Kaplan-Weil argument is that the dynamics have worsened since 1970 and should be faced up to now.

What's to be done? The first thing is that the public has to be told, by the politicians, that it is not possible to maintain the current rate schedule and benefit level. One or both have to be adjusted. It is of vital importance that the public be told in that most of the work force is now counting on the purchasing power the current benefit levels yield for their retirement years.

Congress may cringe at the idea of trimming these benefit levels, but sharp tax boosts won't be popular either. Liberals will want to dip into the general fund to keep the system going a little longer, but within two or three years this method will be cleaning out the Treasury. All other "worthwhile" government programs will have to be chopped out to sustain Social Security. That, too, appears to be politically impossible. Indeed, there are no politically appealing ways to straighten out this mess. But the longer the nation waits to do it, the more it will hurt.

**CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK**

**HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues in the observance of the 15th anniversary of Captive Nations Week. Fifteen years ago the late President Dwight D. Eisenhower initiated this week as a time for all of us to solemnly pledge our commitment to the millions of oppressed people in Eastern Europe.

Sadly, the 15 years since then have seen a continuation of Communist domination of these captive nations.

But, as we stand on the threshold of a new era of cooperation and friendly relations with the Soviet Union, we must continue the quest for freedom for all people of Eastern Europe.

Certainly, those of us in the free world must continue to reject the tyranny over the lives and minds of these people, and

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reaffirm our strong support for them and their struggle for self-determination. In a very real sense their struggle is our struggle. For how can we be truly free while other people continue to suffer the denial of their basic rights of liberty and freedom?

I look forward to the day when the over 100 million men and women of the captive nations will be free to enjoy the fruits of independence. By commemorating this week, we in Congress pledge our total support for their fight to throw off the yoke of oppression and achieve this cherished and basic right.

## ORGANIZATION OF RECENT ANTI-ABORTION CAMPAIGN

## HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, in the past week I have noticed a sharp increase in antiabortion form letters. The letter which organized this mailing has come to my attention, and I would like to share it with colleagues who may be curious about the origin of this campaign.

A cover letter to 18,000 bishops and pastors was written by a Gilbert Durand, national chairman of the Committee of Ten Million, "a national pro-life organization" in Glendale, Calif. It exhorts recipients to "avalanche the do-nothing double-talking Congress" with an Independence Day "Operation Avalanche." The cover letter is supplemented by the following instructions:

## OPERATION AVALANCHE

(By Committee of Ten Million)

1. Operation Avalanche will force enactment of the Human Life Amendment in 1975.

2. Operation Avalanche will deliver 10 million anti-abortion letters to Congress during the week of July 4, 1974.

3. Operation Avalanche will automatically organize 20,000 local pro-life political action groups. There are more groups than the Democratic and Republican Parties have, combined.

4. Operation Avalanche will elect a pro-life Congress.

5. Operation Avalanche will force state ratification of the Human Life Amendment by July 4, 1976.

Operation Avalanche is efficient, economical, easy and effective. It is well-planned and coordinated. It is realistic.

Its success requires Action Now! Time is of the essence. 1974 is election year. 1974 is The Crucial Year.

"We consider the passage of a pro-life constitutional amendment a priority of the highest order."

"In all of this, well-planned and coordinated political organization by citizens at the nation, state and local levels is of highest importance."

"Our system of government, requires citizen participation, and in this case, there is a moral imperative for political activity."

The words are clear, deliberate and authoritative. They are the words of the National Council of Catholic Bishops, meeting in plenary session last November. Why this unprecedented pronouncement on the part of the American hierarchy?

Four reasons: (1) because of the gravity, frequency and legality of abortion in the

United States today; (2) because a Human Life Amendment is the only means by which the state can discharge its paramount obligation—the protection of the God-given right to life itself; (3) because political organization and activity are the only available means of obtaining such a protective amendment; and (4) because under our system of government *all* citizens are obliged to vote and to work politically for a government responsive to the demands of justice.

If this moral obligation applies to *all* citizens, it particularly applies to pastors. It should be noted that abortion destroys not only the natural life of the child, but also the supernatural life of the mother. When we oppose abortion we are not only making a dutiful response to the obligations of justice, but are performing both corporal and spiritual works of mercy—noble acts of charity.

Now that it is clear what needs to be done, the question remains: how best to do it? For months the Committee of Ten Million has worked on this problem. Its carefully considered solution is entitled *Operation Avalanche*.

*Operation Avalanche* is a serious, realistic and uniquely effective response to the Bishop's recitation of what needs to be done. It is our best means of discharging our moral responsibilities in this election year—this crucial year.

*Operation Avalanche* will quickly organize 20,000 local pro-life political action groups—a splendid follow-up to the Bishop's suggestion. It will unleash 10 million letters on the Congress in one week. Its power will force enactment of the Human Life Amendment. And it can all be accomplished in four easy steps. But the pastor himself need only take the first two steps.

However, time is of the essence. The hour is late. We will soon be in the summer doldrums. Success cannot be gained by delay. Action on Step #1 is imperative now!

## STEP NO. 1—PASTOR

The first step is both the easiest and the most important. It requires neither work nor organization. It only requires two minutes of your time. Merely fill out the attached reply card, perforated for your convenience, and mail it to the Committee of Ten Million in the enclosed, self-addressed return envelope—NOW.

The Committee will then send you a carton of 540 envelopes pre-addressed as follows: 100 Senators; 435 Congressmen; 1 President; 1 Vice-President; 1 Democratic National Committee; 1 Republican National Committee; 1 Committee of Ten Million equals 540 Total.

When the Committee receives the reply cards, it runs a total count and then orders the millions of envelopes printed at one time. As fast as they come off the press, they are boxed and shipped out.

Because of the urgency, magnitude and cost of such an undertaking, the Committee must contract to have all the envelopes printed at one time. Therefore, of necessity your order must be placed immediately so as not to be voided by the cut-off date, June 12, 1974. No telephone orders, please.

The urgency of taking the first step, *now* cannot be overstressed. There is nothing to be lost—everything to be gained. Do not undertake Step #2 until the first step is completed.

## STEP NO. 2—PASTOR

While awaiting receipt of the 540 pre-addressed envelopes from the Committee of Ten Million, each pastor should arrange an informal meeting of a few people of pro-life leadership caliber. Perhaps there is such a group already functioning in the parish. The number attending this meeting is best left to the pastor's judgment, but care should be taken to preclude endless and counterproductive discussion. . . .

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(There follows a discussion of the agenda of this meeting and suggestions for the form letter to be sent to legislators. . . .)

Caution. As soon as possible, the letters should be sealed, stamped, and made ready to drop in the post office. But do not mail the letters before Thursday, July 4th, which is Avalanche Day nationwide.

With this timing, 10 million Human Life Amendment letters will descend upon the Congress during the Fourth of July week, which marks the 198th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. That noble document declared that the unalienable right to life comes from God, and, to secure that right, governments were instituted among men.

What has now been accomplished? Consider the Catholic Church alone. If all pastors cooperate, we automatically have 17,699 neighborhood pro-life political action clubs dedicated to forcing adoption of the Human Life Amendment.

## STEP NO. 3—LOCAL COMMITTEE

It is now Avalanche Day, July 4, 1974. On this day each of 20,000 separate pro-life political organizations will mail 540 letters to Congress. Thus the Senate, the House, the President, the Vice President, and the National Democratic and Republican Committees will be avalanche by 10 million letters calling for enactment of the Human Life Amendment.

Objection—"But surely Congress could see through all this. It would note that all these letters were nothing more than a mass-printed, organized campaign. The politicians would be unimpressed."

On the contrary politicians have nothing to fear from disgruntled voters who are unorganized. But in the case of *Operation Avalanche*, they immediately note that the unhappy voters have organized—organized for pro-life political action. They will note the presence of "Congressional District #\_\_\_\_," "Precinct Chairman" and "Finance Chairman," etc., on the letterhead. They have everything to fear from such "well-planned and coordinated political organization by citizens." The fact that the groups are so well coordinated by congressional districts and can simultaneously mail 10 million pro-life demands is not only most impressive, but also most persuasive; it tells the politician, in the only terms he understands, that unless he votes to stop the killing his political career is in real jeopardy from voters in his district.

And speaking of 10 million pieces of mail, just visualize the Washington scene when these 312,000 pounds of mail are delivered—156 TONS; 576 pounds (17 sacks) to each politician. Congress will get the message, all right—the pro-life message!

## STEP NO. 4—LOCAL COMMITTEE

You may wonder why the Committee of Ten Million needs to receive a copy of each group's letter. Here is why. When the Committee receives the letters, it will immediately sort them by states and then by Congressional Districts. The groups' names and addresses will then be typed on Scan Cards from which high-speed print-outs will be made by Congressional District. This information will then be mailed back to each local group so that each has the name and address of every other group in its Congressional District.

Then, upon receipt of the postcard, the neighborhood clubs can and should immediately get together and form "Congressional District #\_\_\_\_ Voters For Life" composed of a representative from each of the neighborhood committees. This is Step #4. They are then ready to exert the power necessary to elect a pro-life Congress—a Congress that will enact the Human Life Amendment.

If the 17,699 Catholic pastors alone cooperate with *Operation Avalanche*, we will have a national average of 40 neighborhood pro-

life groups in each Congressional District plus 435 Congressional District groups. This is the raw political power that will overcome the Supreme Court's "raw judicial power."

But for all this to happen, it is essential that the Committee of Ten Million automatically receive a copy of each group's letter to Congress.

#### AVALANCHE UNLIMITED

The cooperation of the nation's 17,699 Catholic pastors is not enough. Our goal is 20,000 Voters for Life organizations. The pastor of every congregation of every religion is cordially invited and urged to participate. "The right to life is not an invention of the Catholic Church or any other church." It is a basic human right.

Operation Avalanche is not even limited to pastors. Anyone who cares enough should take The First Step.

Local pro-life groups should not only take The First Step, but should immediately start a campaign to encourage *all* pastors to do so. These groups should continue to use their own name and letterhead, but include thereon their Congressional District number (or numbers) and the slogan 1974—The Crucial Year. VOTE LIFE.

#### POST-OPERATIVE CARE

The completion of the four easy steps of Operation Avalanche will automatically transform the pro-life movement into the massive organization needed to force enactment of the Human Life Amendment. The publication of a 20,000 unit pro-life directory will be of great assistance to Congressional District, County, State and National Right to Life organizations.

The Committee of Ten Million will exercise no control over any of these groups. The Committee will serve the Congressional District units with a series of positive political action programs, materials, and stimuli designed to implement Operation Avalanche. The units are free to adopt or reject these items as dictated by their particular situation.

At this writing, no attempt will be made to describe the planned implementation; because nothing can be done in this regard until the first four steps have been taken. All this must await the completion of the 20,000 unit organization.

#### PRESERVATION OF HISTORIC SHIPS

#### HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. CAREY of New York. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, my distinguished colleagues Senator EDWARD KENNEDY and Representative JOHN MURPHY and I introduced legislation which would establish a National Trust for the Preservation of Historic Ships.

This legislation would provide for a Historic Ships Trust under the direction of a Board of Trustees to be authorized to acquire ships of national historic interest and to set up a program for not only their restoration but for their use as educational and training vehicles. At the same time, it would provide for restoration of harbor sites where the ships would be located.

As we approach the Nation's Bicentennial, this legislation has important meaning to all of us whether our districts are fortunate enough to contain historic ships and harbors or not. For without

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the courage of early sailors and the strength of mighty ships our history would have been quite different.

By restoring our mighty ships of yesteryear—ships like the *Alexander Hamilton* and the *Pioneer* of New York, and the *Alice Wentworth* of Boston Harbor, we will be providing this and future generations with an important link to the past. What is equally as important, is that this link will be a vibrant testimony to the important role our ships and ports have played in our history—a monument to which all of us can relate.

I am very pleased to have the opportunity to join with Mr. KENNEDY and Mr. MURPHY in this exciting project, and I look forward to the day when all of us will be able to enjoy firsthand the excitement of viewing the great ships which helped make this Nation an outstanding one.

#### A TRIBUTE TO DR. MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE

#### HON. RONALD V. DELLUMS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. DELLUMS. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride that I salute the First Lady of Lincoln Park, Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune.

On June 10, 1974, thousands of people from all over the country gathered to celebrate the unveiling of a memorial to Dr. Bethune. The District of Columbia paid tribute to Dr. Bethune by making her the first woman and the first black so honored on public land in this our Nation's Capital.

Dr. Bethune was a living legend. Being the first and only are familiar phrases in her biography. Born the 15th child of freed slaves in 1875 in Maysville, S.C., she advised four Presidents, she founded Bethune-Cookman College and the National Council of Negro Women.

Because of her wide-ranging travels and her dynamic personality, Dr. Bethune became well known in national education, Government circles, and in black organizations. Honors, awards, medals: she had them by the score. Some are mere token payments to a member of a minority group. Others are real tributes to a real leader—sex, color, or race aside.

I would like to include in the RECORD a copy of her eloquently written last will and testament, so my colleagues can read what she has left in the hearts of black people everywhere.

The Bethune legacy to black people is love, respect, hope and responsibility.

The last will and testament follows:

#### MY LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

(By Mary McLeod Bethune, Ph. D.)

Sometimes as I sit communing in my study I feel that death is not far off. I am aware that it will overtake me before the greatest of my dreams—full equality for the Negro in our time—is realized. Yet, I face the reality without fear or regrets. I am resigned to death as all humans must be at the proper time. Death neither alarms nor frightens one who has had a long career of fruitful toil. The knowledge that my work has been help-

ful to many fills me with joy and great satisfaction.

Since my retirement from an active role in educational work and from the affairs of the National Council of Negro Women, I have been living quietly and working at my desk at my home here in Florida. The years have directed a change of pace for me. I am now 76 years old and my activities are no longer so strenuous as they once were. I feel that I must conserve my strength to finish the work at hand.

Since I ask myself if I have any other legacy to leave. Truly, my worldly possessions are few. Yet my experiences have been rich. From them I have distilled principles and policies in which I believe firmly, for they represent the meaning of my life's work. They are the products of much sweat and sorrow. Perhaps in them there is something of value. So, as my life draws to a close, I will pass them on to Negroes everywhere in the hope that an old woman's philosophy may give them inspiration. Here, then, is my legacy.

I leave you love. Love builds. It is positive and helpful. It is more beneficial than hate. Injuries quickly forgotten quickly pass away. Personally and racially, our enemies must be forgiven. Our aim must be to create a world of fellowship and justice where no man's skin color or religion is held against him. "Love thy neighbor" is a precept which could transform the world if it were universally practiced. It connotes brotherhood, and to me, brotherhood of man is the noblest concept in all human relations. Loving your neighbor means being interracial, interreligious, and international.

I leave you hope. The Negro's growth will be great in the years to come. Yesterday, our ancestors endured the degradation of slavery, yet they retained their dignity. Today, we direct our economic and political strength toward winning a more abundant and secure life. Tomorrow, a new Negro, unhindered by race taboos and shackles, will benefit from more than 330 years of ceaseless striving and struggle. Theirs will be a better world. This I believe with all my heart.

I leave you the challenge of developing confidence in one another. As long as Negroes are hemmed into racial blocs of prejudice and pressure, it will be necessary for them to band together for economic betterment. Negro banks, insurance companies, and other businesses are examples of successful racial economic enterprises. These institutions were made possible by vision and mutual aid. Confidence was vital in getting them started and keeping them going. Negroes have got to demonstrate still more confidence in each other in business. This kind of confidence will aid the economic rise of the race by bringing together the pennies and dollars of our people and ploughing them into useful channels. Economic separatism cannot be tolerated in this enlightened age, and it is not practicable. We must spread out as far and as fast as we can, but we must also help each other as we go.

I leave you a thirst for education. Knowledge is the prime need of the hour. More and more, Negroes are taking full advantage of hard-won opportunities for learning, and the educational level of the Negro population is at its highest point in history. We are making greater use of the privileges inherent in living in a democracy. If we continue in this trend, we will be able to rear increasing numbers of strong purposeful men and women, equipped with vision, mental clarity, health, and education.

I leave you a respect for the use of power. We live in a world which respects power above all things. Power, intelligently directed, can lead to more freedom. Unwisely directed, it can be a dreadful destructive force. During my lifetime I have seen the power of the Negro grow enormously. It has always been my first concern that this power

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

should be placed on the side of human justice.

Now that the barriers are crumbling everywhere, the Negro in America must be ever vigilant lest his forces be marshaled behind wrong causes and undemocratic movements. He must not lend his support to any group that seeks to subvert democracy. That is why we must select leaders who are wise and courageous and of great moral stature and ability.

I leave you faith. Faith is the first factor in life devoted to service. Without faith nothing is possible. With it, nothing is impossible. Faith in God is the greatest power, but great too, is faith in oneself. In 50 years the faith of the American Negro in himself has grown immensely and is still increasing. The measure of our progress as a race is in precise relation to the depth of the faith in our people held by our leaders. Frederick Douglass, genius though he was, was spurred by a deep conviction that his people would heed his counsel and follow him to freedom. Our greatest Negro figures have been imbued with faith. Their perseverance paid rich dividends. We must never forget their sufferings and their sacrifices, for they were the foundations of the progress of our people.

I leave you racial dignity. I want Negroes to maintain their human dignity at all costs. We, as Negroes, must recognize that we are the custodians as well as the heirs of a great civilization. We have given something to the world as a race and for this we are proud and fully conscious of our place in the total picture of mankind's development. We must learn also to share and mix with all men. We must make an effort to be less race conscious and more conscious of individual and human values. I have never been sensitive about my complexion. My color has never destroyed my self-respect nor has it ever caused me to conduct myself in such a manner as to merit the disrespect of any person.

I have not let my color handicap me. Despite many crushing burdens and handicaps, I have risen from the cotton fields of South Carolina to found a college, administer it during the years of growth, become a public servant in the government and country and a leader of women. I would not exchange my color for all the wealth in the world, for had I been born White, I might not have been able to do all I have done or yet hope to do.

I leave you a desire to live harmoniously with your fellow man. The problem of color is worldwide. It is found in Africa and Asia, Europe and South America. I appeal to American Negroes—both North and South, East and West—to recognize their common problems and unite to solve them.

I pray that we will begin to live harmoniously with the white race. So often, our difficulties have made us supersensitive and truculent. I want to see my people conduct themselves naturally in all relationships, fully conscious of their many responsibilities and deeply aware of their heritage. I want them to learn to understand Whites and influence them for good, for it is advisable for us to do so. We are a minority of 15 millions living side by side with a White majority. We must learn to deal with people positively and on an individual basis.

I leave you, finally, a responsibility to our young people. The world around us really belongs to youth, for youth will take over its future management. Our children must never lose their zeal for building a better world. They must not be discouraged from aspiring toward greatness, for they are to be the leaders of tomorrow. Nor must they forget that the masses of our people are still

underprivileged, ill-housed, impoverished, and victimized by discrimination. We have a powerful potential in our youth, and we must have the courage to change old ideas and practices so that we may direct their power toward good ends.

If I have a legacy to leave my people, it is my philosophy of living and serving. As I face tomorrow, I am content, for I think I have spent my life well. I pray now that my philosophy may be helpful to those who share my vision of a world of Peace.

## HISTORIC SHIP PRESERVATION

## HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, often in our concern for the future we ignore the achievements of our past. It is fitting, therefore, that as our country prepares for its Bicentennial, we take a moment to reflect on one of the facets of our history which has contributed to this Nation's greatness—namely the men and the ships that have defended and protected our ports and harbors since the American Revolution.

Today, I have jointly introduced a bill with Congressman CAREY, of New York and Senator KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, which establishes a national trust for the preservation of historic ships. The purpose of this trust is to help preserve the ships which have played such a crucial role in America's development. The national ship trust will actively support both public and private preservation ventures and, in so doing, will be empowered to acquire with donated or appropriated funds, ships of national interest and importance in the technical, commercial, and cultural maritime history of the United States. The trust will be administered under the general direction of a board of trustees composed of 33 members of whom one shall be the Secretary of the Interior, ex-officio, and one shall be the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, ex-officio.

The preservation of these historic ships will be taken up in the context of an intensive educational program. For example, many of these ships will become part of major museum centers and, as such, will sponsor activist sail training, marine trade schools, and many other programs that will benefit the public. Furthermore, the restoration of these ships is planned to occur in conjunction with major port improvements that will focus on opening disused urban waterfronts.

In New York we are fortunate to possess one of the most beautiful and historic harbors in the world. The bill I have introduced today will insure that the historical significance of this harbor, far from being lost, will survive until we celebrate our tricentennial in 2076.

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## AMTRAK

## HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, there is considerable interest in the progress of Amtrak, the National Railroad Passenger Corp. Recently, Mr. James B. Johnson, assistant city editor of the Daily News in McKeesport, Pa., rode the train from Pittsburgh, Pa., to Colorado, a 1,600-mile trip. He conveyed his impressions, good and bad, in a series of two articles for his newspaper. I believe my colleagues will find his first-hand report interesting and informative. The first article follows:

TRAIN TRIP BOLSTERS BELIEF IN RAILROAD'S COMEBACK

(By James B. Johnson)

Train travel is making a comeback. And in grand style, too.

Pretty strong words for a way of life, or travel, that just a few years back seemed to be taking its last ride.

But I feel justified in saying the revival is real after a journey by rail that took me nearly 1,600 miles from Pittsburgh to Colorado.

I rode two Amtrak trains on the trip—the Broadway Limited and the San Francisco Zephyr—and in a series of two articles I'll try to cover the highlights of my first ride on the rails in 28 years. It was a memorable experience and I can recommend rail travel, even a short trip, to all who have the time and who like their feet on the ground, or close to it.

I could have flown to Colorado. Or I could have made the trip by auto. But I've flown before, and the high cost of fuel prompted me to rule out a highway journey.

Actually, my first choice for travel was rail. I wanted to see firsthand if Amtrak was for real. I had heard a lot about the National Railroad Passenger Corp. and its efforts to attract passengers—reports of good food, good service, good accommodations. It was a challenge, one I had to accept. And one I'm glad I did.

Not everything is perfect about Amtrak. But after riding the rails for 28 hours, I'm willing to give the people who run it more time to iron out the kinks as they attempt to restore train service to what it was in its heyday.

If, as I did, you opt for the train, be prepared for your first disappointment when you arrive at the old Pennsylvania Railroad terminal in Pittsburgh. It's a letdown.

The mausoleum-like structure is drab and dreary today. And more so at 12:30 in the morning, the time I arrived to await a 1:20 departure of the Broadway Limited. One bright spot though: Amtrak personnel at the terminal are courteous and helpful.

First thing I discovered was that the train would be a half-hour late out of New York. The news didn't startle me at all.

Surprisingly, the terminal was bustling with people, an encouraging sign and a far cry from a few years ago when people who went by train were looked upon as being weird.

There's nothing to do in the Amtrak terminal in the wee hours of the morning except sit. Which I did. There's no restaurant, no newsstand. Just a machine into which one can plunk some money for a coffee or cold drink.

About a half-hour before the train arrived, westbound passengers were advised that their baggage (mine was resting on a cart) would be taken to the train platform by Amtrak personnel. Nice people, I thought.

And at about 1:50 a.m. came the announcement I had waited for: the Limited was arriving! Being a neophyte at this kind of thing, I just followed the crowd and soon arrived at the platform, where I found my luggage waiting. Chalk up a plus for Amtrak.

The car I was looking for was nearly at the end of the train and by the time I reached it (pushing my supermarket-like baggage cart), I was huffing and puffing.

One of few disappointments during my travels with Amtrak occurred here. An attendant who appeared from the sleeping car seemed annoyed that I was boarding in Pittsburgh. He grumbled something to the effect that he didn't know I would be occupying a bedroom, and hurriedly "made up" my berth, outwardly unhappy at having to perform the task at 2 a.m.

(I was to discover later in my journey that the Limited does not compare with the Zephyr in terms of accommodations or service. Obviously, Amtrak has some catching up to do here. More later.)

As the Limited began to roll slowly out of Pittsburgh, I determined that the best way to while away time was to visit the club car. Although no drinks were being served at that hour, I was immediately invited to join another group in a chat that was to last for more than an hour.

It was here I learned that "going by train" was different, indeed. Train folks are friendly, anxious to talk and, finally, unhurried. congeniality abounds.

At about 3:30 a.m., I decided to try out my berth. It was to be my first sleeping car experience since 1948. I soon learned how much I had forgotten about: 1—getting ready for bed on a moving train; 2—sleeping in one.

A suggestion or two is in order here. First, don't try to shave when the train is in motion, unless you have a real steady hand. Secondly, if you plan to reserve a bedroom on a train, and it's to be your first experience, I suggest you spend a night or two at home in a large bedroom closet, just to get used to confined quarters.

Just using the tiny bathroom in a sleeping car bedroom is something else!

I didn't sleep well en route to Chicago. The rolling motion of the train and the clickety-click of the wheels precluded anything that resembled sleep. You might say I rested well. But, I reasoned, it was better than traveling by coach.

The friendliness of train people continued at breakfast in the morning. Unfortunately, the smile of the passengers didn't have any effect on the Limited's dining car attendants. They were less than courteous and their attire, for want of a better word, was sloppy.

(Fortunately, I was to find that Amtrak personnel scored better on the Zephyr. Another strong indication that the Broadway Limited needs some personnel overhauling.)

However, the good food served on the Limited more than made up for the shortcoming. It was the first of three excellent meals I was to enjoy on Amtrak.

Joining me for breakfast was a young man from Baltimore en route to Texas. He was a rail buff and was thoroughly enjoying his trip. He was just one of many young people I was to meet on the train. All were courteous and friendly.

My conversation with the young man lasted for at least two hours. It was rewarding to me in that I was able to glean from him his opinion on train travel and the opinions of people he knew who have tried the railroad. All, he said, found their trips enjoyable.

Incidentally, the cost of meals on trains is quite reasonable. And the food is good. I had

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

a substantial breakfast for well under \$2. And it was better than some of the fare served up in motor inns and hotels at much higher prices, as I was to discover during my trip.

Once in Chicago, there was less confusion than I had anticipated. An attendant had placed my bags on the train platform and he didn't have his hand out for a tip (but I tipped anyway). Pushcarts were available at trainside; I placed my baggage in one of them and hustled off to find a locker in Union Station.

I had a six-hour layover in the Windy City and left the station as soon as I could, anxious to take in all that time would permit.

I kept one eye on Chicago and one on my watch. I didn't want to miss the pullout from Union Station of the San Francisco Zephyr. It is a train about which I had heard much. And it was to give me a trip I won't soon forget.

### CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

#### HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, this, the third week of July, is Captive Nations Week. In a period when there is so much emphasis on détente with the Soviet Union and Communist China too many in positions of influence forget the captive nations and their peoples who number in the hundreds of millions.

The list of captive nations—those countries which have lost their freedom under communism—is depressingly long. The nations and peoples include: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Georgia, Idel-Ural, North Caucasia, Ukraine, Far Eastern Republic, Turkestan, Mongolian People's Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Albania, Bulgaria, the peoples of Yugoslavia, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, North Korea, Hungary, East Germany, mainland China, Tibet, North Vietnam, and Cuba. Each has been marked by oppression.

Ukrainians are under the Soviet boot. Valentyn Moroz, a 38-year-old historian, is being tortured and driven to insanity. Numerous other Ukrainians are imprisoned because their freedom would be inconvenient for the Soviet regime.

North Vietnam continues to oppress its own people while attempting to conquer South Vietnam.

Communist China continues its persecution of all its subjects except that small percentage in power. And those must be concerned with the continuing purges of that regime.

The Soviets in addition to their persecution of the Ukrainians persecute many other peoples for imaginary crimes. In the "Gulag Archipelago," Solzhenitsyn has detailed these activities of the Soviet regime. In his interview on American television, Solzhenitsyn has told us of the efforts of détente on the internal Soviet situation:

This is the way it is. International détente does nothing to help the situation inside the Soviet Union. Tell me, please—let's be realists—what kind of guarantees are there that the treaties are being—will be fulfilled today

or tomorrow? And when your businessmen conclude—speak—in alliance with our leaders say that trade guarantees peace, it's obvious to a child it's not true. It doesn't guarantee anything. On the contrary, trade goes on so long as there is peace, and when there isn't peace there won't be any trade.

We must remember these words of Solzhenitsyn and not be deluded by the Soviet leaders. We must remember the plight of the captive peoples. Their desire is that of all people for a life free from unrestricted arbitrary force.

### A MOVE AGAINST INFLATION

#### HON. JAMES G. MARTIN

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. MARTIN of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of the House of Representatives to a letter that will be sent to the President calling for a dramatic and unprecedented move against today's double-digit inflation.

Fiscal year 1975 need not be just the latest in a long series of budget deficit years. It can be the first year in a long series of balanced budget years. It can be—if the President and the Congress are willing to bite a very tough bullet.

This letter calls on the President to veto all fiscal year 1975 appropriations bills so that they can come back here and be considered en bloc and pared down to meet anticipated revenues.

What I am proposing is very strong medicine. It will cause problems for those who have won battles whether of inclusion or exclusion. It could have negative impacts, just as everything else we do. The most negative impact now being experienced by the American people today is galloping inflation, fueled in large part by deficit spending. Should appropriations bills have to be reconsidered our work load will increase. But if that work is only partially successful and inflation is reduced only to single-digit proportions and if the Government backs only part way out of competition for funds, it will all be worthwhile.

The text of the letter is as follows:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The most pressing concern for Americans today is Inflation. Compounded by international inflation and by shortages of many commodities, the basic underlying cause of inflation in this country is the lack of fiscal discipline in the federal government. We have for decades spent far in excess of revenues until today we have a national debt of \$470,111,054,734.

At the present time the only operative restraint on inflation is the tight money policy of the Federal Reserve Board. These high interest rates are creating critical pressures on our financial institutions, on the home-building industry and on the economy in general. Yet, if interest rates suddenly were eased without other anti-inflationary measures being invoked, we fear that a disastrous spurt in inflation would result.

Drastic and dramatic fiscal measures are called for.

Only if we impose unprecedented budgetary self-discipline can confidence in our government and in our economy be restored.

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Consequently, we call upon you as President of the United States to take the boldest action possible. We call upon you to combine all the Fiscal 1975 appropriations bills, enacted or pending, and veto each and every one of them. Send them back to the Congress with a message that they be pared down to fit the projected revenues. Send them back with a message to the Congress and the American people that we establish a spending ceiling this year and that we balance the federal budget.

It is small satisfaction to us that the current appropriations bills are below the Administration's budget. While that was a step in the right direction, it is not enough in view of the present state of the economy. The only way to dramatically restore confidence and counter inflation is to balance the budget: and the only way to do that is for you to veto all the appropriations bills and let us bring them into balance with federal income. In this way, all could be returned to you *en bloc* after having been reconsidered *en bloc* for the first time in decades.

The Budget Control and Impoundment Act of 1974 will provide for a spending ceiling as we prepare for the FY 76 budget. We believe that will be too late. The economy needs that federal austerity now.

We, the undersigned, assure you of our intention to support such bold leadership with votes to sustain these combined vetoes. While we may have voted for passage of some or all of these bills, yet we are convinced that their overall impact is inflationary, and intolerable in the present situation.

We stand ready to do our part.

Respectfully yours,

JAMES G. MARTIN,  
Member of Congress.

As of the moment, 31 of our colleagues have cosigned this letter and other co-signatories would be welcome.

## ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE

## HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 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:

FROM PROF. HERMAN SCHWARTZ' REPORT

## 4. Comments

There are many troublesome problems about the accuracy of these figures, and the inferences to be drawn from them.

1. There is reason to think that the arrest figures are not only relatively insignificant but actually manipulated. On November 22, 1971 *Time Magazine* reported that federal agents had been given quotas of arrests to make, and had been told to load them into 1972, for obvious political purposes. "For example, New York City has a quota of 200; Philadelphia has 60, Columbia, South Carolina rates only five." *Time Magazine*, 11/22/71, p. 19.

(a) How significant is it that a high percentage of intercepts are "incriminating," assuming that that concept has an objectively verifiable meaning, if one is eavesdropping on say, a bookmaking operation? The operator is the only one who is liable to be prosecuted, and the large number of

incriminating interceptions does not really strengthen the case against him—it merely indicates the size of the operation.

(b) These huge numbers of interceptions in gambling cases in turn raise a troublesome legal issue. The Act requires that the interception end when the information sought is first obtained, unless the judge orders otherwise. See 18 U.S.C. § 2518(4)(e). But as noted above, many judges have been automatically ordering "otherwise," leaving the stopping point to the complete discretion of the eavesdroppers.

2. How accurate and meaningful are these figures anyway? What controls are there on the reporting on the state level by police and other local officials, whose reporting in the past on other matters has been so questionable? Indeed, there are some peculiarities in these figures already touched on. For example, how is it possible to have two federal devices installed 10 days apart, for 15 days each in which *each* catches 8 people on 126 conversations of which one is incriminating? See 1970 orders #106 and 107. And, as noted, the Court in the *King* case found that the true figure for the percentage of incriminating conversations was not the 85% reported but 5 to 20%.

3. In 1969 Senator McClellan, in a rare burst of criticism at law enforcement, complained that many of the supporting affidavits were quite inadequate, and yet virtually no applications or extensions were refused by federal or state judges. Although his critical comments on the adequacy of the affidavits have disappeared, the almost perfect record of no judicial denials on both the federal or state levels, for either an initial or extension application, leaves continuing cause for concern as to the closeness of judicial scrutiny, a concern often expressed in New York (where court ordered wiretapping has been going on for many years), as well as in the more conventional search and seizure area. Nor can it be known how closely the statutory requirement that there be no alternative method of obtaining the evidence is being observed—the criterion depends so heavily on prosecutorial judgment and expertise that little such control is likely in any event.

4. (a) Most of this surveillance is for gambling and narcotics, the two areas where law enforcement has shown itself to be quite ineffective in dealing with the problem. Do we really want to allow federal and state police to commit such gross and widespread invasions of privacy to fight a battle law enforcement cannot win? Even if gambling is the lifeblood of organized crime, isn't it wiser to deal with the problem of legitimating and controlling it, as New Jersey is now contemplating, as so many official and semi-official bodies in New York<sup>1</sup> and New Jersey are recommending and as Nevada and others have done? Such legitimization, as former rackets prosecutor Judge Julius Helfand has stated, would help to eliminate police corruption, which is virtually inevitable when gambling is illegal. And is it clear that the wiretap attack on gambling really nets more than a few small-time operators? The big fish are really not likely to have hundreds of calls on their lines, yet it is reported that most of the orders in gambling cases produce a great many interceptions.

The federal government and some law enforcement agencies refuse to accept such an argument, but law enforcement authorities follow the same rule as other bureaucracies: never support anything to reduce one's jurisdiction, especially at a time when total jurisdiction is being expanded with massive amounts of money and men.

<sup>1</sup> The most recent of the many such studies and recommendations was made by the Hudson Institute for the New York State Commission on Gambling and was issued in February 1973.

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(b) The case for the indispensability of wiretapping is further weakened by the fact that many of the major industrial states which would seem to have major crime problems, have still not gotten around to passing such legislation—most of those who jumped on the bandwagon were such states as Arizona, Colorado, Georgia, Kansas, Nebraska, and South Dakota. These states use it largely for gambling, despite the absence of any substantial organized crime in those states; on the other hand, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio and Connecticut all managed to get along without it through December 31, 1970, despite what would seem to be far more serious crime problems. Moreover, in 1970 at least 7 of the 19 states with wiretap authority did not find it worth their while to use it in 1970, and 7 of the 20 did not use it in 1971.

(c) And even where wiretapping is useful—and sometimes it obviously is—one can never know whether other, less intrusive methods would have been equally or more useful. Since the weapon is now legally available and there is pressure to build up a good track record for it, there is no incentive to use other methods, now that the facade of "sparing use" has been dropped.<sup>2</sup>

The claim that wiretapping is responsible for numerous convictions will of course continue, and without detailed analysis of the sources of evidence in particular cases, it is simply not possible to assess such a claim; such an analysis is now underway. Perhaps one good indication of the validity of such a claim can be seen with respect to other assertions—for example, Mitchell's statement in his 1970 Annual Report that the D.C. Crime Control Bill "also helped to bring a decisive drop in the D.C. crime rate"—even though, as Congressional Quarterly observed, "the Administration's anticrime measures did not take effect until months after the decline had begun." CQ, 4/30/71, p. 987. The reports of quotas and scheduling of arrests also raise suspicions about the reports and claims.

The causal link is made even more dubious by the fact that wiretapping is not the only new element in the future—enormous amounts of men and money have been added. It would be startling if such a enormous increase in effect had not produced significant results, regardless of wiretapping. The success that Ramsey Clark obtained against organized crime without electronic surveillance by the application of intelligence and coordinates is evidence of that.

<sup>2</sup> It should also be noted that the devotion to electronic surveillance by Messrs. Mitchell, Hoover and McClellan is, surprisingly enough, not shared by a large number of former prosecutors. Not only does Ramsey Clark reject it, but such ex-prosecutors as former Attorney General Stanley Mosk of California (now a Justice of the State's Supreme Court); former Cook County, Illinois, State's Attorney Dan Ward; former Detroit Police Commissioner Ray Girardin; Senator Thomas Eagleton of Missouri; former Attorney General Thomas McBride of Pennsylvania; former Philadelphia District Attorney Samuel Dash, and many others, depurate its value. Judge Isadore Dollinger, former Bronx District Attorney, recently commented that even with respect to investigation of gambling—the "lifeblood" of organized crime and the area where most eavesdropping takes place—wiretapping is not of much use. One federal prosecutor told a *Wall Street Journal* reporter a few years ago: "All this bugging flap and most of the time we got nothing." Indeed, even Mr. Hoover once called electronic eavesdropping "a handicap to the development of sound investigational technique," although today this "handicap" has apparently been overcome, at least in Hoover's eyes.

## IV. CONCLUSION

The conclusions in the 1971 ACLU Report seem to be confirmed by the recent figures and the more detailed analysis:

"It would, of course, be foolish to contend that electronic surveillance is of no value. Any investigative technique, particularly one which relies on surreptitiousness and secrecy, is bound to produce some useful information, especially when used instead of other devices. But that is quite a different matter from a claim that it is, in Frank Hogan's words, 'the single most valuable weapon' in law enforcement, or that those investigations in which it is used could not have been conducted successfully without it.

The minimum costs, on the other hand, are quite clear—the privacy of *at least* tens [and perhaps hundreds] of thousands of people has been invaded, often in a deliberate effort to chill free speech and association, as the Media papers show, where national security surveillance is concerned; many, many millions of dollars are being spent at a time when social services, which might help to get at the roots of the forces that breed crime, are being starved. And with what results? A handful of convictions of gamblers, pushers, and the like in a "war against crime" that can probably never be won by law enforcement methods. Surely, we have less pernicious ways to spend our scarce dollars."

## THE DEFAMATION OF AMERICAN POLES

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent article appearing in the Summer, 1974, issue of The University of Chicago Magazine entitled "The Defamation of the American Poles" about the great people who I am proud to say are my forebears.

## THE DEFAMATION OF AMERICAN POLES

(By Mark M. Krug)

NOTE.—Mr. Krug (PhD '58) is professor of education in history in the Graduate School of Education and the College, associate member of the Department of History faculty, and director of the Schwartz Citizenship Project, established by Charles (PhB '68, JD '69) and Lavinia Schwartz.

Approximately ten million Polish-Americans have good cause to feel injured and often even defamed by their fellow Americans. In the face of this attempt to denigrate them, Polish-Americans have, in the main, remained a silent minority.

It ought to be made clear at the outset that our reference here is to Poles who came to America from Poland and not to Jews who also immigrated, in large numbers, to the United States from Poland. The bulk of both of these immigration waves came between the years 1880 and 1915.

The American public has so far shown little curiosity to learn the story of the immigration of Polish-Americans, their ways of life, their aspirations, hopes and frustrations. Fiction writers who have written, especially in recent years, dozens of books based on the life of Jewish professors, businessmen, and Jewish mothers, Italian "Godfathers" and Irish politicians, have yet to write a novel based on the life, the customs, the predictions, and the dilemmas of Polish-Americans. Sociologists have produced many learned theories on American-Jews and American-Italians and other minority

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groups, but there is no scholarly sociological study of the Polonia, the Polish community in America. Broadway has produced *Fiddler on the Roof*, the *Rose Tattoo*, and many other plays with heroes and villains drawn from the white ethnic groups. All that the Poles got was Stanley Kowalski (or rather Kowalski as played by Marlon Brando) in Tennessee Williams' *Streetcar Named Desire*. There are no counterparts in the delineation of the Polish-American community (with the possible exception of Nelson Algren) of a Saul Bellow, Phillip Roth, Mary McCarthy, Jimmy Breslin or Mario Puzo.

Television producers are very sensitive to new opportunities for successful shows. Recently, they have apparently become convinced that there is a demand for "ethnic shows." So after "All in the Family" and after "Bridget Loves Bernie," they decided to put on the air a "Polish" detective, naturally a kind of superman with criminals and women, but they revealed their ignorance and carelessness by giving the detective a typically Czech name of "Banacek."

But while American Poles are little heard from, they are not entirely forgotten. Americans don't want to know much about them, who they are, whence they came from and how they live, but they have been flooded by the abominable "Polish jokes," heard in night clubs and on television, which picture all Poles as simpletons, fools and obscurantists. The fad of the Polish jokes seems to be weakening lately and for that we ought to be thankful. But still, once a week, millions of Americans laugh uproariously when Archie Bunker calls his son-in-law a "dumb Polack" or a "meathead." Sure enough, the son-in-law is an intelligent college student who is supposed to expose Bunker's bigotry, but survey after survey has shown that the heart of the listening public belongs to Archie. Americans have traditionally prided themselves in being ingenious, inventive and shrewd. For them to accept the image of millions of Polish-Americans as easily fooled, lacking imagination and incapable of accomplishing a fairly complicated task is a serious matter.

It is even more serious and more insulting, since it is so unjust and undeserved. Yet one must ask himself how did this phenomenon come to pass. The root cause of the present plight of the Polish-Americans must be sought in the history of their country of origin and in the story of their immigration to the United States.

The most significant fact to remember is that Poles who came to this country in large numbers between the years 1880 and 1910 did not come from a free sovereign homeland. In fact, since 1795 there had been no Poland on the map of Europe.

In 1795, after 800 years of existence as an independent state, Poland was a strong and distinct national entity. Poles, whose forebears accepted Christianity in the 9th century, considered themselves the defenders of the Roman Catholic faith and an outpost of western Christian civilization against the repeated onslaughts of the Russians, the Turks and other "heretic" invaders. Poles proudly claimed that Poland was a living "Christian wall" against the conquest of Europe by the Mongols, the Tartars and the Turks. Polish children were taught on their fathers' knees the story of the heroic contributions of King Jan Sobieski and his Polish army, who helped defeat the Turks in 1683 at the gates of Vienna. Poles also cherished the memory of their resistance to the repeated invasions by the Teutonic Knights, who came from East Prussia, and the victories attained in preserving Polish independence against the invading armies of Sweden and Russia.

For centuries, Poland's powerful neighbors were determined not to allow the Poles to live as an independent people. Finally, in 1795, Russia occupied eastern Poland, Prussia took the western and northern lands, and the

southern part of Poland was incorporated into Austria. From that time on, for 125 years, Poles were ruled by three foreign powers. They regained their independence in 1918, when a free Poland was created by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, based, in part, on the Wilsonian principle of self-determination of nations.

This long period of partition of Poland and the incessant struggle of Poles for independence—in particular two great uprisings, one in 1831 and the other in 1863—had a lasting and profound influence on the Polish people. They became one of the most nationalistic and patriotic peoples in Europe. To Poles, who had lost their independence to foreign invaders, and who were determined to regain their freedom, love of country became almost a national obsession. The Polish poet, Adam Mickiewicz, put it well in verse in one of his poems: ". . . my fatherland, you are like health, only those who have lost you, can know your value." It was indeed a desperate struggle that the Polish people waged against the might of czarist Russia, the military machine of Prussia and immense power of the Austro-Hungarian empire. The occupying powers attempted in varying degrees to suppress the spirit of Polish nationalism through forced Russification or Germanization and through bribery, political concessions and often by brutal force.

All these efforts failed. Poles had no independent political institutions. Their military rebellions were suppressed. Their sons died on foreign battlefields, in a vain hope of enlisting the sympathy and the military aid in a fight for an independent Poland. But their dedication to the idea of a free Poland never faltered. If anything, during the period of foreign domination Poles became an even more united people—united by a will for independence and united in one language and culture and in one religious faith. Polish language became a precious and effective bond for Poles in all three sectors of occupation. To speak Polish, to write in Polish, to love the Polish language became almost a religious commandment for all Poles. The patriotic poetry of the great Polish poets, Adam Mickiewicz, Julius Slowacki, and the Messianic writings of Stanislaw Wyspianski became not only great literature for educated Poles, but their most sacred treasures and a source of constant inspiration.

## CHURCH AND STATE

For the mass of poor and largely illiterate peasants who formed the overwhelming majority of the population, the spirit of Polish nationalism was kept alive by the Polish Catholic church. While the Catholic church in Poland was faithful and obedient to Rome, it was primarily a Polish Catholic church because it supported the fierce Polish nationalism and kept the devotion to the Polish language, Polish customs and Polish hopes and aspirations for independence. Priests delivered patriotic sermons in Polish and religious schools taught Polish language and literature. This was often done in the face of dire threats of the occupying authorities. As time went on, the lines of demarcation between Polish nationalism and Polish Catholicism became blurred and they have remained blurred until the present time.

Since several million Poles came to America during the period of the occupation of their country by foreign powers, they brought with them to this country both the spirit of fierce Polish nationalism and an unbounded devotion to the Polish Catholic church. In that, they differed from Italians who came from a free Italy, and especially from Sicilians, who had little comprehension or feeling for Italian nationalism and who, while devout Catholics, viewed the Italian church and Italian priests with a great deal of suspicion, if not outright cynicism. Obviously, the contrast with Polish and Russian Jews, who felt little allegiance to the coun-

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tries of their origin, was even greater. Both Polish nationalism and their special devotion to the Catholic church are still the most outstanding characteristics of those American Poles who have preserved their ethnic identity.

Polish patriotism stemming directly from the tragic history of Poland's partition is still a powerful force today. It is evident in the activities of the Polish-American organizations. American Poles are often exhorted by their leaders to maintain that spirit of Polish nationalism. For American Poles, Polish nationalism constitutes no conflict with their strong patriotic devotion to the United States.

The mass Polish immigration came, as we have said, in the last two decades of the 19th century and in the period before World War I. It was overwhelmingly peasant in character. During that period of time over three million Poles came to America, paralleling the massive Italian and Jewish immigrations. While the special character of these immigration waves influenced the nature of the Italian-American and Jewish-American communities, the status, the image and the problems of the contemporary Polish community, or of Polonia as Poles call it, reflect the after-effects of the original immigration in bolder and clearer relief. In comparison with the Italians, the Jews or the Irish, the Poles have made less economic and social progress in the American milieu. The reason for this phenomenon has, of course, nothing to do with the innate abilities of Poles, but is related to the point at which they started their journey to the New World.

Polish immigrants were overwhelmingly peasants who came from an occupied country and from a society which still practiced a variation of feudal economy. Professor Florian Znaniecki estimated that 60% of Polish immigrants were landless peasants who eked out a bare living as hired hands on large estates and that 27% were small landowners.

Polish immigration included few skilled workers or artisans. The mass of the Polish peasants who came to the United States had no skills to survive in the industrialized and strange country to which they came. They spoke rudimentary, peasants' Polish and were, to an overwhelming extent, illiterate, both in their own language and in English. Thus, unlike the Jewish immigrants and to some extent the Italian newcomers, most Poles were not able to benefit in their adjustment period from reading the few Polish newspapers in America. In addition, unlike the Jews who were experienced international wanderers, and unlike the Italians who benefited from the love and glamor that American society has always accorded Italy, Poles came from a country which was in chains and which was unknown to the Americans. The Italian immigrants, however, who came mostly from Sicily and southern Italy, did suffer from the "Mafia" image.

All that Poles had to offer America was their inordinate capacity and willingness to do hard physical labor. This contribution should have been accepted with gratitude by the booming American economy and industry, but in fact the Poles were shown little compassion and even less appreciation. The Poles, bewildered in the new society, were determined to adjust and to survive. To do this, they became unskilled laborers in the steel mills in Pittsburgh and Gary, in the Ford factories in Detroit and in the stockyards of Chicago. Some Poles who had experience in the coal mines in Poland, and many others who did not, went to work under hard and dangerous conditions in the coal fields of Pennsylvania.

No work was too hard, too menial, too coarse or too dangerous for the Poles. They had no choice and could not be choosy about jobs if their families were to survive in their

new environment. This hard, demanding labor was a signal contribution of these millions of brawny and healthy immigrants who without complaining or rebelling helped to make America the industrial giant it is today. There was virtually no crime among the Poles; their young people did not consider illegal activities as one possible avenue for advancement in the new, strange and often hostile environment. Crime was unthinkable in a Polish neighborhood where the authority of the parents, of the priests and of the police was highly respected and where the emphasis was on hard work, thrift and savings. Savings banks abounded and most Polish fraternal organizations were (and are) also insurance and savings institutions.

How did America repay the contribution and the exemplary behavior of these Polish immigrants? What they got in return was not a sense of welcome and appreciation. On the contrary, ridicule and scorn were heaped on the heads of these simple uneducated folk who worked sixteen hours a day in dangerously insecure mines, mills and stockyards, for pitiful wages.

The reasons for this ridicule and the cruel and unfeeling image of the "dumb Polacks" must be explained because the problem of the image they present to America is still a serious dilemma facing Polonia today. First, there was great resentment that many Poles, like many Italians, have after a period of time returned to "the old country." This caused them to be branded as exploiters and sojourners in their new land. Feeling unwelcome in the new country, aliens in a cultural milieu which they did not understand, fearful that their children would be lost to them in an environment which violated many of their values, and doubtful of their prospects for economic advancement, many Polish immigrants were determined to save some money and return to their villages. In fact, between the years 1891 and 1910, 234,000 Poles returned to Poland.

Since many Polish immigrants intended to return, or were thinking of returning, "some day" to Poland, they felt consciously or subconsciously no compelling incentive, as did the Jewish and many of the Italian immigrants, to accept and bear the trials and tribulations of assimilation or to go through the educational steps necessary for naturalization.\*

Among other factors, this phenomenon may account for the fact that the economic, social and educational advancement of Poles was much slower than that of the Jews, the Irish and the Italians. The realization that they have been outpaced by other immigrant groups has created another dilemma for American Poles—their persistent, although now gradually disappearing, sense of inferiority which has grown in direct proportion with the appearance of the periodic epidemics of the senseless, unjust and heartless "Polish jokes."

It is virtually impossible to exaggerate the severity of the cultural shock suffered by the mass of Polish peasant immigrants. They came to this country, not from the advanced regions of Poland, around Warsaw, Poznan and Lodz, but from the least advanced regions—the highlands in southern and eastern Poland. They came from isolated primitive villages where they had no interest and no part in the management of their own affairs and no voice in the political affairs of the region and of the nation. Politics was

\* Professor Reverend M. J. Madaj suggests that this widely shared intention of an eventual return may provide at least a partial explanation for the slow process of assimilation or Americanization of the Polish communities. (M. J. Madaj, "The Polish Community—A Ghetto?" *Polish American Studies*, July-December, 1968, p. 69.)

the exclusive domain of the aristocratic landlords and of the country gentry. If they voted, they did so as the local priest or government official told them to vote. Even the rudiments of the democratic process were unknown to them.

The Irish immigrants spoke English and had considerable familiarity with Anglo-Saxon mores and institutions, while Poles were largely illiterate in their own language. Jewish immigrants were overwhelmingly literate and were becoming "Americanized" daily by the Yiddish newspapers which devoted many pages to instructing them how to survive and to prosper in the new land. In addition, the Jewish immigration, especially that which came from Russia and Poland, and to a lesser degree, the large wave of Italian immigrants, contained a pool of potential leaders and spokesmen. Poles had few of these advantages.

## GENERATION CARRYOVER

The children of the Polish immigrants suffered in the public schools the usual tribulations of the other immigrant students, but they had to cope with another handicap—their unpronounceable names. Anglo-Saxon and Irish teachers resented the effort it took to pronounce these names correctly and often suggested to a Stankiewicz or Wroblewski to tell his parents to change his name to "Stanley" or to "Warren." Polish children soon perceived, directly or by repeated innuendo, that to get along in school you had to forget or to hide your Polish ties and identity. When they told their Polish parents, who had struggled in occupied Poland to preserve their Polish identity, of their reluctance to speak Polish and of their desire to shorten their names, the reaction was often harsh and unyielding. No wonder then, that among many second generation Poles there developed a growing feeling of inferiority. They suffered from the hostility of their teachers to their cultural heritage and they were ashamed of their poor and illiterate parents who, as they soon discovered, did not even speak a "good" or literate Polish.

The generation gap was real and it was painful, and it had its effects on the psyche and the state of mind of the American Pole. The effects are still evident today. Professor Eugene Kusielewicz, president of the Kosciuszko Foundation, maintains that even the third generation Poles "suffer from the same feeling of inferiority that is characteristic of the rest of Polonia." This feeling of inferiority, he believes, is reinforced by the largely negative image that Poles present to the rest of Americans.

Many Polish leaders dispute the views of Kusielewicz and cite evidence which indicates that many second and third generation Poles are interested in and are proud of the Polish identity and culture. The truth probably is that some young Polish-Americans are ashamed of their ethnic origin and others are proud of being Polish, while the attitude of the vast majority fluctuates somewhere in between these two extremes. There is no question, however, that many young American families of Polish origin, well established economically and sure of their place in the American society, are taking advantage of the greater acceptance of ethnicity and are much more comfortable with their ethnic identity and affiliation.

## A POLISH PRESIDENT?

The question of image that they present to the rest of the Americans is one of the major dilemmas for the Polish-American community. When Senator Edmund Muskie was running for the Democratic Presidential nomination, I asked Aloysius Mazewski, president of the Polish National Alliance, a 300,000-member organization, whether he, a well-known Republican leader, and the Alliance, which includes many Republicans, would endorse Muskie were he to get the

nomination. Without hesitation Mazewski said: "Yes, we will, because our most important concern is the image of Polonia and what better way is there to improve this image than by having a Polish-American in the White House."

The defense of the image of American Poles is the major preoccupation of the Polish-American Congress. The Congress is an umbrella organization of over forty Polish fraternities, clubs and associations. It was organized in May, 1944, to help in the establishment of a free and independent Poland at the conclusion of World War II, but now the Congress devotes a great deal of its efforts to the strengthening of the political positions and influence of American Poles and to the defense of the public standing of Polonia in the United States.

The image problem lies heavy on the hearts of the Polish community, and it ought to lie as heavy on the conscience of the American people. For some reason, the dominant American society has chosen to brand the American Poles as slow-witted, and television shows and night club comedians delight in telling jokes, the butt of which is the stupid Pole who has difficulty in grasping a simple situation and who is easily out-witted. Such an image would be hard to bear for any group, but for American Poles, the descendants of a people which prides itself as having been the defenders of Christianity in Europe, which has produced writers like Sienkiewicz, Reymont (both Nobel Prize winners), Mickiewicz, Slowacki and Conrad, and scientists like Copernicus and Eva Skłodowska Curie, the painter Jan Matejko, and composers like Chopin and Paderewski, the burden is almost unbearable.

Nicholas von Hoffman wrote in his column in the *Washington Post* that "Poles have yet to make it as a respected group of people with feelings. . . . No other group in America has to put up with this sort of thing. Sure, there still are anti-Negro and anti-Semitic jokes going the rounds, and anti-other people jokes also, but nothing like the Polish jokes. Just about anybody who isn't Polish or at least Slavic thinks nothing of cracking one of these belittling, invariably unfunny, cruel jokes."

In recent years, American Poles have launched a long overdue counter-offensive. They have branded their image false and the "Polish jokes" as an unworthy and an un-American abomination.

The Polish-American Congress has established a special committee on education and cultural affairs, which has demanded from the communication media the elimination of "Polish jokes" and asked them to present the contributions and the positive life-styles of the Polish community in America. So far, this campaign has been only partly successful.

American Poles have only recently increased their efforts to support Polish cultural activities. There are two colleges, supported by Polish-Americans, where the Polish language and literature are taught extensively. But this effort is far from adequate.

In Polish-American communities throughout America, art clubs, academic group discussions, art shows, and poetry readings draw large and enthusiastic audiences.

In Poland, in spite of the restrictions of the communist regime, the Polish theater, one of the best in Europe, thrives. Playwrights like Stanislaw Witkiewicz, Tadeusz Rozewicz and Slawomir Mrozek have had their plays produced in France, Switzerland and England. Polish movie making is considered the most avant-garde in the world, and Hollywood has lured many Polish film directors and writers to work in America. The ancient Jagiellonian University in Krakow and Warsaw University rank among the finest in Europe, and on their faculties there are many world renowned scholars.

The record of the several generations of

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Poles in America provides no justification for the defamation and the mental anguish imposed on this group. But there is a growing spirit of self-confidence and pride in their cultural heritage among Americans of Polish descent.

### CIA SECRECY AND MANIPULATION OF FOREIGN POLICY

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

MR. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, in the July 11, 1974, *Washington Post*, an exclusive interview was printed between *Washington Post* Staff Writer Laurence Stern and former CIA Agent Philip B. F. Agee.

In the interview, Agee revealed that the CIA conducted a pressure campaign against the Ecuador Government to end diplomatic relations with Cuba. Agee also admitted that he personally served as a conduit for funneling \$200,000 in Chilean currency from a major New York City bank into covert election activities supporting Eduardo Frei and opposing Salvador Allende.

Once again, when the veil of secrecy is lifted from around the CIA, it becomes all too clear that the CIA is involved in the formulation of its own secret foreign policy totally beyond the control of Congress.

In addition, the interview indicated that Agee, in order to reveal any of the CIA activities, felt it necessary to flee the country and "remain in seclusion in a remote stretch of English countryside." Because of CIA insistence on precensorship of every word written by a former CIA agent, those individuals in this country wishing to disclose CIA indiscretions or interventions in foreign policy are silenced, while others, having fled to reveal such information, might disclose information truly affecting national defense and not important to the furtherance of public debate.

The article follows:

**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 involvement 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 Olympics 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 relations 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 union 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 1960s 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

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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 middleclass 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.

## EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN BROADCASTING

## HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, if equal opportunity is to become more than a mere catchword in our society, discrimination must end at all levels of Government and private industry. The media, especially, which possesses a great deal of influence in the political sphere, must begin to reflect the diversity of talent and initiative which exists outside the white middle-class community.

The Broadcast License Renewal Act passed recently by the House would hinder progress in achieving equal opportunity. For a variety of reasons set forth in the testimony of Mr. Ronald H. Brown, director of the Washington Bureau of the National Urban League, which I insert in the Record, minorities regard this act as a regressive measure which will effectively exclude them from ownership of or influence on the policies of broadcasting companies:

## TESTIMONY OF RONALD H. BROWN

Mr. Chairman and members of this subcommittee, my name is Ronald H. Brown. I am the Director of the Washington Bureau of the National Urban League, Inc. My testimony today is presented in behalf of the National Urban League.

The National Urban League, Inc., is an interracial, nonprofit and nonpartisan community service organization which uses accepted practices and principles of social work, economics, law and other disciplines to secure equal opportunity in all sectors of our society for black Americans and other minorities. During its 63-year history, the National Urban League has grown to include 102 local affiliates throughout the country.

The National Urban League is greatly concerned about a number of provisions in the

House passed bill HR12993. The bill has two stated purposes. First, to increase the responsiveness of broadcast licensees, and second, to promote stability within the broadcast industry. In commenting in opposition to this legislation, we believe that it is important to determine if in fact the communications bill does carry out those purposes.

At the outset, the legislation expands the term of broadcast licensees from three to five years. That provision not only gives the licensee a longer period in which to perpetuate any nonresponsiveness to community needs, but also provides a disincentive to those filing competing applications or petitions to deny.

Within this complex issue of communications, the National Urban League recognizes the presence of two sometimes competing interests—the interests of the broadcasting industry and the interests of the citizens being served. But we also recognize that the mandate of the present Communications Act is that a determination shall be made that the interests of the public will be served prior to granting the initial authorization or renewal of an existing license. The proposed legislation would have the effect of reversing this process by considering industry stability first and revoking or even questioning a license only when public interest becomes a substantial issue to be considered.

These amendments are proposed in the interest of stabilizing the industry. Yet, the need for this drastic change in existing legislation is not warranted by the facts. The number of competing applications is on the decline according to the House report on this legislation. Such applications began with a low in 1962 of zero, to a high in 1969 and 1970 of 12, dwindling thereafter to one in 1971, 9 in 1972 and 1973, and 6 through the period of March of 1974. These figures do not support a sudden need for stabilizing the industry.

What about the petition to deny as a destabilizing factor? Many public interest groups have begun to recognize the petition process as a vehicle for sensitizing the broadcasting industry to the needs of the community which the licensee is mandated to serve. Yet, figures indicate that no more than 200 petitions to deny have been filed since 1967. Is this number really of such significance, when we consider that there are more than 9000 TV and radio stations in this country, as to be considered a destabilizing factor?

And even if we assume, for the sake of discussion, that either the competing application or the petition to deny has been overused by challengers and citizens groups, neither Congress, nor the Federal Communications Commission has shown a destabilization within the industry which would justify passage of this proposed legislation.

Some legislative supporters have viewed the involvement of citizens per se as a factor negatively effecting stability. Nevertheless, input and challenge by citizens have brought changes in employment and programming policies in accordance with community needs. The need for future challenges to that same station is decreased by its response to the initial challenge. This aspect of the citizen's challenge was shown in a study conducted by David Honig, who is presently with the National Black Media Coalition. The study indicated that—

"Petitions by minority citizen groups to the Federal Communications Commission to deny license renewals to broadcasters have highly significant, positive effects on the rate at which minorities are hired at the stations. This result is strongest for low-paying jobs, although petitions to deny also increase minority hiring rates for professional jobs."\*

\*Effects of the FCC's Petition to Deny Process on Minority Employment in the Broadcasting Industry. ABSTRACT (at the printers), April 1974.

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It is also true that stations within the same market often view such a challenge as an incentive to voluntarily change their existing practices without being directly challenged themselves. Thus, if programming and employment practices have been changed in response to the needs and demands of the community being served, isn't the second intent of the legislation—that is increasing the responsiveness of the broadcast licensee—diminished rather than increased?

The Federal Communications Commission, in this legislation is asked to provide additional procedures to assure that licensees ascertain needs, views, and interests of residents.

The small, centrally located Washington staff, does not have the internal mechanism to determine if challenges should be initiated. In the past, challenges have not been initiated by the FCC. The present "composite week monitoring device" is a somewhat ineffectual device for giving the Commission an opportunity to determine whether the licensee is meeting promises made on its original application. That device does not determine program substance. That is where the role of the citizen becomes important in the development of station programming. The FCC's procedure, where it has found that the broadcaster has not kept those promises made in the application, has been to send letters to the applicants concerning their nonperformance. This has resulted in a kind of informal "regulation by raised eyebrow." Yet the Commission has authority to levy forfeitures, order early renewals, issue cease and desist orders, and to revoke licenses. But rather, the Commission has preferred to use the milder letter writing enforcement technique. To citizens, this has meant an abdication of the Commission's responsibilities to serve as the "watchdog" of the industry. The Commission's performance record has caused many citizen's groups to know that if they don't complain, then the Commission will assume that nothing is wrong with the broadcasters operations. Citizens have vowed that their silence will not be interpreted by broadcasters as consent for broadcasters to continue the status quo.

For the first time minorities have been especially effective in using the petition to deny and in obtaining industry ownership. For the first time some minority groups are beginning to file competing applications. The competing application is often the only way in which minorities can enter the existing media monopoly. Few can afford to buy an existing license. Now, those fortunate few who already have licenses, would under this legislation, be given that license not for 5 years, but virtually in perpetuity unless some gross violation of the law is committed. Thus, the second purpose of the legislation, to promote industry stability, is accomplished by chilling citizen impact and by diminishing the opportunity for minority ownership.

When the provisions of this legislation are looked at simultaneously, the imbalance is clearly on the side of industry:

Lessening of paperwork for the industry and the Commission.

Stabilizing and assuring renewals even where service is minimal to community interests and competing applications not only promise but clearly demonstrate the potential for superior service.

Extending license renewals to five years.

Not considering cross-ownership issues in license renewals.

Changing the jurisdiction of the courts.

Just as citizens began to understand and utilize the existing administrative and judicial systems to seek redress of their grievances, now Congress, in its wisdom, seeks to

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

change the rules and the forum in which those rules are applied. Citizen's groups, in following the system, have given recognition to the fact that the FCC does not have the field staff to monitor broadcasters across the country. Because of that limited staff, FCC action would only take place in response to citizen initiated complaints. No challenges to broadcasters' programming and employment practices have originated with the FCC.

As a general comment, the present bill serves to obviate the legislative mandate of the Commission, that the public interest, convenience and necessity be served in the granting of each license.

The five year extended license period notwithstanding, the negative impact of this legislation can be summarized in its effect upon citizens and their ability to obtain redress. If additional legislation and regulations are needed at all, they should provide for a more effective means of obtaining citizen access, not less. If Congress views the existing FCC regulations as unclear, then it should be recognized that in our view this bill will only serve to add to the already confused state of communication affairs. If the FCC is to rewrite regulations, the legislative mandate should be that such regulations are to be written with a degree of specificity which will provide licensees as well as the public, with adequate notice of what the expected level of performance should be.

It is our view that the continued case-by-case determination of a licensee's performance has proven satisfactory in deciding whether the licensee has met its social, economic and political responsibilities to the community. The need for additional rule-making and legislation in this area has not been shown. There is no demonstrable need to change the existing legislation in favor of the industry. If amendments are necessary, they should be in favor of the community to be served.

## TRIBUTE TO THE HONORABLE ERNEST GRUENING

### HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR. OF CALIFORNIA IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1974

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I must express the same feelings which Mr. VANIK has already expressed regarding the inadequacy of the spoken word on such an occasion as this. Senator Gruening, for those of us who knew him as well as for many more who knew only of him, occupies such a special place in our hearts that our sadness upon his passing defies any attempt to reduce it to nouns and adjectives. The fact that we politicians tend to use hyperbole quite freely, for a variety of sometimes justifiable reasons, makes this communication even more difficult; for we have so many times described unexceptional persons of prominence, upon their demise, as "giants among men," and so forth, that such tired phrases cannot convey the immensity of the sincere admiration which many of us here feel for Ernest Gruening.

There are so many facets of his life which deserve comment that it is impossible to do justice to his memory in the brief time we shall spend eulogizing him here today. Senator Gruening is best known for two causes: his campaign to admit Alaska into the Union, and his never wavering opposition to this Nation's invasion and occupation of Vietnam. I was not here during the Alaskan statehood campaign, and so I am indebted to Mr. HALEY and some of our other colleagues for their accounts of that facet of Ernest Gruening's life.

I was here, however, during the Vietnam debate of the sixties, and I wish to acknowledge the early influence which Senator Gruening had on the development of my own awareness of that issue. Ernest Gruening and Wayne Morse have served over the last several years as constant reminders to us all that, no matter how long we have opposed the war, and no matter how consistently we voted against it, we could have opposed it sooner and more consistently. I can add little to what has already been said regarding his wisdom and courage on this issue; it is a universally accepted fact.

I have taken great pleasure today in listening to some of our colleagues mention some of the lesser-known activities of the Senator: Mr. GONZALEZ' remarks concerning his interest in Latin American affairs, Mr. CARNEY's account of the time he spent in the early FDR administration, Mr. MOAKLEY's recital of his career as a journalist, Mr. DRINAN's comments regarding his life-long battle for equal rights for all Americans, and all the other items which our various colleagues have discussed here today. Ernest Gruening's was a rich life, and even as we mourn his passing we must give thanks that we were allowed to have him with us for such a long time.

It is rare that one human being is able to have such an impact in so many

## AN EXHIBIT OF PHOTOGRAPHS OF MARTY LA VOR

### HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to call to the attention of Members of the House an exhibit of splendid photographs by Marty LaVor, a member of the professional staff of the Committee on Education and Labor of the House.

In addition to being a highly regarded member of the staff of our committee—with a doctorate in the field of education and with particular knowledge of legislation affecting the handicapped and the poor—Marty LaVor is a fine photographer as well.

Mr. Speaker, I think it important to note that not only are his photographs outstanding, but that all proceeds from their sale be donated by Dr. LaVor to establish a photography program for poor and handicapped children.

The exhibit, which is being held at the Washington Gallery of Photography, 216 Seventh Street SE., continues through July 31.

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diverse fields over such an extended period of time. The only person who comes into my mind, as I search for another example of such a life, is Benjamin Franklin.

It is also rare to see a man of 87 leading the active life which Senator Gruening led right up until his final days. It was only a month or so ago that he called me from Los Angeles, where he was working on efforts to stop the current wave of political torture and executions that have been taking place in Chile since the overthrow of the democratically elected government there last year. Three months ago, as Mr. KASTENMEIER has mentioned, he appeared here to testify at hearings on the issue of amnesty for Vietnam war opponents. We have seen him, always there, campaigning for GEORGE McGOVERN in 1972; testifying at the Daniel Ellsberg—Pentagon Papers trial; publicly urging the impeachment of the President—and very lucidly making a strong constitutional argument for it; speaking out on the need for population control; and on and on and on. It would be difficult for anyone to keep up with the schedule which Ernest Gruening has maintained over the past several years; that he managed to do so while in his eighties offers hope for the rest of us.

At the end of my remarks I would like to have inserted in the RECORD an article which appeared in the Washington Star-News just 4 months ago, which conveys the spirit of Ernest Gruening's last years. I would also like to include in the RECORD an item from the March 30, 1974, issue of the Nation, which further describes his life.

We shall miss Ernest Gruening sorely. All the superlatives, the fine words and high praises, can do nothing to relieve the grief which his family and close friends feel. But our sorrow will fade with time, while the spirit of Ernest Gruening will live on in our memories. We must take what comfort we can from the fact that we had him for so long, and rededicate ourselves to the principles and ideals which were so nobly represented by this kind, loving, and dedicated man, who gave us so much of himself.

The article follows:

[From the Washington Star-News, Mar. 10, 1974]

THE (ERNEST) GRUENING OF AMERICA  
(By Judy Flander)

"This is the most interesting room in the house," says Ernest Gruening, leading the way into a living room crowded with aged furniture, Eskimo artifacts, and wall-to-wall paintings of Alaska, all slightly askew.

"That one's Dorothy's," he says stepping nimbly up on the old leather couch to straighten an oil painting. "Take a picture of that one," he instructs the photographer. "I'm very proud of my wife's art."

Hopping down from the couch, Gruening points out still another of his wife's paintings, a cabin on a wilderness lake with a mountain peak rising high above it. "That's our cabin at Eagle River Landing, 27 miles from June. It's still my official residence."

The mountain, it seems, also belongs to him in a way. "When I finished being governor of Alaska in 1953, the June Chamber of Commerce voted to name that peak after me when I die. Not allowed to do it when a person's still alive," he adds informatively.

At 87, Gruening (pronounced Greening), former senator from Alaska, is very much alive, with a mind as nimble as his body. Nimbler. A lifelong defender of liberal causes, he gives the lie to the contention that as politicians grow older, they grow more conservative.

"My case is just the opposite," he says, happily, walking out to the terrace of his West Beach Drive home where Dorothy Gruening and the Gruening cat were taking the sun on an unseasonably warm afternoon last week. Arthritis has largely grounded her, but Mrs. Gruening still takes an avid interest in her husband's concerns, as she has done since their marriage in 1914, five years after she graduated from Vassar.

"I've just done what a wife always does," she explains with her soft smile. By that she means she has borne his children (three sons, two of whom have died) and entertained his colleagues and their wives for nearly 60 years as her husband attended to his successive careers as journalist, politician, governor and senator.

Since his defeat in a re-election bid for the Senate in 1968, Gruening has continued his lively political life, lecturing at colleges where a 70-year age gap presents no communications gap; testifying before congressional committees, stumping for Sen. George McGovern when he ran for President in 1972, and writing, "Many Battles: The Autobiography of Ernest Gruening" (Liveright, \$12.95).

He's never left off battling: For the State of the Union ("It needs rectifying."), for amnesty for Vietnam draft evaders and deserters ("They're the unsung heroes of the War.") and for total withdrawal of American men and money from Southeast Asia ("It's about time Congress put an end to it").

Gruening had pocketed an "Impeach Nixon" button he was wearing when a photographer had arrived minutes before the reporter; but he allowed his feelings on the subject to show in no uncertain terms.

"Mr. Nixon has committed acts meriting impeachment. He has violated the Constitution repeatedly. He has connived or helped to cover up break-ins, forgeries, briberies and character assassinations of his political opponents.

"His private life," Gruening continues, turning up his nose, "is equally smelly. Beefing up his private estate with federal funds."

It is "relatively irrelevant" whether Nixon did or did not know about the break-in or cover up. "The fact is that these people were his associates and they evidently reflected his views and his thinking. He cannot escape responsibility for it."

Mrs. Gruening, holding a copy of the New York Times she's been reading, listens attentively, nodding her head. At Vassar, she'd been interested in economics and politics, she says at one point when conversation gets more personal.

"She was the soloist in the Vassar choir," her husband puts in proudly.

"There were a lot of soloists," she gently corrects him. "I went up to high E and could hold it after that."

The Gruenings met the summer after her graduation (when he was a student at Harvard Medical School; he received his degree but never practiced), at a country club in North Scituate, Mass., where her parents had a summer cottage.

"Afterwards we took a long-distance swim," Gruening remembers. "We swam a mile to Minot's Lighthouse."

That night, they went to the dance together at the country club. "It was during the days of the 'Merry Widow,'" says Mrs. Gruening. "And Ernest said, 'Why don't we dance the way they do it on stage?'

They didn't get married for another four years because, Gruening says, "We took our

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time to get acquainted. We'll celebrate our 60th this fall."

In the years that followed, Gruening served in the military during World War I, and had a series of jobs as an editor at the Boston Herald, The Portland (Maine) Evening News, The New York Sun, The New York Post, The New York Tribune and the Nation magazine. Both the Gruenings supported Margaret Sanger's early campaign for birth control, a cause they still espouse.

"During medical school, I used to go into the Boston slums to help deliver babies, it was so pathetic to see those people with seven or eight children, all good Irish Catholic mothers, and all so poor and starving," says Gruening, who is currently a director of the Population Crisis Committee.

After his newspaper days, Gruening was appointed head of the Division of Territories and Island Possessions by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, with whom he had worked on "The Good Neighbor Policy in Latin America." Later, "President Roosevelt wanted to appoint me governor of Alaska. I didn't want to be governor, I thought it should be a native. But the President turned on his charm and persuaded me to go."

Then followed 13 of the pleasantest years in the Gruenings' lives. Dorothy Gruening took up painting because, "You had such unbelievable things to look at."

"We fell in love with Alaska," Sen. Gruening chimes in. "It has the most beautiful scenery in the world. Mountains rising right from the sea. Unspoiled." Mrs. Gruening is seldom without her ivory bracelets, which go halfway up each arm. "They're carved by the Eskimos from tusks," she explains. "Walrus tusks," he elucidates. "They wouldn't have elephants there."

"We had a walking club," continues Mrs. Gruening, blinking in the sunlight. "We would take along something to cook. And we would climb into the mountains in a snowstorm and enjoy it so much."

At an age when most men retire, Gruening left Alaska for Washington. As a senator, he was on the right side of all the good old liberal causes. But when it came to the Vietnam War, he stood virtually alone in his opposition.

"I was the first person in public life to say we should get out of Vietnam," he says proudly. That was in October of 1963. "I knew we had some troops down there and we had no business down there. The United States hadn't been attacked."

But the troops "so-called advisers"—stayed, and in March of 1964, Gruening gave a full-length speech in the Senate, entitled, "The United States Should Get Out of Vietnam."

No one listened, least of all President Lyndon Johnson, who, Gruening says, "bears the responsibility of plunging us into the longest, costliest, most inexcusable, unjustified war in our history."

And why would President Johnson take on such fearsome responsibility? "Texas gut reaction. No one could lick us. We're there. The silliest thing in the world," Gruening says with asperity.

He claims that the only reason Congress voted for the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution is because President Johnson "deliberately concealed" a telegram from the commander of the U.S. Destroyer Maddox telling him that his ship had not been attacked by North Vietnamese forces as had previously been believed.

Only Gruening and former Sen. Wayne Morse of Oregon voted against the resolution "that gave the president the use of American armed forces any way he saw fit in Southeast Asia."

In Gruening's view, President Nixon takes the blame for the war where Johnson left off. "He's lied to the American people. He never actually ended the war in Vietnam. It is still going on with his support and approval. He is spending billions of dollars annually to

support corrupt and ruthless dictatorships in Cambodia and Vietnam."

Gruening admits that "Congress is no ball of fire," but he hints that he has "reason to believe Congress will start to move soon."

"After Nixon's performance" the Republicans don't deserve a president in 1976 "although they've got plenty of good men. So good, the Republican party wouldn't nominate them." Gruening admires Sen. Charles McC. Mathias Jr. of Maryland, Sen. Clifford Case of New Jersey and Sen. James Pearson of Kansas.

But he wants a Democratic president. "We could do far worse than to nominate George McGovern again." Gruening also favors Sen. Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin, whom he lauds for being "one of the three senators with the unique distinction of voting against the confirmation of Gerald Ford and one of seven who voted against Henry Kissinger."

If he were still a senator, Gruening says he would have joined Nelson. "Ford's only attribute for the presidency is that he hasn't stolen anything." And Kissinger supported all of Nixon's foreign policies "including bombing of Cambodia, the raining of death and destruction on an innocent people who just wanted to be let alone."

More than an hour had gone by and Gruening's voice, tough and rasping, began to sound a bit strained. The sun was going down and the air was cooler. Gruening said he would soon have to go inside and finish the speech he was going to make to the Woman's National Democratic Club later in the week.

His litany of complaint may have sounded like the voice of doomsday, but Gruening's faith in America seems unscathed.

"I think we have to try to bring America back to the ideals and principles proclaimed by our founding fathers 200 years ago and which served us well until about five years ago."

[From the Nation, March 30, 1974]

#### A SPLENDID NOMINATION

Odd nominations for the Nobel Peace Prize are a staple of political publicity, e.g., Richard M. Nixon, Henry Kissinger. Bombing cities in a small country by a major power is no impediment to nomination. Nevertheless there have been some excellent Nobel awards in the field of peace, both to individuals and organizations, and this year an American who richly deserves it has been nominated.

It is not generally known that Ernest Gruening earned an M.D. from Harvard (1912) before he turned to journalism and politics. He never practiced, but worked first on daily papers as a reporter, rewrite man and editor. From the outset he was a liberal Democrat and an opponent of imperialism and national aggression. After service in World War I he wrote for the leading periodicals of the era and was managing editor and editor of *The Nation* for several years until Franklin D. Roosevelt drafted him over the territories of Alaska, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, the Virgin Islands and some smaller islands in the Pacific. In 1939 President Roosevelt appointed him territorial governor of Alaska; twenty years later, when Alaska, under Gruening's leadership, had achieved statehood, he became its first Senator.

He probably would still be representing Alaska in the Senate, were it not for the fact that is most to his credit in a career of nearly seventy years of constructive achievement, and which alone would qualify him for the peace prize. Beginning in 1963, he went all out to oppose the war in Vietnam. Generally moderate in speech, he denounced the war in a series of eloquent yet down-to-earth statements: "I consider the life of one American worth more than this putrid mess." With Sen. Wayne Morse of Oregon, he voted against the 1964 Tonkin Gulf resolution and against successive Vietnam appropriation bills. The

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American people finally followed Gruening, an octogenarian, in opposition to the war.

On February 6, 1974, on the occasion of his 87th birthday, the former Senator was the guest, on the floor of the Senate, of his colleague George McGovern, who noted for the *Congressional Record* of that date (p. 2321) that Senator Gruening had been an "indefatigable champion of peace" for decades. As a journalist he inveighed against the gunboat diplomacy of the 1920s, and throughout his career he was a foe of imperialism and predatory nationalism.

In the January 29th *Washington Post*, Richard J. Barnet, reviewing Gruening's biography, *Many Battles*, called it the "uplifting story of an authentic hero": "You come away from [it] with a clearer appreciation of the tradition in which the current political battles against militarism, racism and subversion in high places are being fought, and a realization that these battles are but part of a continuing struggle to create a decent society."

A less known aspect of Gruening's crusading is his participation in the birth control movement, which is closely related to the peace movement. Here again Gruening, with Margaret Sanger and other farsighted leaders, was ahead of his time. He advocated enlightened family planning from the first decade of the century on, which the very concept was considered obscene by a majority of Americans, and its sponsors risked not only unpopularity but jail. By all indications the "population explosion" will be an underlying cause of future wars; there is no guarantee that the "underdeveloped" nations will starve as quietly as inhabitants of the sub-Saharan countries are starving by the thousands today.

Sens. Mark Hatfield and Frank Church have now joined Senator McGovern in nominating Gruening for the 1974 Nobel Peace Prize. The *Anchorage Daily News* (February 13) refers to Gruening as "a peace prophet, whose anti-war decisions were preludes to the mushrooming peace movement . . . the spark that fired the nation's young to protest the war in Vietnam." The Alaska legislature "wholeheartedly and enthusiastically supports and endorses the nomination of Ernest Gruening for the Nobel Peace Prize and respectfully requests the members . . . to give every consideration to the nomination of this great and distinguished Alaskan, American and world humanitarian." And of course *The Nation*, with which Mr. Gruening retains a connection as editorial consultant, is happy to add its voice to those already on record.

#### INFLATION: A VIEW FROM A DEMOCRAT

### HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, the National Observer is running a series of views on inflation, and for the fourth in its series, which appeared in the issue of July 13, it interviewed my Wisconsin colleague, HENRY REUSS.

I think his views make most interesting reading. One may well disagree with an occasional observation and still appreciate the thoroughness of his arguments, both in explaining the roots of inflation and in pointing the way to some control of the problems plaguing our vast and complex economy.

Here are the proposals Congressman REUSS set out in the interview, which was

headed, "Inflation: A View From a Democrat":

#### INFLATION: A VIEW FROM A DEMOCRAT—LAW-MAKER CALLS FOR "SOCIAL CONTRACT," SHIFT IN TAXES TO TAME THE ECONOMY

Inflation continues to erode the buying power of millions of Americans while provoking controversy over its causes and cures. In this interview with Observer Staff Writer Mark R. Arnold, Democratic Rep. Henry S. Reuss of Wisconsin outlines his plan for a new "social contract" to curb inflation. Reuss, a leading congressional authority on the economy, is a senior member of the House Committee on Banking and Currency and is chairman of the Joint Economic Committee's subcommittee on international economics. This is the fourth of a series of views on this controversial subject.

We're now in a situation that economists are calling "double digit" inflation, meaning that prices are rising more than 10 percent a year. This is something that hasn't happened since the early '50s. Why is it happening? Why are we in this fix?

Let me say first that if our country wants to get into Welmar Republic troubles, let us continue to ignore the dangers of inflation. The causes are complex and multiple. In some areas, such as inventories and industrial supplies, we face an old-fashioned credit-induced demand inflation. In the food and fuel sectors and at various times lumber, scrap, and many other commodities, an old-fashioned supply-shortage inflation is going on. We also suffer from an overextension of our money supply, resulting from the Fed's [Federal Reserve Board's] creation of too much money in the past two or three years. In addition, we suffer from the legacy of a fiscal inflation going back to the guns-and-butter foolishness of us Democrats in the late '60s. That originally gave the inflationary rotor a spin.

We tried to have both guns and butter instead of choosing between them?

We should have pared down them both. I would have pared down the guns, at least. But we should not have tried to have both. And now we face a new variety of inflation: the recurrence of cost-push inflation as wage demands in the post-controls era seek to make up for lost time.

Can you spell out the wage inflation?

Basically, labor, having been once burned on the price-wage cycle, is understandably going to ask for enough of a wage increase to take care of a little assumed future inflation. In many ways wage inflation is the leading current threat. But basically our problem is complex, and not to be solved by simplistic formulas.

What kind of formulas do you propose to deal with this inflation?

Well, you need an over-all strategy, a true incomes policy, something this Administration doesn't have. I'm talking about a social contract that endeavors, by dealing fairly with wage earners and recognizing their problems, to induce more moderation in wage demands than would be the case if we pursue our present dog-eat-dog policy.

How would your incomes policy work?

In the light of the current decay of the Presidency, the leadership for it would have to come from Congress, the Democratic leadership of the Congress. We should say to working people, who are roughly 80 per cent of American families, that the Government recognizes they've fallen behind, and understands wage increases are necessary. But that in the interests of being fair and still reducing inflationary wage boosts, the Government is prepared to move on three fronts: unemployment, supply, and tax redistribution.

Can we take those one at a time?

Okay. First, unemployment. Consistent with an anti-inflationary policy the Government can decrease unemployment by vastly

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expanding public-service-employment programs. I can envision 500,000 of these jobs in health, and education, and public safety, and the environment. The needs are huge.

These would be jobs for people currently unemployed?

Right. And they'd be employed by state and local governments Federally funded at the prevailing wage. Only a tiny part is left of the earlier Public Service Jobs program.

What about the argument that these are make-work projects?

Absolutely not true. These are jobs that need to be done. They are the least inflationary, least costly, and least energy-consuming jobs there are.

How so?

Being service jobs, they aren't energy-consuming. Noninflationary, because I wouldn't increase budget deficits a nickel to fund them. I'd fund the \$3.5 billion such a program would cost by cutting waste out of the military budget, where, under the Nixon Administration's own assertion, at least \$5 billion is there to make jobs. Jobs from defense contracts are about five times as costly as those produced by public employment.

When those workers went to spend their earnings, wouldn't that have an inflationary effect?

Economic activity created by this amount of money in the pockets of people otherwise unemployed would not, I think, be inflationary. It will be spent on consumption goods that are not in scarce supply.

They'll spend it on cars and televisions, won't they?

Yes, and there is a considerable excess capacity in both industries. So that, particularly when offset by budgetary cutbacks in tight aspects of defense industries, this would be an extremely good inflationary trade-off, I think.

So much for jobs. What was the second point?

Supply and prices. There is a popular illusion in the land that the Nixon Administration has settled down to expanding supply. This is hogwash. Until very recently, the Administration, particularly the Department of Agriculture, was seeking to limit supplies.

Little more than a year ago, Secretary [Earl L.] Butz was sending out a circular telling turkey growers to reduce production plans and raise prices, which they did. As a result, turkeys sold last Christmas for double the price of the year before.

For more than a year he wouldn't let the cattle graze on 60 million idled grasslands acres, with the result that we had a terrible meat shortage and prices of beef soared.

Now there's a more adequate supply of beef, and the cattlemen are demanding \$3 billion in bail-out money and demanding, successfully, that Butz dispatch an emissary to Australia to pressure her into not exporting inexpensive and very good beef to this country. That's working to decrease supplies.

Is agriculture an exception?

Certainly not. Take scrap metals. They're very scarce and high-priced. But the Treasury Department gives export subsidies through the DISC [Domestic International Sales Corp.] program to exporters of scrap, lumber, fertilizer, and other scarce commodities, raising the price and abetting inflation at home.

Oil-well drilling equipment is terribly scarce in this country, which is one reason we don't have adequate domestic exploration. Yet the Export-Import Bank is engaged in a subsidized loan to Iran, a country that blackmailed us on the oil price. They're given a 5 per cent loan to import American drilling equipment cheaper than our own drillers can buy it.

Why is the Administration doing all this?

My own theory is this Administration has ceased to govern in any real sense. What we have is a Government composed of roving

bands of feudal chieftains, each building his own empire, whether it's DISC, the Export-Import Bank, or the Agency for International Development.

What is AID doing?

They're sucking credit out of this country so that we can build housing for middle-class Latin Americans at a time when middle-class Americans can't get a loan to buy housing.

Well, what are you suggesting as a way to increase supplies at home?

I think Congress should set up a supply-price ombudsman, a Naderesque guy, to ride herd on supply and stand up to Secretary Butz when he wants to diminish supplies of beef and raise the price, to stand up to Treasury when it subsidizes export of scarce commodities. This ombudsman couldn't veto such practices, but he could focus public attention on them and build pressure to stop them.

The third point was taxes?

Right, the need to repair the damage to those two-thirds of American families who have been subjected to a "Robin Hood in reverse" rip-off in the past four or five years. It's well to remember that the only tax increase made by the Federal Government in the last two or three years has fallen exclusively on people with incomes of \$13,200 a year and below. This is the increase in the Social Security payroll tax to its present backbreaking 5.85 percent, which you pay on the first dollar of wages.

What do you propose?

I favor a tax reduction beamed at the under-\$15,000-a-year family. Either by raising the low-income standard deduction, or allowing families to take their personal exemptions as a tax credit rather than a deduction, or shifting the payroll-tax burden, or a combination of all three. This would increase after-tax income about \$7 billion. And you could pick up that same amount of revenue by plugging loopholes, particularly loopholes that have a bad economic effect.

Such as?

DISC [subsidies for overseas trading corporations]. That's a billion a year.

Foreign oil bonanzas such as the foreign tax credit and foreign depletion allowance. That's a couple billion.

Then there's the fact that you can presently escape capital gains tax on securities if you hold onto them until you die. This provision distorts the stock market by inducing investors to hold onto moribund securities. It would make a lot more sense to encourage selling those securities before death and putting the money into new, vibrant, dynamic, energy-saving, environment-conserving, productivity-enhancing, capacity-adding capital investments.

In short, by knocking out some of these cockeyed bonanzas in the tax laws, we would restore a vibrant economy and, in the bargain, wash out the budgetary effects of a very necessary tax cut to low- and moderate-income families.

How would all this moderate wage demands?

Well, these steps would help to undo the Robin Hood in reverse, the taking from the average person and giving to the rich, which has gone on in the last four or five years, through tax policy, inflation, and growing unemployment. We would then be in a position to show that wage demands could be reasonable and need not be based on expectations of endless inflation.

The Administration says a tax cut would only aggravate inflation by swelling the deficit and pushing up prices. You don't credit that argument at all?

It's an argument without redeeming social significance. A tax cut would have precisely the opposite effect, in my view.

How so?

The \$7 billion in relief to low- and moderate-income people would be spent on non-inflationary things. And the revenue lost

would be offset by plugging \$7 billion in loopholes, which is now mad money that goes chasing around bidding up the price of inventories, supplies, and real estate, and investing in conglomerate takeovers that stifle competition.

Well, what if you got the \$7 billion in tax cuts but not the loophole-plugging? That may be what the Administration is afraid of.

Well that would be inflationary. To add \$7 billion to the deficit would mean the Government would have to borrow \$7 billion more. It would raise interest rates. It would be bad business.

Irving Kristol recently wrote in *The Wall Street Journal* that our economy's in trouble because we've tried too long to live beyond our means. The bill is coming due, and we can't pay it. Is that true?

It reminds me of the 1932 cartoon that attempted to explain the Depression and where our money went by saying, "We spent it." I believe that overproduction isn't the cause of our inflation. The 20 or 30 per cent of the nation that is still very poor is not setting their sights too high when they hanker for flush toilets or a washing machine.

Why don't the Democrats—who control the Congress, after all—pass the kind of program you've been describing?

I've been working on my leaders and peers for many months. I hope within a few weeks we may have agreed upon a social-contract program like this.

## MERCHANT MARINE NEEDS HELP

## HON. WILLIAM S. COHEN

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. COHEN. Mr. Speaker, the Maine Maritime Academy training vessel, the *SS Maine* has recently returned from a training voyage to the Soviet Union. Among those who made the trip was a distinguished trustee of the Academy, J. Hollis Wyman, who has a long record of public service to the State of Maine and the Nation. Mr. Wyman returned with the impression that the strong support of the Soviet Government has rendered the Russian merchant marine training effort superior to the programs we operate in the United States.

Statistics confirm Mr. Wyman's impression. The Soviet Union is currently training roughly 20,000 cadets to become merchant marine officers. This compares to only about 3,000 in the United States. And we cannot realistically expect the situation to improve until we are willing to make an increased Federal financial commitment, in the form of subsidies, to our American merchant marine academies. At the present time, for example, the United States gives a \$50 monthly subsidy to cadets at our six academies. That \$50 grant was first approved by the Congress in 1958 to pay for uniforms and textbooks. Today, it does not begin to cover what the cadet must pay. Yet the Congress has failed to take action, despite the repeated introduction of remedial legislation.

We all know how important a strong merchant marine is to both our military and economic security. For that reason, I am sure my colleagues will be interested in Mr. Wyman's observations on the rela-

tive training policies of the United States and Soviet merchant marines and in his suggestions for improving our American procedures. I, therefore, wish to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point a letter that he addressed to me upon his return from the Soviet Union.

Text of the letter follows:

July 3, 1974.

Hon. WILLIAM S. COHEN,  
Longworth House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BILL: The Maine Maritime Academy training vessel, SS MAINE, has just returned from a visit to Russia and being a Trustee of the Academy, it has been my privilege, together with approximately 200 midshipmen, many members of the faculty, and some of the Trustees, to be guests of the Russians.

The efforts and money that Russia is putting into maritime training is truly unbelievable. The academy which we were privileged to visit has 6,000 cadets which is more than the entire enrollment for all the academies in the United States, including King's Point. This same single Russian academy has not one training ship, but five. We had a very extensive tour of one of these ships and it is our understanding that all of these ships are very new and similar to the one which we visited.

The ships are built for training, complete with classrooms and simulated controls. In short, they are built expressly for teaching. While we certainly are grateful for the ships which we receive, after all, they are old ships for which the Maritime Administration has no further use and most certainly cannot be compared in any way with the Russian training vessels.

Russia is a large nation, but a nation which is almost landlocked. She has a port on the north which is closed much of the year due to ice, Leningrad which we visited, and two others. Yet she is spending far far more on her Merchant Marine than the United States which has several thousand miles of sea-coast and many seaports. In short, it is evident that Russia intends to build a Merchant Marine which will far exceed that of the United States.

For this reason, it seems most imperative that we start to catch up by providing a larger subsidy for our present maritime academies.

In closing, I cannot urge too strongly that you visit the Maine Maritime Academy at Castine again to see this great school and

how much we are accomplishing with limited funds and high tuitions.

Sincerely yours,

J. HOLLIS WYMAN,  
Trustee, MMA.

#### AGREEMENTS MADE IN CONFERENCE

#### HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, you will recall that I offered a privileged motion on June 28 to raise the issue of certain agreements which had been made in the House-Senate conference on H.R. 69, the Elementary Secondary Education Amendments of 1974, affecting drastically the payments which certain schools would receive under the impact aid program, Public Law 874.

I have since then received additional materials from the Library of Congress which further corroborates my statements. I present them to the House in the hope that Members may have the opportunity to also review their district's entitlements and payments after seeing the effects as projected on a few select areas:

#### POSSIBLE EFFECTS OF SOME PROPOSED CHANGES TO ESEA TITLE I, PART C AND P.L. 81-874: EXPLANATION OF DATA CONTAINED IN TABLES

1. USOE ESEA Title I(C) appropriations of FY 1974. These data were obtained from the USOE computer worksheets of June 30, 1974 and represent the final Part C allotments by State, county, and school system for FY 1974. The national appropriation total was \$47.2 million.

2. CRS Estimates ESEA Title I(C) H.R. 69 Conference Provisions for authorization in FY 1975. These data were based on the Senate version of H.R. 69, with a formula using 1970 census data and January 1973 AFDC data. The Senate version would allow the authorization for the single fiscal year only, with a national total of \$75 million.

3. CRS Estimates PL 81-874, Sections, 2, 3, and 4 maximum possible loss at 20 percent.

These data are an across-the-board 20 percent of Sections 2, 3 and 4 USOE-estimated payments by State, county, and school district in FY 1972, as published in the "Administration of Public Laws 81-874 and 81-815, June 30, 1972." Under the Senate version of H.R. 69, a school district may not receive payments of less than 80 percent of the preceding fiscal for Section 3. Since FY 1972 data are the latest available by county, and because Sections 2 and 4 are combined with Section 3, all three sections were used as a basis for this calculation. Many school districts, as well as States, are likely to receive more than 80 percent of the previous fiscal year payments, and therefore will not actually receive as great a loss as indicated here.

4. CRS Estimates PL 81-874, low-rent housing paid at 25 percent of 45 percent of the local contribution rate. These data represent an estimated payment for low-rent housing children if this provision had been funded in FY 1973, using a State's "average" local contribution rate as calculated by USOE for FY 1973, and numbers of low-rent housing children in average daily attendance (ADA) as estimated on the basis of data supplied by HUD for June 30, 1972. These estimates districts which are eligible to receive PL 81-874 payments.

5. USOE local contribution rate statewide average for FY 1973. These figures were supplied by USOE, and appear to be the total Section 3(a) payments in any given State divided by the number of 3(a) pupils in ADA. Although in many States the local contribution rate is constant for all school districts within the State, in 28 States there is a range of rates. If all the low-rent housing children were in school districts concentrated at the lower or higher end of the range in these States, significantly different payments would result.

6. CRS Estimates low-rent housing children in ADA, June 30, 1972. These estimates were made on the basis of various data supplied by HUD, including housing units under management on June 30, 1973 by State local housing authority; housing units occupied on June 30, 1972 by State; and ratios of school-aged children to number of units occupied by the elderly and the non-elderly, obtained in the new admission and re-examination survey by HUD for the twelve-month period ending September 30, 1973, by State. The estimated number of school-aged children are reduced to 80 percent in these tables to approximate average daily attendance.

#### COMPARISON OF VARIOUS ESTIMATES OF ESEA TITLE I, PT. C WITH PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO PUBLIC LAW 81-874 IN H.R. 69

State and county	CRS estimates					
	USOE ESEA title I(C) appropriations fiscal year 1974	ESEA title I(C) H.R. 69 conference provi- sions authorization fiscal year 1975	Public Law 81-874, secs. 2, 3, 4, maximum possible loss at 20 percent, fiscal year 1972	Public Law 81-874, low rent housing, paid at 25 percent of 45 percent of LCR, fiscal year 1973 data	USOE local contribution rate, statewide average fiscal year 1973	CRS estimates low-rent housing children in ADA, June 30, 1972
California	\$3,649,812	\$9,000,000	\$15,310,000	\$3,830,000	\$492.32	69,200
Alameda	216,359	540,000	920,000	420,000	-----	7,600
Colusa	0	0	(1)	0	0	0
Glenn	0	0	10,000	0	0	0
Sacramento	124,179	400,000	1,090,000	250,000	-----	4,600
Solano	27,552	0	880,000	70,000	-----	1,200
Sutter	1,909	0	20,000	10,000	200	200
Yolo	0	0	10,000	30,000	600	600
Yuba	18,169	0	360,000	0	0	0
Kern	67,421	230,000	720,000	80,000	-----	1,400
Kings	20,405	0	240,000	20,000	300	300
San Luis Obispo	680	0	30,000	30,000	500	500
Santa Barbara	2,333	0	740,000	80,000	-----	1,500
New Jersey	1,738,060	4,990,000	2,750,000	2,680,000	741.54	32,160
Burlington	13,923	0	1,050,000	10,000	100	100
Camden	216,900	730,000	170,000	130,000	-----	1,600
Ocean	18,129	0	180,000	20,000	200	200

<sup>1</sup> Less than \$5,000.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

July 17, 1974

## WHY IMPEACHMENT?

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, every Member is naturally anxious to learn all he or she can regarding impeachment. The impeachment of a President being a novelty under the American system, with so much involved, we need to draw upon the lessons of the historic past for guidance and enlightenment in our efforts to avoid the commission of grave and irreparable mistakes.

There is far more than just the fate of an individual involved in the outcome of the pending controversy. The evolution of the American system of applying justice must be reckoned with. Whether there is or is not grounds for complaint gives way to the overriding consideration of the proper approach to be followed.

That raises the question, which the House must face, of whether the impeachment method is indeed a primitive political weapon. It can be argued both ways, the resolution of which calls for the exercise of the best of our ability to exercise fair and unbiased judgment.

Among historians who have explored the historic role of impeachment in the Anglo-Saxon evolution dealing with the subject, O. R. Strackbein has emerged as a leading authority in this country. His analysis, entitled "Why Impeachment?" should be read by every Member of this body:

## WHY IMPEACHMENT?

(By O. R. Strackbein)

The power of impeachment provided for in our Constitution was not an original composition of the framers of that document. It was taken from the English system, where it had been in use some four centuries.

In England, going back to 1376, it was a political weapon shaped during the raw struggles for power that for several centuries marked the history of that country. Impeachment became the weapon of faction or party. It was used by powerful opponents of monarchical tyranny as a means of disposing of the king's favorites; or by the king's men to overcome his enemies or rivals.

The power of impeachment was lodged in the House of Commons while the trial, if any, was lodged in the House of Lords. Here it is much the same as everyone now knows. The House impeaches, the Senate tries the accused.

While the English had a high sense of justice and injustice this sense came into play principally on the defensive side in contests. The offense, generally representing those who were in power, was not so punctilious; indeed, was inclined to ride roughshod over the opposition. It was, of course, and not only in England, ever thus!

It is not the one who treads on the toes of another who feels the pain. It is the latter who complains. In his turn, however, he may be no more sensitive than the other when he himself steps on yet another's toes.

If treaders on the toes of others were to remain immune to having their own toes trod upon, and need have no fear of such a reciprocal event, nothing would be done to halt or restrain toe-treading. However, if the victims, remembering the rudeness and unconcern of the treaders, should come into

a position of dominance or at least to a point of challenging the transgressors without exposing themselves to a sure penalty, grounds for negotiation of some rules governing toe-treading would be found.

That is about how it developed in England with respect to political pressure after the barons wrested the Great Charter from King John in 1215 at Senlac or Runnymede. The underdog was developing some bite of his own and, while it was not yet wholly safe to challenge the overdog, it was no longer a fatal venture, and, indeed, some gain might be made toward a less oppressive relationship. While no one would yet in 1215 dare to be so bold as Parliament became over 400 years later in the time of Charles I, as to challenge the king himself, the interval of four centuries marked a gradual gain of the under over the overdog. That long span of time, however, witnessed much of very crude history.

When the English engaged in political contests in those early years, it seemed always to augur rough weather for squeamish or even rational souls. Nevertheless as the centuries passed, notable degrees of amelioration of the harshness so characteristic of the typical contests, such as the gruesome beheadings that made ghastly sights during the War of the Roses when Yorkists and Lancastrians battled each other for power in the 15th century, became perceptible, but the process was very, very slow. Even the Tudors in the following century (Henry VIII and Elizabeth I) were little better; and the Stuarts (James I and the two Charles) in the 17th century still left much to be desired.

By 1689 William III of Orange accepted the Bill of Rights. Yet there remained the three Georges in the 18th and 19th century to be dealt with. It can only be said that the river of amelioration of the human condition is a sluggish stream.

Tyrannies, defending themselves against the reaction of those who do not relish being victims, institute harsh measures of repression; and this harshness in turn begets harsh responses unless the repression is absolute.

The difference between the absolutism of dictatorship that suffers no opposition and a kingship that indulges some degree of it, lies in the intransigence, self-translated as realism (put the enemy down before he can stab you), of the former and the latitudinarianism of the latter. The former begets violent revolution and multitudes of corpses, with heads off or heads on. The more flexible regime, also had beheadings, to be sure, but they were retail rather than wholesale. They staged trials in the form of impeachment that were not trials but triumphs of the dominant party in the guise of justice. The difference nonetheless could be and was fatal: England had no French Revolution.

Without the guillotine and without the bloodbaths of the tyrants, the English developed a Constitutional system that was concerned with the widening of freedom, albeit as a slow process. While the people below the aristocratic levels were not docile, as became evident from time to time, as during the Peasant's Revolt, in 1381 over the poll tax, neither were they emotionally so explosive and vindictive that no settlement was possible this side of annihilation of one side or the other. The half-loaf was not always spurned as not worth the eating of it.

As instruments against oppression, trial by jury slowly developed. This too was attended by rugged experiences. Effective opposition to excessive taxation was another slow-growing movement; but although slow, like a yeast it was not readily devitalized. "Taxation without representation" was probably not first uttered by American lips. Establishment of courts to settle differences peaceably so that the social order would not be forever disrupted by endless and violent disputes represented another long-term evolution; and refine-

ment of justice was a constant aim of the English jurisconsults, such as Blackstone. Since these aims and efforts were often philosophical and theoretical, the practical world did not fully conform to the idealistic forms. In fact, of course, human institutions are not born ready-made and perfected as are the young of the cicada, the solitary wasp and other similar works of nature, which do not need and receive no instruction. Human institutions, it seems safe to say, are subject to human error of which there is always a surplus.

During all these centuries, 1376-1805, the English had recourse to impeachment, which was a style of safety valve. The career of the process, it should be noted, was very uneven. Once it was virtually laid aside for two centuries. Then it came into flower in the 16th and especially the 17th centuries, including the time of Charles I, only to fade away into oblivion early in the 19th century.

As a form it was a blood brother of the bill of attainder. The latter represented a means of shortcircuiting impeachment. It was the favorite instrument of wilful and impatient monarchs or their enemies (if the latter, for example, gained sufficient power in Parliament, as they frequently did in England) because it by-passed the judicial trial. It was a legislative act, and was outlawed for this country by our Constitution. In England it was abolished in 1870.

General enlightenment and the consequent amelioration of harsh measures (imprisonment for debts, hanging for poaching), plus increasing responsiveness of those in power to protests by those whose toes were being bruised discredited the bills of attainder and, in England, also impeachment. Conscience had to make concessions to greater decency.

In England the record of impeachment was not one of glory since it was a political weapon in judicial dress begun in the harsh times of centuries gone by. It aroused and inflamed the passions of enmity. A few heads rolled as a result of impeachment.

The Encyclopedia Britannica notes that the origin of impeachment lay in the 14th century: "When it grew up as a means of initiating criminal procedures based on 'clamor' and outcry." It adds that the first case (against Lord Latimer, 1376, under Edward III) "revealed a characteristic which persisted; subsequent victims of impeachment (in Britain) have often been political figures. Usually they have been royal ministers as well." (Emphasis added).

This account of impeachment adds "By it (i.e., impeachment) unpopular ministers (such as Cabinet members here) and favorites, such as the Duke of Buckingham (1626), Archbishop Laud (1640), the Earl of Strafford (1640-41) . . . were brought down or at least brought into jeopardy."

Under the Tudors (e.g., especially Henry VIII and his daughter, Elizabeth I) the infamous Star Chamber came into use. It proceeded without a jury and thus represented a caricature of justice. Composed of Privy Council members and special judges, it could act on mere rumor and could and did resort to torture. However, it was abolished in 1641 by the Long Parliament which at the time was waging a furious battle against Charles I. He was using it as a weapon against his enemies. We should not forget that England even succumbed to burnings at the stake upon conviction of heresy (e.g., Joan of Arc), and trial by combat.

However, the slowly developing matrix of decency, fairness and even sportsmanship which characterized the British was offended by these harsh practices, and the writings of political scientists, philosophers and poets, (Milton, Locke, etc. and their French confreres) no less than jurists, whetted the sensibilities of both the gentry and the

aristocracy. On into the 19th century this growing sensitivity was promoted by Bentham, John Stuart Mill, Shaftesbury, and even Dickens.) It was in that century that the British laid aside impeachment; indeed before abolishing bills of attainder (1805 as against 1870).

It is contended by some that Britain could do without impeachment because in the late 18th century days of William Pitt, the younger, the no-confidence vote emerged as a sure means of turning out the government. However, the two, the vote of no confidence, and impeachment, are quite different. In the first place, the vote of confidence is admittedly and essentially political. There is no trial—simply a vote on some important bill. By it a government that has lost the confidence of the country, as reflected in Parliament, can be turned out. A new election may be held within the span of the life of any parliament.

Impeachment, on the other hand, is aimed at an *individual* and only when the Presidency is involved in this country would conviction mean a change in the highest office. Congress even then would remain untouched. Only once in our history has a President been impeached (1868, Andrew Johnson) but he was not convicted and therefore remained in office. The other ten impeachment proceedings were principally of Federal District judges, and conviction had little effect. One Supreme Court Justice was the subject of impeachment; but, again, the result of conviction of such individuals would produce relatively minor effect compared with removal of the President.

The contention that the British gave up impeachment because they adopted the no confidence vote as a substitute, does not hold water. They might still wish to proceed against individual officials for treason or high crimes, without having to overturn a whole government in order to reach such alleged miscreants. The no confidence vote has nothing to do with grounds for impeachment. The British might even impeach a prime minister without upsetting the government. Therefore the two instruments are but little related to each other.

No! The British laid impeachment aside more likely because they found it to be an unsuitable instrument of government. The Warren Hastings trial, for example, lasted 7 years (1788-95) and he was acquitted, but was quite well ruined financially because of the costs of defense. No doubt expressions such as that of Walter Bagehot who wrote history and biography in Britain a hundred years ago generated reflections on the likely miscarriage of justice in such proceedings. He noted, for example, that "the accusations which are brought against a public man in his own age are rarely those echoed in after times".

In other words, the realization grew that so far as an instrument of justice was concerned, impeachment was a very unlikely weapon, because of its inseparable link with politics. Time was when a Prime Minister could be impeached by a hostile Parliament, because he had been in office for 20 years, and indeed indicted by his political enemies to be tried by these enemies sitting as jurors. Such an event may not have impressed those who thirsted after justice in the 18th century: for that was the fate of Prime Minister, Sir Robert Walpole when the Tories sought to get rid of him (a Whig) in 1742 by bringing charges against him in the Commons; but in the 19th century the British no longer cared to follow that route. The sense of justice having been refined by the effects of education, the study of political science and the growth of literature generally, the British began to rebel at such crude usages.

In the field of law much effort had gone into refinement of the judicial process, including the sifting and isolation of jurors

to the end that preconceived ideas, prejudices, special relationships to the accused and other likely sources of bias, would be eliminated from judgment. The impeachment process is at odds with such objectives because the jurors are pre-selected by the mere fact of their membership in the legislature. That they may be highly prejudiced and are open to access by the press can have no effect on their right to sit as jurors. That they may indeed be prejudiced, at least politically, would follow from the generally adversary posture of members of opposed political parties. If the jurors are by majority members of the political party opposed to that of the accused, it would call for a sublime faith in the inherent fairness of man to his enemies to believe that partisan bias would not work its will.

The partisans, in fact, by political division, would be host to the human defect already noted. The opponents while perhaps making every effort not to be partisan in their judgment, just as we may be careful not to step on the toes of others, nonetheless cannot impose on their own feeling for justice any sense of outrage comparable to that of their opponent if it is the latter whose toe is being stepped upon. We can note as evidence of human nature also that it is not the apparent winner in a very close election who demands a recount. It is the loser. Yet each supposedly has an equal sense of justice. In sports and athletics it is also not the violator of a rule who calls the attention of the referee or umpire to an infraction. When the latter renders a decision it is always the one against whom the decision goes, who challenges the referee's decision. Self-interest is the invariable guide.

Impeachment as an instrument of justice falls heir to a variety of human weaknesses of this order. The instrument has not been cleansed or refined by long usage precisely because it cannot be cleaned since it bears structural defects within its very nature. It is full of ineradicable original sin. The effect of the growing civilization in political relations and in the relations between the people and their government, may be illustrated by an example that will cast a revealing light on the standstill throughout the centuries of impeachment practices. In the time of William and Mary (1694) one Mr. Dyer "who had presumed to report the Parliamentary debates in his *News Letter*, was brought to the bar of the House of Commons on December 22, and upon his knees was reprimanded by Mr. Speaker for his great presumption. It was resolved 'that no newsletter writers do in their letter or other papers that they disperse presume to intermeddle with the debates of any other proceedings of this House'" (History of English Parliament, G. Barnett Smith, vol 2, p. 50).

Any such action today would hardly be tolerated. Yet the practice of impeachment goes back to the Middle Ages. The time during which it was born was noted for its harshness and lack of sensitivity for human rights, justice or human dignity. This is the instrument we cling to today: an anachronism probably unparalleled in all other political usage.

The partisan politician who stands in opposition to the accused will be unable to feel the heel on his own toes for the simple reason it is not there. What is important is that he has no feeling over the pain caused by his own heel on the toes of another. Moreover, he will be delighted to inflict the pain because that is the nature of political rivalry and opposition.

This insensitivity to the pain, added to the delight of hurting a political opponent would permit him to imitate Falstaff who said to Slender: "Slender, I broke thy head. What matter hast thou against me?"

If the people seek justice for their highest elected official the quest will hardly succeed if the "jury" is predominantly of the party opposed to the accused. Party interest calls by its very nature for condemnation of the accused. There is in such a process an invitation to hypocrisy to such a degree that its indulgence must offend the very soul of justice and decency. The impeachment process thus remains a pretence at justice, as it was in the beginning.

If we proceed under the conceit that Presidential impeachment is the equivalent of or a substitute for the parliamentary system under which a vote of no confidence may turn out a whole government we deceive ourselves.

Under the parliamentary system the parliament itself is the body that is under challenge, on the supposition that the one currently sitting has lost the confidence of the voters. Here, under impeachment it would be the Congress declaring only its own lack of confidence in the President, so to speak, not that of the country. Indeed it might be that Congress itself has lost the confidence of the voters since the last election. Who is to know? There is no test other than the polls.

Under impeachment and conviction of the President we would have the legislature vacating the Presidency. Such an action would be similar to the power exercised over many centuries in Britain by the king. He could and often did either prorogue or dissolve the parliament on his own initiative or displeasure. The executive (i.e., the king) held the dominant power under a system that was quite different from the American. His was not a system of checks and balances such as we adopted, in good part as an escape from the monarchical system, and to which we were to look for restraint within our government: a built-in restraint, resting on the separation of powers.

Through the incongruous system of impeachment that we took from the British, and which they have abandoned, but which we grafted as an alien form on our system, we have empowered the legislature to do to our Presidency what the king formerly did to any parliament that in his eyes was obstructive. The king gradually lost that power in England. Now we are in a battle to determine whether we are to imitate the English kings of long ago, and recognize in our Congress a power over the executive such as they formerly exercised over the Parliament.

Such a reversal of history would represent a lamentable anomaly. So, why impeachment?

#### A COMMENT ON THE PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE IN SOLIDARITY WITH CHILE—WASHINGTON, D.C., JULY 14-15, 1974

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK  
OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, The so-called "People's Lobby" for the Marxist-instigated, National Co-ordinating Committee in Solidarity with Chile descended on Washington, D.C., on July 14-15, 1974. Let us review its statements as made in its publicity campaign.

Their platform reads like a horror story. Their research leaves much to be desired. To mention just a few facts:

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First. Their platform makes the statement that Walter Rauf, a German Nazi is in Santiago to advise the junta on methods of dealing with prisoners in Chile. This is untrue. Walter Rauf came to Chile after World War II under a false name. He settled in the deep south and became a sheep farmer. He has never shown the slightest interest in politics and is of no importance in Chile, living quietly as a private citizen. West Germany demanded his being returned to that country when it was discovered that indeed, Walter Rauf was in Chile. This was taken to the court in Chile under whose jurisdiction it was ruled that in the passing of time the alleged crimes were no longer applicable. Mr. Rauf continues to farm quietly and has never been used as an advisor to the junta.

Second. Their platform also states that "a crematorium has been built to dispose of the bodies of prisoners". This is untrue. The only crematorium in all of Chile is in the general cemetery in Santiago and is used only for those who have requested that upon dying they should be cremated.

Third. In giving a list of important Popular Unity government leaders awaiting trial they include Anselmo Sule. This is untrue. Anselmo Sule is now free.

Fourth. Their platform states that "safe conduct out of Chile has been refused to hundreds of political refugees now crowding embassies in Chile." This is untrue. Safe conduct has been allowed to all refugees excepting 14 who are now held in an embassy in Santiago. The reason they are still there is that they are endeavoring to make satisfactory arrangements for their families and not because the Government is holding them prisoner. The Government would, in fact, be happy for them to depart.

Fifth. This committee's platform states: "Coal miners, longshoremen and construction workers are among the many gunned down for participating in work stoppages." This is untrue. All coal, nitrate, and copper miners are working diligently for increasing production and are being paid overtime if they choose to work more than the normal 8-hour shift. The same can be said of the longshoremen and construction workers. Meanwhile, some of the leaders who were not involved in obstructing production and were not involved in delinquent activities during Allende's administration are now cooperating with the Government in order to solve the problems facing those same workers who had been persuaded to join the subversives—with much apprehension out of fear of their own, and their family's, destiny should they not adhere to the revolutionary Communist cause of Allende's Popular Unity government.

Sixth. The National Co-ordinating Committee in Solidarity with Chile's platform states categorically that both the Inter-American Development Bank and the International Monetary Fund have allowed the present Chilean Government enormous credits yet denied

credits to the Popular Unity government under Allende. This is untrue.

## INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

When Allende came into power there were 44 main points on his agenda, one of which was to break relations with the International Monetary Fund which he stated was an imperialist institution. However, as time went by he found this to be untrue, and did, in fact, draw on the Fund. In all he drew \$154 million in foreign currency and in cash—included in that \$154 million was \$54 million of special drawing rights, SDR, allocated to Chile by the Fund to reinforce their balance of payments.

Prior to this the former government had paid off most of the outstanding debt and consequently an unconditional line of credit was entirely available to Allende. However, conditional credit is insisted upon when a country exceeds the limit, and since this indebtedness was the legacy left to Chile by Allende's government as a consequence of its irresponsible fiscal policy, it necessitated the International Monetary Fund to place rules on the receiver of moneys for Chile because the borrowing country's formula had proven itself unstable and unworkable.

Thus, the present military government had to ask the Fund for a standby arrangement of credit. Therefore, the Chileans had to produce an economic plan to back any credit they received. They had a plan and needed advice. They went to the IMF. Consequently, on January 30, 1974, Chile received a standby credit to the equivalent of \$95 million, on which it has, to date, drawn only \$45 million, the balance being dependent on how the program develops. It is, therefore, false when the National Co-ordinating Committee in Solidarity with Chile and its People's Lobby claim that \$95 million has already been received from the International Monetary Fund and no credits were allowed to the Popular Unity government.

## INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

Two credits have been granted to the present Chilean Government and are as follows:

The \$22 million was approved in credit to Chile in April 1974, to help in the restoration of agricultural production, in a project costing \$42.6 million. The Chilean Government is thus responsible for supplying \$20.6 million in local currency to this project in order to receive the full \$22 million grant from the Inter-American Development Bank. This project includes the seeding of the land, the stocking, breeding, and feeding of cattle, and the replacing and maintaining of machinery to work the land.

Under the Popular Unity government Allende appropriated the farms and shared them among the workers—temporarily. Their knowledge of agriculture, however, was limited; their knowledge of fertilizing and seeding and maintaining machinery, inadequate. Eventually no seeds or fertilizers were available and thus the production problem was compounded. Many of those to whom the

land was allocated were not farmers; but worse, they received no advice. With the price of any produce that they might have been able to grow kept low by government subsidies, their expenses increased. Finally, they literally gave up and the land fell fallow; production dropped to an alltime low. The result of all this is that Chile, in 1974, has had to increase its imports of food from \$160 million to more than \$650 million which amounts to over two-thirds of the entire income received from her copper industry exports, or approximately \$900 million. This dire situation is the direct result of Allende's so-called agrarian reform.

The \$75.3 million was granted specifically for the Antuco hydroelectric plant to be constructed in the province of Los Angeles in the south of Chile and was approved by the Inter-American Development Bank on April 25, 1974. The application for this project was presented over 2 years ago and after negotiations and a feasibility study undertaken by the Bank during the ensuing months, credit was granted to Chile. The entire cost of this project was \$262.1 million but to obtain the credit of \$75.3 million, the Chilean Government has committed itself to provide the outstanding funds. This enormous sum will provide for the building of roads, the building of houses for the workers, and other facilities and necessities for their welfare—and the building of the hydroelectric plant. This project is expected to take 5 to 6 years to complete and the disbursement of this loan from the Bank will, therefore, be portioned out over that period of time. Intermittently, auditors from the Bank will check the funds which the Chilean Government has committed itself to spend on the stated project.

The Allende Communist/Socialist coalition government was granted by the Bank the following loans: \$4.6 million for Austral University and; \$7 million for Catholic University, both loans being announced officially by the Bank on January 14, 1971.

Chilean Foreign Minister Clodomiro Almeyda of the Allende government approached both the Soviet Union and Mainland China for financial assistance. The reply, in both cases was: "Work if you are true revolutionaries to produce more—that is better than money. Never ask for money, you must live on what you produce." However, they were more magnanimous when it concerned advisors, and many from the U.S.S.R. visited and stayed in Chile. Weapons, via Cuba were contained in crates ostensibly carrying "object d'art" and "bags of sugar" for Allende and the Chilean people. The accusation made by the National Co-ordinating Committee in Solidarity with Chile regarding loans from both banks is therefore, erroneous.

Seventh. This committee's platform states that unemployment is over 25 percent in Chile, at this time. This is untrue. Figures from Santiago show that the unemployment rate is 9 percent and decreasing rapidly. Investments have increased over the past 6 months and there

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is absolutely no discrimination shown as to the investors; 40 new industries have been established in recent weeks and these include: plastics, textiles, the canning of food, electronics, et cetera, amounting to 6,000 million Escudos and \$32,500, both from the private sector. An announcement by the Chilean Government was made on Thursday, July 11 declaring the rules and laws to which international businesses and investors must adhere. These 40 new industries alone will rapidly reduce unemployment, where again, it must be emphasized, no discrimination will be shown. Thus, the figure announced by the National Co-ordinating Committee in Solidarity with Chile is totally false.

Eighth. This committee's platform complains of inflation in Chile. So does every Chilean, and rightly so. And who caused it? Under Allende's Communist/Socialist coalition government, inflation was covered up by printing millions of escudos in worthless paper money and filling people's pockets with escudos which when spent, rapidly emptied the shops. Stocks in the stores went unreplenished as longer and longer lines became evident throughout Chile as housewives attempted to obtain food for their families. The truth of the inflation was suppressed, of course. Allende and his ministers would have been foolish to allow the truth to leak out. They subsidized the food. Thus, those who openly did not oppose Allende's regime were favored and enabled to obtain food. Two pounds of meat used to cost less than one egg because Allende's coalition government subsidized meat produce.

The Popular Unity's target was the voting booth, and it knew that if people were fed it would receive more votes. There was discrimination in obtaining food under Allende but his scheme still would not have worked—by the time the Popular Unity was overthrown, many people were very hungry and had no desire to vote for Allende. Moreover, the animals and chickens were killed for food—one, because money was to be made and two, because there was no profit left in selling eggs and therefore the poultry was eaten. The Popular Unity government replaced none of the animals or the chickens and the result was a totally false economy and a make-believe production which rapidly dried up. Despite the fact that the Chilean economy was heavily subsidized, Chile, under the Allende government became the champions of the world for the highest inflationary figure ever recorded. By the time Allende was overthrown there was no meat in the shops nor animals nor poultry on the farms which necessitated the military government making food production first priority on its agenda. Food is no longer subsidized; but the price of food is exorbitant and there are items that are still unobtainable. Such are the consequences of the false Marxist economic policies followed by Allende's rule. The viable policies practiced by the present Chilean government following sound and honest trading traditions, should find the inflationary spiral drop-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ping. Therefore, it can be fairly stated that the accusation made by the National Coordinating Committee in Solidarity with Chile is false and untrue when it blames the military government for the inflation in Chile, when, in fact, it was Allende's Marxist-Communist coalition itself which destroyed the Chilean economy and brought about today's inflation.

### U.S. BANKS OPEN IN CAIRO

#### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, with U.S. banks already in Moscow and Peking, it comes as no shock to learn that four U.S. banks have now opened in Cairo, Egypt.

Perhaps this is the banking community's answer to inflation—draining American-generated credit to foreign lands.

I include a related newspaper clipping which follows:

[From the Washington Post, July 17, 1974]

#### FOUR U.S. BANKS TO OPEN IN EGYPT

(By Jim Hoagland)

CAIRO, July 16.—Egypt agreed today to allow four large American banks to begin operations here as part of the economic opening to the West by President Anwar Sadat's government.

Announcement that operating permits were being issued to the Bank of America, First National City Bank, Chase Manhattan and American Express was made at a press conference at the end of a three-day visit by Secretary of Treasury William E. Simon, who flew to Israel tonight.

The move means that the world's three largest banks—Bank of America, First City and Chase—will have investment and operational windows on Egypt's once tightly socialist economy, which Sadat is trying to overhaul with the help of foreign investment and aid.

Simon and Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister Abdel Aziz Hegazzi also announced that the two countries would negotiate a tax equalization treaty to avoid double taxation of American firms that do business here. And they will form a joint Project Development Institute, to be located in Cairo, that will evaluate the ambitious economic development plans of Sadat's government.

Simon and Hegazzi ended their meeting on the same buoyant note heard during the past three days, with the American official continuing to express confidence in Egypt's economic future and the Egyptian repeating pledges to cut red tape and make conditions as attractive as possible for potential investors.

But Hegazzi showed new signs of sensitivity to outside questioning of Egypt's management of its economy, some disappointment with American commitments on foreign aid.

Asked if the 250 million that the Nixon administration is asking Congress to approve for aid to Egypt this year was sufficient, Hegazzi referred to an American military aid obligation to Israel of \$2.2 billion during the October 1973 war and added:

"I would say 2.2 is the minimum to be hoped for Egypt, for progress and peace, using the words of President Nixon."

The \$2.2 billion figure has previously been mentioned by Sadat as an American aid target figure and is rapidly becoming a generalized Egyptian expectation, at least at the popular level. Simon responded to Hegazzi's remarks by noting that aid had to be appropriated by Congress.

Hegazzi told a questioner that the subject of domestic price controls and commodity subsidies paid by the Egyptian government had not come up.

"This is internal policy," he said tartly. "We are not ready to chuck it out at this moment. It has helped to keep inflation down."

In comments to reporters this week, Simon has repeatedly referred to subsidies and price controls as examples of policies that he would urge the Egyptians to drop in favor of a "freer enterprise economy."

The deputy prime minister, who is Sadat's top economic planner, bristled when reporters pressed him on reports that he had discussed with Simon a rescheduling of foreign debts. After saying that Egypt was doing a study "concerning the settlement of arrears," he stressed:

"We feel quite confident of our economy . . . as do international circles."

Hegazzi and Simon, who is here to follow up a promise made by President Nixon to Sadat for American help in restructuring Egypt's economy, formally signed an agreement to set up a joint commission to negotiate settlement of \$7.2 million in claims by American citizens against the Egyptian government. This will clear the way for the Overseas Private Investment Corp. to provide American government insurance for American money here.

Under the permits issued today, Chase, First City and American Express will be able to open branches in Cairo to deal in foreign exchange. Chase and First City earlier this year were allowed to post representatives here.

Chase and the Bank of America will establish separate joint ventures with Egyptian banks under the permits.

Egyptian and Saudi Arabian officials have expressed strong interest in having large American Banks operate here as channel for the oil revenues that Arab producers are being encouraged to invest.

### JACK KEMP SALUTES THE BUFFALO FELICIAN SISTERS

#### HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 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 founders, 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 hundreds 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

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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 our great Nation.

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.

## JUVENILE JUSTICE

## HON. WILLIAM LEHMAN

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. Speaker, there is something terribly wrong with America's criminal justice system which sends three out of four youthful offenders back to prison within 5 years of their first offense. This shocking fact illustrates that in this country meaningful rehabilitation has been almost nonexistent.

The Committee on Education and Labor, of which I am a member, has indicated, through its support of the Institute for the Continuing Studies of the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency, an awareness and concern and a willingness to do something about this situation. The committee's legislation, which recently passed the House, authorizes funding to support the newly established institute, especially for its training program for professionals and nonprofessionals which extends from law enforcement agencies to social service organizations.

It is my hope that with this support for the institute, especially with its emphasis on local control coordinated with Federal efforts, these tragic statistics can be reversed. The thrust of this legislation is to prevent the juvenile from reaching what unfortunately has become the end of the road—incarceration.

I strongly support this concept, not as money to be thrown at a problem, but as a responsible measure designed to curb what is becoming a national tragedy.

## FIFTH ANNIVERSARY, LAUNCH OF APOLLO 11—ARMSTRONG, COLLINS, AND ALDRIN

## HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, I had the privilege of attending the fifth anniversary of the Launch of Apollo 11 yesterday at the John F. Kennedy Space Center, NASA. I could discuss the merits of the space program for hours, but two persons that made addresses at the ceremonies, the Honorable James Webb, former NASA Administrator and Dr. George M. Low, Deputy Administrator for NASA, spoke of the tremendous merits of our space program and their words deserve the attention of my fellow Members and the general public.

It was a pleasure to hear them review the space program and the goals we have attained and the new goals that we have set. It was also a pleasure to again be in the company of the three men that made that historic voyage 5 years ago, Edwin E. Aldrin, Jr., the lunar module pilot, Michael Collins, the command module pilot and Neil A. Armstrong, the commander of Apollo 11.

The Honorable James Webb's remarks follow and they are followed by Dr. George M. Low's remarks:

## REMARKS BY JAMES WEBB

It is a great honor to participate in this dedication of the John F. Kennedy Space Center as a National Historic Landmark.

Pres. Kennedy understood the tremendous importance of his decision to create a rocket-powered transportation system to the regions lying outward from the earth. He undertook to point men's minds toward the beckoning new space horizons which promised new knowledge and new ways to make progress toward a better life—not just for ourselves in the United States, but for all mankind. He believed that the powerful new rockets that were opening up opportunities for man to explore the earth-moon system, to satisfy man's yearnings to escape the confines of Mother Earth and travel to the heavens, could also provide a powerful stimulus to co-operation among nations. He believed that co-operation in space exploration could lead on to co-operation in other fields and to a more peaceful world.

But what if co-operation could not be achieved? Pres. Kennedy was a student of history and he knew that down thru' the ages the mastery of a new environment, particularly when based on an out-in-front position in a major new technology, had always profoundly affected the future of nations; their relative strength and security; their relations with one another; and the concepts of reality held by their people. He was determined to drive toward preeminence in the new space-age technology until a secure basis for co-operation could be found. He had no doubt that space could become as important to national security and national development as the land, the oceans and the atmosphere; that rockets and spacecraft could become as important as ships, submarines and aircraft.

In support of these concepts, NASA has brought into being, here at this historic place, our nation's most basic resource for launching men and machines into space. Here we can count on trained technical and

administrative personnel and a massive array of complex equipment to fuel and launch our nation's space missions. The successes achieved here result not only from teamwork between individuals, not only from effective interfaces between men and machines, but also because Dr. Kurt Debus and his associates in NASA, in the Air Force and other governmental agencies, in industry, and in universities have created a team of organizations—a much more difficult undertaking than to create a team of individuals.

This team of organizations has made it possible for the United States to sail on the new ocean of space. In history's record of those events which have the greatest significance in marking our nation's progress, the John F. Kennedy Space Center deserves the place we accord it today.

## REMARKS BY GEORGE M. LOW

Five years ago this morning I sat at a console in the Launch Control Center, a few hundred yards from here, my eyes glued to instruments signalling the well-being of the Apollo 11 spacecraft. In that spacecraft, out on Pad 39A, Neil Armstrong, Mike Collins and Buzz Aldrin were ready to begin the most fantastic journey in the history of man—an incredible journey to explore another world.

We are here today to commemorate that historic moment by dedicating Pad 39A—the launching site of man's first landing on the moon—as a National Historic Monument.

In the years to come people from all nations and all walks of life no doubt will visit this site. Some will be awed by the tons of steel and concrete they see, while others will attempt to recreate in their minds the sight and sound that marked Apollo 11's flight into the heavens. Still others will pay silent tribute to the three men who dared the unknown. A few, I imagine, will shake their heads in wonderment and remark to themselves, "So this is where it all began!"

What began on that hot July morning five years ago was the future.

What kind of future? There are some who would paint a very dark picture. Perhaps the darkest view of all was projected by a body of scientists and industrialists known as the Club of Rome. In 1972 they published and widely circulated a report called "The Limits of Growth." In it, they concluded that our civilization would collapse before the year 2100, unless we immediately placed drastic restrictions on economic and technological growth.

Of course, the Club's predictions are wrong, largely because the calculations leading to these predictions fail to take into account the technological achievements of the future.

By analogy, the "Economist" pointed out that a study of London's transportation system made in 1872 would have predicted that by 1972 the city would surely be buried under a mountain of horse manure.

The fact is that our sun will shine for another 6 billion years before it expends its energy. This means that 6 billion years are available for potentially magnificent achievements by the human species before nature rings down the final curtain. The road to the future is just beginning.

Please understand. I am not saying that the lot of man on earth is guaranteed with absolute certainty. Far from it. We are facing serious problems today—super problems having to do with the environment and natural resources and energy. Last fall and winter we had the first taste of the potential seriousness of these problems. We will face even bigger ones in the future.

Perhaps the chief lesson of the event that took place here, five years ago, is that we can solve these problems—that we can succeed in spite of what may appear to be insurmountable obstacles.

In Apollo, 400 thousand Americans were

dedicated to doing the impossible—and they did it. In Apollo, America had a plan—and a commitment to see it through. In Apollo, 200 million Americans backed their country to the limit—something we usually see only in war, but this time in peace. And in Apollo the entire world hoped and prayed and cheered Armstrong and his crew as representatives of not just the United States but of all men. Everyone was part of Apollo!

Apollo is the symbol of hope for the future of mankind. The symbol of hope for the future, because it is a demonstration that mankind can cope to achieve what at first appears to be impossible.

Apollo was in the forefront of the thrust for a new and better world, and so is NASA today. Unlike many of our sister agencies of Government which deal with the everyday duties of society, NASA is pushing beyond the frontiers of science and technology, and we do this peacefully, openly, and for the benefit of all. True, our major thrust is the exploration of space. We have put men on the moon and spaceships around Mars. We have extended our reach to Venus and Mercury, and glimpsed the mysteries of the distant world of Jupiter.

The same technology that made these feats possible has enhanced measurably the quality and security of life on our own planet: weather satellites warn us of storms; communication satellites have pushed back the barriers of ignorance; resource monitoring spaceships watch our farmlands, help us to locate vital minerals, and keep a watchful eye on the advances of pollution. Many of the discoveries and innovations our efforts produced have found their way into medicine, electronics, and products and services of all kinds. The views brought back by astronauts of our tiny planet, floating like a blue oasis in the void, have stirred our spiritual belief while making us aware of our cosmic heritage. And if the coming joint space venture with our Russian neighbors can be counted, we can lay firm claim to the easing of world tensions.

No matter our achievements, however, we cannot relax our pursuit of knowledge, for we must now face the coming crises of our times. Every effort must be made to see that the opportunity which our technology presents is not lost. We may be sure that the opportunity will not occur soon again, if ever. To fail now would mean a ravaged environment and depleted resources—a plunge into a new and terrible Dark Age from which there would be no return. We must refine, adapt, use and experiment with new sources of knowledge. In our pursuits we must push ahead in every area: in theoretical fields, which are now so remote from application that no one can see any connection; in fields so obtuse they cannot be successfully explained to the layman. For unless we continuously restore the fund of basic knowledge, we shall ultimately exhaust it.

This perspective has not been lost by the men and women of NASA. With the help of the Congress, American industry and universities, we are moving towards new and even more exciting adventures in space; adventures that will ultimately have practical application.

Ahead lies the Viking landing on Mars. Within a few years, Shuttle orbiters will add a new dimension to earth studies by ferrying teams of scientists and engineers to and from space on a regular basis. Beyond lies the construction of huge orbiting space stations with men and women scientists of all nations working together in harmony for a common purpose. They will investigate the earth, the sun, the stars, the universe; they will experiment with applications of weightlessness to medicine and manufacturing processes. Some day we will establish scientific outposts on the moon, and even tap its mineral resources. And in the not-too-distant future astronauts may tread the surface of Mars

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and the glaciers of the moons of Jupiter in search of extraterrestrial life.

It is not inconceivable, also, that one day we may even be able to listen to other civilizations in the distant reaches of our galaxy—to tap our cosmic heritage just as we have tapped the wisdom and the experience of the earliest civilizations of earth.

In the final analysis, the ability to move outward in space, to colonize other worlds in our solar system and to communicate with other intelligent beings, may represent the fundamental factor in the survival of our species.

The future began here at 9:32 a.m. on July 16, 1969. At that moment on July 16 in the year 2069, launch windows to Mars, Neptune, and Pluto will be open.

Will we fly through those windows  
I think we will.

### HELP NEEDED FOR SOVIET CITIZEN WHO WISHES TO EMIGRATE

#### HON. RICHARD H. FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, Prof. Richard E. Heisey of the Department of Mathematics at Vanderbilt University, has brought to my attention the very needy case of a human being who is a citizen of the Soviet Union, Efim Slavinsky, who wishes to emigrate from that nation.

Professor Heisey has requested me to read a statement of concern into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, which I am pleased to do, and I think this concern will be shared by all who have the opportunity to read Professor Heisey's letter which I insert in the RECORD at this point and commend it to my colleagues for their consideration.

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY,  
Nashville, Tenn., June 12, 1974.  
Hon. RICHARD H. FULTON,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I would like to solicit your help in effecting the emigration from the Soviet Union of Efim Slavinsky. Violating his basic human right to live where he chooses, the Soviet authorities have twice refused him permission to leave. Mr. Slavinsky's plight has been brought to my attention by a friend of mine, H. W. Tjalsma, who is a writer and Russian literature specialist. His account of the systematic persecution undergone by Mr. Slavinsky prompts me to write this letter. Slavinsky's situation is characterized as desperate. Personal data follows:

Efim Mikhailovich Slavinsky. Born 10 November 1936 in Korosten (Zhitomirskaya oblast). Currently residing in the village of Ugor, City of Vladimir. First applied for permission to emigrate (OVIR, Vladimir) in October, 1973. Dismissed from employment in a Vladimir streetcar depot as a result. Refused permission to emigrate, Nov., 1973. Applied again for permission in the spring, 1974. Refused, April, 1974. Graduate of the Philological Faculty of Leningrad State University, specialist in modern American literature.

Mr. Slavinsky was arrested in June, 1969, and sentenced to prison in Novosibirsk. He has been required to reside in Vladimir since his release in 1971. Charges to the contrary, I am assured that Mr. Slavinsky is a serious scholar of high moral standards who

exerted a deeply humanist influence on writers, poets and students in Leningrad for many years prior to his arrest.

I would greatly appreciate any help you can offer in this matter, particularly if you are able to speak to Soviet representatives. In addition, Mr. Tjalsma informs me that it would also be helpful for you to read a statement of your concern into the Congressional Record and then forward copies to the Soviet Embassy. Finally, would you kindly forward a carbon copy of any response to me you might be able to make to Mr. H. W. Tjalsma, 111 Delaware Ave., Ithaca, N.Y. 14850. This will help with the coordination of Mr. Tjalsma's efforts.

With my appreciation for any action you may take in this matter.

Sincerely,

RICHARD E. HEISEY,  
Asst. Prof. (Visiting).

### DR. WILLIAM HUGH MCENIRY

#### HON. JAMES G. MARTIN

OF NORTH CAROLINA

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. MARTIN of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, this past spring the educational community in Charlotte and North Carolina was shocked to learn of the death of Dr. William Hugh McEniry, vice chancellor for academic affairs at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte.

Dr. McEniry was not a native of North Carolina, but he and his wife, Mary, fell in love with the Tar Heel countryside and its people. Many of those people were very close to Dr. McEniry. One was Ken Sanford, director of information for the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. Mr. Sanford has written an article for the university's alumni magazine giving a brief look at the late educator's life. I want to include excerpts from that article in the day's RECORD.

The excerpts follow:

WILLIAM HUGH MCENIRY—A LIFE  
WORTH CELEBRATING  
(By Ken Sanford)

Dr. William Hugh McEniry was avidly recruited by Chancellor D. W. Colvard. Dr. McEniry was almost an institution at Stetson University. He had served in many posts there over a period of 27 years. Finally, as dean of the University, he had substantial input into the overall administration of the institution.

Dr. McEniry had deep roots at Stetson, and he was involved in some activities that were difficult to leave, but the Chancellor's recruiting finally paid off. What finally sold Dr. McEniry? "I believe," the Chancellor said, "that he reached the conclusion that he had had a very satisfying career at Stetson and that there was a real challenge here. He saw an opportunity to transfer his energies from the private sector to the public university."

Despite his love for his homeplaces both in Florida and at UNCC, Hugh McEniry was a member of a national educational community. Perhaps a few faculty members and certainly fewer students knew about this side of the man because of his modesty.

He was a consultant to a host of national higher education agencies. These included the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools of which he was once president, the Danforth and Ford Foundations and the College Entrance Examination Board. Just last

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fall he became president of the North Carolina Association of Colleges and Universities.

Little known too was his dedication to improved higher education opportunities for blacks. He was highly regarded by the presidents of predominantly black institutions. He took very seriously his position as a trustee of Johnson C. Smith University. He personally gave scholarships to some young black people. And he worked with the Ford Foundation in evaluating proposals for the upgrading of black colleges.

The vice chancellor had several opportunities for college presidencies. He rejected them all. His goal in life was to be the best academic administrator he knew how to be.

It's a strange thing to remember about a man who didn't call himself a writer, but what I remember vividly about Dr. McEniry was his ability to write clearly and concisely about complex education matters. It's often frustrating for a writer to come to a university campus and confront "educationese." It requires translation for the layman. This was not necessary in Dr. McEniry's case. Even the institutional self study which he pulled together for the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools reads well.

Something to remember about Dr. McEniry was one of his contributions to a statement of University goals: "In its relationship with students, faculty and staff members, alumni and the public, the University treats each person as an individual, respecting differences and guaranteeing individual rights of citizenship."

Typically, William Hugh McEniry had asked that there be no funeral for himself but rather that there be a "celebration of life." His was indeed a life worth celebrating.

of enactment of this Act shall comply with the standards in subsection (b) above with respect to lands from which the overburden has not been removed. Within 120 days following enactment of this Act, the regulatory authority shall review and amend permits in order to incorporate in them the standards of subsection (b) above."

GEORGE BURGER

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, on May 18 of this year, George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business and one of the best known and highly respected lobbyists in the Nation, celebrated his 85th birthday.

I would like to take belated note of that fact by including for insertion in the RECORD at this point a summary detailing highlights of Mr. Burger's long career in behalf of small businessmen in this country:

George J. Burger, Vice President in charge of Legislative Activities and Board Member of the National Federation of Independent Business since 1947, represented small businessmen at Washington, D.C. for the past quarter-century.

His interest has been generally in all things directly or indirectly affecting independent business fair opportunities. His chief concern has been in adequate enforcement of all antitrust laws, at the national, state and local levels, among businessmen, farmers, labor and government itself, to keep trade channels free of arbitrary restraints. He believes that adequate antitrust enforcement strengthens free enterprise, and thereby helps stave off otherwise inevitable trends toward state socialism or greater government interference with business.

Since 1947 Mr. Burger has directed Federation legislative efforts which have helped gain small businessmen the strongest, most effective representation ever in our nation's history in governmental affairs . . . through creation of the permanent Senate Small Business Committee (1950), creation of the Executive Branch Small Business Administration (established in 1953, made permanent in 1958), and creation of the continuing President's Special Cabinet Committee on Small Business. He has also directed efforts which resulted, in 1958, in Congressional enactment of \$260 million in special tax revisions for smaller firms, in the Small Business Tax Adjustment Act.

In 1962, he was credited by the officials of the United States Treasury with playing a prominent part in the drive for enactment of the original 7% Investment Credit. In that year also, in concert with organizations representing doctors, lawyers, and other self-employed professionals, he worked successfully for enactment of H.R. 10, a measure which allowed, for the first time, self-employed business and professional people to take tax credits against payments made into their retirement programs. In 1964 he led the lobbying effort which resulted in reversal in the corporate tax structure favoring smaller corporations.

In 1966 Mr. Burger won a 25-year fight for independent tire dealers, securing for them equality with tire manufacturer-owned retail stores in payment of the federal excise tax on their tire stocks.

More than this, he has coordinated Federation legislative activities which have helped lead to, among other things, (1) Federal Trade Commission pioneering efforts to establish tire maximum discount ceilings as protections for independent dealers (1947), (2) the successful small business counter-drive against "basing point" proposals which could have wrecked antitrust protections against pricing unfairness (1949), (3) enactment of the Celler-O'Mahoney strengthener to Clayton Act prohibitions against monopoly procuring mergers (1950), (4) enactment of the McGuire Fair Trade Enabling Act, and creation of the Smaller War Plants Corporation to integrate small business productive potential into the Korean War programs (1951), (5) successful cooperation with the Independent Bankers Association in securing enactment of the Bank Holding Company bill (1955), and (6) in 1958 and 1959 a rash of Congressional enactments helpful to independent enterprises, including measures for speedier enforcement of antitrust orders, the closure of legal loopholes which helped giant chains escape effective antitrust supervision over unfair pricing activities, bills to protect small interstate sellers against multi-state taxation of their incomes, etc.

Additionally, he has directed Federation legislative activities in cooperation with the Hoover Commission which have helped promote a claimed \$7.5 billion in savings on government operations, and he has helped set the wheels in motion for elimination of burdensome Federal excise taxes on independents' telephone and telegraph bills, and has provided Capitol follow-up on Federation member wishes to reduce the size and number of Government establishments competing with independent businessmen. Presently he is working closely with a number of Congressmen on new legislative proposals aimed to require manufacturers who sell through both their own factory store chains and independent dealers, to treat both equally price-wise.

In his years at Washington, D.C., Mr. Burger has been a member of the Small Business Task Force of the National Security Resources Board, a member of the Business Advisory Committee to the President's Council of Economic Advisers, and a member of the Small Business Advisory Committee to the House Small Business Committee. Further than this, he has acted as consultant to both major political parties in drawing up the Small Business planks of their Presidential Year Platforms, testifying before their conventions in 1948, 1952 and 1956. Many of his recommendations were incorporated into these platforms, and subsequently voted into law.

Prior to 1947, Mr. Burger represented the nation's independent tire dealers at Washington, D.C. In that capacity he shared in leadership of the drives that led to enactment of the Robinson-Patman Law, which put teeth into Clayton Act prohibitions against unfair price discrimination, and that led to enactment of the Miller-Tydings Fair Trade Enabling Act. He worked closely with Congressmen in establishing the temporary House and Senate Small Business Committees in 1940 and 1941, and cooperated closely with these Committees in their studies of tire dealer problems. These studies have become the "bible" for Government officials working on small business problems to this day. By surveys of national conditions, he helped put the wheels in motion with Justice Department and Federal Trade Commission on projects that have freed independent service station operators to buy their tire-battery-accessory goods when and from whom they want. By espousal of the Tire Bill, a measure to bar tire manufacturers from selling at retail in competition with their independent outlets, he helped head off disastrous price wars in the rubber industry. In cooperation with the Small Business Committees he

## PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE SURFACE MINING CONTROL AND RECLAMATION ACT OF 1974

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow I plan to offer an amendment to H.R. 11500 to establish a more reasonable time period for implementation of the interim environmental standards. The committee bill provides a 120-day period in which State regulatory authorities are to incorporate the new interim standards into existing strip mining permits. Although this time period is sufficient, the concurrent requirement that existing surface mine operations comply with such standards is clearly inadequate. Indeed, we may expect an adverse impact on coal production to result from the committee's implementation schedule.

While continuing to allow 120 days for State permit revision, my amendment restructures this schedule by allowing a more reasonable 180-day period for existing operations to comply with the new standards. This schedule will minimize any adverse production impacts and grant hard pressed State regulatory officials adequate time to amend existing permits. The text of the amendment follows:

Page 152, line 12. Strike out subsection (c) and insert a subsection (c) to read as follows: "(c) On and after 180 days from the date of enactment of this Act, all surface coal mining operations existing at the date

helped lay the groundwork for the Smaller War Plants Corporation, which helped integrate small business into the World War II effort, and for the Government rubber program which integrated tire independents into the war effort.

Mr. Burger is one of the few lobbyists to be cited by Members of Congress for outstanding service in the legislative process to his constituents. On February 8, 1970 the entire Membership of the Senate Small Business Committee presented him a plaque in honor of his years of Federal lobbying on behalf of small business. On August 13, 1970 the entire membership of the House Small Business Committee followed suit.

His Washington work carried him outside the small business field. For instance, he was instrumental in enactment of a law (1951) which authorized widows, parents, and next of kin of members of the Armed Forces who lost their lives in World War II to wear lapel buttons indicating their losses.

Mr. Burger has been active in the independent business field since 1910. From 1912 to 1935 he operated his own retail tire business, pioneering many of the nationally prominent tire lines in New York and New Jersey trade areas. He has long been prominent in independent tire dealer association activities. He was a founder member, in 1920, of the Greater New York City Tire and Battery Association. In 1921 he helped organize the first national tire dealer group—The National Tire Dealers Association. He served three terms as President of the NTDA and one term as organization secretary.

He was one of the founder members, and President, of the United Tire Stores of America, in 1929. The purpose of this organization was to give tire independents the benefit of mass purchasing power to help them meet the competition flowing from the Sears Roebuck connection with the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company.

Mr. Burger became Secretary-General Manager of the National Association of Independent Tire Dealers, the successor to the National Tire Dealers Association, in 1935, the year of the organization's founding. He remained with NAITD until early 1941, being responsible for the building of the organization for representation of membership interests in the industry and at Washington, D.C.

In 1941 Mr. Burger founded his own Consultant Service for independent tire dealers, the Burger Tire Consultant Service and commenced publishing his own tire trade journal, the National Independent. His work was limited generally to tire dealer problems, until 1947, when he became Washington representative for both the Federation and the Consultant Service.

JAMES HERMAN "DIZZY" DEAN

HON. THAD COCHRAN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, all Mississippians and millions of Americans today are saddened by the death of one of baseball's great men, James Herman "Dizzy" Dean. It was my State's good fortune that Dizzy Dean adopted Mississippi as his State. We, in turn, adopted him as one of our favorite sons.

We all loved Dizzy Dean and appreciated his outstanding contribution to baseball as a great performer and as a radio and television commentator. We will miss him very much, but we will never forget all he has meant to us.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### WEST UNION

#### HON. DICK CLARK

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, on the Fourth of July, I participated in West Union's Independence Day parade in northeastern Iowa—the opening event of a 4-day celebration of West Union's 125th Jubilee.

A history of the town of West Union—which was settled in 1849—has been written by Judge W. H. Antes, a civic leader there for more than half a century. The historical sketch of West Union is a fascinating account, and I ask unanimous consent that a summary of that history be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

The site of West Union was originally known as Knob Prairie to the band of settlers who first built cabins there in the spring of 1849. On April 23rd of that year, a Mr. William Wells settled in West Union, built a substantial log house on a site now occupied by the Farris Meyer family, and conceived the idea of laying out a town. Mr. Wells named the settlement West Union after a town of the same name in his home state of Ohio.

Shortly thereafter, the first house on the platted portion of West Union was built by the first county judge, Jacob W. Rogers. The "Ecker House," as it was thereafter known, was located on the site of the present Glen Wilson house on Wallace Street, and was not torn down until 1953.

In the years following the settlement of West Union, several stores and a hotel were opened and the town began to flourish. It was officially incorporated in 1866, when H. N. Hawkins became the first mayor and I. F. Clark became the first recorder. By this date, West Union was a thriving community complete with schools, businesses and professional establishments.

The earliest plat book of West Union—published in 1879—shows numerous carpenter shops, saw and planing mills, two grist mills, a pump shop, sorghum mill, broom factory, cheese factory, creamery, two ice houses, churches and a school. There were four early hotels. One, called the United States House, was a three-story frame building located on the site of the present bank building. A bugle would announce to the hotel guests the approach of the stage coach from McGregor to Dubuque. A second hotel, the Leverich House (later known as the Irvin House, the City Hotel, the Descent House and finally the Arlington Hotel, occupied the present corner of Traegers at the southwest corner of Vine and Walnut streets. This burned in the city's most spectacular fire on March 22, 1903.

One of the most interesting facets of West Union's history was the controversial struggle which eventually resulted in the designation of West Union as the County Seat of Fayette County. Five possible places to locate the county seat were selected by the Iowa Legislature in 1851. An election was held on the first Monday of April during that year, and after a run-off election several weeks later, West Union won by a margin of 35 votes.

During the next 15 years, the communities of Westfield and Fayette made three unsuccessful attempts to hold other elections and remove the county seat from West Union. In September of 1872, after a fire which burned the West Union Court-

house to the ground, another attempt was made to transfer the county seat to Fayette. This, too, failed. In 1922, when the rebuilt courthouse again burned down in a fire, a group of townspeople from Olewin attempted to have the county seat switched to their town—a move which also failed. The new, three-story courthouse in West Union, which remains today, was built in 1922.

The first public school house in West Union was a log structure erected in the summer of 1850, at the southeast corner of Elm Street. Many young people also were educated in churches, as well as in a private school known as the Ainsworth Academy. The original log building was replaced by a brick school built in 1881 on the north side of Main Street facing Court House Square, and that in turn was followed by a newer brick building—now the present high school—built in 1970.

The first newspaper in West Union, which was also the first in Fayette County, was called the Fayette County Pioneer. It was a Democratic paper, first published in 1853 by John Sharky.

West Union has produced a number of prominent citizens during its 125-year history. Included are the Honorable L. L. Ainsworth, a Democratic lawyer who served one term in the House of Representatives; the Honorable Walt H. Butler, former editor of the Fayette County Union, who also served one term in the House, and the Honorable W. E. Fuller, a Republican attorney who won two terms in the House. Numerous citizens of West Union also represented the county in the State Legislature, and at least six attorneys from West Union have become district court judges. In addition, three former state Superintendents of Public Instruction are from West Union: J. B. Knoepfle, Fred Neritt and May Francis.

West Union is famous for a variety of events, such as the Chautauqua, which began in 1907 and was an annual event until about 1924, with such well-known persons appearing as Williams Jennings Bryan, Robert M. LaFollette, Billy Sunday, Bishop Samuel Fallows and Carrie Nation. Probably as well known in West Union lore was the incident in 1854 when 15 to 20 women marched into the local saloon, armed with the proper tools, and rolled the beer kegs out into the street, allowing the contents to drain into the gutter.

Time and space will not allow additional remembrances of West Union. But West Union has provided Iowa with much fascinating history during its 125 years.

MRS. ALBERTA WILLIAMS KING

HON. WILLIAM LEHMAN

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. Speaker, last month in an Atlanta church, another senseless atrocity was committed, and our Nation and the world itself are poorer for the loss of Alberta King.

Mrs. Alberta Williams King remained and worked behind the scenes during the civil rights movement, but her presence during those turbulent times was manifested in the confidence and courage of her son, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., as he marched the streets and roads of Alabama and Mississippi.

Perhaps the legacy of peace and love left by Alberta Williams King will live on and help us to endure the long road we have yet to travel to reach the goals so eloquently described by her son.

## MIDEAST NUCLEAR DEALS

## HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, a number of newspapers and columnists have raised serious questions concerning the wisdom of the recent agreement announced by President Nixon to provide Egypt and Israel with nuclear technology for peaceful purposes such as generating electricity.

The New York Times pointed out in a recent editorial that not even France and Russia have been willing to hand their nuclear information over to their friends in the Mideast and this newspaper also points up the fact that "peacetime" nuclear technology supplied to India by Canada resulted in the development of the recent nuclear weapon exploded by the Indian Government.

An editorial in the Tennessean in Nashville points out that Egyptian and Israeli commitments that the technology will be used only for peaceful purposes might be broken later by new governments in those countries.

The Nashville Banner has editorially questioned the effectiveness and wisdom of extending nuclear testing bans between the United States and the Soviet Union when other countries—most recently India and China—continue to explode and test nuclear weapons.

An editorial published in the Washington Star-News, although essentially friendly to the administration's agreements with Egypt and Israel, raises the point that safeguards against the theft and loss of nuclear materials are questionable.

Columnist Milton Viorst recently revealed that France, known as a maverick in international affairs, recently refused Arab requests for nuclear technology.

A news article in the Christian Science Monitor points out that India's nuclear bomb was developed from technology introduced in that country by Canada under supposedly similar conditions.

Certainly these are serious questions that should be carefully considered.

Because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this matter, I place in the RECORD herewith copies of these and other articles and editorials.

The articles and editorials follow:

[From the New York Times, June 19, 1974]

## MIDEAST NUCLEAR DEALS

The debate aroused by President Nixon's nuclear accord with President Anwar Sadat undoubtedly assures careful Congressional scrutiny well before Egypt receives the promised power reactors, fissionable materials and technology.

In normal course, this scrutiny would not come until a formal nuclear cooperation agreement had been negotiated, after which Congress would have thirty to sixty days to object if it wanted to do so. However, the controversial nature of this first nuclear agreement with an Arab country suggests that earlier consultation and Congressional hearings would be advisable to clear the air.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

One reason for the current controversy on Capitol Hill is the Administration's failure to consult Congress adequately or in time. While some senior members of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reportedly were briefed a couple of days before the Nixon-Sadat accord, most Congressional leaders were taken by surprise by the announcement, even though the arrangement had been in negotiation for several months.

The questions now being raised should be answered swiftly. One question is whether the American and international safeguards that will be involved are indeed foolproof. New force has been added to worry on that score by India's detonation of a nuclear explosive, even though the evidence seems overwhelming that the weapons-grade plutonium for that explosive did not come from a safeguarded American reactor but from a Canadian reactor not covered by an inspection system to guard against diversion of the fissionable material.

What remains unanswered is what recourse the United States would have if, a decade hence, inspection revealed that a future Egyptian Government had decided to evade or repudiate its agreement after acquiring the atomic know-how and materials to make a bomb. India was able to extract weapons-grade plutonium from the fuel elements of its reactors because it had constructed a chemical separation plant for this purpose and was able to avoid international scrutiny. This technology, long restricted to the five nuclear powers, now is spreading. Japan reportedly is building a commercial plant and pilot plants are reportedly under construction or in existence in Argentina and Spain.

The question that requires answer is whether, as part of the "peaceful atom" aid both countries are to receive from the United States, Egypt and Israel should be asked to renounce construction of such plants—plants which would be commercially uneconomic and could only have one purpose, national control of weapons-grade plutonium. A commitment of that kind would not prevent repudiation of the agreement with Washington, but would provide a substantial delay between repudiation of the agreement and manufacture of a bomb.

Another basic question is whether the United States ought to sign new nuclear agreements with countries which have failed to adhere to the nuclear nonproliferation treaty. Neither Egypt nor Israel has adhered as yet, although Egypt has signed the treaty without ratifying it. All the nuclear powers except China have agreed under the treaty to apply international safeguards to any atomic assistance they grant. In the light of the Indian experience, Congress will have to consider whether an effort is needed to ban nuclear assistance to countries which fail to adhere to the nonproliferation treaty and to put all their reactors under safeguards.

The fact that agreements for peaceful nuclear assistance have been made with about 35 countries, including Israel, without any reports of safeguards evasion is not a sufficient answer to the current questions. Until now, not only the United States but also the Soviet Union and France have refrained from nuclear agreements with Arab countries. Despite all the hopes for a new era in the Middle East, the reality is that the cease-fire agreements made by Egypt and Syria with Israel have yet to be transformed into full-fledged peace settlements and normalization of relations. Israel's Arab neighbors still press irredentist claims, which are a long way from being resolved. On that basis, Congress will have to determine whether any nuclear deals are not premature.

The argument can, of course, be made that the United States is not the sole supplier of nuclear reactors and that the detailed

safeguards on which Washington will certainly insist are better than the risk of less carefully drafted deals with the Soviet Union or other suppliers. It is the complexity of the issues involved that make full-dress Congressional evaluation both essential and urgent.

[From the *Nashville Banner*]  
NEW NUCLEAR RUSH LEAVES WASHINGTON UNCONCERNED

The world's sudden rush for nuclear capacity has set off deep worry everywhere but in Washington, where even Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger expressed no great concern after China set off a test explosion in the atmosphere yesterday.

The test was China's 16th in 10 years and was the equivalent of a million tons of TNT. About a year ago China exploded a hydrogen bomb.

Mr. Schlesinger said the test "reflects the slow-paced" Chinese development of nuclear weapons.

Be that as it may, it's no afterthought that it comes on the heels of India's detonation of a nuclear device exactly a month ago.

The *Banner* said then that Communist China undoubtedly will earmark some of her nuclear devices for India "just in case." China now finds herself dwelling between two nuclear powers friendly to each other but both hostile to her.

India did not sign the 1968 treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. China has refused to join any international pact banning atmospheric tests.

So has France which just hours before China's test conducted a nuclear test over the South Pacific.

Both France and China have cited defense needs in refusing to join in pacts banning atmospheric tests.

That reason takes on added significance in the light of India's nuclear capability.

As this newspaper has pointed out, the action of India, which has seen herself as the moral leader of the nonaligned world, makes it easier for such "pre-nuclear" countries as Israel, Egypt, Iran, Brazil and South Africa to flout world opinion by building their own bombs.

Just in the last few days, President Nixon announced twin nuclear aid agreements with Egypt and Israel during his Middle East tour. Congressional critics charge that the agreements will increase the nuclear weapons capability of both countries, despite assurances by them that the agreements involve only peaceful uses of atomic energy.

That's what India said when she detonated her bomb. Claiming that her nuclear development would be limited to earthmoving and similar constructive enterprises.

So nuclear knowledge is in the hands of the United States, Britain, Russia, France, China, and India. Now Egypt and Israel are being handed that knowledge.

Again we are reminded that nuclear scientists have long had a grim calculation: every time another country joins the nuclear club, the probabilities increase of the use of nuclear weapons in warfare.

The sudden testing by China and India, a month apart, does indeed call for concern, despite Mr. Schlesinger's lack of worry.

The French and Chinese explosions coincide with the recent statement by Soviet Communist party Chief Leonid I. Brezhnev that the Soviet Union is ready to extend the test ban agreement with the United States to include underground, as well as atmospheric tests.

But what good is that when the number of other nations with nuclear capability increases?

United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim said he "regrets any decision by any power to continue nuclear testing."

We all should.

July 17, 1974

[From the Tennessean]

#### HOUSE ABDICATES NUCLEAR AID ROLE

The House has erred in rejecting a move that would have permitted a meaningful congressional review of President Nixon's pledge of nuclear assistance to Egypt and Israel.

The representatives defeated an amendment to a major appropriations bill which would have made the sale of nuclear reactors and technology contingent upon congressional approval. Instead, the House was satisfied with a promise from the chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy that his panel will study the ramifications of Mr. Nixon's offers.

The House action came over the objections of Rep. Mario Biaggi, D-N.Y. who warned that the Egyptian and Israeli assurances that the devices will be used for peaceful purposes might be circumvented later by changes in leadership in those countries.

Apparently, a majority of the House is fully accepting the argument of the administration and the Atomic Energy Commission that contractual safeguards and the nature of the fuel will prevent those foreign nations from diverting their newly-gained materials to military uses. Unfortunately, that position does not jibe with the recent experience in India where scientists detonated a device that was built with materials obtained from Canada for "peaceful" uses.

Mr. Nixon's unwise offer of nuclear capability to Egypt and Israel should receive a full airing, and the Congress certainly should retain the option of negating that gesture in the interest of human safety. It is regrettable that the House has abdicated that responsibility.

[From the Washington Star-News, June 18, 1974]

#### ATOMS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The congressional cries of alarm over President Nixon's agreement to supply peaceful nuclear technology to Egypt for the most part miss the point. The critics' instinctive reaction is to see the arrangement as putting awesome weapons in the hands of irresponsible Arabs who only want to do you know what to the Israelis. The real danger is not that simply spelled out, nor is it avoided by reverting to one-sided Mideast diplomacy or by attempting to construct a nuclear cocoon around this country.

There has been a figurative explosion of nuclear knowledge in the last decade. The secrets of making the bomb have long been out, and third-rate countries can produce their own if they really want to. Little Israel is believed to have the ability and the materials, having acquired a suitable reactor from France in the 1950s. India used equipment provided innocently by Canada to set up its underground blast. Egypt long has been a candidate for such unwelcome proliferation of destructive nuclear power, and conceivably could get outside non-U.S. help toward this aim.

American diplomacy, however, has different goals both in the Middle East and in heading off the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Helping Egypt in peaceful economic development is one of the techniques in creating a Middle East in which there will be no recurrence of Arab-Israeli warfare. And Egypt has as legitimate a need for nuclear power plants as Israel, or Pakistan.

The United States also has been generally promoting peaceful uses of nuclear energy since President Eisenhower announced the Atoms for Peace program. There are cooperative agreements in this field with 35 countries, most calling for power-plant development.

There are dangers in the business, as Canada's experience with India has demonstrated. Reactors produce weapons-grade ma-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

terial (plutonium) as well as electricity or research findings, and their use must be monitored and the disposition of materials surrounded by foolproof safeguards. This can be done bilaterally and through the International Atomic Energy Commission. The Egyptian deal is predicated on the negotiation of safeguards, and these should be stern, as they should be in agreements with all customers for our nuclear knowhow.

Congressional concern could be focused more usefully on the need for more and more stringent safeguards over nuclear processes and materials, both internationally and at home. As the technology spreads and the makings of bombs become ever more difficult to trace, the potential for disaster will grow frighteningly. The main danger could be from terrorists or extortionists having sufficient knowledge to construct crude nuclear bombs if given the chance, a prospect that is drawing increased expert attention. And this could happen in California perhaps more easily than in Cairo. The safeguards had better live up to their name.

[From the Washington Star-News, June 20, 1974]

#### NUCLEAR IRRESPONSIBILITY

(By Milton Viorst)

Last February, just after the collapse of the Washington oil conference, Libya's Prime Minister Jalloud went to Paris and offered the government of the late President Pompidou a deal: oil for France's energy needs in return for nuclear reactors.

Now, whatever else one might have said about Pompidou, one would never have said he was extremely scrupulous about French responsibilities to the international community (at least, the way most of the world would define them).

At the time, the French government was in a state of mild desperation about its oil supplies. The Arabs were still playing the embargo game. It seemed that France was willing to bust up not only NATO but the Common Market to assure its flow of oil.

Yet Pompidou refused Jalloud's request for nuclear reactors. He was willing to sell the Libyans planes, tanks and ships. He was willing to build them conventional power plants. But he would not give them the capacity to build nuclear bombs.

There is something disgusting in the fact that Richard Nixon and the United States of America—soliciting the cheers of the Arab world by introducing the nuclear factor into the Middle East—are willing to do what Georges Pompidou and the French would not.

Let us remember that not even the Russians have stooped to injecting the nuclear element into the Middle East. In their own way, they have been at least as desperate as the French to keep their hand in the Arab community. But while they have brought in huge quantities and the highest quality of modern arms, they have consistently turned down all Arab requests for a nuclear capacity.

I am, of course, aware of the various safeguards promised in the Nixon-Sadat communique from Cairo, as I am aware of the assurances from both sides of peaceful intentions. I would further add that I consider President Sadat the most responsible head of state in the Arab world.

But the Canadians also thought they had built safeguards into their nuclear agreement with the Indians, and I consider Mrs. Gandhi an equally responsible head of state.

Nonetheless, the Indians have exploded a nuclear weapon (which they continue to dismiss as merely a "device") and thereby have seriously upset the recently achieved political stability on the subcontinent.

So even responsible political leaders such as Mrs. Gandhi have been known to act irre-

sponsibly, in what they consider to be the national interest.

As for the Egyptians, it is true that they are not drowning in oil to run power plants, but they have no shortage of friendly neighbors—whom they call their Arab brothers—who are.

Furthermore, the Sinai wells which Israel took from them in the Six-Day War, and which they count on getting back in forthcoming negotiations, can make them virtually self-sufficient in energy for years to come.

Would it not be reasonable to conclude that what Egypt wants is not the electricity created by nuclear energy but the byproduct, nuclear bombs? More bluntly, just whom does Nixon think he's kidding?

Thus far, the Israelis—having had to entertain Nixon after the Cairo visit—have been too polite to complain. It's irrelevant that Nixon has made them the same offer. They have long had nuclear technology, but they have been fastidious in keeping nuclear weapons out of Mideast politics.

Surely, we'll be hearing more from them on the subject, as I suspect we will from others, both inside and outside governments. Nixon's act is not likely to sit well with the rest of the civilized world.

Why he did it remains a mystery. Held in contempt by so many of his own people, was he responding to the warmth of the Egyptians? Was this "Watergate politics" in its international phase? Whatever it was, it was grossly irresponsible of him, and shameful for our country.

[From Newsday, June 15-16, 1974]

#### SPREADING NUCLEAR PERIL

In 1963 Canada, one of the world's richest sources of uranium, agreed to assist India in developing nuclear reactors, for peaceful use. India's pledge against military exploitation of that assistance was renewed in 1968 and again in 1971. But on May 18 of this year, India exploded a nuclear device. The Canadian government reacted with shock, and Pakistan, India's neighbor and recent enemy, termed the development "a new threat to our security."

This expansive insight into the impermanence of nuclear promises casts a dark shadow over President Nixon's jubilant diplomacy in Cairo—and indeed over the whole fabric of peace agreements taking shape in the Middle East. Is it possible that today's diplomatic triumphs are laying a foundation for tomorrow's nuclear war?

There has been no reason up to now to criticize Secretary Kissinger's summit diplomacy. But when President Nixon and Sadat announced their draft agreement to share nuclear information, it became clear that Nixon's trip to the Mideast was not only ill-timed but poorly prepared. A nation which only a few months ago was launching a surprise attack on Israel, condemning the United States as an enemy and participating in the Arab oil embargo should really be required to give more enduring evidence of its changed intentions than the parades and panoply of Nixon's three-day visit—especially with the Indian experience so freshly in mind.

Although the joint communique speaks of the nuclear deal as an agreement and not a treaty, it seems essential to us that all the details must be carefully reviewed in the Senate. And one immediate provision, we think, must be held in abeyance until that review. It states: "Pending conclusion of this [nuclear energy] agreement, the United States Atomic Energy Commission and the Egyptian Ministry of Electricity will this month conclude a provision agreement for the sale of nuclear fuel to Egypt."

This month? What's the hurry? Indeed, even in the best of circumstances is it wise to provide the fuel until a comprehensive

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Mideast settlement is signed, sealed and delivered? That, after all, was supposed to be the purpose of all this summity.

[From the Sunday News-Detroit,  
June 16, 1974]

## NUCLEAR POWER FOR EGYPT?

President Nixon has agreed to give Egypt nuclear reactor technology and the fuel required for a program, according to a joint communique issued by Mr. Nixon and President Anwar Sadat. The offer is a highly questionable price to pay for amity.

Canada gave India nuclear technology and fuel, under strict conditions that were soon violated. Nuclear power reactors produce leftovers, among which is plutonium, the stuff that bombs are made of. Scientists say it is virtually impossible to control these wastes. India bled them off and exploded a nuclear device in the desert near the Pakistan border, serving notice on the world that she has the potential to build a bomb.

Nuclear power reactors in Egypt will produce the same kind of wastes and they will be as impossible to control.

The United States deplored the Indian nuclear explosion. Why would we in turn set up a situation where the same thing could happen just as easily in Egypt?

The political uncertainties that lie ahead in the Middle East have not abated. While President Nixon waved from a train to the cheering crowds, Syria was issuing a statement accusing the Israelis of war atrocities against prisoners rivaling those of the Nazis. Israel and Lebanon were lobbing artillery shells at one another, after Palestinian guerillas had raided an Israeli farm from sanctuaries in Lebanon and—Lebanon claims—an Israel army unit had been intercepted on the Lebanese border.

The world desperately wants a peace settlement in the Middle East but Americans are going to ask whether it is necessary for this country to give away the store to achieve it. It is one thing to help people build steel mills and refineries and quite another to teach them the mysteries of nuclear reactors.

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat,  
June 15-16, 1974]

## BAD TIMING ON CAIRO NUCLEAR PLAN

President Nixon appeared to be on the road to a resoundingly successful trip to the Middle East until he unexpectedly announced that he had committed the United States to selling nuclear reactors and nuclear fuel to Egypt.

It was an unfortunate misjudgment on the President's part. Even if the pledge can be fully justified at a later date, the timing of the agreement and its announcement without prior discussion is bound to raise concern and divert attention from the many solid accomplishments being made on other issues.

Despite the disclaimer that safeguards would be taken to prevent the Egyptian nuclear program from being used for military purposes, there are bound to be serious reservations about the advisability of supplying Egypt with nuclear reactors and nuclear fuel at this time.

These doubts will be raised for two basic reasons. The first is the fact that it is becoming increasingly easy for nations which possess nuclear power reactors to make atomic bombs. The second is the volatile nature and instability of the Egyptian government.

It was totally unwarranted, for example, for Egyptian President Anwar Sadat to give Mr. Nixon a stern warning at a state dinner (supposedly aimed at promoting peaceful relations) that Egypt might resort to military force again to recover territory it lost to Israel in the 1967 war. There is the possibility that if nuclear aid is given to a

friendly Egypt this year, it will have to be suspended to an unfriendly Egypt next year.

Experience has shown that even when stringent safeguards are established, it is possible for a nation to develop atomic weapons.

India is a prime example of this. The United States helped India build its first nuclear power plant in 1970. Canada for 18 years provided India with nuclear material and technical assistance in its nuclear program, apparently believing its safeguards would preclude India's developing an A-bomb. But several weeks ago India detonated a nuclear device, whose ominous reverberations are still being felt around the world.

The fact is that a nuclear bomb now can be made out of 20 pounds of plutonium. Nuclear power reactors produce fairly sizable amounts of plutonium. It is estimated that 45 nations which have nuclear research and nuclear power reactors (but no atomic weapons yet) will be producing more than 40,000 pounds of plutonium a year by the end of the 1970s.

Israel, which has two research reactors, is judged to be one of at least 26 countries that have the technological know-how to make plutonium bombs. It should be pointed out that Israel has said that it has no intention of developing these bombs. Israel's reactors, however, are under no outside safeguard agreements.

Against this background, it can be seen that even though President Nixon's intentions are the best—the plan is aimed at generating "substantial additional quantities of electric power (for Egypt) by the early 1980s to support its rapidly-growing development needs—it has the potential of touching off a race between Egypt and Israel to develop a plutonium bomb.

President Nixon may have been motivated by the fact that other nations—notably Russia—could supply Egypt with nuclear reactors and nuclear fuel if the United States doesn't do so. Or he may have felt that this program would offset this country's failure to aid Egypt in building the Aswan Dam in 1956, which led to hostile relations between Egypt and the U.S.

Whatever Mr. Nixon's reasons were, the poor timing and the lack of preparation for such a controversial step probably will create a furor that could detract from the very significant achievements of his tour.

## OTHER COUNTRIES MOVE TO TIGHTEN RHODESIAN SANCTIONS

**HON. EDWARD G. BIESTER, JR.**  
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. BIESTER. Mr. Speaker, since 1971 the United States has been the only country in the world to legislatively thwart the United Nations economic sanctions against Rhodesia. At the time we chose to go in this direction proponents of such a move argued that we were the only country taking the sanctions seriously. That was untrue then and is certainly incorrect now.

In recent months, various nations have taken steps to insure that sanctions are being observed within their territories. One notable example is Japan where the government announced in July through its Ministry of International Trade and Industry that verification procedures are being improved in order to insure that Rhodesian goods do not enter Japan. This is very largely a

result of the increased pressure being placed upon Japan by black African nations and a request by the U.N. Sanctions Committee to explain discrepancies in Japan's trade figures.

Another important move in this direction was taken by the European Economic Community which commissioned a group of experts in June to recommend methods of tightening sanctions against Rhodesia with the aim of blocking illegal channels of export to Europe.

The most significant development, however, was the May announcement by the Spinola government in Portugal that it is willing to cooperate with the British in closing loopholes in the United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia.

The argument then, which questions why we should support sanctions while others violate them, is specious. Both the U.N. and black Africa are placing increased pressure upon countries to observe sanctions and it is working.

Our continued violation of sanctions against the minority regime will only serve to irritate black African countries which export many vital raw materials to the United States as well as the black Rhodesians who will assume power in the country.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support S. 1868 which would repeal the Byrd amendment now permitting this country to violate the U.N. sanctions.

## THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY OF CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

**HON. RONALD A. SARASIN**

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. SARASIN. Mr. Speaker, this week marks the 15th anniversary of Captive Nations Week, a period designated by a joint congressional resolution of 1959, during which we can both reflect upon the personal freedoms that we enjoy and readdress ourselves to the struggle engaged by millions of oppressed people in Eastern Europe who seek to regain the civil liberties and national identity that they once enjoyed.

It has been nearly three decades since the hostilities of World War II came to a close. For many of the peoples of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Czechoslovakia and other countries within the Soviet bloc, the deeper injury to national pride had just begun. For a time it seemed that these nations began to reassume some of their lost freedoms. Then, in August of 1968, we saw the Russian reaction to Dubcek's liberal policies. The Soviet Jews, too, represent a special case, of a nation which would be able to reassemble in its homeland, if not for the repressive emigration policies of the Soviet Government.

The three tiny nations of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia suffer more greatly in that even their political frontiers, important marks of sovereignty, have been assimilated within the body of the Soviet Union. I cosponsored a concurrent resolution, House Concurrent Res-

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olution 546, which expresses the sense of Congress concerning the European Security Conference's recognition of the Soviet Union's occupation of these three states, and I call on my colleagues to support this measure.

The morbid situation in which these nations of Eastern Europe find themselves could be easily set aside and forgotten if not for this annual commemoration in Captive Nations Week. I call on my colleagues not to let this commemoration continue as an annual anniversary, but to perpetuate this cause throughout the year and years to come by using the abilities that we have, to mitigate and hopefully eradicate the oppressive practices of the Soviet Government.

**TRIBUTE TO MRS. GEORGIA CLEMENT**

**HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, July 27 will mark the end of the very successful tenure of Mrs. Georgia Clement as honorary mayor of San Pedro, Calif.

A position selected by the San Pedro Jaycees, the honorary mayor serves as the community's representative at the many festive, social, and civic occasions which take place throughout the year. In addition, the honorary mayor promotes the interests of the people of this unique and picturesque area.

Mrs. Clement, an active participant and leader in community affairs, has performed her duties as honorary mayor in an outstanding manner; speaking for the area, meeting with the various civic and professional organizations, and encouraging greater participation in the local activities.

The honorary mayor, who is also a full-time secretary to attorney Ron Perry in San Pedro, still finds time in her busy schedule to continue her volunteer work in such organizations as the Kidney Foundation, of which she is a member of the board of directors; Mary Star of the Sea; the San Pedro and Wilmington Boys Clubs; the Harbor Area Retarded Childrens' Foundation, of which she is also a member of the board of directors; and the San Pedro Chamber of Commerce.

In addition, Mrs. Clement, the wife of Mr. Elden Clement, is a homemaker and the mother of a 17-year-old daughter, Eldena.

A longtime resident of the Harbor area, she attended Banning High School and Harbor College prior to her employment with Douglas Aircraft, Sylvia's Bail Bonds, and her present position with Mr. Perry. Mrs. Clement is also self-employed, with her own public relations and photography business.

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Clement, as honorary mayor of San Pedro, exemplifies the attitude of the people of the area: eager to help their neighbors, willing to sacri-

**EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS**

fice for others, convinced that San Pedro is the best community in the Nation, and proud of themselves and their accomplishments.

It gives me great pleasure to commend Mrs. Clement for her service to the community, not only during her tenure as honorary mayor, but also during the years she has dedicated herself to the betterment of her fellow human beings.

And I join the people of San Pedro in paying tribute to her work on behalf of this outstanding community.

**EARL WARREN**

**HON. DONALD M. FRASER**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the roadside billboards during the early sixties implored, "Impeach Earl Warren." School students were offered handsome prizes for the most ingenious essays telling why the American people should drive the Chief Justice of the United States from the bench.

How had the Chief Justice allegedly betrayed the public trust?

He had led the highest court of the land when it ruled that a black school girl could not be assured of equal education opportunity when she was forced to attend classes only with black teachers and black schoolmates regardless of where she lived. He presided when the Court decided that penniless indigents, no less than wealthy bankers, were entitled to legal counsel in court. He insisted that a married black woman on trial deserved to be addressed as "Mrs." by the judge as much as a married white woman. He even went so far as to say that Americans living in cities had as much right to representation in Congress as those who live on farms.

Were these rulings "high crimes and misdemeanors"? Did they betray the Constitution that Chief Justice Warren had sworn to protect and defend?

History will show, I am convinced, that Earl Warren acted in defense of the highest values of human dignity embodied in the Constitution of the United States. He did so not from the towering heights of complex intellect, but from a sound basic sense of right and wrong. He saw the law not as a threat to be feared by ordinary citizens, but rather as a guarantor of the rights set forth by the Founding Fathers.

His approach was not radical; it was not really even new. Nor is it correct to attribute the landmark Supreme Court decisions of the fifties and sixties entirely to him; the "Warren Court" was more than just Earl Warren.

His unique and indispensable contribution, it seems to me, was to remind America that in a complex postindustrial society, the individual still matters. At a time when impersonal and massive institutions threaten to submerge the rights of the individual, he insisted that human dignity be maintained. For this

we all owe him a debt of gratitude. For this I am certain that the figure of Earl Warren will always occupy a giant-sized place in American history.

**JULY FOURTH—VERY QUIET CELEBRATION**

**HON. ROBERT P. HANRAHAN**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. HANRAHAN. Mr. Speaker, the celebration of the Fourth of July just is not what it used to be. Even though we are having some hard times, we must never forget that America is the strongest and most prosperous country in the world. I believe the following editorial from the Calumet City Sun Journal is worth the recognition of my colleagues.

**JULY 4, 1974 . . . A VERY QUIET CELEBRATION**

Remember the phrase "Now more than ever before"? While it was created to convince voters of the necessity to re-elect a President, the slogan has even more direct application to today's celebration of our nation's birthday.

In these troubled times of self-doubt and disrespect for the political process there is a real need for a bit of old fashioned patriotism. While Watergate and its related turmoils have damaged confidence in our leaders and in our system as a whole today is still the fourth of July. Today is still a very special day.

Night club comics, talk show hosts and even clergymen have felt the need to rip apart our nation's political process. It has become fashionable to rap the President, degrade Congress and shoot holes through our entire governmental system. To us, it just doesn't make much sense.

There is no question that America is going through a dismal chapter in its history. As a newspaper, we would be the last to deny the existence of serious problems. But that is not to say America, with all of its imperfections is anything but a symbol of freedom. Our system of democracy remains the epitome of governments, the most successful experiment in the history of mankind.

Even an attack on its present weaknesses leaves one with the unmistakable impression that democracy is working. Where else would the crimes and unethical practices of top level leaders be aired in public. Where else would a nation's leader face an open challenge and be afforded the judicial system to clear his name? Where else would a free press be allowed to report the news without fear of censorship and political retaliation. The answer is nowhere . . . except America.

If anything, the tragedy of Watergate can readily be seen as a triumph for this country. As a nation, there should be a pride in the knowledge that our system of freedom balks when scandal strikes. Nothing is swept under the carpet. Our problems are there for all the world to see. Our solutions will be there as well.

Sadly, too many of us have grown callous toward our leaders, developing a deep-seated feeling of distrust and irreverence. These feelings have manifested themselves in our own local area. Only two communities in the Calumet region are hosting July 4 parades today. In times past, these towns and villages treated this holiday as an occasion to honor our country, a chance to show the stars and stripes, an opportunity to remember the great men who paved the way for freedom in the new land.

It is with shame that we must report

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

July 4 has become, to many, just another day off work. It's a sad state of affairs and we are all to blame.

In 1776, one hundred and ninety-eight years ago today, 56 men put their lives on the line by signing the Declaration of Independence. Their signatures were truly affixed to death warrants as each man was committing an act of treason. It is easy to see how much these men cared about America. Today, nearly two centuries later we are still bound by the principles set forth in that document and the Constitution which followed. After years of fighting countless foes from within and without, America stands free today, stronger and wiser from the experience.

But instead of pride and thankfulness, the predominant emotion today on this, the anniversary of our independence, is one of skepticism and distrust. This is wrong.

America is a nation with a history of overcoming adversity and bad times. We have yet to encounter a problem that could not be solved through hard work, sacrifice and understanding. There is no reason to believe that today's problems of ill deeds in high places will not be similarly dismissed.

But it will take time. The wheels of justice may turn too slowly for some, but in the end they lead us down a path of freedom, fairness and equality. The wrongdoers of Watergate will be justly punished, and our nation, its leaders and citizenry, will be the stronger for it.

In the meantime, the loss of faith and confidence serves no purpose. There is nothing to gain and far too much to lose. It's easy to wave the flag when times are good. It's a different story when a challenge is present. Thomas Paine wrote often of the "sunshine patriot". His message is just as meaningful today. Perhaps the sun isn't shining now, but a true patriot has no need to check a weather report before making his love of country known.

Rather than join the glib contingent of head shakers who choose not to support their own country, it is incumbent upon all of us to show the world we have not given up on America. We must fly our flag, salute our forefathers and pause to reflect upon our heritage.

In spite of current problems, America remains the strongest, fairest, most prosperous nation on the face of the earth.

We must never allow ourselves to forget that.

## DAY CARE

## HON. WILLIAM LEHMAN

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 16, 1974

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. Speaker, around the turn of the century, a Scandinavian political philosopher stated, "A nation may be measured by the concern of one generation for the next." If in this context our Nation is to be measured by its commitment to day care for children, then the United States will measure very short.

A fact of life in this country is that mothers of small children work. One-half of all mothers with preschool or school-age children are employed. One-third of mothers with children under 5 are now working. Not only in single parent households, but even with both parents in the home, in order to meet the burden of spiralling inflation, more and more mothers are being forced into the job market.

Although the day care needs of preschool children attract more attention, two-thirds of our children requiring day care are school-age children left on their own after school and during vacations.

The household with parents and children, and grandparents or aunts and uncles has almost faded from American life.

There is a very serious fall-short of our efforts in our national commitment to our young children. At this moment, the parents of almost 1 million American children are unable to find or unable to afford any care for their children while they are away working.

It is incredible, but true, that there are fewer than 700,000 spaces in licensed day care centers to serve the 5 million preschool children whose mothers work.

We, who advocate an expanded and adequate child care program, are not just idealists. We are also realists, and the reality is basically economic. The economics of now, and the economics of America's future well-being.

Most of a child's intellectual, emotional, and physical development occurs before the age of 5. If the child does not receive guidance in development during those earliest years, he may well suffer the consequences—and society in all its aspects may well feel the effects.

## SIXTY-THREE ISRAEL WAR ORPHANS MARK BAR MITZVAH

## HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues an event which recently took place in the small village of Lubavitcher Chasidim on the outskirts of Tel Aviv, Israel. The event was a Bar Mitzvah mass which was for a group of 63 young boys whose fathers had died defending the nation of Israel. Included among this group were 18 young men whose fathers fell during the recent Yom Kippur war.

The difficulties of a young man having to grow up without the love and guidance of a father are numerous. The tragedy deepens when one realizes that these particular young men were orphaned so that they and all Jewish people might live in freedom and peace in their own sovereign state.

Among those in attendance at this moving ceremony was Prime Minister Rabin, who personally presented each of these young men with a medallion. In his remarks the Prime Minister noted that they deserved to be proud of their fathers for they gave their lives to insure that Israel's future might be secure. He said:

You are part of a new history of Israel. You will also have to learn the art of war, but it is my wish that you will never have to make use of it.

A reminder of the present day Israel was seen by the attendance of several students who were injured in the tragic Maalot incident.

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The children of Israel have heard the winds of war howling throughout their lives. As Israel begins her second quarter century of existence let us hope that these children and all Israel children of the future can taste the fruits of peace and help make Israel into the great State her founders designed her to be.

## HEALTH SERIES BEGINS IN FALL

## HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, in the past the "Children's Television Workshop" has provided us with such informative and entertaining programs as "Sesame Street" and "The Electric Company." And although these programs were primarily directed toward preschool and school-age children, they have gained a great many dedicated adult viewers.

On July 11 the Public Broadcasting System announced the introduction of a new adult television series on health entitled "Alive and Well" which will premiere in November. "Alive and Well," produced by CTW, will be an experimental educational series of 26 segments and dealing with such areas as alcohol abuse, cancer, and heart disease. For the edification of my colleagues, the following is a description of "Alive and Well" provided by the "Children's Television Workshop" news service:

CTW ANNOUNCES NEW ADULT TV SERIES ON HEALTH ENTITLED "ALIVE AND WELL"

NEW YORK, July 11.—"Alive & Well," television's most ambitious attempt to convey health information through entertainment techniques, will premiere November 20 in prime evening time on the country's 250 public broadcasting stations, it was announced today.

Details of the 26-week series, the first program produced for adults by the Children's Television Workshop (creators of "Sesame Street"), were described at a news conference. Joan Ganz Cooney, president of CTW, said the new series will begin production in September, following evaluation of a 60-minute test program which has just been taped and edited in the past two weeks.

Production of the first season's programs of Alive & Well, along with research and extensive outreach activity, is budgeted at \$7 million. Two years of pre-production research and development will have preceded the broadcasts, she said.

Excerpts from the test show seen by reporters illustrated the variety of TV techniques, including song, dance, documentaries and situation comedy which will be employed on the show to treat subjects ranging from nutrition to exercise and from hypertension to breast self-examination.

Primary target audience for the series, Mrs. Cooney said, is young parents who play major roles in influencing the health of their immediate families. Of particular concern to the producers, she said, are the health problems and attitudes of low-income families.

Major underwriters for Alive & Well are the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, which has contributed \$2,200,000 for development and production phases of the first season's shows, the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (\$1,737,000), Exxon Corporation (\$1,037,500) and the Aetna Life & Casualty Co. (\$1 million).

In addition, six foundations contributed

amounts ranging up to \$250,000 to cover part of the costs of the earlier research and development phases of the project. They include: Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, Commonwealth Fund, John and Mary R. Markle Foundation, vanAmeringen Foundation, Grant Foundation and the Ittleson Family Fund.

Additional underwriting, particularly to cover post-broadcast follow-up projects, is still being sought. The most recent grant is \$50,000 from the American Cancer Society.

**"BOLD ATTEMPT"**

Dr. J. Robert Buchanan, dean of the Cornell University Medical College and chairman of the series' newly-formed national advisory council, characterized *Alive & Well* as "probably the boldest single attempt at mass health education ever attempted by the media."

"Although surveys indicate that the majority of people look to either doctors or TV for the bulk of their health and medical information," he said, "Physicians too often don't have the time, and frequently lack the skills to effectively explain conditions in terms that a patient can understand. The information offered by TV is often either inaccurate or self-serving as in the case of product advertising."

Dr. Buchanan said that "educational efforts of the kind planned by CTW are critically needed. Too many people have too little knowledge of the fundamentals of good health; and most people don't realize that their own actions play a major role in the kind of health they enjoy."

William Kobil, vice president of CTW's Future Works division and executive producer of the series, said that many of the 30 members of the advisory group have influenced the development of the program. Through a series of seminars and interviews with the health series staff, some 300 health experts have aided in selecting the 11 priority topics that will be covered in the series.

Kobil said that each show will usually cover several subjects and two or three different segments will be used to treat a single topic as a means of reinforcing the health message. Each topic will be treated several times during the six-month broadcast run of the series. The priority topics: alcohol abuse, cancer, child care, dental care, exercise, the health care delivery system, heart disease, hypertension, mental health, nutrition, prenatal care.

As with CTW's two previous experimental educational series, *Sesame Street* and *The Electric Company*, the Workshop's own staff has developed a curriculum that provides a framework for the show's writers and producers as well as a mechanism for testing appeal and impact to a degree previously unknown in TV production.

**AUDIENCE REACTION SOUGHT**

Dr. James Swinehart, research director for the *Alive & Well* series, said that test programs will be evaluated for appeal and retention by nearly 2,500 viewers throughout the country. Their reaction will aid CTW in creating programs for broadcast.

Several informational and behavioral goals are attached to each of the 11 topics, Swinehart said, because the series aims not only to inform but to motivate viewers to take some action for themselves or on behalf of others.

The *Alive & Well* pilot uses a resident company of eight performers who congregate in a small variety store called "Mac's Place." Head writer Tony Geiss and his staff have created a broad range of characters that include, among others, an intern at a nearby hospital and his wife who runs an exercise salon, the middle-aged owner of a sporting goods store who is going to paunch, a hip teenager, an elderly woman and a young woman raising her preschool child alone.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Al Morgan, the series senior producer who for seven years produced NBC-TV's "Today" show, said CTW had auditioned 200 actors for the roles, finally settling on a cast that is rich in Broadway, TV and motion picture experience. It includes Rex Everhart (who played Ben Franklin in "1776"), Priscilla Lopez (a principal in Broadway's "Pippin"), Joe Morton (currently starring in "Raisin"), Ethel Shutta (a veteran radio performer last seen on Broadway in "Follies"). Mark Baker (currently in the title role of "Candide" on Broadway) and Ben Slack (most recently seen in "Serpico" and "Man on a Swing").

**PROMOTION AND FOLLOW-UP**

An extensive follow-through project involving the Workshop's national network of community education services personnel and the staffs of the 250 public TV stations, will attempt to extend the reach of the program and reinforce its basic messages. An equally extensive public information campaign by CTW will attempt to attract a large audience to the series. Plans include special publications for health professionals and the viewing audience, plus a commercial network special previewing the series.

The program will be seen nationally beginning Wednesday, November 20, in an early evening time slot. Most PBS stations will repeat the show on Saturday or Sunday evenings.

## FEDERAL LAND USE CONTROL

### HON. WILLIAM H. HUDNUT III

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. HUDNUT. Mr. Speaker, last year the Environmental Protection Agency attempted to impose its will on local governments through imposition of parking surcharges. Such action has now been prohibited by Congress through an amendment to the Energy Supply and Environmental Coordination Act, Public Law 93-319.

Just recently we voted not to consider Federal land use control on this very House floor. But Federal land use control is not dead. It is being put into effect by EPA through proposed rules on "indirect source emissions" that will apply to construction projects commencing on or after January 1, 1975.

When we really look at the definition of "indirect source emissions" which means we have to carefully analyze some bureaucratic jargon, we find that what we are really talking about is land use control.

What is an "indirect source?" Briefly, it is a facility that stimulates traffic. In the words of the regulation itself:

Such indirect sources include, but are not limited to: Highways and roads; parking facilities; retail, commercial, and industrial facilities; recreation, amusement, sports, and entertainment facilities; airports; office and Government buildings; apartment and condominium buildings; and education facilities.

The regulations further provide that—No owner or operator of an indirect source subject to this paragraph shall commence construction or modification of such source after December 31, 1974, without first obtaining approval from the Administrator.

Before I go further, let me also say that in this particular context, I am not arguing the case against land use controls. I am arguing the right of the Congress, not bureaucrats, to make this decision. It just happens that in this case, we made our decision and now the bureaucrats of the EPA are overruling us and making a contrary decision.

That, in my opinion, is not the way our Government is supposed to work.

We are elected by the people to run the bureaucrats, not to let the bureaucrats run us.

I think that this is the time to show both the people and the bureaucrats that we will live up to our responsibilities.

The distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. CASEY) has introduced a bill to prohibit the Environmental Protection Agency from considering indirect sources of pollution in the granting of construction permits. If the States and local governments want to have such provisions, that is all well and good, but it should not be required at the Federal.

All of us want clean air and the EPA has a most important role in achieving that goal, but reason must prevail. We must not allow the EPA, or any other Federal agency to circumvent congressional intent by bureaucratic lawmaking.

I am joining as a cosponsor of the bill, introduced by our distinguished colleague (Mr. CASEY) and urge all other Members to join us. By passing this bill we can make it clear to both the people of this Nation and to all of our Federal agencies that we accept our responsibilities as an elected Congress and that we will not tolerate rule by bureaucracy.

## TRIBUTE TO WILLARD D. EDWARDS

### HON. RONALD V. DELLUMS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. DELLUMS. Mr. Speaker, on July 19, Willard D. Edwards of Berkeley, business enterprise officer in the California State Department of Rehabilitation, retires after serving nearly 20 years of conscientious service. I want to commend his numerous contributions for the handicapped in California.

Mr. Edwards has played a critical role in the development and success of the business enterprise program. During his years in the program, he has been dedicated to establishing the blind in remunerative self-employment in small businesses of vending stands, snack bars, and cafeterias in public buildings and private plants. By providing the blind with the implements for self-employment, he has enabled them to become productive and self-sufficient individuals. Such an achievement is greatly appreciated by the entire community.

Mr. Speaker, such outstanding public servants such as Willard Edwards deserve the recognition of their community. I would like my colleagues in the House of Representatives to be aware of the time and the talent Mr. Edwards has con-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

tributed to the handicapped. I am honored to be a part in this effort to applaud such an individual.

ROBERT H. ROUTZAHN

HON. GOODLOE E. BYRON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, over the last weekend Frederick County, Md., lost one of its most distinguished citizens with the passing of Robert Herman Routzahn.

It was my pleasure to know Bob Routzahn for many years and to follow his many activities in behalf of Middletown, his home town. However, his civic undertakings were not limited to Middletown since he took an active part in county government as well. Bob Routzahn will be missed not only by his family but also by his many friends throughout Frederick County.

I would like to share the recent editorial from the Frederick Post commenting on Bob Routzahn's achievements:

ROBERT HERMAN ROUTZAHN

The scythe of time has cut down another outstanding Frederick County businessman, Mr. Robert Herman Routzahn of Middletown.

Mr. Routzahn was 65. He died Saturday, July 13, at Frederick Memorial Hospital. He was an avid sportsman and loved Middletown and the Middletown Valley.

He was president of the Middletown Valley Bank, president of the Thrift Loan Company of Middletown and a director of R. H. Shepard Co. Inc. His loss to Middletown is significant, not only because of his leadership in its growing economy, but also because of his leadership and enthusiasm in community affairs.

It is significant and typical of Mr. Routzahn that his family should request that memorials in his name be made to the fund of the Middletown High School Band, a nationally known high school organization that received his support and the community's and as a result brought many laurels to this growing Frederick County town as its band traveled and performed in distant celebrations.

Mr. Routzahn was the kind of man who inspired others by demonstrating his personal faith in them and their ideas, doubtless one of his keys to success in business as in life.

He answered his country's call in World War II, serving with the Army in the European Theatre of Operations. Upon his return from service, he started the first vineyards in the Middletown Valley.

As a hunter and fisherman, he chose to share his love of the outdoors with others and was a member of the Catoctin Rod & Gun Club and the Maryland Forestry Association.

He carried over his responsibilities as a war veteran by joining and working with the Middletown AmVets, serving as one of the post's commanders in years past. He was also a member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Elks.

Some years ago Robert Routzahn served as a member of the Frederick County Board of Supervisors of Elections, and Mr. James Messersmith recalls that he was secretary to the board and was intensely interested in the challenge of getting all eligible voters registered to vote.

"He was a good leader," Mr. Messersmith said, "and was highly respected by the people of Middletown Valley."

Mr. Routzahn was the son of the late John L. and Lucie Thomas Routzahn, members of early Middletown families.

He leaves his wife, Mrs. Betty Campbell Routzahn, and four stepchildren, Ann M. Remsburg, Samuel L. Remsburg, Robert Y. Remsburg and Timothy D. Remsburg, all at home; three sisters, Mrs. Lloyd P. Shank of Middletown, Mrs. Joseph M. Crevey of Brad-dock Heights and Mrs. Robert E. Clapp Jr. of Araby; one brother, John T. Routzahn of Middletown, and several nieces and nephews.

The family will hold private funeral services and interment, and the Rev. William Huddle will officiate. Gladhill Funeral Home is in charge of arrangements.

Middletown has lost a great leader, a true friend, a citizen whose dedication to his town can never be replaced and whose memory will endure forever.

MRS. HILDA BRUNGOT—A REMARKABLE WOMAN

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

MR. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, as some of my colleagues in the House may know, the General Court of the State of New Hampshire is the third largest English-speaking representative body in the world. Within this distinguished body of public servants are some truly remarkable and nearly legendary figures.

One such person is Mrs. Hilda Brungot of Berlin, N.H. Mrs. Brungot is 87 years young and is running for her 20th term as a State legislator. During each of her 19 terms as a representative she has served her constituents and her State with distinction.

During these times when the public's confidence in their national political leaders and institutions has reached a new low, Mrs. Brungot should serve as an inspiration to all public officials. Her sincerity, judgment, and compassion as a representative are exemplary. I commend to my colleagues the following article from the front page of the Boston Globe on July 10, 1974:

HILDA BRUNGOT RUNNING AGAIN—FOR 20TH TERM

(By James Stack)

BERLIN, N.H.—Hilda Constance Fredericka Brungot, Grand Dame of the New Hampshire General Court, had to interrupt her campaign for re-election the other day.

It was really too bad because Mrs. Brungot, 87, running for her 20th term in the Legislature and facing the strongest opposition of her career, needs all the campaign time she can get.

Still, she brought her telephone solicitation of voters to a standstill to deal with a crisis involving a second-hand power lawn mower she bought last year.

The venerable machine came to grief when the boys who cut the grass around her home on Main, ran out of gas and refilled the fuel tank with turpentine by mistake.

"So I went out to an auction and picked up an oldfashioned hand mower that runs

on elbow grease," she said. "No way to pour turpentine into that one."

It cost her all of \$2.

"Thrift has always been the name of the game with me, whether I'm spending my own or the public's money," said the peppery great-grandmother.

"It's something I learned the hard way by working as a cook to bring up 10 children—six of my own and four state wards. So I know the value of money."

"Maybe that's how I've managed to get sent down to the Legislature for so long," she said.

"This will be my 20th term—if I'm lucky enough to make it. To tell you the truth, I'm running scared."

Mrs. Brungot's political beginning was back in 1930, when she served as a delegate to a Constitutional Convention at the age of 44.

According to Leon W. Anderson, the political columnist for the Concord Monitor, Mrs. Brungot's length of service as a lawmaker is unequaled in the state's history.

"It's not how long you serve," argues Hilda, who prefers the informality of the first-name exchange, "it's what you do while you're there."

"As you know from my record, I'm a hellion against new or increased taxes because I had to work until I was 75, and I know the workingman's problems."

"But I'm not there just because I'm a no-tax advocate," she said. "I've been on the Judiciary Committee—one of the most important of them all—for 14 terms."

"For the first time, I've got opposition on all sides," she said. "The Democrats used to leave a place on the slate open so that all my Democratic friends could write me in and I'd get both nominations."

"Now I've got two Republican opponents in the primary and, if I should win, one of three Democrats to face."

"This could be my 'Last Hurrah,'" Mrs. Brungot said, "but I hope it won't be. I want to go back to Concord because I feel I have a lot of experience to offer the younger ones."

Has Watergate affected her reelection?

"No," she said, "the state representative contests in New Hampshire are beyond the touch of things like Watergate. Every voter is practically a neighbor, there are so many of us (400 in the General Court). They vote on personalities, not big issues."

"I think all the opposition I'm getting is probably because they think it's about time I quit. But now that I've filed, I'm going to fight—and I'm good at that."

Mrs. Brungot agrees with the late General Douglas MacArthur, who said age was not a time of life, but a state of mind.

"That was a nice way of saying you're as young as you feel. Except for a touch of arthritis, I've never felt better or sharper in my whole life."

Mrs. Brungot, a product of sturdy Scandinavian stock (her father, Hans Christian Johanson, a native of Oslo, Norway, preceded her in the Legislature), believes firmly that determination, not age, is the key to achievement.

"I got my high school diploma when I was 80," she said. "Not because I needed it, but because I wanted to prove I could get it. I just didn't have time before."

Hilda Brungot has no patience for those who constantly push for reduction of the size of the New Hampshire legislature, said to be the third largest in the English-speaking world.

"The special interests and selfish lobbyists can sometimes fool 400 legislators, or a majority of them, but they can never buy them," she said.

She said the size of the New Hampshire legislature permits representation of all

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levels of society and all spheres of life in the state.

"Other places, you want to see your legislator, you ask for an appointment and don't always get it," she said. "Here in New Hampshire, you knock on his door and when he opens it, you tell him what you think—and he listens."

#### CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE—THE NEED FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION

#### HON. JOHN DELLENBACK

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

**MR. DELLENBACK.** Mr. Speaker, one of the leading associations in the field of forest products is the American Plywood Association. Within its ranks are included most of the major plywood manufacturers. This means that in a leading timber producing State like Oregon what the goals and efforts of such an association are has a significant impact on employment and on the general economic welfare of our State and its people.

On June 25, 1974, Mr. John A. Ball, Jr., the president of U.S. Plywood Division of Champion International and the newly elected chairman of the APA Board of Trustees, spoke to the 38th annual meeting of the association held in Portland, Oregon.

I felt his remarks were stimulating and challenging and reflective of the thinking on at least one side of some very controversial issues of major importance. I am pleased to include them in the RECORD and in so doing to call them to the attention of my colleagues:

#### CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE: THE NEED FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION

(By John A. Ball, Jr.)

How indebted we are to Bill Hunt for his soul-searching talk on APA programs both past and present. It's comforting to know where we were, somewhat less assuring to know where we are, and, as Winston Churchill once observed, it is like peering into a mystery wrapped up in an enigma to figure out where we are going to be.

At the New York World's Fair, the theme song for the G.E. exhibit started with the line "There's a great big beautiful tomorrow." Yet today, ours is a society suffering a hangover compounded strongly of pessimism and cynicism.

If I were to blame it all on Washington, I would probably be in excellent company. No, I will not talk about Nixon. He's been kicked around so much when he sits down he leaves footprints.

The eminent pollster, Lou Harris, recently observed that public confidence in government is somewhat lower than a constituent democracy can afford.

Nor is he alone. In a recent survey, prepared for a Senate subcommittee no less—it was reported that Americans have confidence in only two of 24 institutions—the medical profession and garbage collecting. However, as a New Yorker I don't share the national high regard for the men of garbage.

Fortunately—like the politician who is way behind in public opinion polls on the day before election—I don't take too much stock in surveys—especially when confidence in organized religion is down to a mere 36 percent; and confidence in American companies like yours and mine less at 29 percent.

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Unfortunately, there's little consolation in learning that some of our most important institutions are so low on the totem pole of public esteem.

It would be less than naive to overlook the unmistakable symptoms of dismay and despair so prevalent throughout the country. We all know the reasons—flation—the aftermath of the Vietnam War—Watergate, and the oil crisis which left the nation roughly divided as to whether it was contrived or real.

Is it any wonder that no one seems to be above suspicion? Nowadays, anyone making public statements has a new concern about whether "it will wash". Even the word laundring no longer has the old sanitary connotation of clean shirts stacked up in a drawer.

Instead it has acquired a new connotation like concealing dirty linen or camouflaging questionable cash. And so—even we—the poor honest hewers of wood in the words of Henrik Ibsen are often branded as "enemies of the people".

I have no argument with people—especially those good folks who ultimately consume our products. Frankly, I love them. But let one company fool them, and then another, and is it any wonder they get the idea that everyone is trying to pull the wool over their eyes?

I'm sure they realize there are shortages—and when shortages are real—they understand them. But once the idea gets around that a shortage is phony, contrived or manipulated, the poor consumer feels he has been taken . . . and he can get mighty sore. As it is, successive shortages in wheat, meat and oil have left the people thin lipped and uptight.

Just recently there was new talk about a toilet paper shortage and once again the consumers had their bowels in an uproar. Granted they had been misinformed. Rumor mongers had transformed fantasy into fact. The repercussions were remarkable.

One moment the public whispered of a possible shortage; the next minute panic created one. People hoarded more toilet paper than they'd normally use in a year. It was a classic example of consumer psychology at work. After a while the truth caught up and the public learned that the alleged crisis was more a matter of someone's imagination rather than reality.

But there is one thing that is very slow to catch up—and that is confidence—that is confidence—the consumer's hard-to-correct impression—right or wrong—that he has been had.

All of which helps to explain the pervasive mood of skepticism and suspicion. It's getting so that every morning I wake up with the same thought. What's a sane person like me doing in a world like this?

Mistrust and credibility gaps have become contagious so that they extend beyond the confines of government to all industries—including our own. Someday, I'm sure, suspicion will subside. In the meantime, we are left with the task of restoring public confidence, not only in government but in our industry.

In the immortal words of the Andrew Sisters, it is time to accentuate the positive and eliminate the negative. And the fact of the matter—is that everything is not nearly as bad as it is made out to be—far from it.

We hear of international tensions—yet everything can't be wrong when no American soldiers have fallen in a foreign war in more than 18 months. We hear economists dredge up the specter of unemployment—yet everything can't be wrong when 95 percent of our work force is gainfully employed.

Does anyone remember the dark depression of the Thirties when we really had un-

employment—more than three times greater than today. Of course job hunting isn't easy. I can't help think of a girl who applied for a job as a topless waitress at \$10 an hour. They took one look at her figure and offered her a flat rate.

We are troubled over the shutting off of oil in the Mideast—yet everything can't be wrong when our peripatetic secretary of state pauses in his peregrinations to embrace and kiss the cheeks of almost every monarch in the area. You have to be impressed with Kissinger.

The minute there's trouble anywhere in the world, President Nixon's first reaction is, "Quick Henry, the flight". Yet if the latest information at hand is correct, we will have sufficient oil to see us through the months ahead even though we will be paying through the nose to get it.

We hear, of course, of corruption in public office—yet everything can't be wrong when, as shown in recent elections, the voters are intent on turning the scoundrels out and voting strict campaign reforms in.

We've spoken already of the prognostications of the pollsters—and yet everything can't be wrong when even one of them—the Gallup Poll—reports that 68 percent of those queried expressed confidence in the future. I still have some qualms about the future, however. Every time the economy starts making a U-turn, Arthur Burns gives it a ticket.

Anyone can come up with reasons to believe we face a crisis of confidence. One of them is inflation. Indeed, inflation has done terrible things to this country. For the first time in history, people can't even afford to be poor.

Yet it takes no great effort to balance a list of adversities with a solid inventory of assets and advantages. The choice is ours. We can be cynics or we can be optimists and I'll gladly admit there are arguments on either side—but such has always been the case.

I, for one, happen to believe that in the seeds of adversity whether our troubles be military, social, political or economic, lies the potential for new strength, new courage, new hope and new achievements.

I believe that the most remarkable aspect of our history is our ability to stage comebacks. If you have any doubt, just try equating the malaise of today with some of the real catastrophes of the past—World War II, the great depression, Vietnam.

As it is with the world, as it is with our country, so it is with our industry. The time has come to count our assets, collect our cudgels and confront our critics.

The time has come to address our adversaries—and let's face it—we do have adversaries—who disparage our contributions to the economy, who frustrate our efforts to function, who dishonor our very name in the forums of public opinion and who wage an incessant campaign in the courtrooms and legislatures throughout the country to constrain our productive activities through oppressive legislation, judicial injunction and executive decree.

We are under attack for desecrating the environment, destroying the ecology, despoiling the forests and depleting the nation of its precious resources. The cold, hard, real fact of the matter is that the charges invariably brought against us are untrue and must be refuted.

We might very well adopt the strategy of politicians who employ truth squads to counter the vicious canards of their opponents.

We can answer these accusations—we know it—but it does us little good to silently sulk in self righteousness. We have a job ahead of us in getting our message across so that our side of the story is clearly understood wherever it counts.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

We must make our response and to be effective our voice must be loud and clear and heard across the nation.

As to the accusation that we are depleting the nation of its resources it is well to remember that thanks to the oil crisis the nation has suddenly become resource and energy conscious. Indeed the energy crisis comes up in the weirdest situations.

A fellow sat down on the couch beside his girl friend and reached to turn off the light. She said, "Are you going to conserve energy?" He said, "No, I'm going to give it everything I've got."

All industries require resources in order to function. And for the companies in our industry, the one indispensable resource is the tree.

If wood consuming enterprises are to continue operating profitably—indeed, if they are to continue to survive—they must have some assurance of a constant, dependable supply of trees. To ignore this fact, is to acquiesce in the extinction of our industry. Who could believe us to be so foolish?

But with us there is an important difference. Forest industries are far more fortunate than those dependent upon petroleum. As a resource, petroleum is subject to ultimate depletion as soon as the sunken reservoirs beneath the ground or under the seas run dry.

Trees, as a resource, on the other hand, in all their infinite variety, possess the priceless virtue of being renewable.

Fortunately, we have the necessary technology. For every tree removed from the forest, we have the expertise to replace it with another.

To do this we need the cooperation of the government. Recent events lead us to believe, however, that instead of cooperation, we are getting flak and interference.

Oh, I can cite some beautiful words. The President's Advisory Council on Timber and the Environment has firmly endorsed intensive management to substantially increase timber yields.

A study by the General Accounting Office noted that much more solid reforestation and stand improvement work will pay off in dollar and conservation benefits. In the words of Senator Hubert Humphrey there is a new awareness that positive steps are needed now.

His Forest and Rangeland Environmental Management Act, which can serve as a model for all resource legislation, has passed the Senate. House action is pending on a similar bill sponsored by Representative John Rarick of Louisiana.

The Humphrey-Rarick initiative could be a major legislative breakthrough. It aims to lift federal forest management from its traditionally low-priority status to full utilization of timber resources by the year 2000.

According to the U.S. Forest Service, tree growth is only half its potential on federal forest lands. It can be doubled through reforestation, timber stand improvement practices, harvesting over-age timber and prompt replanting of harvest tracts.

But there are complications. On the one hand, while Congress and one arm of the Administration valiantly struggle to replenish the shrinking wood supply, another arm of the government has been downright obtrusive.

The Office of Management and the Budget is harmfully engaged in impounding receipts from forest management and transferring them to other activities unrelated to forestry.

Funds for such essential purposes as thinning and replanting have been diverted or withdrawn in blatant disregard of the obvious need for a sustained commitment to the vital tree production program.

Even more provoking and more insidious have been the power plays of the preservationists.

Ever since the passage of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1970, a preserva-

tionist coalition of a dozen or more organizations . . . has launched a legal offensive that has either halted or impeded the necessary development of the nation's natural resources.

During the past four years, 42 lawsuits against government agencies have been filed in the U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C. alone by seven groups. The same group has filed hundreds of suits to stop timber management, grazing, mining, oil drilling, power plants and other activities.

They say Americans place greater confidence in garbage collectors and doctors. But isn't this a wonderful time to be a lawyer? Already, preservationist tactics and preservationist pressures have kept billions of board feet of badly needed timber off the market.

Worse still, they prevented both public and private foresters from growing more trees. Their latest blockbuster in the courts would distort ambiguous language in the Environmental Policy Act to block the entire Forest Service program.

The man in the street automatically takes sides with the preservationist because he wistfully thinks of wilderness as the favorite stretch of national forest he perceives through the rolled-up windows of his rapidly moving car.

The time has come for the man in the street to recognize that his interests are best served by taking sides with us. Which he will not do until we take steps to correct his faulty notions about ecology, environmental beauty, and shortages of trees.

We're not opposed to beautiful forests. I'm sure you'll all agree that forest use should run the complete gamut of public need and taste from forestry to snowmobiling, trail biking, family camping, sailing and hiking.

There is a place for solitude and the untouched wilderness concept—and we have neither the desire nor the inclination to take away that place.

Yet I can't help thinking that for every individual who saunters into the wilderness there are hundreds of others living in urban areas thousands of miles from the western forests. They too have concerns.

Preeminent among them in this age of galloping inflation is a desire for a decent living environment, up-to-date housing at a price they can afford and schools close to home.

Isn't it ironic that some of these concerned individuals have mistakenly joined the preservationist movement whose avowed objectives can only have the effect of negating their own vital interests?

Isn't it realistic to assume that once properly informed and educated, such concerned individuals would join us in our endeavors when upon analysis it is so evident we share similar goals?

Isn't it time that we let it be known that we, too, stand for beautiful forests, safeguarding of our resources and at the same time assuring an adequate flow of such resources to help erect the homes, schools and hospitals that are so urgently needed throughout the land?

Your American Plywood Association has the role of expressing these concerns and directing attention to glaring short-sighted errors of policy.

We emphasize that the total overhaul of forest funding is both urgent and mandatory if this nation is to avoid a pending timber shortage that could equal the Arab oil embargo in its crippling effect on the economy.

We deplore the negligence of the federal budget for 1975 that includes money to re-plant only 152,000 acres at a time when 3.3 million national forest acres need reforestation.

We are shocked that plywood and lumber companies are paying a delivered log cost of \$400 a thousand board feet and more in national forest timber sales and are thereby

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laying the foundation for new sharp increases in wood product costs.

But as a spokesman, the APA is only one voice. That voice can swell into a thunderous chorus only when members make it their day-to-day concern to inform and educate so that the press, the radio stations, their customers, their suppliers and their employees get to know our side of the story.

We have to face the fact that we have failed to communicate successfully. The big battle before us is the one of fighting propaganda with facts. Let us lose that battle and we could very well lose the war.

Your APA has been spearheading improvement in human environment for almost 40 years—with outstanding results in consumer benefits and materials conservation. Today's house is being framed and sheathed with only 48 percent as much lumber and plywood as would have been used a generation ago.

Building better homes from fewer trees has never been more important than it is today. This same principle imbues the APA approach in the nonhousing markets and it is the central motivation of the new plywood promotion program we are developing at this meeting.

APA has been at the helm of our industry charting our course through these industry-laden Seventies. It has been choppy sailing as we recall the OSCILLATIONS OF OSHA, the PLYWOOD ENERGY ALLOCATION FOULUP and the GREAT BOXCAR BOON-DOGGLE.

Now it will take additional skill and intestinal fortitude to unravel the boxcar mess, but APA will be in there trying.

The plywood industry is traditionally captive to the railroads by reason of the distance from mill to market and the sheer bulk of our product.

Yet the supply of cars continues to diminish and unless effective remedies are planned today and implemented reasonably soon, the industry—while anticipating a period of market recovery next year could face the worst transportation crisis in its history.

APA has the answers. We are asking, while there is still time, for the development of adequate motor carrier and intercoastal barge service. But APA can only lead and guide.

Without membership pitching in to provide the necessary teamwork, the prospects for success in this as well as other worthy endeavors are inevitably diminished.

I admit I have assaulted you with problems, but I would also leave you with the thought that every problem has its solutions and the strange thing about problems is that they somehow always appear to look a little simpler—only after they have been solved.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. WILLIAM LEHMAN

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday morning I was scheduled to take a National Airlines flight to Washington from Miami which would have landed in Washington at 10:10 that morning, in plenty of time for the first call of the House at noon.

Unfortunately, National Airlines went on strike yesterday, and the next nonstop flight available did not arrive in Washington until 2:20 that afternoon.

I would like the RECORD to show that had I been able to be present, I would have voted for both H.R. 14494, simplified purchase procedures, and House Concurrent Resolution 559, additional

copies of the hearings and report of the Committee on the Judiciary concerning the impeachment inquiry.

#### BETTER EDUCATION—NO BUSING

##### HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. COLLINS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, America is concerned with providing greater opportunities for our youngsters through better education. One fact is becoming more apparent every day, and that is, the damage of busing to education.

Neighborhood schools prove to be the most effective educational system. Pasadena, Calif., is the newest case of factual data where busing lowers educational standards. Some judges and some school superintendents have misinterpreted the Supreme Court's decision of 20 years ago.

The Supreme Court ruled that a youngster could not be bused against his will out of his neighborhood nor could he be denied the right to go to his neighborhood school. But today under a Charlotte decision we are now busing students out of the neighborhood all over America.

In 20 years of forced busing, I have never found a school system where busing was beneficial to education. Busing develops racial friction and classroom unrest. But the big negative is that achievement learning scores dropped for both black and white.

I believe any child should have a fair opportunity. The best educational plan that has been submitted is the "freedom of choice plan" where a child has the right to choose any school in his district for which he is academically qualified.

There is too much decisionmaking in education based on the philosophy of sociology. What we need more is plain common horse sense. Let us stop bureaucrats from using American youth as guinea pigs. The results are in and they prove that busing never works out.

Here is an interesting analytical article written by Earl T. Gottschalk, Jr. in the Wall Street Journal on July 2. Headed up "Pasadena's Plight," it goes on to give a full story on the unsuccessful educational experience of Pasadena, Calif. This model city has given busing every chance and the results are failure. Below I quote from specific sections of this well written analysis by Gottschalk in the Wall Street Journal.

PASADENA, CALIF.—"This city is the best example in the U.S. of what happens to academic achievement in a school system with forced busing," says Henry Marcheschi, president of the Pasadena School Board. "And the record is a damning one."

The Pasadena School District now spends 50% more in "real" (adjusted for inflation) dollars than it did when it began school busing four years ago under a federal court order. "Yet test scores for math and reading of black students show blacks are doing significantly worse than they were before busing," Mr. Marcheschi says. Math and reading scores of whites have also declined.

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What's more, the school system has lost 6,671 white students, or 37.4% of its white enrollment, in four years. In 1969 the school population was 58.3% white; in October 1973 it was 44% white, and a further decline is expected this fall. "If this trend continues, we aren't going to have enough white students left to integrate," Mr. Marcheschi says.

The controversy began in January 1970, when, as a result of a suit by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Federal Judge Manuel Real found the Pasadena School District guilty of segregation. He ordered desegregation with "no majority of any minority" in any school. The result was the hastily drawn-up Pasadena Plan, which provided for busing of both blacks and whites and a vastly expanded curriculum filled with new programs to meet the needs of minority children.

(The school district's total population of 176,273, which includes Pasadena and some surrounding communities, is about 75% white and 17% black; the rest are Spanish-surnamed and Oriental.)

Pasadena Police Chief Robert McGovern says that incidents of violence in the schools have declined since busing began but adds that this is due partly to the presence of both plain-clothes and uniformed policemen on campus and an extensive school-police-relations program. He concedes that many students are still afraid to use school rest rooms.

The conservative school-board members back up their condemnation of the busing plan with statistics showing a decline in math and reading scores for black and white students and data showing a white flight from the district. But no matter how educators look at the district's reading and math scores, they are hard put to make a case that blacks have been helped academically by the forced-busing plan.

Reading-test scores of sixth-grade blacks in Pasadena fell to the 19th percentile in 1973 from the 20th percentile in 1969, the year before busing began. (The national average is the 50th percentile.) Arithmetic scores for sixth-grade blacks fell to the 14th percentile in 1973 from the 18th percentile in 1969.

Reading-test scores of sixth-grade whites fell to the 63rd percentile in 1973 from the 69th percentile in 1969. Arithmetic-test scores of sixth-grade whites fell to the 50th percentile in 1973 from the 63rd percentile in 1969.

#### THE HIJACKING CONFERENCE REPORT

##### HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the passage of the anti-hijacking conference report today, I would like to mention a few individuals and groups who were of particular assistance to me in understanding the kind of problem confronting the committee. The Leland Fikes Foundation and the Aberrant Behavior Center, both of Dallas, Tex., provided funds as well as expertise. Dr. David G. Hubbard of Dallas is responsible for bringing important behavioral research information to the committee, which I now understand is so necessary to creating measures designed to discourage a certain kind of criminal activity. Federal Air Surgeon Peter Siegal and Dr. Herbert Hanes, head of the Be-

havioral Sciences Division of the Federal Aviation Administration, also made important contributions.

It is appropriate to recognize the participation of these individuals on the day of passage of S. 39.

#### COOPERATION IN CULTIVATING A COMMUNITY

##### HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I would like to draw attention to the positive action taken by two private educational institutions in my home county, out of concern for the surrounding community. The Bronx Zoo and the New York Botanical Garden now offer a wide range of programs to the public. These programs range from making facilities available for use by community groups to the training of former drug addicts in a program supervised by the nonprofit Wildcat Services Corp.

The Bronx Zoo and the New York Botanical Garden have also initiated projects outside their own grounds. For example, administrators of both the zoo and the garden have met with leaders of other local educational institutions and city planners to work on plans for a cultural center at a proposed business mall in the heart of the Bronx.

The continued cooperation between these private educational institutions and their surrounding communities can create relationships of mutual benefit. I commend these two fine institutions for their positive community spirit.

I include herewith, an article from the July 15 edition of the New York Times, more fully describing the activities of the Bronx Zoo and the New York Botanical Garden:

#### BRONX ZOO AND BOTANICAL GARDEN PUT NEW STRESS OF CULTIVATING COMMUNITY

(By Allan M. Siegal)

After 75 years of viewing the city through tall fences and with scholarly detachment, the Bronx Zoo and the New York Botanical Garden have begun letting their gates swing open for a wide range of community contacts.

Spurred partly by a changed view of their responsibility—and partly, they concede, by the political value of public appreciation—the two institutions are venturing increasingly afield from the sciences that earned their reputations.

So, for example, while the parent New York Zoological Society remains active in wildlife preservation at East Africa's Serengeti Park and elsewhere, the zoo deters local problem students from dropping out of DeWitt Clinton High School by offering keeper training. It also turns its 1,000-car parking lot over to baseball teams from neighboring city housing projects in the late afternoons.

The Botanical Garden—still a leading force in plant classification and biochemistry (where a medically important sex hormone was once discovered in a water mold)—finds time to train reformed drug addicts as carpenters and painters. Not long ago, its landscapers set up a community garden on crime-ridden Kelly Street in the South Bronx, and

recently they designed a park called Youth Village on equally decayed Boston Road.

#### WORK WITH BRONX PLANNERS

Last July 2 the heads of the zoo and the garden, along with leaders of other local educational institutions, met with city planners to conceive a Bronx cultural center for the projected business mall at Fordham Road and Third Avenue. "It will be a mini-Lincoln Center—and not too mini, if all goes well," said William G. Conway, president of the zoo, while conceding that the idea was still highly tentative.

In planning not only for Fordham but for renewal of the entire north-south Bronx axis along Third Avenue, the zoo and the garden—their boards heavy with Rockefellers and Astors—have been meeting with Prospect Hospital and other representatives of the borough's poorest communities. The garden has offered to help design all of the borough's open space and to help choose its trees and plants.

As community contacts have grown, vandalism at both the zoo and the Botanical Garden has reportedly fallen in the last year. "I'm almost afraid to say it—it's a thing of the past," said Mr. Conway.

While a new police unit for the area is given much of the credit, John Reed, who directs educational programs at the garden, said, "I'd like to think some of the kids who were vandals now participate in our programs or know someone who does."

#### PRIVATE SOCIETIES

"We never dealt with the community before because we never really had to before," said Dr. Howard S. Irwin, a genial white-haired tropical botanist who has run the Botanical Garden since 1971 and assumed the post of president this year. "Our relationship to the community I don't think was ever terribly satisfactory."

Both the zoo and the Botanical Garden were founded in the eighteen-nineties as private societies. The city granted them the use of Bronx Park, some 500 acres divided about evenly between them, and the Parks Department still pays some costs of security and grounds maintenance. But with inflation, city support has declined in relation to over-all budgets. Both institutions have turned to other sources, including the State Council on the Arts, which has just granted the zoo \$750,000 and the garden \$500,000 on the basis of their educational services.

In the case of the garden, there has been another incentive to work with the community. The garden recently asked the city to return a 14-acre patch of adjoining land that had been detached years ago for a highway alteration that never took place.

The request was granted last July 1, but only after Dr. Irwin met with four separate community planning boards and held a formal public debate with an opponent who feared that the public would be fenced out.

"In the process," Dr. Irwin said, "we found a platform before the public, and we like it."

#### VOLUNTEERS HELP TEACH

New policies are reflected clearly in arrangements made at both the zoo and the garden for school visits in the last year or two. While such visits took place before, both institutions say they were virtually unsupervised field days.

"We used to find teachers sitting in the bus playing cards while the kids ran their own nature walks," said Mr. Reed. "So we developed school programs partly as a matter of policing."

Now the garden has three paid instructors plus six volunteers teaching school visitors and Girl Scout groups. Schools are pressed, by both zoo and garden, to arrange visits in series, with classroom work in between so the pupils can follow up what they learn.

In one Botanical Garden course, "Garbage Gardening," pupils are asked, "How can you create a garden with things you usually

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

throw away?" Fruit seeds are then planted in cheese containers and used paper cups.

Thirty promising science students were given time off from five local high schools this year to take water samplings along the Bronx River in a Botanical Garden pollution study.

The garden has just obtained a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts to set up an environmental-studies center in the new Harlem River State Park. At the site, where Tremont Avenue meets the water, a full-time coordinator will lead studies of plant life, fish and pollution. He will be aided by aged volunteers and by students—receiving academic credit—from Lehman, Bronx Community, Manhattan, Mount St. Vincent and City Colleges.

#### TEACHING THE RETARDED

The garden has also set aside plots to teach gardening to several dozen slightly retarded students from nearby Theodore Roosevelt High School. Student teachers in an experimental program called LEAP are training in the garden's classrooms.

At the zoo, a joint program was set up with Local School Board 10, in the Third Avenue section, to train fifth-graders in animal ecology. Tests by Fordham University showed increases in the pupils' reading and mathematical skills after the course, apparently because their general motivation rose.

Under the supervision of the nonprofit Wildcat Services Corporation, newly reformed drug addicts are working at both the garden and the zoo.

"These kids are in transition back to straight society," Dr. Irwin said at the garden. "Work in a commercial setting is too rigid—it scares the daylights out of them. We have a relaxed flexibility they like. They do something different every day, and different jobs depending on the weather. Some of our staff were worried that we'd be robbed blind, and we've had a few small incidents. But it's worked well."

At the garden, the former addicts have mended fences and repaired disused storage sheds. At the zoo, they have been cleaning the bed and banks of the Bronx River. They also sorted out 70 years of clutter in the basement of the monkey house and are about to reorganize an archive of technical journals.

#### ONE YOUTH HIRED

Like the Wildcat program, the zoo's keeper training project with DeWitt Clinton High School serves mostly minority youths. According to James G. Doherty, associate curator of mammalogy, the program enrolls 15 youths at a time to work 15 hours a week. One youth has been hired as a keeper, he said, and several have decided to attend college. One is entering Cornell University's pre-veterinary program in the fall, Mr. Doherty said.

"Our motive is selfish," Mr. Doherty went on. "We give these kids the same work other keepers do, and we get a good look at how they perform. It's an excellent way of screening and hiring."

A similar program, for 20 girls, has been started with Walton High School. The girls are taught to groom and care for the zoo's riding stable of ponies, donkeys and camels.

"The only problem," Mr. Doherty said, "is that every time they get good, the race tracks hire them away."

## THE LATE JEROME "DIZZY" DEAN

### HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, to the people of St. Louis who cheered his mag-

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nificent feats on the mound, and to sports enthusiasts throughout the Nation who admired excellence, the death of Jerome "Dizzy" Dean marks the passing of more than just another athlete, or character, or even a personality.

Dizzy Dean was an institution. In St. Louis he inspired not only admiration as a pitcher, but respect and affection as a human being. Whether in uniform or out, he was an irrepressible showman, and wherever he was, that was center stage.

Those of us who lived in the era of Dizzy Dean's remarkable record as the shining star of the St. Louis Cardinals will always remember the superb pitcher whose self-assurance inspired the confidence of his teammates and whose arm more than matched his self-assurance. After his playing days ended, he remained a part of baseball and won countless new younger fans as a most unusual commentator on the game.

The sports world will miss Dizzy Dean. To use Dizzy's own language structure: They ain't making those kind any more.

## IN COMMEMORATION OF CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK, 1974

### HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday, I joined thousands who marched at the annual parade in New York City which marked the 15th commemoration of Captive Nations Week. Since its inception in 1959, Captive Nations Week has provided an opportunity for Americans to demonstrate their solidarity with the more than 100 million people in 27 nations who are still forced to live under Communist rule.

This year's commemoration comes on the heels of the recently completed third major summit meeting between the Soviet Union and the United States concerning the further development of détente. Yet, despite all of the diplomatic fury and numerous agreements between our two nations, in recent years nothing has been accomplished to relieve the continuing plight of the captive peoples of the world.

Détente, to be effective, has to consider human and moral as well as political realities. Many people contend that it will be the foundation on which viable structure of peace can be built, yet without priority charges this cannot be.

In 1973, then Secretary of State William Rogers speaking on behalf of the administration stated that true détente could only occur when there is common agreement on the "principle of universal respect for the right of every country to independence and to its own internal development, free of outside interference and irrespective of its political economic or social views."

Yet, despite its own belief, the administration has been unable to convince the Soviets to change their archaic and repressive policies with respect to the treatment of their citizens and satellite nations.

The struggle for freedom continues for the brave peoples of Eastern and Central Europe. During this past year the plight of the citizens living in the Soviet Union captured world attention. The Soviet Jews, and their struggle for fundamental emigration rights, the Soviet intellectuals, who were continually thwarted and repressed in their efforts to print the truth, all pointed out to the world that the Soviet Union still must use coercion and force to control their citizens, and will go to any length to crush those who disagree.

As long as the U.S.S.R. continues these practices they cannot be expected to be responsible partners in international agreements. Any future agreements between our two nations must be made contingent on the Soviets adhering to a policy which at least respects the fundamental rights of all her peoples. We must insist on this, for without our intervention on their behalf the citizens living in captive nations will be forced to endure years more of oppression.

As we move through 1974, we stand on the threshold of a new era of international cooperation and understanding. Yet any peace we achieve can only be superficial unless it contains assurances that the right to self-determination for all peoples is included. Our priorities should be clear, and it is my fervent hope that before long freedom and liberty again return to the captive nations and peoples of the world.

#### STEAM-ELECTRIC POWERPLANTS

#### HON. WILLIAM F. WALSH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I have received the following information dealing with the more technical problems of the proposed effluent limitation guidelines for steam-electric powerplants recently issued by the Environmental Protection Agency and I would like to share this information with my colleagues.

As a former member of the New York State Public Service Commission, I have worked very closely with the representatives of the New York power pool and I have always been impressed with their professional performance and their monumental concern for environmental considerations.

With the sharply rising cost in utility rates now throughout the country, I feel that it is extremely important that all of my colleagues be made aware of the impact the proposed guidelines may have on electric rates in future years.

I, too, am deeply concerned that we not despoil our environment further but I am also acutely aware of the energy shortage which we face in this country and which we will continue to face for many years.

I am hopeful that working together with the experts in both the field of environment and the field of energy, we may be able to achieve the best of both worlds. This should be our goal.

The information follows:

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

NEW YORK STATE  
ELECTRIC & GAS CORPORATION,  
Binghamton, N.Y., July 10, 1974.  
Hon. WILLIAM F. WALSH,  
U.S. House of Representatives,  
House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. WALSH: As you know, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has issued proposed effluent limitation guidelines for the steam electric power plants of the United States. With the great interest in environmental matters and the current chaotic conditions facing utilities in financing needed expansion, these proposals have more than ordinary meaning to each of our customers who also are a part of the electorate which you represent. We know that the matter of rising costs is of importance to everyone these days and feel that you would be interested in the comments of New York State investor-owned electric companies on the proposed guidelines.

There is a great debate in regard to most environmental matters these days regarding their desirability. All too often the matter of economic impact is overlooked or deemphasized. Chairman Wright, of the Subcommittee on Investigation and Review of the House of Representatives Public Works Committee, reflected our concern when he emphasized that such guidelines should be for the benefit of man and that it would be ridiculous to establish regulations in which the benefits were exceeded by the total cost.

The EPA has proposed an essentially uniform nationwide guideline that there should be no discharge of heat from power plants to receiving waters in spite of the fact that Congress had written into the Water Pollution Control Act many obvious reservations about heating being a "pollutant" since there was little evidence to support such a conclusion and many studies showing beneficial effects. Notwithstanding, the EPA has concluded that no heat should be added to receiving waters. The EPA also failed to consider or inadequately considered the many adverse environmental impacts resulting from a requirement for universal closed-cycle cooling. These include concentrated heat release to the atmosphere, increased fogging and icing, salt drift, additional water consumption, additional noise pollution, and aesthetic intrusion. Closed-cycle cooling also increases the consumption of precious fuel and reduces the generating capacity of a plant making it less able to meet the demand for electrical power.

The burden that these regulations would impose on our ratepayers is enormous. It is estimated that the average residential electric customer nationally would have to pay almost \$250 a year in added costs—about equal to his present annual bill. Estimates made by the member companies of the New York Power Pool show that the people of New York State alone will be asked to pay almost \$10 billion over a twenty-year period to implement these regulations. This would be in addition to increases they are already paying for fuel and capital costs for construction of new capacity to meet an ever-growing demand for power. In fact, such an added burden might well make it impossible for utilities to finance the construction of necessary additional generating capacity.

There is enclosed herewith a copy of the response to the proposed regulations by the New York Power Pool. These answers deal with some of the more technical problems. There is, throughout, emphasis of the need for the EPA to carry out the complex balancing of all costs and benefits to the taxpayers, as we believe was intended by Congress, and to promulgate regulations which would require the use of technology to the extent that the net benefits to man exceed the total cost.

I hope that you will encourage the EPA to carry out this very difficult task with the reasonableness that I feel Congress must

have intended. Only through this approach can utility bills be kept at an economic minimum and the use of the State's total energy be optimal.

Sincerely,

LLOYD L. KELLY.

N.Y. POWER POOL,  
Binghamton, N.Y., June 21, 1974.  
Mr. PHILLIP B. WISEMAN,  
EPA Information Center, Environmental Protection Agency, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. WISEMAN: The member companies of the New York Power Pool ("NYPP") have reviewed the Environmental Protection Agency's proposed effluent limitation guidelines, standards of performance, 316(a) guidelines and all supporting documents. Comments on these documents are attached and include an evaluation of the economic impact on the NYPP member companies. These comments have been prepared by the NYPP assisted by our consultants, the NUS Corporation and Quirk, Lawler and Matusky Engineers.

The NYPP member companies support and endorse the Utility Water Act Group-Edison Electric Institute submission to you regarding these documents.

We are of the opinion that the proposed regulations are for the most part, unsupported by fact. The objective appears to be "zero discharge" without regard to whether or not net benefits to man's total environment will result, and without regard to the cost to the public. We find that the EPA has failed to adequately identify and consider the environmental, social and economic impacts of its proposals—to perform the complex balancing of all benefits and costs envisioned by Congress. The NYPP member companies find that, on balance, most of the estimated \$9.7 billion cost to our customers for the period 1978-1997 is simply not justified by any "benefits" that may result, if indeed there are net benefits.

The NYPP member companies suggest that the EPA has exceeded its statutory authority by proposing effluent limitations for internal plant streams rather than discharges into the waterway, and by proposing that "gross" quantities of constituents are to be regulated rather than "net" quantities added by the user. We also find that the proposed schedule of compliance with the thermal limitations ineffectuates the intention of Congress and compounds many of the problems, for example, our ability to maintain system reliability.

We recommend that the EPA carry out the complex balancing of all benefits and costs associated with these regulations, and publish effluent limitation guidelines that require application of treatment technology only in those cases where the net benefits to be derived by man exceed the total costs to him.

The NYPP member companies offer their full cooperation in assisting the EPA in these endeavors.

Sincerely,

G. L. HOUSTON,  
Chairman, Environmental Committee.

COMMENTS OF THE NEW YORK POWER POOL  
ON THE U.S. ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION  
AGENCY'S PROPOSED EFFLUENT LIMITATION  
GUIDELINES AND STANDARDS OF PERFORMANCE  
FOR STEAM-ELECTRIC POWER PLANTS

#### CONCLUSIONS

1. EPA has not properly categorized the steam-electric power plant industry, proposing instead uniform industry-wide guidelines that do not take into account the diverse characteristics of that industry.

2. EPA has failed to carry out the Congressional mandate for the "complex balancing" of all benefits and costs associated with its proposed regulations.

3. EPA has proposed "effluent limitations" instead of the "effluent limitation guidelines" mandated by the statute.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

4. EPA has, in many cases, proposed essentially "zero discharge" as a limitation without regard to cost or environmental necessity.

5. EPA has arrived at its conclusions employing an inadequate data base.

6. EPA has inadequately identified and considered the environmental, social and economic impacts of alternative treatment technologies.

7. EPA has grossly underestimated the cost of implementing its proposed regulations.

8. EPA has grossly underestimated the impact of its proposed thermal limitations on system reliability and has compounded the problem by proposing a rigid schedule of compliance.

9. EPA's proposed schedule of compliance with its thermal limitations does not serve to effectuate the "two-step" process envisioned by Congress and does not permit consideration of reports based on operating experience, EPA's own programs, and the efforts of the section 315 Commission.

10. EPA has exceeded its statutory authority in proposing effluent limitations for streams within the plant, rather than effluent limitation guidelines for discharges into a waterway.

11. EPA has exceeded its statutory authority in proposing effluent limitations on the "gross" quantities of pollutants in the discharge, rather than effluent limitation guidelines based on the "net" quantities of pollutants added by a user.

12. EPA has proposed many unreasonable chemical effluent limitations.

13. EPA has misinterpreted the Act by proposing uniform industry-wide thermal limitations with general application of section 316(a) provisions.

14. EPA has issued a section 316(a) guidance Manual which, if strictly adhered to, would preclude almost any applicant from obtaining a section 316(a) exemption by requiring considerably more data than necessary to comply with the Act.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

1. EPA should properly categorize the steam-electric power plant industry taking into account all factors specified in the Act and any necessary additional factors. An example of a categorization system for thermal discharges is enclosed.

2. EPA should carry out a benefit/cost analysis of alternative treatment technologies to fulfill the "complex balancing" requirements envisioned by Congress and included in the Act. This analysis should include all "benefits" and "costs" to man's total environment.

3. EPA should publish effluent limitation guidelines that require application of a treatment technology only in those cases where the net benefits to man to be derived exceed the total costs to man.

4. EPA should publish "effluent limitation guidelines" rather than "effluent limitations." These guidelines should reflect a proper categorization of the industry and a benefit/cost analysis. If properly prepared, application of section 316(a) procedures should only be required in those cases where a plant does not fit into a particular category or fundamental issues that require a case-by-case analysis exist. Effluent limitations should be established on a case-by-case basis in a section 402 proceeding.

5. EPA should provide for flexible implementation of its regulations to allow consideration of reports based on operating experience and the section 315 Commission study, to allow the applicant to exercise his full rights under the Act, to allow for necessary design and construction periods, and to avoid severe impacts on system reliability.

6. EPA should publish chemical effluent limitation guidelines based on the "net" addition of pollutants by a user and appli-

cable only to discharges into a waterway. Specific recommendations on chemical limitations are enclosed.

7. EPA should include in its section 316(a) regulations a provision for a demonstration of "no appreciable harm" based on a showing of compliance with State water quality standards.

8. EPA should withdraw its section 316(a) guidance Manual and revise it to reflect a reasonable interpretation of the Act.

## JOHN BUSTAMANTE, DISTINGUISHED AMERICAN

## HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, one of Cleveland's most distinguished citizens, classified by Time magazine as being a young man, is John Bustamante. John is a fellow lawyer and longtime friend of mine. Last week, John became the only Ohioan listed among the Nation's 200 emerging leaders as selected by Time magazine. I was personally thrilled to see this honor accorded a man for whom I have such high personal regard and respect.

Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article written about John Bustamante by Bob Williams and Bob Modic which appeared in the Cleveland Press on July 9, 1974. I commend this article to my colleagues in order to share with them my pride in the achievements of this distinguished American:

## BUSTAMANTE'S PHONES ARE ALL COLORS—AND BASIC BLACK

The only Ohioan listed among the nation's 200 emerging leaders selected by Time magazine is Cleveland attorney and businessman John H. Bustamante, interviewed here by Press reporters Bob Williams and Bob Modic.

Bustamante, by the way rhymes with roost-a-montie.

John H. Bustamante's law office, looking out over downtown Cleveland from the 11th floor of the Public Square Bldg., is more cluttered than usual now.

He's in the midst of moving the offices of the oldline black law firm—the first downtown—to new quarters in the Illuminating Co. Bldg. across the street. It's a black and white law firm now and one of the new names in it is that of Anthony Celebreeze Jr., son of the former mayor.

Bustamante was just back from a weekend at his little place in the country, a cottage on almost 500 acres in Ashtabula County which he bought, he says, as a place to escape to—but is in the midst of oil land which he still is confident will turn out to be a productive investment.

Last week he had to rush down to Atlanta for the funeral of Mrs. Martin Luther King Sr. Bustamante went to school at Boston University with her son, the slain civil rights leader. While courting his wife Joy, when she was a student at Spellman College, Bustamante often stayed at the Kings' Atlanta home.

"Their home was like a way station for visiting blacks when they couldn't get into good hotels in the South," he recalls. "Mrs. King was a great lady and a wonderful cook—that was one of the attractions of staying there."

Expected momentarily in the law office were representatives of Operation PUSH of Chicago, headed by Rev. Jesse Jackson, a former top lieutenant of Martin Luther King and now a chief client of Bustamante.

One of the battery of four telephones in his office—the white one—is a direct line to Jesse Jackson in Chicago.

The black phone is for the First Bank and Trust, Ohio's first black-controlled bank opened two weeks ago on lower Superior Ave. Bustamante mentions the bank was organized in his office and he is its board chairman.

The red phone is what he describes as his hot line for principal clients—and his wife. The last one, tan, is for general callers.

All of this is to indicate that things are going well and busily now for Bustamante who came to Cleveland by chance 20 years ago this summer, and couldn't get a job.

On that arrival here, Bustamante wasn't exactly a vagrant hitchhiking his way through town. He came, in fact, with impeccable credentials.

Son of missionary parents, he was born in Cuba. Held a scholarship all the way through Boston University and its law school, from which he graduated among the top 10 students. Winner of a fellowship to Harvard Law School and a master's degree.

"Actually, when I came to Cleveland, I was on my way to San Francisco and a job with the Bank of America there," he recalls.

"But the fellow who was driving became ill and we had to stop here. While I stayed on with him, I became interested in Cleveland. In the 1950's, it had the reputation of being a city of racial cooperation, liberal and a place where things were going to happen."

The only person he knew here was Dargan Burns, now a leading black publicist and then public relations chief for Karamu House, where Bustamante came to meet the Jellifies, its white founders, and which was one of the places which impressed him about Cleveland.

"At that time, in 1954, Perry B. Jackson was the only black judge in Ohio," Bustamante says. "I never had seen a black judge before and maybe that's why I went to his court to see him."

"He not only was a great jurist but it said something to me about the city that had elected him."

Judge Jackson put Bustamante up for a job as an investigator from Common Pleas Court, a political job that instead went to a white woman with a sterling record in the Republican Party. But the old News stirred up a fuss about a Harvard man being shunted aside, prodded no doubt by the judge, and Bustamante was hired, too. It gave him a pay check until he passed the Ohio bar examinations.

With this, he was able to enter the firm founded by the late Charles White, Chester Gillespie and the late Clayborne George, one of the few black firms which, instead of criminal law, was involved in business and civil cases.

There, Bustamante says, his bread and butter clients were the House of Wills Funeral Home and W. O. Walker's Call & Post, black community newspaper.

"They were the biggest black businesses in town" he notes.

Today, Bustamante is involved in businesses that are a lot bigger.

For example, there is the law firm itself which Bustamante has headed for the past few years along with the more senior John G. Pegg, whom Bustamante describes as a brilliant attorney as well as a great benefactor to him.

"I have the biggest black law practice in Cleveland," says Bustamante. Well-known clients have included former Mayor Carl Stokes and Martin Luther King.

Bustamante also is on the board of Higbee's and involved in its plans for develop-

ment of the Flats into an entertainment area. He's on the board of Northern Ohio Bank.

He also has held major civic posts, including serving as board chairman of Central State University as an appointee of former Gov. James A. Rhodes.

He now is a member of the Lake Erie Regional Transportation Authority, delegated responsibility for seeking a site for a new airport.

He was the first black man accepted into the old Chamber of Commerce, now the Growth Assn., which he regards as an important step for both black and white communities here.

"It's through coming to know each other that businessmen work together," he says.

"Black people have to realize we don't have the economic power and resources to do what has to be done and so cooperation is a necessity now."

Lest it be concluded that Bustamante may have forgotten he is black—which he says a black person should never allow to happen—he says, "You know, sometimes I'm in this office until midnight or after, talking to people some of them on welfare, many of them needing jobs. Somebody has to show they care."

"It makes me feel good to walk into Higbee's now and be greeted by black employees who never had a job before, and who I helped to get jobs. This maybe has been my greatest reward."

**SS. PETER AND PAUL UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH OF YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO, CELEBRATES GOLDEN JUBILEE**

**HON. CHARLES J. CARNEY**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. CARNEY of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, July 14, I had the honor and the pleasure of attending the 50th anniversary celebration of the founding of SS. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Orthodox Church, which is located at 1025 North Belle Vista Avenue in Youngstown, Ohio.

The idea of SS. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Orthodox Church originated with a small group of Ukrainian families in 1922. Since that time, the church has grown and prospered through the determination and generous sacrifices of many Ukrainian families in the Youngstown area. These dedicated families of the Orthodox Christian faith have come together as one wonderful family-in-Christ, and their beautiful church stands as a symbol of their devotion to Almighty God.

Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege for me to take this opportunity to extend my sincere congratulations and best wishes to Father William Olynyk, pastor, Mr. John Bury, president, and all the members of the parish of SS. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Orthodox Church on this joyous occasion. Mr. Speaker, I insert excerpts from the golden jubilee program in the RECORD at this time.

**GLORY TO JESUS CHRIST**

Very Reverend Father **BASIL OLYNYK**, Pastor, Parish Committee, Faithful Members, SS. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Youngstown, Ohio.

My BELOVED: It is with deep joy and gratitude to Almighty God that we shall com-

**EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS**

memorate the fiftieth anniversary of your parish. The past fifty years in the life of your parish have been a living testimony of faith, courage, truth and freedom, as manifested by your founders and pioneers, their children, their children's children—the sons and daughters of our Holy Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Because they understood their mission and were witnesses for Christ, for His Bride the Church, you have grown to the commemoration of the Golden Jubilee of your parish. Your history testifies that faith was alive with action, during the past fifty years, and that this was expressed by the manifold sacrifices made by the Spiritual Leaders, founders, benefactors, and faithful members of your parish who not only had been "baptized into Christ," but also who had "dressed themselves with Christ" by their deeds carried out in love for His Holy Name.

The Golden Anniversary of your parish, indeed, will be a special time of giving thanks to Almighty God for all of His guidance and blessings upon your work in His Vineyard, the Church. And, at the same time, the event must be a time for rededication to the message and mission of Life in Christ. With such a message your mission will continue to be "dressed with Christ" and we shall look forward to an even more fruitful fifty years—and many many more—as the Holy Spirit guides each member into the fullness of Holy Wisdom, which is only in Christ our Lord. For all of this we shall assemble for communal prayer and I shall join my prayers unto yours and, together, in the Spirit of our Lord, our grateful souls shall be raised to the "seventh heaven."

On this most joyful celebration of your Golden Anniversary, I send forth my heartfelt greetings to your Pastor, Very Rev. Father Basil Olynyk and Family, to your parish Committee, your Church Organizations, and to all of the dedicated witnesses and communicants of your parish. May God's Blessing be upon you always now and forever.

With love in Christ,

CONSTANTINE.

DEAR PARISH MEMBERS: Let us all, those who were here 50 and more years ago, and those who came later, rejoice and be happy today because our Church under the Patronage of Sts. Peter and Paul is celebrating its Golden Anniversary. The days of our lives pass by rapidly, and yet we know that it is good to be alive when we have something and someone to live for. The original founders and members of our Parish, although subjected to the stresses and many challenges of a new land, found joy and fulfillment in their Orthodox Christian Faith. Many of them went to their eternal rest with the full knowledge that their descendants would not falter in their love for Christ. May their Memory be always Blessed. As the years of our Parish continue to multiply, may we all find ourselves ever closer to true peace, freedom and justice upon this earth.

I sincerely thank all our good friends and neighbors for their congratulatory messages found in this Book.

God bless us one and all.

Your Pastor,

Father **WILLIAM OLYNYK**.

On this glorious day, The Golden Jubilee of the Founding of our church, my first wish and desire is to sincerely and humbly thank our Lord for His blessings that he has bestowed upon us all. We all know that without God's Providence this memorable occasion would not be possible.

I wish to acknowledge the untiring efforts of all the Pastors, the pioneer founders and members—both those asleep in the Lord and those who are living who have made this occasion possibly by their many and generous sacrifices.

To the Merchants and Advertisers in this

Souvenir Book, we render our thanks for their generous support.

Sincerely,

**JOHN BURY,**  
President, Sts. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

**ST. PETER AND PAUL UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH**  
PARISH PRIESTS

1924-26—Rev. Basil Koshel (deceased).  
1926-27—Rev. Paul Korsunowsky (deceased).

1927-28—Rev. Isidore Kostiuk (deceased).

1928-29—Rev. John Hovosad (deceased).

1929-31—Rev. Marian Kucher (deceased).

1931-33—Rev. John Kocan (deceased).

1933-35—Rev. Leo Wesolowsky (deceased).

1935-37—Rev. William Diakiw, Sr. (deceased).

1937-41—Rev. Stephen Musiychuk (deceased).

1941-48—Rev. Anthony Stangry.

1948-50—Rev. Stephen (Holatiak) Hallick.

1950-52—Rev. Michael Mostensky (deceased).

1952—Very Rev. Mitred William Olynyk.

CANTOR AND CHOIR DIRECTORS

Luc Synczyszak.

Theodore Kolonsky, 16 years.

Peter Wesolowsky.

John Chaws.

Theodore Tyminsky.

George Skibinecky.

Very Rev. John Zayatz.

Adam Hylev.

Mrs. Adam Hylev.

ORIGINAL NINE TRUSTEES, MAY 10, 1927

Alex Bunowsky (deceased).

Alex Bunobersky (deceased).

Stephen Cyeyk (deceased).\*

Stephen Rohan, Sr. (deceased).

George Prystash (deceased).

Nicholas Lopushansky (deceased).

John Bagan (deceased).

John Lopushansky (deceased).

FIFTY YEARS OF PROGRESS

The fortunate history of our parish actually goes back to the winter of 1922, when a small but determined group of Ukrainian families first met for the purpose of organizing a Ukrainian Orthodox Church. A meeting was held at the home of the late Nicholas Merdich, on Hartzell Avenue, and the first Divine Liturgy for this group was celebrated in the home of the late Michael Woloschak of Randolph Street. The Very Rev. Leo Weselowsky was the celebrant, and the liturgical responses were sung by Andrew Gela and Frank Senediak.

The newly founded parish began to function more actively in the summer of 1924, when Alex Bobersky, Nicholas Fedyna, Mike Woloschak, Frank Senediak and others, initiated the purchase of a property on the corner of Russell and North Belle Vista Avenues. This property with a house on it was purchased for \$7,500.00. The house became the first Parish Home. When enough money was collected, a little wooden church was erected next to the parish home, and the Great Apostles, Sts. Peter and Paul, were selected to become its Patron Saints. The Rev. Basil Koshel was called to become its first Pastor, and the Most Rev. Archbishop John Theodorovich came to bless and dedicate the church to the glory of God. The newly-created congregation which started with 25 families soon had a membership of 100.

In 1926 six acres of land at Donald and Osborne Avenues were purchased for burial purposes and to become a true Parish Cemetery. In recent years more land was pur-

\*Relinquished his place and was replaced by Frank Senediak.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

chased and today the cemetery totals 15 acres.

The final incorporation of the church and cemetery took place on May 10, 1927, in the name of 9 trustees, who were: Alex Bobersky, Alex Bunowsky, George Prystash, Nicholas Lopushansky, John Bagan, John Lopushansky, Stephen Tadla, Stephen Rohan, and Stephen Cycyk who relinquished his place to Frank Senediak. The Rev. Paul Korsunowsky served as Parish Priest from 1926 to 1927.

In 1930 the parishioners decided to build a new and larger church. Alex Bobersky was elected chairman of the Building Fund and Charles Serednesky as Secretary.

In 1932 a social hall was erected and was used for many years for religious instruction, Ukrainian language classed, choir rehearsals, and for plays and concerts.

On October 3, 1939, the construction of our present church building was started by the DeBartolo Company. Work continued whenever finances were available. At the end of that year the parish numbered 240 families. The new edifice was finally completed and dedicated by the Most Rev. Archbishop John on July 14, 1940. Our pastor during the years 1937 to 1941 was the Rev. Stephen Musiychuk.

In 1946 additional land was purchased and on it a Pavilion was erected by the members of the parish. The Rev. Anthony Stangry served as Parish Priest at this time.

The Rev. Stephen Holubak (Hallick) served our parish from 1948 to 1950. On July 17, 1949, the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of our Parish was joyfully observed with Archbishop John celebrating the Pontifical Divine Liturgy.

Our present Parish Priest, the Very Rev. William Olynyk, came to Youngstown on Labor Day in 1952. On May 23, of that year, the Junior Sisterhood was organized.

On Sunday, August 23, 1953, the newly painted and beautifully decorated interior of our church was blessed by Archbishop Mstyslav. The work was done by the Walter E. Boettcher Studio of New York.

Our Sunday School began to function when the Rev. Michael Mostensky was pastor from 1950 to 1952. As the attendance at the Sunday School increased, more space was required, and in 1956 seven classrooms with a kitchenette were constructed under the church.

In 1953 the erection of our beautiful parish rectory was started and completed the following spring. In June of 1954 it was blessed and dedicated by the Most Rev. Archbishop Mstyslav.

The new Iconostas in our church was blessed on May 15, 1958. St. Mary's Sisterhood contributed many thousands of dollars towards its construction. The Sisterhood also purchased three new bells with electric motors for the church.

Our Ukrainian Orthodox Center was dedicated by Metropolitan John on July 24, 1960. The full air-conditioned structure, two and one half stories tall, was built at the approximate cost of \$250,000.00. The Burning of the Mortgage on this building took place on August 23, 1964. On that memorable occasion Metropolitan John celebrated the Pontifical Divine Liturgy.

The Youngstown Chapter of the Ukrainian Orthodox League, with the approval of the Parish Board of Trustees and of the Executive Officers, undertook the task of the Parish Board of Trustees and of the Executive Officers, undertook the task of starting a fund for the construction of a Chapel at our Parish Cemetery. Many fund raising campaigns were held, and on October 1, 1967, through the endeavors of League Members the Laying and Dedication of the Cornerstone of the Chapel was held. Archbishop Mstyslav officiated at this dedication.

Through the years many pious parishioners have graced our church with numerous lovely gifts. Their names will never be forgotten.

They are enshrined in the hearts of all the faithful and certainly in God's Book of Life.

Through the efforts and sacrifices of many of our forefathers and the present parish members, we are, today on July 14, 1974, celebrating a great and joyous event, our Golden Jubilee. Let us give thanks to Almighty God for all the blessings bestowed on us so that we may be truly called a wonderful family-in-Christ.

Baptisms—876.  
Marriages—352.  
Burials—429.

## CHURCH OFFICERS

Rose Rappach, Financial Secretary; Helen Senediak, Auditor; John Bury, President; Rose Senchesak, Recording Secretary; Mary Stermer, Trustee; Metro Fedyna, Trustee; Joseph Smith, Trustee.

Joseph Ewanish, Asst. Treasurer; Theodore Senediak, Trustee; Charles Hankavich, Vice-President; Very Rev. William Olynyk, Pastor; Michael Zets, Treasurer; Joseph Temnick, Auditor; John Senchesak, Chairman, Board of Trustees; Walter Pupa, Trustee; William Fitch, Trustee.

Stephen Serednesky, Trustee; Walter Zebel, Trustee; Mary Loshuk, Auditor; George Roman, Trustee; Michael Woloschak, Asst. Financial Secretary; Lewis Pusch, Trustee.

## PRESIDENTS OF THE CHURCH FROM INCEPTION TO PRESENT DAY

1924—John Senediak.  
1925—Alex Bobersky.  
1926-27—Michael Hospodar.  
1928—Michael Kichtan Jr. and Michael Pavelko.  
1929—Charles Hankavich Sr.  
1930—Michael Lenenski.  
1931—Charles Hankavich Sr.  
1932—Charles Pusch Sr.  
1933-36—Charles Hankavich Sr.  
1937—Michael Lenenski.  
1938—Nicholas Lopushansky.  
1939-40—William Konyshak.  
1941—Dan Soroka.  
1942-49—John Zabotsky.  
1950—John Yurchyk.  
1951-52—Mike Nestor.  
1953-55—John Bury.  
1956-59—Mike Fedyna.  
1960-66—Nicholas Pavelko.  
1967-74—John Bury.

## COMMITTEES

## General Chairman

Very Rev. William Olynyk, Helen Senediak, Stephen Serednesky.

## Welcome

Mary Ann Senediak, Dorothy Mehalco, Mary Stermer, Betty Bindas, Joseph Smith, Becky Meredith.

## Program Book

Stephen Serednesky, Helen Senediak, Charles Hankavich Jr., Theodore Senediak.

## Social

Walter Pupa-Chairman, Joseph Temnick, Theodore Senediak, William Fitch, Steve Senediak, Jerry Evanoff, George Roman.

## Boosters

Mary Loshuk, Co-Chairman.  
Elaine Yuschak, Co-Chairman.

## PROGRAM—SUNDAY, JULY 14, 1974

9:30 A.M. Greeting of Right Reverend Bishop Constantine at the steps of the church by president John Bury. The Pastor, Very Rev. William Olynyk will greet the Bishop in the vestibule of the church.

10:00 A.M. Holy Pontifical Divine Liturgy celebrated by the Bishop. The "Bandurist" Choir of the church will sing the responses under the direction of Mrs. Olga Hyliev.

Social Hour—Ukrainian Orthodox Center.

1:00 P.M. Banquet at the Ukrainian Orthodox Center.

July 17, 1974

Invocation, Right Reverend Bishop Constantine.

Presentation of Colors.

Welcome Address, John Bury, President.

Master of Ceremonies, State Senator Harry Meshel.

Introduction and greetings from Hon. Charles J. Carney, United States Congressman.

Address by Right Reverend Bishop Constantine.

Greetings from SS Peter and Paul Church Organizations and neighboring parishes, Very Rev. William Olynyk.

Closing Remarks: Stephen Serednesky, Helen Senediak.

Benediction, Right Reverend Bishop Constantine.

3:30 P.M. Afternoon music by Louie Kay Band.

4:00 P.M. Barbecued Chicken.

7:30 P.M. Grand Ball at the Ukrainian Orthodox Center with music furnished by Bob Turcola Band.

## BLACK MARKET IN VIETNAM

## HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, recent reports from Saigon indicate that jet fighters we have sent Vietnam as part of our military aid program are being dismantled and being sold for scrap metal on the black market. If these reports are true—and they have appeared in at least two Vietnamese newspapers—then Congress must begin immediately to reexamine our military aid for Vietnam.

According to reports from Saigon newspapers, a police raid in the Hoc Mon district near Saigon recently uncovered an illegal scrap metal depot filled with military equipment. Among the items found were the wings of at least 15 A-37 aircraft. The A-37 is a modern, twin-engine jet fighter worth about \$500,000 an airplane. During recent years, particularly during the last few months before the cease-fire agreement of January 1973, the United States sent large numbers of A-37's to South Vietnam.

Now, this is clearly more than just another example of corruption and graft in South Vietnam. Common sense tells us that there is only one way that these planes could have gotten into the Vietnamese black market—and that is straight from the inventories of the South Vietnamese Air Force. It is simply impossible that so many A-37 wings—30 in all—could have come from planes that were shot down in combat. They would have been downed at widely separated locations, and it just does not make sense that their remains would have been hauled to a central scrap heap. It is also impossible that such a large number of A-37's were out and had to be junked. The representative of the Cessna Aircraft Co. which makes A-37's, told my office that no A-37's have been retired in Vietnam. That leaves only one strong possibility: that the A-37 wings were taken from planes in good condition, straight from the inventories of the South Vietnamese forces. If this is so, and it appears to be, we are faced with

a major scandal involving the perversion of American military aid to South Vietnam.

Accordingly I have asked the General Accounting Office to begin a full-scale investigation in the reports that equipment sent to Saigon as part of the U.S. military aid program is being sold on the scrap metal black market there. Until the South Vietnamese can account for every aircraft they have received from the United States, Congress should freeze all aircraft shipments to Vietnam. In the face of reports we have received, that is the least we can do now.

For the information of my colleagues, I am placing the two newspaper reports in the RECORD. One article is from Dan Thu, President Thieu's official party newspaper. The other is from Dien Tin, a Catholic opposition paper. Both appeared on May 24, 1974.

The articles follow:

[From the Dien Tin, May 24, 1974]

**SEIZURE OF 20 MILLION PIASTERS WORTH OF SCRAP ALUMINUM AND COPPER AT HOC MON, INCLUDING FUSELAGES OF FIGHTER AIRCRAFT, A-37 WINGS**

**GIA DINH.**—According to Thanh Dien news agency, the security services at Hoc Mon district recently discovered a depot containing scrap copper and other items of military use which has been illegally amassed and valued at 20 million piasters. This depot belongs to an organization which exports scrap metal. As a result of recent governmental orders prohibiting the export of such metals, these materials have been illegally stored at this depot without the authorities being notified.

After learning about the existence of this depot, police authorities at Hoc Mon, in conjunction with the Military Police of the Special Zone at the Capital and authorities from the 5th Division of the Viet Nam Air Force, launched a raid on May 20th at 3:20 p.m. and surrounded the house at No. 4/2, Tan Hung hamlet, Tan Thoi Hiep village, Hoc Mon district. A guard of Pakistani nationality, named Chulam-Mouson, age 39, was at the site.

The inspection of this depot uncovered 70 tons of connecting ends of floating bridges, 10 pontoon floating bridges, 4 assault boats, 40 water tanks, 3 aircraft fighter fuselages, 30 wings of A-37 aircraft, B-45 aluminum window frames, 190 tons of scrap aluminum and 2 aircraft gasoline tanks.

The authorities took note of all the above items and the guard was invited to police headquarters for further questioning. We have learned that all these scrap materials which belong to the military have been illegally sold to an organization specializing in such exports. Several mysterious big-wigs are involved in this organization. According to sources close to the inquiry, the depot of scrap metal was worth 20 million piasters. The investigation of this affair is still in the hands of police authorities. (Thanh Dien)

[From the Dan Chu, May 24, 1974]

**A BIG SCRAP METAL WAREHOUSE IS DISCOVERED IN HOC MON NEAR TAN SON NHUT**

**GIA DINH** (Dan Chu), May 23.—A scrap metal and equipment depot valued at more than 20 million piasters has just been discovered in Hoc Mon district May 20 and all was confiscated and the guards arrested.

This illegal equipment storehouse contained 75 tons of airport paving material, 10 floating pontoon bridges, 4 combat boats, 39 water tanks, 3 helicopter bodies, 30-A37 wings, 47 aluminum window frames, 190 tons of scrap aluminum, 2 aviation gasoline containers, 120 helicopter skids, and 24 helicopter propellers.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

The National Police command confirmed the discovery this morning and said it occurred as part of a combined operation involving the police and a number of other agencies, such as Military Police and Air Force Security officers.

The military forces surrounded the apartment at number 1/2 Ap Tan Hung, Tan Thoi Hiep village, Hoc Mon district at 3 p.m. May 20. The Air Force warehouse took possession of the material and security agencies arrested only the guard holding Pakistan citizenship named Chulam Housen, 39 years old.

This is the first time an illegal scrap metal depot has been found in Gia Dinh since the Senate raised the question of controlling scrap metal, a major national resource.

At present, personnel at the Ministry of Commerce and Industry say that no one knows the amount of scrap metal remaining throughout the whole country. Senators say that there are many scrap hideouts maintained by people around the country.

The material just uncovered in Hoc Mon was nearly all scrap metal from helicopters and A36B's and was discovered at the edge of Tan-Son-Nhut airbase.

At present, the Republic of Vietnam altogether has only 90 tons of scrap metal at the Tan-Son-Nhut turned over by the U.S.

It is not yet clear whether the scrap metal discovered at Hoc Mon came from the 90 tons at Tan-Son-Nhut or was collected by iron, brass and aluminum dealers before, causing the resources to be lost.

## CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK PROCLAMATION

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

**IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

*Wednesday, July 17, 1974*

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, in the President's proclamation declaring Captive Nations Week, 1974, Mr. Nixon said:

Consistent with the principles upon which this Nation was founded, we believe that democratic liberties are among the basic human rights to which all men are entitled. We do not seek to impose our beliefs upon others, but we do not hide our sympathies towards the desires of those who, like us, cherish liberty and self-determination.

It has now been 15 years since Congress authorized and requested that the President of the United States issue a proclamation designating the third week of July as Captive Nations Week and inviting the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities. The President was further authorized and requested to issue a similar proclamation each year until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world.

With new directions in foreign policy being formulated by the internationalists "peace-at-any-price coalition" in our Federal Government a token resolution is about all the captive peoples of this world can count on from the United States. The great "détente" said to promise peace in our generation through spiritual and economic merger among the United States and the so-called Communist superpowers seems to have dulled the luster of encouraging aspira-

tions for freedom and self-government among the people of the captive nations.

The possibility of making a profit through deals with the Communist dictators poses a greater threat to the enslaved people of the world as we continue to subsidize their Communist captors.

We Americans have indeed come a long way from the 1959 Captive Nations Week declaration deplored the Communist enslavement of a substantial part of the world's population to where today we are supplying the leaders of the same Communist conspiracy with the know-how, materiel, and financial aid to continue their subjugation over the people of these overrun countries.

This year's Captive Nations Resolution has become so routine and perfunctory that it is far overshadowed by last week's proclamations for United Nations Day and World Population Year.

The leadership of individual liberty under God and self-determination which rightfully belongs with the American people has now been dulled or lost because of political expediency. Today's apathy toward our Captive Nations brothers should be a severe warning of the threat to the American citizens themselves.

I ask that the 1974 proclamation be inserted, followed by the 1959 proclamation issued and signed by President Eisenhower when Mr. Nixon was Vice President.

[Title 3—The President—Proclamation 4302]

**CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK, 1974**  
(By the President of the United States of America)

### A PROCLAMATION

Consistent with the principles upon which this Nation was founded, we believe that democratic liberties are among the basic human rights to which all men are entitled. We do not seek to impose our beliefs upon others, but we do not hide our sympathies towards the desires of those who, like us, cherish liberty and self-determination. In support of this sentiment, the Eighty-Sixth Congress on July 17, 1959, by a joint resolution, authorized and requested the President to proclaim the third week in July of each year as Captive Nations Week.

Now, therefore, I, Richard Nixon, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week beginning July 14, 1974, as Captive Nations Week.

I call upon the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities, and I urge rededication to the cherished ideal of freedom for all.

In witness thereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twelfth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

RICHARD NIXON.

**PUBLIC LAW 86-90: PROVIDING FOR THE DESIGNATION OF THE THIRD WEEK OF JULY AS "CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK"; ADOPTED BY THE 86TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN JULY 1959**

Whereas the greatness of the United States is in large part attributable to its having been able, through the democratic process, to achieve a harmonious national unity of its people, even though they stem from the most diverse of racial, religious, and ethnic backgrounds; and

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Whereas this harmonious unification of the diverse elements of our free society has led the people of the United States to possess a warm understanding and sympathy for the aspirations of peoples everywhere and to recognize the natural interdependency of the peoples and nations of the world; and

Whereas the enslavement of a substantial part of the world's population by Communist imperialism makes a mockery of the idea of peaceful coexistence between nations and constitutes a detriment to the natural bonds of understanding between the people of the United States and other peoples; and

Whereas since 1918 the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Russian communism have resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a dire threat to the security of the United States and of all the free peoples of the world; and

Whereas the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led, through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, and others; and

Whereas these submerged nations look to the United States, as the citadel of human freedom, for leadership in bringing about their liberation and independence and in restoring to them the enjoyment of their Christian, Jewish, Moslem, Buddhist, or other religious freedoms, and of their individual liberties; and

Whereas it is vital to the national security of the United States that the desire for liberty and independence on the part of the peoples of these conquered nations should be steadfastly kept alive; and

Whereas the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of the people of these submerged nations is one of the best hopes for a just and lasting peace; and

Whereas it is fitting that we clearly manifest to such peoples through an appropriate and official means the historic fact that the people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence:

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the President is authorized and requested to issue a Proclamation designating the third week of July, 1959, as "Captive Nations Week" and inviting the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities. The President is further authorized and requested to issue a similar proclamation each year until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world.

## THE REAL FACE OF INFLATION

## HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, the ravages of inflation are tracing deep scars on our social and economic landscape. No issue is of greater concern to the people of Iowa with whom I have been meeting all over my State.

The President is obviously out of touch with these concerns. He met last week with a wholly unrepresentative collec-

tion of big businessmen, who told him pretty much what he wanted to hear: "Everything is fine, or it will be if you just give us a few more special tax concessions."

That is not at all the story I hear. The President should listen, as I have, to a longtime Iowa retailer who is closing up his store. Always in the past, this man has borrowed in July to buy his Christmas inventory. This year, he found wholesale prices out of sight and interest rates nearly doubled. It was too much for him. The impact of current inflation on small business is just devastating, and creates the real long-term risk of fastening monopolistic domination on our economy.

Inflation is also severely undermining traditional family budgeting in this country. At present inflation rates of about 13 percent, a typical Iowa family with a \$12,000 yearly budget must scrape up an additional \$1,560 just to maintain last year's living standards. This is the harshest kind of taxation without representation.

The small family farm operation is also suffering a severe cost-price squeeze, as inflation impacts heavily on our farmers' already tight operating margins. Here too, we face the very real prospect of forcing farm sellouts to giant corporations, which would drastically alter our rural society in Iowa.

The President and his prosperous visitors show no appreciation of these facts. If they talked to the kind of people I meet, they might begin to realize that the very last thing we need is further tax favoritism for big business. In my judgment, we need not more tax loopholes but far fewer, so that we can prudently lower the tax rates on low and moderate incomes. It is, after all, the lower-income people who most deserve relief, since more of their budget is of necessity committed to items that have most risen in price, such as food and fuel and housing.

The administration's response to these realities has been nothing short of frivolous. One moment there is the suggestion that average taxpayers are to blame for inflation for not volunteering higher tax payments. This is like telling a tornado victim he could have saved his house by chopping it down. Then we have a reported Treasury proposal to cut \$9.3 billion from retirement, disability, and social security benefits—which would impact ruinously on the elderly, the poor, and the handicapped who are the very people least able to defend themselves against inflation. Clearly, there is no leadership to be found on the inflation front within the administration.

This means that we in Congress must be the ones who are responsive to the real face of inflation, the one I have been seeing in my meetings all over Iowa. We have taken a constructive first step with passage of the Budget and Impoundment Control Act. Now we must address ourselves to defense spending cuts and to meaningful tax reform, as essential elements in an overall attack on inflation that brings genuine relief to the people who are hurting the most.

## NATIONAL PARKS AND RECREATION SUBCOMMITTEE REPORTS LEGISLATION TO SAVE NEW RIVER

## HON. WILMER MIZELL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. MIZELL. Mr. Speaker, as you and my colleagues are aware I have been urging legislation to study segments of the New River in North Carolina and Virginia for possible inclusion in the Wild and Scenic Rivers system.

Yesterday the National Parks and Recreation Subcommittee of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee held a markup session on my measure H.R. 11120. I am pleased legislation was reported which will save the New River.

A distinguished and able Member of this body, the honorable Roy A. TAYLOR of North Carolina, serves as chairman of this subcommittee and at the beginning of yesterday's meeting he presented an outstanding statement in regard to the importance of studying the New River.

Therefore, I would like to insert the text of his remarks in the RECORD so all Members of the House of Representatives will have the benefit of his wise counsel not only as chairman of this subcommittee but as a North Carolinian:

## STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN ROY A. TAYLOR

H.R. 11120 would add a segment of the New River in North Carolina and Virginia to the study section of the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act.

We first heard testimony on this proposal on October 30, 1973. Because there is considerable controversy surrounding this river, we did not include it in the omnibus bill recently passed by the Full Committee. We then held a separate hearing on the New River on June 3 of this year. At that time, we heard more than 30 witnesses on this bill.

Since our hearing, the Federal Power Commission has issued an order granting a license to construct the Modified Blue Ridge Project to the Appalachian Power Company. The effective date of the license is January 2, 1975. Passage of H.R. 11120 would preclude construction of the project while the river is being studied for possible inclusion in the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System. However, if the New River is not designated for study in this session of Congress, the dams will be built. No future Congress will have the ability to consider this legislation.

It is worth mentioning also that much of the 40,000 acres which would be flooded by construction of the dams is productive agricultural land. Our needs for power are currently a subject of much discussion. I wonder if our needs for food may someday be even more critical.

In testimony in favor of this bill, the witness from the Interior Department stated that the study could be completed within two years. It is the opinion of the Chair that this study should be made. At the completion of the study, Congress would then have to act again to include the New River in the Wild and Scenic Rivers System. We would then have the benefit of a thorough look at the potential of the river from a viewpoint other than that of power generation.

I, for one, am opposed to using the Wild and Scenic Rivers legislation for the purpose of trying to block a power project. The issue is not should the power project be approved or blocked. The issue is does the New River

possess the wild and scenic qualities that would justify its consideration for addition to the Wild and Scenic Rivers System.

It is my opinion that it does possess such qualities. All of the evidence presented to the committee on that issue is in the affirmative.

The State of North Carolina is also fortunate to have the service of the Honorable JAMES G. MARTIN on the National Parks and Recreation Subcommittee. Since entering the Congress just last year Mr. MARTIN has established himself as a dedicated legislator who studies legislation in great detail which comes before his committees.

It is appropriate, therefore, that the House have an opportunity to be made aware of Mr. MARTIN's indepth and knowledgeable study of the complex issues involved in this legislation.

I would like also to insert the statement of the Honorable JAMES G. MARTIN as presented to the markup session on this measure yesterday before the National Parks and Recreation Subcommittee:

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE JAMES G. MARTIN

Legislation similar to H.R. 11120 has already passed the Senate. The Governor and the General Assembly of North Carolina favor this bill. The governments of Ashe and Alleghany Counties in North Carolina and of Grayson County, Virginia, while somewhat nervous about restrictions on future economic growth, favor this bill. Every environmental organization favors this bill. I would like to say some few words about the New River and the people who live near it. And, I speak as one who has gone many extra miles to protect present and future sources of energy, including electric power.

First, the New River. This is no piddling creek. The New River is the oldest river, geologically speaking, in this hemisphere. It is probably the second oldest in the world, after the Nile. We wax poetic over trees a couple of hundred years old or a courthouse built in 1812. But, before there was man: there was the New River. New River has been spared the devastation of three Ice Ages. This bill before us will preserve what was spared by Riss, Mindel, and Weurm, the ice ages that erased preexisting life in North America and thrice gave this continent a clean geological slate.

New River, because of its relative isolation and because of having been spared glaciation is the scene of more than rare scenic beauty. Its basin is the home of life forms that existed in North America before the ice, including a unique mix of plant life characteristic of Northern and Southern United States and including 8 rare species. Some things have changed, of course. The mountains have. In fact, the New River has outlasted two mountain ranges and is currently resident in the third to rise about it.

And, then there are the people. These are not suburbanites who think nothing of moving from Alexandria to Chevy Chase, or even from coast to coast. Most of the people who live in Ashe and Alleghany were born there into families that have been there for generations. Many are farming bottomland that has been passed down for 150, maybe more, years.

This bill, if enacted, will do two things. First, it will hopefully lead to the preservation of our most ancient natural heritage from the encroachment of industry and commerce, while leaving it accessible to naturalists and those who just need a breather from urban life, such as the 1800 who canoeed New River's rapids last year. Secondly, it will admittedly thwart plans for a hydroelectric

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

dam which would do in a year or two what three ice ages failed to do over a span of 100 million years.

I would champion this bill if there were no dams proposed because New River is in fact a wild and a scenic river which ought to be in the System. There are some things you just do not do. You don't paint the Capitol and you don't permit this hemisphere's oldest dated river to be destroyed whether by subdivisions or by dams.

Let us examine the cost *vs* the benefits. Basically the power benefits accrue to Virginia and the fundamental cost will lie in North Carolina, which will lose four times as much lineal mileage of essentially free-flowing river.

It has been projected that this proposed combination of conventional and hydroelectric pumped storage facility will generate four billion kilowatt-hours initially (2½% of the total load of the American Electric Power System). It will consume 5½ billion kilowatt hours of energy at off-peak hours, using the more efficient steam plants to pump the water back up hill. This will afford greater energy efficiency and a net annual saving of a half million tons of coal, a saving of roughly 1½% of the 1973 coal consumption of the company (therefore, less than 1% of 1985 coal tonnage). While that is no trivial amount, it does not justify converting this national treasure into mudflats. Granted that the facility will provide annual profit and will displace \$8½ million agricultural yield and will displace some 1000 families.

If an historic disaster is to be avoided, we must act this year. Next year the question will be moot. The Federal Power Commission has authorized a dam to be built downstream which will destroy the New River. They have deferred, however, until January 2, 1975, to allow the Congress to determine whether the New River should be included in the Wild and Scenic River System, which is not a statutory concern to the FPC. The option is ours—to preserve our State's historical anomaly or—by inaction, to do what the greatest forces of nature were thrice unable to do.

Finally, I would like to commend and express my appreciation to my colleagues from North Carolina for their leadership in this issue which so greatly affects our State. I know as the full Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs prepares to consider this legislation the assistance to be rendered by Mr. TAYLOR and Mr. MARTIN will be invaluable.

AMTRAK

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I placed into the Record the first of two articles containing a firsthand report on the services and facilities provided by Amtrak, the National Railroad Passenger Corporation.

Today, I am inserting the second article by Mr. James B. Johnson, assistant city editor of the Daily News in McKeever, Pa., who rode the train for 1,600 miles from Pittsburgh to Colorado. Those of my colleagues interested in Amtrak will find Mr. Johnson's report most informative. The article follows:

AMTRAK MAKING BIG GAINS DESPITE BELOW-PAR START

(By James B. Johnson)

If you're contemplating rail travel, keep one thing in mind. Namely:

When Amtrak assumed responsibility in 1971 of operating, under contract, the intercity passenger trains of 13 major railroads, much of the rolling stock on hand was in poor shape.

Money authorized by Congress is being used to acquire new cars and locomotives and to overhaul the existing fleet.

Obviously, much needs to be done before Amtrak can achieve one of its major goals, that of "improving the quality of service that can be noted readily by the riding public."

But, in one person's opinion, Amtrak is making great strides with the equipment it has. In the San Francisco Zephyr, it chalks up another big plus.

Don't let the word "Zephyr" fool you. It's just a train. But it appears to be made up of the best cars Amtrak can put on the track.

It's not a "crack" train. (Nobody ever did explain to me what a "crack" train is.) It is a good train, though, and the people who man it make it that way. Again, a purely personal opinion.

Union Station in Chicago was jammed on the Saturday I boarded the Zephyr for what was to be a 19-hour journey to Greeley, Colo., about 50 miles north of Denver. It reminded me of days gone by when the old PRR terminal in Pittsburgh really hummed.

Movement to the train, when its impending departure was announced, was orderly. With my luggage cart out front (I was getting the hang of it now), I found my way to my assigned sleeping car, where a porter checked my ticket and hoisted my luggage aboard.

It was at trainside where the service Amtrack strives to provide on the SFZ first came to the surface.

Welcoming boarding passengers and directing them to their cars was an Amtrak passenger agent. The badge pinned to his coat identified him as John Varhol.

His task was to assist passengers, hear their complaints and try to keep them happy. From what I observed, he was doing a good job of it.

Amtrak personnel aboard the Zephyr were in sharp contrast to their counterparts on the Limited. All were neatly dressed and courtesy abounded.

I found my room to be a comfortable one (but I must admit to wondering if I could sleep in it). It was sparkling clean and my luggage already had been placed in the room and out of the way.

When the Zephyr pulled out of Chicago at 3:45 p.m.—on time—I washed quickly, donned a change of clothes and departed my room to inspect this train about which I had heard so much.

Coach passengers, I found, were seated in clean air-conditioned cars. Two double-decker "dome" cars were part of the Zephyr's equipment and both were filled to capacity. I had to settle for a quick look from topside because there were no seats available.

Soon, the SFZ was speeding across the Illinois plains, where planted fields were broken only by farmhouses and barns. Here, I said to myself, is America's heartland.

Conversation aboard a train can be found quickly in the club car. And on the Zephyr, I again found friendly people.

As I sat and chatted with many persons on the car, I asked the inevitable question: Why are you riding the train?

The woman from Michigan with a little girl in tow said she found rail travel to be cheaper. A Coloradoan said he had driven to

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Chicago with his wife for a stay at the home of her parents. Having to return home sooner than his spouse, he opted for the train "because I haven't been on a train in years."

Again, young people were aboard in large numbers and seemed to enjoy this way of travel more than their elders. They could be found in knots throughout the train—laughing, chatting, dozing.

About three hours out of Chicago, I began searching out the dining car. I was anxious to taste the food and experience the service about which Amtrak has boasted so much.

My discovery was a pleasant find. The dining car was bright and clean and tables were covered with spotless linens. Vases of carnations added a bright touch to each table and attendants were natty in white jackets and black trousers.

It was a first-class facility.

Menu prices read like this: Pot roast of beef, \$2.95; lake trout, \$3.50; rib eye of beef, \$3.75; sirloin of steak, \$5.75; baked ham, \$3. Shrimp appetizer was offered for \$1.70 and a cup of fresh fruit was 90 cents.

For "early bird" diners, Amtrak was offering a 4 to 6 p.m. special: fried chicken for \$2.25. All dinners included a salad, baked potato, vegetable, coffee, warm rolls and butter.

Wine was available for \$2 a half-bottle (domestic variety) and for dessert there was strawberry shortcake, chocolate pudding and apple pie with cheddar cheese, all at reasonable prices.

(There was but one dining car on the Zephyr, a questionable decision on the part of Amtrak in view of the large number of people aboard. An equipment shortage, perhaps?)

Despite the rush of passengers to the dining car, service appeared to be fast. Diners were not hurried in the least, I observed.

I was seated at my table by the maître'd—a Mr. Gentile—who summoned a waiter and quickly moved on to accommodate other passengers arriving to dine.

My waiter introduced himself as Michael Monroe, handed me a menu and offered a wine list. I observed him serving other tables and later suggested he must be a "veteran" at the job, referring to the manner in which he flitted about the rolling car with heavy trays.

A "veteran" he was, he responded, but of Vietnam, not Amtrak. And he had been a waiter on the train for but five weeks. Like a boxer who rolls with a punch, waiters, I presume, learn to "roll" with the train.

During dinner, two young ladies from Michigan were seated at my table. One, I learned, had never before traveled on a train, and for the other, it was her first trip by rail in 16 years. Neither expressed regret at opting for the train instead of flying to Denver, their destination. They were having fun and agreed they had made the right choice.

I lingered in the dining car until nearly 9:30, made a quick "pass" through the entire train (one enterprising youth had brought a bicycle aboard and literally had stuffed it into his roomette; I couldn't figure out how he was able to move about), stopped briefly in the club car and then headed for my bedroom.

To my surprise, I found that my bed had been made up by the sleeping car attendant. Later, he inquired if I desired to be awakened in the morning. I declined, figuring I wouldn't sleep anyway.

Apparently the rush of the two previous days had taken a toll and sleep came with surprising ease. When I awakened at about 6 a.m., I determined from my Amtrak schedule that the train was in Nebraska but nearing Colorado.

There was just a short time after breakfast to pack my luggage prior to the Zephyr's arrival in Denver, where I was due to switch cars for the last leg of my trip to Greeley.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Would I go again by train? Most surely. It was better than I had anticipated. Oh, I grumbled at times and probably will again. But I met folks I'll never forget—the railroad buff from Baltimore, the student from Uruguay, the young mother whose two children were forever "inspecting" the train and the two young ladies from Michigan who found rail travel exciting.

Personally, I believe Amtrak is on the right track. It's trying to make train travel an adventure once again.

Better yet, take the word of one little girl, all of 10 years old, who perhaps put it best when she said, "I like trains. They're fun." I agree.

### COMMITTEE REFORM SHOULD INCLUDE A STANDING COMMITTEE ON URBAN AFFAIRS

**HON. HERMAN BADILLO**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. BADILLO: Mr. Speaker, the Select Committee on Committees' reorganization proposal, commonly known as the Bolling committee reform bill, has been available for our consideration for the past 4 months. In addition, the Democratic Committee on Organization, study, and review has completed 2 months of examination of the reform proposal and has now made its recommendations available to us. I believe that there is no reason to delay any longer the House debate on realinement of committees and revision of certain outdated operating procedures.

The House has not reorganized its committee structure since 1946, nearly three decades of decisive change in the way Americans live and relate to the institutions of their society and to other nations. It would be derelict to procrastinate any longer, and I urge the leadership of the House and the principal sponsors to bring these proposals to the floor now so that we may debate how the House can best attune itself to the realities of contemporary American society.

As the idea of committee reform has slowly gathered momentum, I have received many thoughtful letters from State and local officials in response to my proposal to create a standing Committee on Urban Affairs in the House, the vast majority in support of the concept. But just as importantly, these Governors and mayors have elucidated the continuing relationship of the problems of urban centers to the quality of life in every part of the country.

I have shared these communications with my colleagues by placing them in the RECORD, and I include some of the most recent to indicate the kind of support the idea of a Committee on Urban Affairs has generated from all regions of the United States:

CITY OF RALEIGH, N.C.,

July 9, 1974.

HON. HERMAN BADILLO,  
Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BADILLO: This is in response to your recent letter, advising me of your proposal to establish a standing Committee on Urban Affairs in the U.S. House of Repre-

sentatives. I fully agree that the urban crisis is not being responded to anywhere in the Federal government.

Our great cities, the economic and cultural centers of the Nation, are falling into decay because of the absence of a national commitment to attack their problems. With the flight of the articulate and affluent to the suburbs, political power and the focus of legislation have fled with them. The fact that the Community Development and Housing Bill, pending in Congress today, with all Federal housing programs expired on June 30, is a prime example of this absence of congressional focus. I, therefore, agree that the Committee of Urban Affairs legislate jurisdiction of which shall include: public and private housing; urban development; urban mass transportation; relocation assistance; and regional planning for urban affairs, including environmental protection, economic development, residential patterns and other matters which have related or simultaneous impact on large metropolitan center and adjoining suburbs or nearby cities and towns.

Accept my congratulations on your efforts and I sincerely hope you will be successful. If in the future I may be of any assistance to you, please do not hesitate to call on me.

Sincerely,

CLARENCE E. LIGHTNER,  
Mayor.

N.Y. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS AND MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS.

Albany, N.Y., July 8, 1974.  
Hon. HERMAN BADILLO,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BADILLO: Thank you for your letter of June 24th and for the support you are giving to the effort to assure adequate rail service for New York State. This looks like a long, hard battle and your continuing support will be greatly appreciated.

Thank you, too, for the copy of your floor speech on the creation of a Committee on Urban Affairs in the House. The creation of such a committee could do much to help urban America. Focusing the concern and the responsibility for urban problems and urban programs in one committee should result in a much better organization and integration of the efforts to remedy urban problems. This improvement, hopefully, would reflect better concepts and more effective programs as well as the elimination of duplication and of inter-program competition.

Hopefully, too, the creation of such a committee would hasten the realization that urban problems and needs exist in many communities of less than 50,000 population. Those communities should be included in the responsibility of a Committee on Urban Affairs. Uniting their voices with those of cities over 50,000 population is important just as is uniting the voices of the various members of Congress interested in urban affairs.

Please keep us informed of developments you know of both in the field of rail transportation and in the field of a Committee on Urban Affairs.

Sincerely,

RAYMOND J. COTHRAN,  
Executive Director.

STATE OF DELAWARE,  
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,  
Dover, Del., July 3, 1974.

HON. HERMAN BADILLO,  
Member of Congress, U.S. House of Representatives, Cannon Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE BADILLO: Thank you for your letter of June 19, 1974 concerning the need for a standing House Committee on Urban Affairs. I am happy to have the opportunity to comment on your proposal. I support your amendment on the new

standing committee. For too long the problems of our nation's cities have been handled without the benefit of a coordinated plan. The chronicles of congressional committees either duplicating the efforts of one another, or worse yet, working at cross purposes, have tragically demonstrated the need for a reform along the lines that you propose. In addition, government services should be easily accessible. As is so often the case, urban dwellers who most need assistance, do not know which congressional committee is responsible for a particular program. If, however, all urban area problems were placed under "one roof," urban residents could more easily make their needs and demands known.

As you point out, various states have already begun to recognize the need for a concerted effort to remedy what is now called the urban crisis. In 1970, Delaware underwent extensive reorganization from a Commission to a Cabinet system. At that time, a Department of Community Affairs and Economic Development was created. The thrust of its assignment is urban affairs. The Department includes the Division of Housing, the Office of Human Relations, and the Office of Economic Opportunity. Therefore, in terms of Delaware's table of organization, it would enhance administrative efficiency if a congressional committee dealing with similar concerns were established.

Certainly it must be realized that urban problems cannot be handled in isolation. Urban maladies reflect much more than what goes on in the inner city. Yet, unquestionably, a commitment and a coordination of effort is needed as a necessary step in the eradication of the larger societal problems.

Thank you again for allowing me to reply to your amendment. I wish you every success.

Sincerely,

SHERMAN W. TRIBBETT,  
Governor.

STATE OF NEW MEXICO,  
Santa Fe, July 21, 1974.

HON. HERMAN BADILLO,  
U.S. House of Representatives, Cannon Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE BADILLO: Thank you very much for your letter of June 20, 1974 concerning your proposal to establish a standing House Committee on Urban Affairs.

While I certainly would not presume to instruct the U.S. House of Representatives as to how it should organize itself, I do believe that any action which would help focus attention upon the needs of our communities—both rural and urban—would benefit the citizens of my state.

I very much appreciate the opportunity to comment on this matter.

Sincerely,

BRUCE KING, Governor.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBERS,  
Honolulu, July 2, 1974.

HON. HERMAN BADILLO,  
U.S. House of Representatives, Cannon Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BADILLO: Thank you for your letter of June 20, 1974, addressed to Governor Burns, in which you express your belief that the House of Representatives should have a standing Committee on Urban Affairs. I believe there is merit to your proposal; certainly we would not object to such a committee if the House decides to establish one.

As you may know, we do not have any incorporated cities in Hawaii; we have only counties as our local level of government. The counties encompass both rural and urban areas and each operates under its home

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

rule charter. Each has an elected mayor and council as its governing body.

Certainly, there is merit in considering an urban affairs committee; but I would expect there are many Federal programs which overlap both rural and urban areas. These include education, health, transportation, welfare, environment, and others. Perhaps one committee, whose prime function is urban affairs, could function along with other necessary standing committees. Urban and rural separation is not that distinct in many areas, and perhaps they should not be separate enclaves. But there are many problems which are peculiar to urban areas only.

It is my feeling that Congress should have adopted the National Land Use Policy bill; it also needs to adopt an urban growth policy act. Both would help very much in meeting the needs of urban America. An urban affairs committee could be very helpful in shaping such policy for the Congress. Perhaps the functional responsibilities of the various standing committees can be defined so as to minimize possible duplication and overlap. Thank you for letting me know of your concerns.

With warm personal regards, I remain,  
Yours very truly,

GEORGE R. ARIYOSHI,  
Acting Governor.

## DR. CARLTON GOODLETT ON THE BLACK PRESS

### HON. RONALD V. DELLUMS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. DELLUMS. Mr. Speaker, my good friend Carlton Goodlett, president of the National Newspaper Publishers Association, recently gave a speech to the stockholders' meeting of Foote, Cone, & Belding Communications, Inc., that touches on some of the central issues in building a viable black economy. These issues revolve around the difference between what the black community contributes to the national economy and what it receives back. At a time when American businessmen are eagerly eyeing a new mass market in the Communist countries, it might be suggested that a little more attention be paid to their responsibilities toward the nonwhite market in America.

I think my colleagues would be interested in Dr. Goodlett's remarks, and, therefore, I would now like to submit them to the RECORD:

#### GENERAL STATEMENT OF CONCERN

Mr. Chairman: the United States of America continues to be a polarized country composed of two nations, one white and one black, both separate and becoming daily more unequal. The black nation-USA, with a population of 25 million persons, is larger than 152 other nations in the world; and to bring the comparison closer to home, of the 36 nations comprising North and South America, only three: the white nation-USA with 184 million, Brazil with 91 million and Mexico with 45 million, are larger than the black nation-USA. The estimated gross product of the black nation-USA is 4.5% of the Nation's total \$1.15 trillion. In many metropolitan areas served by our company, blacks comprise from 30 to 40% of the population and, upon a cursory survey, an even greater percentage of our sales.

Despite the fact that blacks number ap-

proximately 25,000,000 persons in America, the policy of the advertising industry has not been one of even lip-service support of both Federal and State fair employment practices statutes.

We believe that Foote, Cone & Belding is no better or worse than our sister advertising agencies, and that we fall far short of the fair employment and equal opportunity mandate which requires that women and racial minorities be distributed from the board of directors chambers to the janitor's closets. The insensitivity of corporate enterprise to its responsibility to obey fair employment laws is amazing and in many instances distressing. We readily condemn the felon who violates the law; however, is a corporation which violates fair employment statutes less guilty, and is not the violence which the corporation inflicts upon the hopes and aspirations of non-whites as grave to society as the deeds of the felon who robs and steals?

#### FAIR EMPLOYMENT

While our company employs a number of racial minorities in menial, low-level capacities, we are demanding full equity in the employment of women and racial minorities, with no differentials in salary or opportunities for upgrading because of covert forms of discrimination.

It is regrettable that Foote, Cone & Belding is guilty of the same criticism leveled against America's 50 largest corporations with an excess of 2,500 top executive positions, none of which are filled by a single black person.

The law that there shall be no discrimination in employment based upon race, color, creed, sex or age demands that racial minorities, especially blacks, Chicanos and oriental Americans, and women, be integrated in all job categories of FCB, throughout the infrastructure of our company.

#### FAIR ADVERTISING

It is estimated that the gross billings of the U.S. advertising industry is approximately \$20 billion per year. The policy of the advertising industry has not been one of reciprocal response to the needs of the black community, by urging and guiding the majority of its clients toward an equitable expenditure of the U.S. advertising dollars in the black press. U.S. business must be urged by the advertising industry and especially by our company to allocate a fair share of sustained advertising for the black community newspaper. Such constructive efforts in combatting institutional racism will reflect our awareness of U.S. business's responsibilities to the black community, which contributes from 20 to 30% toward the gross income of certain businesses such as foods, clothing, automobiles, alcoholic spirits, entertainment et al. The black community cannot develop a viable press when advertising corporations such as Foote, Cone & Belding remain insensitive to their role in ending the practice of discrimination in advertising and fail to acquaint each client with the black community's demands to receive a proportionate share of all consumer advertising budgets. It is the right of every black consumer to demand that promotional and advertising monies derived from black pocketbooks be returned to the black community, so that the black nation may maintain a black-owned communications medium which reflects its \$45 billion purchasing power.

No community, white or black, can develop without a strong community newspaper. We predict that the returns in patronage and community good-will will increase for FCB's clients commensurate with their increased support by their advertising dollars of minority-owned community newspapers.

According to your records, while FCB spent in 1972 approximately \$48,000 with black newspapers represented by Amalgamated Publishers, Inc., in 1973 a net figure of only \$19,783.21 was spent with Amalgamated Publishers and none was spent with news-

papers represented by Black Media, Inc. FCB's total billing figure for 1973 was \$325,959,000, of which 11.1% was spent on newspapers—over \$36 million, yet only \$19,783.21 came to the black press.

The failure of advertising agencies to spend advertising dollars equitably in black newspapers is glaringly illustrated in the State of California—a State whose black population is 1,547,000; there are 17 sister States in the Nation with a smaller population. Our clients would not dare to deny to the States smaller than the population of black California a bigger share of their local advertising budgets. We venture to say that the purchasing power of California's blacks certainly exceeds that of the majority of States with smaller populations. However, the black newspapers of the black population of California are victims of Foote, Cone & Belding's covert institutional racism in the area of advertising. We feel certain that FCB's clients are also guilty of institutional racism, and the failure of our company to vigorously combat this racial blight is an insidious crime against the black consumer whose purchasing power easily determines whether Foote, Cone & Belding's clients show a yearly profit or a loss.

#### THREE RECOMMENDATIONS IN THE FORM OF MOTIONS

To rectify these wrongs, three recommendations are made in the form of motions:

1. That management be instructed to issue, within the next 6 months, a full report to our stockholders of its distribution of employees, based upon race and sex, delineating policies of promotion, in the main job categories.

2. That stockholders be given a report on the recommendations of FCB to our clients on the expenditure of their advertising dollars in both the white and the black press.

3. That a stockholders' fair employment and fair advertising committee be appointed to assist management in broadening its programs of fair employment and equitable upgrading, which would allow our company to become an outstanding example of how the advertising industry might assume a proper role in corporate responsibility in ameliorating the racial crisis and the crisis of sex discrimination, which threatens our national progress in the decade of the 70's.

#### STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE FRED C. IKLE BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

#### HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, in 1961, Congress established the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, which was to be an organization in "such a position within the Government that it can provide the President, the Secretary of State, other officials of the executive branch, and the Congress with recommendations concerning U.S. arms control and disarmament policy, and can assess the effect of these recommendations upon our foreign policies, our national security policies, and our economy. This organization must have the capacity to provide the essential scientific, economic, political, military, psychological, and technological information upon which realistic arms control and disarm-

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ament policy must be based"—Public Law 87-297.

On July 11, 1974, Dr. Fred C. Ikle, Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), in lieu of appearing in person before the full House Foreign Affairs Committee, which was conducting hearings on arms transfers, submitted the following statement to the committee. This statement reflects no awareness of the original purpose of ACDA, filled as the statement is with bland and meaningless generalities, totally lacking in helpful recommendations for the Congress. One can only question the reasons for the Agency's existence.

The text follows:

##### STATEMENT OF HON. FRED C. IKLE

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee: The Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense, along with other Administration witnesses, have already discussed with the Committee the President's proposed FY 1975 Security Assistance program and its role in supporting United States foreign policy objectives.

As Secretary Kissinger said, the basic philosophy behind the security assistance proposal is to "promote cooperation and to prevent confrontation and pressure on ourselves, our friends, and our allies." Secretary Schlesinger told the Committee that the principal purpose of security assistance is to "strengthen deterrence and promote peaceful negotiation by helping our friends and allies to maintain adequate defense forces of their own."

I share those views. The FY 75 program continues the desirable transition of many of our allies from grant aid recipients to purchasing nations, whereby they are encouraged to bear the primary burden for their defense. In addition, the program of grant aid and foreign military sales contributes to stability in important areas of the world. In my judgment, Mr. Chairman, the Administration's proposed FY 1975 security assistance program is a realistic approach to promoting a structure of peace in the world at a time when the opportunities for stability and cooperation are closer to realization than they have been within recent years.

The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency participates in the consideration of the security assistance program through the mechanism of the Security Assistance Program Review Committee (SAPRC), one of the interagency bodies in which ACDA insures that arms control and disarmament considerations are taken into account in policy formulation and implementation.

In our participation in the SAPRC—in deed, in all our actions on arms transfer matters—we are mindful of the concern over indiscriminate arms transfers.

Both the Foreign Assistance Act and the Foreign Military Sales Act require that decisions to provide assistance or make sales take into account whether such transfers "contribute to an arms race or increase the possibility of outbreak or escalation of conflict or prejudice the development of bilateral or multilateral arms control arrangements." The FY 75 security assistance program now before the Congress was developed with those provisions fully in mind.

Because no single nation can by itself effectively limit the international arms trade, we in ACDA continue to explore the possibilities for practical international arrangements for control over arms transfers which would insure the security of friends and allies, and at the same time hold promise of being negotiable. To assist us in our efforts in this problem area we held a symposium of government officials and private experts earlier this year to explore various possibilities for control. Later this summer we plan to

publish a compendium of current statistics on world military expenditures and the world arms trade—data which should help to emphasize the nature and scope of the problem.

At the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD) in Geneva and at the United Nations the United States has urged that greater attention be focused on the control of conventional arms and has expressed its willingness to consider all approaches which might be suggested. There is not as yet an international consensus on the need for controlling conventional arms transfers or on ways in which such transfers might be controlled. So far it has not been possible to develop control arrangements which would meet the multitude of complex political, military, and economic objectives which underlie the arms transfer policies of suppliers and recipients alike. However, in my judgment the dangers to peace and stability inherent in the uncontrolled flow of arms make it imperative that within the U.S. Government we continue our search for possible approaches which might be pursued in the CCD or other forums to bring about international controls over conventional arms.

#### PINCONNING, MICH., CHEESE FESTIVAL

#### HON. BOB TRAXLER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. TRAXLER. Mr. Speaker, this week the city of Pinconning, Mich., will celebrate its annual Cheese Festival. The people of "the Biggest Little Town in Michigan" have a right to be justly proud of themselves, their town, and their nationally-known product, "Pinconning Brand" cheese. I ask my colleagues to join in a salute to this fine American city, its proud heritage, and its friendly, hard-working people.

Pinconning takes great pride in calling itself the "Cheese Capital of Michigan" because of the distinctive brand of cheese that shares its name. Pinconning's first cheese factory was built in 1915 by Dan Horn, a settler from Wisconsin. Next to the factory Horn also operated a small store. In 1939 the Wilson's Cheese Shoppe, specializing in all kinds of cheese, was opened by Mrs. Inez Wilson, Dan Horn's daughter. Ever since that time Pinconning has become well known for its very special cheese.

Although the original and other area cheese factories have since burned down or closed, "Pinconning Brand" cheese, as well as other brands, are still made there at a Kraft cheese plant. When in Pinconning, all visitors should make a special effort to visit one of the cheese stores.

Pinconning was first incorporated as a village in 1872. The city takes its name from the "pin" or wild potato which at one time grew along the river which runs through the community. Located about halfway between the Ohio border and the Straits of Mackinac on Lake Huron, Pinconning is ideally situated relative to industrial centers to the south and the wilderness playgrounds of the north.

For those who enjoy outdoor sports, Pinconning has much to offer. A mile

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from the city is Saginaw Bay, noted for its excellent perch fishing and water sport opportunities. A State park located near the city provides a boat launch site, picnic area, campaign grounds and a wildlife sanctuary. For hunters, Pinconning is small game country and only minutes away from deer country.

Winter sports enthusiasts can enjoy ice fishing and snowmobiling. Each year the local Lion's Club sponsors an ice carnival.

Whether one's goal is pleasure or business, Pinconning has much to offer. The city is endowed with several local industries providing employment for over 500 people. The biggest employer is Oldberg Manufacturing Co., makers of auto exhaust systems. Magline, Inc., is a local industry devoted to the fabrication of magnesium and aluminum products for the materials' handling industry. Other major employers include Gross Auto Electric, Kraft Foods, and Continental Telephone Co. of Michigan, which has its State headquarters located there.

Not to be overlooked is the fact that Pinconning is a rural community and farming in this area is among the best in the State. Locally most of Michigan's cucumbers for pickling are produced there and other major crops include beans, wheat, sugar beets, corn and feed grains. There are also many fresh produce farms in the area.

Pinconning is truly a fine place to live and to raise a family. With its many fine residential districts shaded by huge maple trees, the "Biggest Little Town in Michigan" is truly representative of the best of American small communities. I salute the city and people of Pinconning and invite all Americans who may be vacationing or travelling in Michigan this week to stop and enjoy the Cheese Festival in Pinconning, Mich.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank the Pinconning Area Chamber of Commerce for the background information contained in my salute to this fine American city.

#### FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

#### HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my Washington Report entitled "Freedom of the Press":

#### FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Scarcely a meeting with Hoosiers passes without questions being raised about the role of the press (by "press" I refer to newspapers, magazines, radio and TV broadcasts). Is the press accurate? Is it fair? What can be done to make it "more responsible"? Does freedom of the press have limits, and, if so, what are they and who determines them?

Virtually every turn of events in Washington produces new questions about the press. Criticism of it, which is often harsh, relates not only to the performance of the press, but also to the extent of its freedom.

For most Americans the press is a cantankerous and troublesome institution. It can be irresponsible and inaccurate. It can also

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

report facts with speed and analyze them with clarity. It can be indispensable to us, yet cause us to exclaim that we can believe nothing we read. Like politicians, the press has a credibility problem. In January, a Gallup Poll showed 67% of those interviewed agreed that newspapers are not careful about getting their facts straight. Another survey found that the public thought the press was less fair to the President than the Congress has been. These doubts and criticisms of the press are not new, of course, since the debate over the role of the press is one of the great struggles in American democracy.

The First Amendment to the United States Constitution was written as one of the checks on the power of the national government. It provides that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press." The rationale for this Amendment is that, if Americans are to remain free, they must govern themselves on the basis of informed public opinion that only a free press can assure. The First Amendment presupposes that right policy is more likely to emerge from a variety of sources than from a single, authoritarian source. In the words of Justice Hugo Black, the First Amendment gives "the free press the protection it must have to fulfill its essential role in our democracy. Only a free and unrestrained press can effectively expose deception in government." There is, then, a critical link between democracy, which depends on an informed citizenry, and the press, which disseminates information to those citizens. The public has a stake in being assured that the press is protected against government intrusion.

Fortunately, the American press, which is the most vigorous in the world, is extraordinarily diverse, both in ownership and attitudes, and pours forth a veritable cascade of words and opinions. It also has an extraordinary amount of freedom. It can publish what it wants to—government secrets, court proceedings, and sharp criticisms of public officials. It is independent from government, and suspicious of it. Much of the press is dedicated to informing the public objectively, without editorial comment. It does not, after all, have an easy task in reporting the tumultuous and complex events of the day. The burden on the press is to understand, to communicate, and to be fair. Newsmen constantly wrestle with problems of what to print and what not to print, who speaks the truth, what is fact and what is not, and what information is in the public interest. The press cannot be blamed for reporting the disquieting events of the day any more than the messenger can be blamed for the message.

A free society requires a free press, and a free press requires public understanding. This public understanding is especially important at the point of the relationship of the press to government. In American political life, an adversary relationship between press and government is appropriate. The tension between them is part of the system, and this tension increases when the public is deeply divided, as it was over Vietnam and is today over Watergate. As one commentator noted, "In theory, America's leaders have wanted a free and independent press as a check upon government; in practice, they wanted no such thing." A press that is complacent, and is not digging and analyzing, would only tempt those who hold power to greater abuses. In order to retain freedom, the people must know as much as possible about what their government is doing for, or to, them, and the information must come to them from sources in addition to the government. Except in rare instances, government should not be afforded the right to decide what and when the people are to know.

Naturally, the freedom of the press places a heavy responsibility on it, and, as it reports

the events of the day, it has an obligation to be objective and to exercise self-restraint. It must inform the public on highly complex subjects, lay out the alternatives and the solutions. It must try to work out a balanced relationship with government, attacking government when it cheats, lies, hides, and protects itself, but also showing cooperation and understanding in allowing government the opportunity to govern.

When frustration with the press builds, for whatever reason, it is well to remember that freedom is endangered more from an overzealous government, seeking to protect the public from its acts, than from a free press that is often troublesome and sometimes wrong. In short, the nation is better served by a free press than by a controlled press. A free press may create problems, but it also safeguards liberty.

#### BEAUTY THE THEME IN WAXAHACHIE

#### HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, in an editorial in the Dallas Morning News on July 14, 1974, editorial director Dick West wrote about Waxahachie, Tex., which I have the privilege to represent. Waxahachie is one of the finest towns in Texas and Mr. West points out why. Two of those reasons are charm and good taste among the citizens, but more important than those is the citizenry's desire to make it a wonderful place to live and work.

I commend Mr. West's article to you and remind you that he is a Dallasite writing for Texans and his view is far from biased.

The editorial follows:

#### BEAUTY THE THEME IN WAXAHACHIE

(By Dick West)

For years The Dallas News has urged editorially that smaller communities and cities of Texas can remain vibrant and retain some of their young, if they spruce up and stress beauty instead of bigness.

Not every young man wants to leave his home town, but none wants to live in a rundown weed patch or shop in stores which have not had a coat of paint in half a century.

Howe and Haskell will never be as rich or as big as Houston, but both can be unique in their own spheres by being clean, comfortable and orderly. It takes little effort to mow a vacant lot, pick up trash, scrape and paint a garage and plant shrubs and trees instead of letting Johnson grass get big enough to bale.

Hundreds of Texas towns have instituted clean-up drives in recent years. The effort, for a while, is worth it—and so noticeable to us city folk, who drive through and feel the peace and tranquility away from the madding crowd.

Trouble is, so few of these places have a plan or persistence. It is so easy to relax and let shabbiness return.

Recently we spent an afternoon in Waxahachie which is considering a bold experiment in beautification.

It has retained Marvin Springer of Dallas as a city planner and is negotiating with Naud Burnett, noted Dallas landscape architect with impeccable taste.

The central idea is to restore the original beauty and charm of businesses circling the courthouse square, particularly those older

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

structures with their unique "gingerbread" decor.

Some are 75 to 90 years old, but they are structurally sound and can be turned into show places through ingenuity and effort. Thousands in Dallas would drive to Waxahachie—even shop and eat—if the beauty and restoration become a reality.

A prime example of what can be done around the square is Raney Furniture Company, a magnificent restoration along the Williamsburg line. There is no prettier store of its kind in Texas.

The Citizens National Bank, headed by Marvin Singleton and founded (1868) seven years before Dallas even had a bank, is developing a 4-block area off the square along the lines which Dallas landscaper Burnett believes will make it one of the most attractive spots in Texas. There are flowers, trees and shrubs in a symmetrical design—and a creek with a pedestrian mall and eventually a waterfall.

The Ellis County Courthouse grounds under one proposal would be altered by broadening the sidewalks to form a real "square," and by tasteful plantings of ligustrums, magnolias, live oaks and yaupon.

More than 700 people work in Waxahachie's central business district, but there are only 500 parking places. Leaders of redesign and beautification hope to provide off-street parking for employees so that shoppers, attracted to the restored shops, could use the 500.

Enthusiastically behind the renovation is the Waxahachie Improvement Association headed by Ed Miles, who retired two years ago after commuting for 40 years when he worked for Adleta in Dallas.

"We can't compete with Dallas and Fort Worth in new, big buildings, but we can advance in our way if we stress charm, good taste and restore the original beauty of what we have," said Miles.

Ellis County has undergone vast economic changes the last 50 years.

When cotton was king in Texas, Ellis had 347,000 acres in cotton (1925) which yielded around 119,000 bales a year. The peak was 1920 with 152,000.

Last year Ellis' cotton crop was only 67,225. In 1925 the county had 6,000 farms, but now it has only 2,000—but farm and ranch acreage is greater today (546,000) than it was in 1925 (506,000).

What happened was diversification. Back in cotton's heyday, Ellis had only 50,000 acres in pastures and only 11,000 cattle of all kinds, dairy and beef. Now it has 125,000 acres with 62,000 cattle.

The economy is more stable than it was under a one-crop system, and the countryside far more beautiful.

There are understandable pockets of opposition to Waxahachie's bold objective, due primarily to the cost. But we have found, through the years, that the eventual results far outweigh the original investment in private and tax-supported beautification.

There is also concern about the future of the city's young people. A private survey showed that most of them wanted to live elsewhere after they finish college.

But that's natural; to a 17-year-old, the other pasture is always greener.

Many will return, if Waxahachie builds and beautifies. Just as important, it can attract thousands of older people now anticipating relaxing retirement away from the big cities.

A comfortable, beautiful community of 15,000 can offer a lot to a couple in their sixties who have endured the tensions and traffic of a big city and would love that quieter day when they can get away from it all, play a little golf and in the cool of the evening sit in a swing and smell hot cornbread, fried steak and peach cobbler in the kitchen.

POLITICAL EDITOR EARL C. BEHRENS

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER  
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest institutions of the American free press is Earl C. Behrens, political editor of the San Francisco Chronicle, who is lovingly referred to by his many friends as the "Squire."

While serving as a member of the California Legislature, I developed great respect and a warm feeling of friendship for this sometimes somber, always kind, and always fair representative of what is the best in journalism.

"Squire" Behrens will soon retire at the age of 82 after more than 50 years as political editor of the Chronicle. He will be missed by his many friends. As one who likes to claim that status, I wish the "Squire" well and express the wish that other members of the press corps try their best to emulate him.

Recently an article appeared in the San Jose Mercury, written by the political editor, Harry Farrell. Harry's article does an excellent job of paying tribute to a great man and I submit it herewith:

THE SQUIRE RETIRES—PRESS CORPS GIANT

(By Harry Farrell)

A few weeks ago the San Jose papers carried a paragraph or so about the retirement of a veteran San Francisco newsman, Earl C. Behrens, at age 82.

It is not the usual thing in the news business to take more than passing note of a colleague's retirement, especially if he is a competitor.

In this case, though, it is only right that we tell about "Squire" Behrens, as he is always called—what he has done and stood for.

He has probably exerted more influence on California's politics than most of its governors and senators. And Californians who cherish the "right to know" about their government are eternally in his debt.

To 18 or 19 million Californians who do not read the San Francisco Chronicle, of which he was political editor, the name of Earl Behrens means nothing.

Like all newspapers, The Chronicle likes to think of itself as an institution, lending its prestige to the people who work for it. With the Squire and the Chronicle, however, it was the other way around. In political circles, the Squire was more of an institution than his newspaper was.

We must put Earl Behrens' role in proper perspective, or—to use a recent cliche that he would shun—in the proper time-frame.

California's history as a state goes back to 1850, or 124 years. The Squire, when he retired on May 21, had been political editor of the Chronicle for 51 years. Thus he had been a direct witness to 41 per cent of the state's whole political history.

He had attended every session of the Legislature, watched the passing parade of personalities from Hiram Johnson to Ronald Reagan, recorded the swinging of the pendulum from Republican to Democrat and back again. He had observed the rise and fall of dozens of political movements—some serious and some kooky—for which California is famous.

The dean of politicians at Sacramento is State Sen. Randy Collier, who was first elected in 1938. Squire Behrens had already been covering the beat 15 years when

the now white-maned Collier arrived at the State Capital as a young man.

Few if any in California's history have been fixtures on the Sacramento scene as long as the Squire. Leland Stanford's whole political career lasted only 36 years, Hiram Johnson's 40 years, Ronald Reagan's a mere eight years to date. Earl Behrens has been around more than half a century.

As his legend grew, the Squire became a formidable, forbidding figure as dean of the political press corps in the western United States. When we went to Sacramento as a green cub 20 years ago, he scared hell out of us. We still remember the reprimand he delivered when we breached good manners by blocking the view between the Senate rostrum and a speaking senator, while conducting an interview. We were downright resentful about it at the time. What business did this Chronicle man have, telling us how to cover our beat, anyhow?

We soon learned the answer. The Squire was not a tyrant. He was purely and simply a gentleman in the conduct of his profession. And as actual and titular head of the press corps, he made it his business to see that all of us observed the same sort of conduct.

It is because of this that the press at Sacramento has historically enjoyed more freedom, more respect, more stature than probably at any other state capital.

Actually, as we got to know Earl Behrens, we learned that his facade of gruffness was only that. Underlying it was a kindness that went out to both his news colleagues and the politicians who sometimes felt the sting of his typewriter keys.

The Squire has always been at his best defending the press freedom he engendered. Anytime a pol or a bureaucrat has begun pushing the press around—withholding news, dealing in secret, sequestering public records the Squire has led the fight for fairness. And he has fought just as hard for the San Jose Mercury, the Riverside Press-Enterprise, or the San Diego Union as for his own San Francisco Chronicle.

Earl Behrens looms as large nationally as in the state. He has covered every President since at least Calvin Coolidge, and he was quietly an adviser to many of them. He is truly a giant among Californians.

## HUNGER IN AMERICA

HON. WILLIAM LEHMAN

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. Speaker, the sub-Saharan nations of Africa are plagued with famine and starvation. The simple cause there is a terrible drought—crop failures have resulted in a terribly severe food shortage.

The conclusion reached by a Senate subcommittee evaluating this Nation's hunger problem is that "5 years after President Nixon's promise to end hunger in America—the Nation's needy are hungrier and poorer."

Here is America, vast numbers of our people suffer from not enough to eat—maybe not starvation as in Africa, but certainly malnutrition and a steady physical deterioration that is a cruel form of starvation.

The immorality of America's hunger problem is that it does not result from a lack of food, but a lack of income.

Food lines the shelves of every supermarket, but the poor do not have enough

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money to buy an adequate diet and still pay for their other needs such as shelter, heat, medical care, and transportation to and from work.

Here in the United States, people are hungry only because they are poor.

Studies show that low-income people buy cheaper kinds of foods, or no food at all, at the end of the month when resources run out. As the money runs low, these people are forced to make tradeoffs in their family budgets between medical care and food, or food and rent.

The poor have been hit much harder by inflation than anyone else. Prices for such basic foods as rice and beans increased twice as fast as the prices for other kinds of food.

Food costs are more important to the poor, because that is where most of their money goes. Poor people spend up to 60 percent of their income just for food.

This country rejects the idea that to help provide enough money for parents to feed their children is not in the national interest, and even a disincentive to work.

Heaven will not look kindly on a people who lets the young, the aged, and the unfortunate go hungry in a land of plenty.

#### THE COMPLEX PROBLEM OF NATIONAL HEALTH CARE

**HON. PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR.**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, occasionally a constituent's letter speaks to a complex problem before Congress with such persuasive force that we welcome its inclusion in the RECORD.

The issue of national health care policy is as complex a problem as we presently face, and Dr. Howard Lindsey of San Mateo, Calif., has commented on the various bills now before the House in a manner deserving of the close attention of our colleagues.

The letter follows:

SAN MATEO, CALIF.

May 15, 1974.

Hon. PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, Jr.,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. McCLOSKEY: First, I am a leader within organized medicine: as a Councilor to CMA representing the five county seventh district; vice-president of the Health Care Foundation of San Mateo County; project director of the San Mateo County Professional Standards Review Organization (recently has submitted a proposal for a planning contract to HEW for PSRO status); Chairman of Mills Hospital Utilization Review Committee; and member of the San Mateo County Board of Public Health and Welfare. I am, not the least, a tax paying citizen. Needless to say, I have given much thought to the pending legislation on National Health Insurance.

Candidly, the thought of federally mandated comprehensive health insurance administered by any of the Washington bureaucracies frightens me. Not so much that it is not needed, but that the track record of Washington bureaucrats, is so bad. If there is one thing our health delivery system needs is a continuing opportunity for innovation and legislative fiat invariably stultifies in-

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novation. Much of the legislation before you would threaten many of the pluses that currently exist within our present delivery system.

1. The active day to day involvement by the health insurance industry.

2. The same involvement by the local unions and individual consumers in ascertaining (self educating) the maximum benefits in terms of quality care in a competitive market-place. They need to be continually reminded that health, itself, cannot be purchased, that the "worried well" are a financial problem and that such things as psychiatric outpatient benefits are important, albeit expensive.

3. The increasing awareness by physicians of the need for public accountability as manifested by the burgeoning methodologies in approaching peer review—both as to cost containment and a hard look at quality.

Now, for your problems. Your questions relate specifically to bills within the legislative hopper.

##### THE ADMINISTRATION PROPOSAL

To me the least objectional of those that seem politically possible. Positive features include: administration by the private carriers; the employee contribution aspect which is so important in keeping the individual consumer aware of those facets within health care that constitute good care; the benefit package as outlined seems realistic; benefit packages would be put out to bid as to premium costs, thus retaining some of the aspects of a competitive marketplace. I have mixed feelings as to the voluntary aspects in that employees can opt not to take the coverage. So often the very human feeling that "it will never happen to me" leads to catastrophe.

My negative feelings include: the rather sudden increase in overall costs—the inflationary effect, and one wonders at how much our economy can stand. There is an administrative feature insofar as provider reimbursement is concerned that quickly turns off the physicians. The EHIP portion allows the physician to bill the patient directly his fee. The program would then pay the patient on the basis of a state or federally regulated fee schedule, though the patient would still be obliged to pay the physician that amount billed in so long as the physician's bill is judged by his peers to be his usual fee, that it is customary within the area and that it is reasonable insofar as extenuating circumstances surrounding the case might dictate. This we could live with. Under AHIP, which would provide insurance for the poor and those who would not qualify for the EHIP program, the physician is stuck with the assignment of benefits and the state fee schedule. Not acceptable—though admittedly, if this group were strictly limited to the poor it would be more palatable.

##### THE KENNEDY-MILLS PROPOSAL

The benefit package is quite similar to the administration's and seems likewise realistic. Deductibles and co-insurance features are less and on this point, again, I have mixed feelings. I fear as to the overall cost. It is interesting that within their proposal, the physician has the prerogative of direct billing all of his patients thus retaining the option of "balance billing" over and above the federal or state mandated fee-schedule. This is the only feature that I would choose from the Kennedy-Mills package over that of the Administration. The intolerable feature is the administration by the Social Security Administration plus the virtually wiping out of the private health insurance industry other than as fiscal intermediaries.

##### THE ULLMAN BILL

Sounds to me to be the most costly of the bills before you, also the most broadreaching in scope. It provides not only for Na-

tional Health Insurance but a complex system of federal, state and area Health Care Corporations via which all health care would be delivered including comprehensive health planning, all forms of monitoring as to cost and quality down to which provider does what, to whom, at which place and for how much. All this to be administered by regulation emanating from a new Department of Health in Washington. Please look into this well before giving it any support. I have hopes that its price tag alone would make this proposal politically non-viable.

##### MEDICRAFT

Were I in your position, it would be difficult for me to give this proposal serious consideration. There are obvious appealing aspects within the proposal to physicians, e.g. voluntary, no visible regulatory mechanisms. Financing appears vague. Though my figures are not accurate, if something like 80% of the income taxes collected come from Mr. Average American and if he belongs to a family making somewhere around \$12,000 per year and if he were to deduct \$600 to \$800 per year from the actual taxes he pays as a tax credit to purchase health insurance—what does that do to the total amount of taxes collected? Perhaps the biggest potential advantage (which might be a good one) is to remove government from the position of "middle man" thus making it less expensive administratively.

##### THE LONG AND RIBICOFF BILL

Catastrophic insurance coverage is a politically intriguing concept. It is cheap, has fairly universal appeal, and it gets Congress off of the hook in terms of doing something this year without committing itself to the "whole bag of worms". However, to put into the hands of the Social Security Administration a federally mandated, compulsory, \$2,000 deductible catastrophic health insurance program would be like letting the fox into the chicken coop. Every two years (even years) the program would be expanded with deductibles lowered to the end result of a compulsory SSA administered national health program with all the built-in evils that I personally find so intolerable. I would rather see us face our problems now.

Some additional thoughts before I close. There are three main weaknesses in our current approach to the concept that access to quality health care is truly everybody's right.

1. The temporarily unemployed. The Federal government could mandate a program that would tie a health insurance mechanism to unemployment insurance the latter of which is fairly universally available.

2. The uninsurable or high insurance risk persons. The insurance industry needs a prod to develop pools to include these persons into the insurance mechanism. Perhaps as a carrot the role of the government should be to re-insure the carriers with the stick remaining the current threat of NHI to the insurance industry generally.

3. Finally, preventive medical services. I will submit that for the most part, presently available "health insurance" is not health insurance at all but in reality is "sickness insurance". Somehow, packages such as prenatal care; well baby care; pre-school screening; drug and venereal disease counselling; nutritional counselling; the annual or bi-annual physical evaluation, to name a few, must be incorporated into any program to the extent that their costs can be identified and hopefully pre-paid much as an appendectomy.

I would not submit that solutions to this latter are readily available but I would hate to leave their resolution to the federal government and the Social Security Administration. I apologize for the length. The above has at least helped me in organizing my thinking.

Respectfully,

HOWARD W. LINDSEY, M.D.

THEY ONLY WAIT WHO ALSO  
SERVE

HON. PAUL W. CRONIN  
OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. CRONIN. Mr. Speaker, July marks the 50th year of the existence of the Foreign Service of the United States of America and gives us all an opportunity to pause and reflect upon the great achievements of this dedicated service which represents our Government in 129 embassies around the world. This anniversary month is a time for all of us not only to rededicate the Foreign Service but to remember its founder, Representative John Jacob Rogers from Massachusetts, who ably represented our own Fifth Congressional District for many years.

Although he faced popular opposition to the idea of U.S. presence on foreign soil by Americans who supported isolationism, Congressman Rogers persevered with his idea to join together the consular and diplomatic functions of the executive branch and to formalize our Diplomatic Corps into an active and forceful body. Certainly his foresightedness has been borne out during the last half century of diplomatic achievements in the part of the United States.

The Honorable John Jacob Rogers, with the assistance of his wife, Edith, made great inroads into the realm of foreign affairs conduct. Together they worked on behalf of their homeland abroad, marking a distinguished career. When Representative Rogers died, his wife carried on his work for the Fifth Congressional District of Massachusetts serving in Congress with the enthusiasm and dignity that her husband brought to the seat. The Foreign Service today is a living memorial to John Jacob and Edith Nourse Rogers, and a tribute to their unselfish hard work. At this time we should all pause and remember their work as portrayed in the following editorial published in today's New York Times:

[From the New York Times, July 17, 1974]

THEY ONLY WAIT WHO ALSO SERVE  
(By C. L. Sulzberger)

JIDDA, SAUDI ARABIA.—It is startling to recall that fifty years ago the United States, which is now the world's most diplomatically involved nation, had no adequate Foreign Service. Only in July, 1924, when the act sponsored by Representative John Jacob Rogers of Massachusetts became law, did today's efficient system of representation develop.

The idea of having regular foreign envoys was always somewhat repugnant to most Americans who were imbued with a romantic concept of isolation from the nasty outside world from which they and their ancestors fled. A Department of Foreign Affairs was created in 1781 by the revolutionary government which had to enlist aid abroad and finally to negotiate peace. In 1789 this was reorganized into the State Department.

For years its representatives were appointed on the basis of a political spoils system. In 1856, the thought of merit as a qualification was first legally acknowledged. Subsequent acts in 1906 and 1909 gave civil-serv-

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ice status to those serving in foreign missions.

However, it was only with the Rogers Act that the existing diplomatic and consular services were joined into a single Foreign Service that admitted qualified applicants after examination and then assigned and promoted them according to need and merit. By establishing a uniform scale of salaries and representation allowances (always far too stingy) it became possible for individuals without private means to serve the State Department.

One useful result of the welding of diplomatic and consular officials into the same career service was that it opened doors to the highest office to competent consuls who would otherwise have been prevented from playing active policy-making roles. An outstanding example has been Robert Murphy, a young vice-consul in Munich when the Roger Act became effective. He subsequently rose to the rank of ambassador and Under Secretary of State.

Had there been no Rogers Act or its equivalent, the United States would be in no position to play its extraordinarily active role in international affairs today. In 1924 the United States had only 122 persons in its diplomatic service—plus 511 consular officials (including Mr. Murphy). Now the Foreign Service numbers 3,290. In 1924 Washington was represented by 54 small diplomatic and consular posts abroad. Today we have 129 embassies alone.

The trend begun by the Rogers Act has not, however, been completed. At the time of its enactment only 35 per cent of our missions abroad were under career diplomats. Now 68 per cent of the far larger number of missions are headed by career officers; yet that figure means 32 per cent of our embassies are under noncareer envoys. In other words, the spoils system is still far from dead.

The American public was recently shocked to learn as part of the fall-out from the Watergate scandal how flagrantly some diplomatic posts overseas have been peddled about by political influence merchants and fund-raisers. Some of the resulting appointments have ranged from embarrassingly comic to well-nigh catastrophic.

However, it cannot be forgotten that certain of our noncareer ambassadors have been among the most distinguished public servants the United States ever produced and rank with such early amateur envoys as Benjamin Franklin and John Jay.

Nevertheless, while always leaving space for specially qualified noncareer ambassadors, it seems only just that the implied intentions of the Rogers Act should be fully carried out. Each and every post abroad should be open to members of the career Foreign Service with adequate pay and allowances to maintain even the costliest embassy out of public hands.

As things stand, the most luxurious positions are most coveted by beneficiaries of the spoils system. Likewise, the most difficult and dangerous positions are always awarded to career diplomats. Thus it was a hard-working pair of U.S. public servants, Ambassador Cleo Noel and George Moore, who were kidnapped in Khartoum, Sudan, across the Red Sea from here, by Palestine Arab guerrillas and brutally murdered. Similar tragedies have involved career diplomats in Brazil and Guatemala.

In the United States where equality of opportunity has always been stressed—as well as equality of hardship or danger in times of crisis—it would be useful to recall this philosophy in assigning overseas posts. There is no sense continuing even vestigial favoritism or amateurism—when not fully qualified by talent—at the expense of that industrious, courageous body of men, largely unknown, who serve us in a world from which we cannot isolate ourselves.

ELDERLY WANT INDEPENDENCE,  
AND THAT MEANS MONEY

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.  
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, most often when we legislators discuss and vote on national issues, the plight of the elderly poor is somehow very much overlooked, obscured, or ignored. Our Nation has an extensive record of interest in the health of its citizens, but today, this concern is often either shelved behind other more popular issues or earmarked for a discussion of our present administration of social security benefit payments.

Whether we feel its urgency or not, the time has come for our society to recognize the changes that will accrue with the dramatic increase of our senior citizen population in this decade and the immediate ones to follow. Priorities must be rearranged not only to improve the administration and processing of social security benefit payments, but also to better the general social and personal well-being of this increasingly important segment of our population. Understanding, thoughtfulness, and creativity should be the cornerstones of our logic in meeting the need for adequate and direct assistance to the elderly poor. In this regard, I commend to the readership of my colleagues the following article from the San Bernardino Sun-Telegram, May 26, 1974:

ELDERLY WANT INDEPENDENCE, AND THAT MEANS MONEY  
(By Rose Sold)

Money—that's the answer to the problems of the poor as the poor see it themselves.

Dr. Richard S. Sterne, former director of social research for the Citizens' Planning Council of Rochester, N.Y., found this out in a three-year (235-day) study of Rochester's urban elderly poor.

Dr. Sterne concluded that "poor people desire no organization and want few services. They want to be independent individuals, and the best way to help them, we think, is to give them more money and let them supply their own wants."

He charges that administrators of programs for the urban elderly poor appear to direct programs so as to impress superiors instead of meeting clients' needs.

"Service delivery in Model Cities-type areas is characterized as often being monopolistic and generally paternalistic. Moreover, social service agents often have a different conception of client wants than do the clients . . . Agencies should deliver to their clients what the clients really want . . . not what we think is good for them."

Dr. Sterne, who left Rochester in 1973 to become associate professor in urban studies and sociology at the University of Akron (Ohio), has reported his findings in a book "The Urban Elderly Poor," coauthored with Dr. Alvin Rabushka, associate professor of political science at the University of Rochester, and James E. Phillips, a research analyst in Rochester. While in Rochester, he taught at St. John Fisher College and was visiting professor at the State University at Genesee.

Dr. Sterne's study, funded by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's Administration on Aging disclosed a distinct racial split among the aged poor. Elderly whites do not want to be involved with their

black peers, while elderly blacks admire their white peers and would like to be able to work and socialize together, he found.

The white elderly poor in the central city are beset by fears, Dr. Sterne says. They believe it no longer safe to live there or walk the streets at night. They want more police foot patrols and a return to a neighborhood of earlier years.

A world crisis is facing mankind unless something is done now to plan for the phenomenal growth in its older population, the executive director of the American Association of Retired Persons-National Retired Teachers Association, (AARP-NRTA) said in Rochester, N.Y., recently.

Bernard Nash, who also heads the newly formed International Federation of Aging (IFA), an association of social scientists of 13 countries, said political and social concerns must be faced but "the critical factor is economic."

Nash said the population of persons over 60 will almost double in the next 11 years, to an estimated 407 million. By the end of the century, if the present trend continues and if medical science does nothing to increase the life span (which it claims possible) the number is expected to rise to 585 million.

He said the population profile is growing toward an inverted pyramid with older citizens at the broad top.

Nash said the older population in developing nations of Asia and Africa will increase by 156 per cent in the next 30 years. Our own older population will double in that period, he said.

"Who will support these people?" he asked.

On a seminar program with Nash was Cyril F. Brickfield, legislative counsel of the nearly seven million-member AARP-NRTA legislative counsel.

Brickfield, in an interview, forecast major revisions in the Social Security system by 1976.

He said Social Security benefit payments are failing to help the elderly keep pace with inflation because the payment base is too small. He said one proposed revision would provide for retirement income of 75 to 80 per cent of what the worker was making prior to retirement.

Brickfield said that undoubtedly general revenues will have to be used toward Social Security benefit payments and suggested that corporate income would have to be taxed. Nash said galloping worldwide inflation is a problem for all the aging. In the United States, he said, the problem is compounded by the trend toward early retirements.

He pointed out that two recently-signed major labor contracts in private industry provide for the same "30 and out" features that military and civil service workers have.

Nash said that the IFA was formed as the result of concern among social scientists that international attention to the elderly has been focused on medicine and little on their social and personal well being. "Medicine is so far ahead of us it has us frightened," he said.

The group will hold its first meeting in Nairobi, Africa, in July, with speakers expected from "every part of the world" and delegates attending from all over, including "small villages of Africa." "It will be the world equivalent of the White House Conference on Aging," he said.

In pointing up the change in the world's population, Nash pointed to these statistics:

During the Roman Empire, the life expectancy was 18 years; in 17th century Europe, it was 25 years.

In the United States in 1900, one out of 25 persons lived to be 65; today one in every 10 dies.

In India, until recently, parents thought it necessary to have six children to have two or three grow to adulthood. That's no longer necessary. Its population, now 560 million,

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

is expected to reach one billion by the end of the century.

At the turn of the century, the United States had 3.3 million persons over 65; now there are 21.9 million. That number will double in the next 30 years.

## TRIBUTE TO THE LATE SENATOR ERNEST GRUENING OF ALASKA

### HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1974

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply shocked and saddened to learn recently of the sudden passing of former Senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska, and I want to take this means of paying a brief but sincere tribute to this brilliant, scholarly and dedicated public official.

Ernest Gruening was an outstanding Senator—Alaska's first Senator—and he had the highest professional standards of integrity and intellectual honesty. President Johnson once referred to Senator Gruening as "the noblest Roman of them all."

I recall that Senator Gruening called on me personally soliciting my support for Alaskan statehood, a cause he championed and strongly supported. During our visit he indicated his strong support for the Tennessee Valley Authority and he disclosed also that he was a great admirer of Cordell Hull of Tennessee.

As a matter of fact, in a recent letter to me he referred to Cordell Hull again and expressed the view that this great Secretary of State has not received the credit from historians that he deserved for his "good neighbor policy" and other notable achievements.

Senator Gruening during our visits also informed me that the resolution for Alaskan statehood was modeled after the Tennessee statehood plan resolution.

After the passage of the Alaska resolution, which I supported, Senator Gruening was elected as the first Senator from Alaska, certainly a fitting and appropriate honor and tribute by the people of that great State. His record of public service was outstanding—he served Alaska and the Nation faithfully and well.

Senator Gruening was an outstanding, perceptive, scholarly, informed legislator—his incisive mind cut through the extraneous and unimportant to the core of the issue at hand.

He was author of a book on public power, wrote his own autobiography and was a noble fighter for freedom.

We maintained our contact and our friendship over the years and I was always inspired after a visit with, or letter from Ernest Gruening—he was indeed "one of the noblest Romans of them all."

I want to take this means of conveying to Mrs. Gruening and other members of his family this expression of my deepest and most heartfelt sympathy in their loss and bereavement. My wife Ann joins me in these sentiments.

## A LONG LOOK AT SOCIAL SECURITY

### HON. ROBERT P. HANRAHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. HANRAHAN. Mr. Speaker, there have been many complaints about the costs of social security benefits. Hopefully, a tax boost will not be necessary to cover the costs of these benefits. I wish to insert the following editorial from the Wall Street Journal for the interest and information of my colleagues:

#### A LONG LOOK AT THE SSS

We read with interest last week's cover story in U.S. News and World Report on the Social Security System, which concludes that the system is in desperately poor financial condition. "The failure to reform Social Security, almost everyone agrees, could lead in the long run to disaster."

It is worse than that. USN&WR says that by 1990, even though a worker pays a maximum Social Security tax of \$2,070.45, which has to be matched by his employer, the system will be paying out \$20 billion more in benefits than it takes in that year. Unhappily, the assumptions cranked into these numbers are those of the Social Security Administration, numbers that are obsolete and ridiculously optimistic. Unless taxes are increased substantially, or benefits reduced substantially, deficits on the order of \$20 billion could arrive by 1980, growing by leaps and bounds from there.

The most disheartening number, an official one, is provided by the Treasury Department. As of June 30, 1973, the unfunded liability of the system was \$2.1 trillion. Another way of putting it is this: In a very real economic sense, the national debt is at least \$2.1 trillion larger than the politicians say it is. If, as of June 30, 1973, the system had refused to accept new workers, saying it would only collect taxes and pay benefits to those already covered, its outlays over the next 75 years would exceed receipts by \$2.1 trillion, plus market rates of interest compounded annually. In the last year, this number has grown by about \$300 billion.

So far, Congress has blinked away this enormous pool of debt by passing a law that defines "actuarial soundness." Its reasoning is that the SSS would never close off to new work-force entrants, hence there would always be new workers to pay the benefits to the new recipients. By the congressional "dynamic assumptions" definition of actuarial soundness, the system is only in deficit by \$62 billion, spread over the next 75 years.

As it happens, for the dynamic assumptions method to hold up the assumptions have to be as dynamic in reality as they were on the planning boards. They have not been. Working on the 1960 Census figures, the Social Security bureaucrats projected a 1964-1975 birth rate gradually declining from 21 per 1,000 to 20 per 1,000, then climbing again. Instead, the birth rate dropped like a stone throughout the period and now stands at around 15 per 1,000. The bureaucrats projected a growth in real wages over the period of 2.1% a year; between 1965 and 1973 real wage averaged 1.7%.

The errors imply much higher taxes are required to sustain benefit levels, and of course imply economic insanity if Congress continues to hike benefit levels. How much higher taxes? In their "Actuarial Audit of the Social Security System," Robert Kaplan of Carnegie-Mellon University and Roman Weil of the University of Chicago assert that realistic assumptions "imply taxes 50% to 75% higher than current levels." The SSS actuaries will not be able to avoid admitting some of this when they put out their new assumptions based on the 1970 Census. The

Kaplan-Weil argument is that the dynamics have worsened since 1970 and should be faced up to now.

What's to be done? The first thing is that the public has to be told, by the politicians, that it is not possible to maintain the current rate schedule and benefit level. One or both have to be adjusted. It is of vital importance that the public be told in that most of the work force is now counting on the purchasing power the current benefit levels yield for their retirement years.

Congress may cringe at the idea of trimming these benefit levels, but sharp tax boosts won't be popular either. Liberals will want to dip into the general fund to keep the system going a little longer, but within two or three years this method will be cleaning out the Treasury. All other "worthwhile" government programs will have to be chopped out to sustain Social Security. That, too, appears to be politically impossible. Indeed, there are no politically appealing ways to straighten out this mess. But the longer the nation waits to do it, the more it will hurt.

DR. KISSINGER, THE NEW MRS. VANDERBILT

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1974

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, there is not a person in this country to my knowledge who does not have the highest respect for Italy and the keenest sympathy for that nation in its present economic difficulties.

This is because Italy not only is a good friend and ally but also is the native land of the parents and grandparents of many of our finest citizens.

Having said this, I want to protest the false assurances given Italy by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger during his recent visit to Rome. He told the Italian leaders that we Americans stand ready to help Italy out of its inflation troubles.

The Associated Press, in a dispatch from Rome, quoted Dr. Kissinger as having said to President Giovanni Leone:

We are following Italian events with sympathy and affection. You can count on the fact that in whatever moment Italy should find itself in difficulty, we will do everything possible to assure its stability and progress.

The first thing possible, the AP continued, would be a substantial U.S. loan. There have been persistent reports, the news agency explained, that Italy is seeking this and that it was the principal item on the agenda of Dr. Kissinger's talks in Rome.

Where, I might ask, would Dr. Kissinger get the money? Certainly, a loan big enough to bail out a country the size of Italy from an inflation situation running at the rate of 20 percent a year would be in the several billions. Have we Americans the resources to come up with it?

Dr. Kissinger surely is aware that our inflation rate has been in the double figures and that governmental borrowing now at high rates of interest is one major cause of our own dilemma. In order to help out Italy, it would be necessary for our government to borrow more, thus shooting up the interest rate here still further and sending our own inflation percentage to a level at least close, if not equally, to that of Italy.

It is easy, of course, for a U.S. diplomat to speak overseas in bountiful terms. It

assures a good reception, and, indeed, enables press conference claims of great success. But the fact that our diplomats have been doing this for the last quarter century, and then following through with gifts and loans of the money of our people, is the greatest reason why this country is in an economic bind today. Our Government has overextended itself.

Furthermore, it is unfair, in my opinion, for an inflation-threatened, debt-ridden nation such as ours to be holding out false hopes of aid to others. Efforts now are being made to hold down the new Federal budget to around the \$300 billion mark—a level of spending that still would result in a deficit of \$6 billion or more. There is also talk in administration circles of the need of higher taxes. Prices continue to climb throughout the economy. We are in no shape, therefore, to help anyone and, in fact, we could stand some sizable help ourselves.

Dr. Kissinger has been getting around in recent months, dropping promises here and raising hopes there, and the end result could be widespread disappointment among our supposed friends when it is found we cannot deliver. This is not right in my estimation and neither is it good either for our position in the world today or in the future.

The Secretary of State reminds me of a Mrs. Frederick Vanderbilt of a bygone era going among her needy Hyde Park neighbors and handing out gifts and promising help in their problems. Mrs. Vanderbilt was the "Lady Bountiful" of New York's Dutchess County while Dr. Kissinger has made the world his operating area. However, the difference is that Mrs. Vanderbilt actually had the money and Dr. Kissinger does not.

## SENATE—Thursday, July 18, 1974

### THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, July 17, 1974, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees may be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider nominations on the calendar.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nominations on the executive calendar will be stated.

### NATIONAL RAILROAD PASSENGER CORPORATION

The second assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Roger Lewis, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the National Railroad Passenger Corporation.

Mr. WEICKER. Mr. President, I have recently removed my "hold" on the nomination of Mr. Roger Lewis to the Board of Directors of Amtrak.

I have been long concerned with the Federal Government's commitment to the national intercity rail passenger system. I have been particularly disturbed by the apparent lack of determination on the part of top management of Amtrak to provide vigorous leadership and to act forcefully to promote the progress of Amtrak.

On the basis of several meetings and certain correspondence with Mr. Lewis in recent weeks, I am now satisfied that Mr. Lewis has understood the message, that Amtrak must fight hard to strengthen the Federal commitment to rail passenger service, and particularly the concept and system of Amtrak. At this point, I can only hope that Mr. Lewis' professed determination to fully develop the Amtrak system will result in a vastly improved nationwide rail passenger system for the American public.

The Senate met at 11 a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. EASTLAND).

### PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father God, Lord of history and of every day, in this hallowed moment when we shut the door upon the outer world with its tumult and shouting may we know ourselves for what we are—sinful, needy, wistful human beings claiming Thy redemption and renewal. And in this quiet mood may we also know Thee as Thou art—the transcendent, sovereign God of love and grace who rules all men and nations, ever ready to help those who call upon Thee in spirit and in truth. With Thy benediction upon us may we face the toil of this day with clear thinking, honest dealing, and the holy vision of a better world where all men are ruled with justice and truth.

In these fateful days when our frail hands and feeble judgments have a part in the shaping of the world that is to be, give us the wisdom to discern Thy will and the courage to do it. When the day is done measure our lives by the life of Thy Son who went about doing good and in whose name we pray. Amen.