

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## ALL AMERICA CITY

## HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 25, 1974

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the city of Fall River, Mass., has been honored by being selected as one of 21 finalists among more than 500 communities which sought designation this year as "All America City."

Fall River, once the cotton textile manufacturing center of the world, has suffered more than its share of economic hardship. But it is a community that has refused to give up.

In this time of economic difficulty throughout our country, Fall River, serves as an example to the Nation of what one community—with spirit, hard work and perseverance—can accomplish.

I commend to my colleagues the following reports from the Fall River Herald News on the city's official presentation last week to the "All America City" award judges meeting at the 90th National Conference on Government in San Diego. Included is the text of an eloquent address to the judges by Henry S. Gillet, Jr., special assistant to Fall River Mayor Wilfred C. Driscoll.

The material follows:

[From the Fall River, Mass., Herald News, Nov. 18, 1974]

## FALL RIVER BIDS FOR ALL AMERICA CITY RECOGNITION

SAN DIEGO.—The years of "apathy and negativism" have ended and, instead a "fresh and stimulating attitude" has swept over the City of Fall River, Mass., to move the community forward.

Such was the thrust of an address today by Henry S. Gillet Jr., special assistant to the mayor, before a panel of judges at the All-America city competition taking place here.

Awards—to be announced at a later date—will go to cities and towns deemed to best exemplify the ideal of active citizen roles in the betterment of community life.

Gillet held to a theme that Fall River has overcome decades of loss of confidence following the decline of the textile industry and in the wake of the Great Depression. He spoke of a city "that refused to die" and which has now "turned the tide of destiny and is on the way back."

Illustrating the many public and private programs and projects helping in the city's recovery, Gillet asserted that "we look forward with enthusiasm to the challenges and promises of the tomorrows."

Mayor Driscoll and Gillet, chairman of the Model Cities Board in Fall River, led a municipal delegation of 16 officials to present the city's case for All-American selection.

Fall River is one of 21 finalists out of more than 500 communities which had sought the designation from the National Municipal League.

To promote an image of the city "Moving in New Directions," a presentation of 130 slides will be made to show progress in achieving a rebirth of Fall River. Other aspects of the city's bid for All-America status include a special display booth focusing on major municipal projects.

In a bid to emphasize the extent of citizen contribution in the renewal of the commu-

nity. Model Cities leaders pointed to the MC Health Center services here, the summer Re-Creation Program over the past several years and the Community Service Officer Program.

Slides were utilized the magnitude of urban improvement by acquainting competition judges with work on the new city hall, high school, water filtration plant, Central Business District project, Battleship Cove and still other advancements in the city.

Public and private endeavors being shown in the 10-minute slide show Highland Heights facility for the physically impaired, Royal Crest Apartments, Milliken Apartments and Riverview Towers.

The only other New England city to reach the finals is Gardner, Mass.

Fall River has a "resource group" of Model Cities and other community officials in answer questions from a jury which will judge the competition.

The city's delegation consists of Mayor Driscoll; Gillet; Executive Director Paul Poulos of the Model Cities Program; Assistant Executive Director Thomas McCloskey; City Council President Britland and Councilors Camara and Lincoln; City Clerk Joseph F. Doran.

Corporation Counsel Daniel A. Sullivan; Industrial Agent George Darmody; Chairman Ronald Lowenstein of the Redevelopment Authority; Robert Murray, president of Truesdale Hospital and who was chairman of the original Model Cities task force.

Juan DeLon, director of the MC recreation program; President Robert Karam of the Greater Fall River Re-Creation Committee; Director Patrick Lowney of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, and George Berube of the Community Service Office.

[From the Fall River, Mass., Herald News, Nov. 18, 1974]

## A FALL RIVER THAT REFUSED TO DIE

(NOTE.—This is the text of the presentation in behalf of Fall River's bid for choice by the National Municipal League for the 1974-75 All America City Award. The address was delivered in San Diego, Calif., this afternoon by Henry S. Gillet Jr., special assistant to the mayor.)

On behalf of my community, I am indebted to the National Municipal League for the opportunity to appear before such a distinguished group as the All-America City jury and bring to you the story of a city that for too long has been beaten down from within a city caught in the full throes of a depression that wouldn't release its grasp, a city that has experienced the maternalistic hurt of watching its lifeblood moving away.

However, I come before you with an abundance of pride because I speak of a Fall River, Massachusetts that refused to die, I speak today of a community that turned the tide of destiny and is on the way back.

It wasn't too long ago that we looked with self-pity at the glorious by-gone yesterdays. Today, with great pride, we look forward with enthusiasm to the challenges and promises of the tomorrows.

In the 1920's, Fall River's population of 130,000 basked in the prosperity that came with being the cotton textile manufacturing center of the world. The immigrants came and augmented the existing work force.

Manufacturing operations were liquidated as the industry moved South, spilling upon a single-industry town an overabundance of manpower and empty mill buildings.

The downward national economy of the depression years compounded Fall River's problem. The city earned the dubious distinction of being the only community in the commonwealth to suffer the embarrassment

of bankruptcy and succumbed to the most debilitating period in its history—state-appointed finance board that ruled for a decade.

This group was charged with the responsibility of righting a fiscally floundering ship and the members carried out this responsibility well. The books were balanced, but the effects are with us these 30-some years later.

The purse strings were pulled so tightly that the city was barely capable of limping along.

It wasn't until Fall River entered the post-war period that the stark realization took focus. The years of the finance board and its tight austerity had taken their toll. Fall River was far in arrears of other communities.

Unable to effect improvements or growth patterns, city fathers were forced to devote full attention to maintaining old and tired facilities and services. Any attention to planning for the future was considered a fantasy.

The exodus of the college ago and the newly married was marked. The city was left with a dis-proportionate population of the very young and the very old with a mixture of the welfare-supported and a large immigrant population.

The industrial gap was filled by the needle trade industry shifting the focus of complexion to a female-oriented base, severely eroding the opportunity for male employment.

An attitude of apathy and negativism existed, modified only by those with visions of a proud community fighting back, their uphill climb punctuated by self pride and an abundance of perseverance.

These visionaries have prevailed. It is difficult to fix when and where the tide of attitude was turned. But, it was turned. And, where apathy and negativism once prevailed, we now have an attitude that demonstrates that an involved citizenry can get the wheels turning.

A survey of the Model Cities area indicated a glaring need for preventive health care. Neighborhood residents and representatives of the health community collaborated in the development of a neighborhood center, achieved Model Cities funding, and began providing comprehensive medical, dental and health education services.

Early opposition from the medical-dental community was alleviated when the center demonstrated competent and quality medical care delivery.

A neighborhood corporation now operates the center, thus providing direct citizen input in the ongoing planning, evaluation and operation. The need for special detection clinics was identified last year, and a program was established. It is estimated that 16,000 persons will have utilized the health center this year.

And, if success ever breeds and demands further success, the recreation—Re-Creation program is a perfect example.

Responding to a clearly-established need for recreational opportunities beyond those provided through organized sports programs, a small group of residents organized and planned summer activities designed to reach residents of all ages under Re-Creation '71.

Operating on a very limited budget, but with a lot of help from a lot of volunteers, they put together a program of success that stimulated public response.

As the program grew in 1972, 1973, and 1974, so did financial support from the community. This past summer, more than 65,000 persons were involved, attracted, and entertained by the program.

The year-round recreation program that was born of the interests and efforts in the

summer Re-Creation programs this year is offering 42 different programs and activities, reaching an estimated 17,500 persons ranging in age from 4 to 75.

Vitally concerned with an increasing rate of crime in public housing neighborhoods, members of tenant associations and ad-hoc groups cooperatively petitioned local, state, and federal agencies for the development of a community service officer program.

Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) funds were attracted and nine Community Service Officers (CSO) were employed with the responsibility of curbing crime, eliminating tension in conflict situations, and initiating youth development and recreational programs.

The program is credited with effecting a 67 per cent reduction of crime in the target areas.

The Citizens further initiated and formulated an elected policy and screening board that is responsible for program policy of CSO's.

We were limited in our application to speaking of three activities. We selected the more visual and high impact projects of which we're very proud. It should be emphasized that these projects represent the result, or product, of a more meaningful occurrence—the process of citizen participation. It is this very process that is providing the foundation for many worthwhile products that are being realized in Fall River today.

Citizen participation in and of itself neither stemmed nor reversed the course of Fall River's destiny. There were too many other factors. But the citizen participation process bred a new localism that does underline Fall River's dedication to return to prominence.

Today, with the full accord of its citizenry, Fall River has more than \$70 million of capital improvements under development.

We have under construction a city hall that will become the nation's only municipal center built over a federal highway. The \$22.5 million Fall River High School will be New England's largest secondary educational complex.

The \$12 million Central Business District urban renewal project will provide a welcomed face-lifting to the city's principal commercial district.

The citizens of Fall River take justifiable pride in these endeavors just as they take justifiable pride in Highland Heights, the nation's first public housing for the physically impaired, and the Citizen's Scholarship Foundation that was born in Fall River.

Highland Heights was constructed by HUD, but only when sold upon the dream of a handful of dedicated Fall Riverites who saw a glaring void in government's delivery of needed services.

The Citizen's Scholarship Foundation speaks for itself.

Or rather, the 300 CSF chapters in 35 states echo what a group of Fall Riverites undertook when they collected nickies, dimes, and dollars to send needy students to college and then sold the rest of the nation of the benefits of this collective endeavor.

In closing, let me tell you that Fall River has suffered severely over the years, a suffering that bred apathy and negativism.

But, with this suffering has come the hard-earned realization that for the city to survive and grow, the thrust must come from within.

Fall River's nomination as a finalist in the All-America City competition has had a stimulating and beneficial effect on the community.

Newspaper editorials and letters of endorsement and support from a representative cross-section of the community have generated considerable enthusiasm and self-pride. This cross-section represents public and private agencies and organizations, labor, man-

agement, and the business community, citizen groups, and residents.

This endeavor to achieve justifiable recognition dovetails beautifully with the Fall River Chapter of Commerce "Best Things in Life Are Here" campaign.

Back Home, thousands of Fall Riverites are wearing the same lapel pins that you see the Fall River delegation wearing today.

The logo and "Fall River Moving in New Directions" theme are typical of the new spirit of city pride.

We've had problems in Fall River. We have a lot of problems yet.

But the fresh and stimulating attitude of the "new localism" affords us the opportunity to rid ourselves of the public apathy bred for too long a period of time by frustration and self-pity.

Fall River's selection as an All-America City is essential to providing the necessary psychological impetus as the city enters a very important facet of its history—the community development program, a program that places heavy reliance upon citizen participation.

Tomorrow night, on the opposite coast of this great nation, the residents of Fall River will be gathering, pooling their collective efforts, enthusiasm, interest, and dedication as our community development program is launched by going into the neighborhoods, soliciting the participation, the involvement, and the assistance of all residents.

Give the demonstration of what can be accomplished by wide-spread involvement, the residents of our city are taking another giant stride forward in the effort to return Fall River, Massachusetts, to its rightful role among the great communities of this great nation.

[From the Fall River (Mass.) Herald-News, Nov. 19, 1974]

#### SECOND LANGUAGE PROGRAM HERE INTERESTS ALL AMERICA CITY JURY

SAN DIEGO.—The Model Cities medical program and teaching of English as a second language at Fall River, Mass., drew rapt attention of the All-American Cities judges Monday at the 90th Conference on Government.

Fall River is one of 21 finalists making presentations at the conference sponsored by the National Municipal League.

Pollster George Gallup, who heads the judging panel, praised the 21 cities selected because "competition was keener than ever this year, with more applications than before."

In his presentation Henry S. Gillet Jr., president of the Model Cities Board, described in detail the medical program which provides care for the poor on a sliding-fee basis which would continue after government grants end.

Gillet explained Fall River's plans to implement revenue sharing in its community development program with such a large number of citizens whose primary language is other than English.

Gillet distributed among the judges a special supplement published in the Fall River Herald-News explaining the revenue sharing and citizen participation—a supplement printed in Portuguese as well as English.

"Although they were started with federal funds, the components of the program have earned the respect of the community and as a result can be carried on should there be an end to federal funds," Gillet said.

He also explained the community service officer, a program which puts community service offices into low-income housing projects to help with recreation and cultural programs and in law enforcement.

The program of re-creation, a summer recreation program established by Fall River citizens with donations solicited by the pub-

lic and now financed by the Model Cities agencies, also was explained.

Evelyn Kaplan, president of the California League of Women Voters, said the English as a second language program was unique and admirable.

Gillet was introduced by Mayor Wilfred C. Driscoll.

In the next few weeks, the judges plan to make unannounced visits to the 21 finalist cities and narrow the field before announcing which cities finally come out on top.

#### KING CAUCUS AND THE 94TH CONGRESS

#### HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 25, 1974

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on June 19, 1974. I stood in this well and warned of the reemergence of King Caucus in the House of Representatives, reminiscent of the 1911-16 era in which the Democratic Caucus ran roughshod over the legislative process by dictating the legislative business of the House and even rewriting committee bills behind closed caucus doors and then imposing binding instructions on Democrats in committees and on the floor to insure obedience to King Caucus. As I pointed out in my remarks of this past summer:

There is already considerable evidence accumulating that indicates King Caucus is making a comeback, and in all the worst sense of that term, including secrecy, strict party unity and discipline, disregard for minority rights, restraints on the free operation of the legislative process in committees and on the floor, and resistance to meaningful reforms.

I went on to warn that the reemergence of King Caucus as the secret and dictatorial super-committee of the House would only exacerbate the current crisis of confidence in Congress which is due in part to the lack of openness and accountability. I noted that:

It is ironic at a time when the other party is claiming credit for all the "sunshine" in the House, that it is simultaneously moving to deeper and darker recesses of its caucus to design and dictate the legislative business of the Congress and the country.

Typical of this was the successful efforts of the Democratic Caucus to delay a bipartisan committee reform bill for 6 months by secret caucus vote and binding instructions on Rules Committee Democrats, and then emerging from the bowels of the caucus with a gutted substitute which precluded House consideration of the bipartisan resolution.

Spurred on by this victory over the proponents of House reform, King Caucus promises to be even more powerful and ruthless in the 94th Congress. I have just secured a copy of the "Tentative Caucus Agenda" for early December and "Reform Proposals," issued by the Democratic Study Group. Included in these so-called "reform" proposals is one to restore proxy voting in committees, even though this House voted 196 to 166 for an amendment to the Hansen substitute to

completely eliminate proxy voting. All this is reminiscent of our experience in the 92d Congress when the Democratic Caucus bound its membership to delete from the rules of the new House a minority staffing provision adopted as part of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970.

And the prospect is still real that the caucus may again resort to this device of binding its members' votes on the floor when it comes to adopting the rules of the new House. For another of the proposed DSG "reforms," while prohibiting the caucus from binding Members on floor votes on "substantive legislative issues," would still permit binding "on procedural or House rules matters."

Moreover, it is apparent from the DSG shopping list that another King Caucus device will be used more frequently in the 94th Congress. For one of the proposed DSG reforms reads:

Adopt new Caucus rule setting forth procedure for binding members of a committee if so ordered by a majority of the entire Caucus (148) or 66 percent of those present and voting, whichever is less.

When this caucus rule is combined with the proposed shift of committee assignments from the Ways and Means Committee to the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee, it becomes apparent that the DSG is moving to resolve the questions raised in its report of June 4, 1974, entitled, "Caucus Instruction and Binding Actions." In that report the DSG advanced the proposition that Democrats owe their committee assignments to the caucus, and thus, as members of a committee they represent the caucus. In other words, their primary allegiance in voting in committee should be to the caucus rather than to conscience or constituency.

If a member refuses to abide by caucus instructions in committee voting, he may be disciplined by the caucus, including demotion in seniority, removal from the committee, or even expulsion from the caucus under caucus rule No. 2. The theory behind such instructions is that they are mere procedural devices to bring party programs and policies to the floor.

Who determines what the party policy is with respect to a particular proposition pending in a committee? According to the proposed rule, it is what as few as 98 caucus Democrats—or 66 percent of a quorum—say it is at any point in time. In other words, 98 of the 294 caucus Democrats or 33 percent of the total caucus membership may issue binding instructions on the Democratic members of any standing committee of the House. Not only does this device severely limit committee flexibility and deny Democratic members the free exercise of their individual judgment and expertise, it can ultimately prevent the full House from working its will on legislation. This is because caucus instructions can also be used to bind the Rules Committee Democrats in setting conditions for floor consideration of a bill—whether a caucus-favored substitute should receive first consideration, that is, committee reform, or whether only certain caucus-favored amendments can be offered on the floor, that is, the oil tax bill.

Through this "mere procedural device" of binding caucus instructions in committee, as few as 22 percent of the total House membership—98 out of 435—can dictate the substance of legislation to be reported to the full House and then limit the opportunity of the House to change the bill once it does reach the floor. While some would argue that caucus rule is synonymous with majority rule, I think the above illustration clearly demonstrates how a secretive and powerful minority of just 22 percent can effectively thwart the will of the real majority in the House. This is the specter of King Caucus about which I have previously warned.

But that is not all. King Caucus has more in store for the 94th Congress according to the DSG "reform proposals." At present the caucus has a rule providing that if 50 caucus members petition the caucus on behalf of certain amendments to a bill which would otherwise be brought to the floor under a closed rule, a majority of those present and voting in caucus may instruct the Democrats on the Rules Committee to make those amendments in order. In addition to this caucus rule, which presumably will be retained, the DSG is proposing that the House rules be changed to permit the automatic offering of any amendment to an otherwise closed bill if 20 percent of the members of the committee reporting the bill support the amendment. While this is designed to protect a significant minority on a committee, it would still preclude those not on the committee from offering germane amendments on the floor.

Finally, in what is probably the most outrageous and undemocratic proposal I have ever seen, the DSG proposes that the caucus:

Adopt new House rule requiring a permanent 2-1 majority ratio on Rules, Ways and Means, and Appropriations, regardless of overall House ratio.

Not only is this blatantly unconstitutional since no House can adopt rules which are permanently binding in future Congresses, but it in effect disenfranchises a portion of the minority party in the House whenever its ratio is greater than one-third, and on two of the most important committees established under our constitutional authority to raise revenues and appropriate money. When one considers that most tax bills are considered under a closed rule with no opportunity for amendment, it becomes readily apparent how, under such a proposed rule, a substantial portion of the American people could be denied representation in writing our tax laws. This so-called Democratic reform would be a democratic deform since it would pervert our whole concept of democratic representation.

Mr. Speaker, it is clear from these proposed new attempts of King Caucus to strengthen his stranglehold on the legislative process that some have learned little from our recent nightmare. For King Caucus epitomizes secret government, abuse of power, and the subversion of the democratic process. It is one thing for each party in the House to formulate its policies and programs and make rec-

ommendations for procedural changes; but it is quite another to permit a minority of either party to impose its will on the full House by granting dictatorial powers to a party caucus. All our past and future efforts to make this a more open and accountable House will be meaningless if the major decisions are made behind closed caucus doors. During the first reign of King Caucus, Democratic Speaker Champ Clark said:

All this talk of secrecy is of no avail. The people of the United States want to know what Congress does. They are much more interested in results than in the methods by which those results are worked out.

This same attitude seems to be taking hold again within the Democratic Party, but I would suggest the American people will not stand for it. Yes, they want results, but they also want to know how those results are arrived at. They will no longer tolerate results which are predetermined in secret caucus and they will not accept the premise that their representatives owe a higher allegiance to their party caucus than to their constituents when it comes to voting in their committees. The people want an open and accountable Congress, accountable first and foremost to the people.

I would suggest that when the new Congress convenes, that we first adopt the rules of the preceding Congress, including all those adopted in House Resolution 988, and that we send additional reform proposals from both parties to the House Rules Committee which retains original jurisdiction over the rules of the House. It is irresponsible and imprudent to adopt new rules on the very first day of a new Congress through a resolution which has been reported not from the Rules Committee, but from the Democratic caucus. Under this procedure only an hour of debate time has been permitted in the past, and with no opportunity for amendment. I would further suggest that this procedure is of dubious constitutionality since article I, section 5 of this Constitution states that:

Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings.

If the proposed rules which are presented are only the product of one party's caucus and there is no opportunity for all 435 Members to either participate in their formulation or at least offer amendments on the floor, it is clear that the House in effect is being denied its full right to determine its own rules.

The logical and more constitutional course would be to adopt the rules of the previous Congress and then instruct the duly authorized Rules Committee to report back by a date certain its recommended changes on the basis of the proposals of the two parties and individual Members. Furthermore, such a procedure should allow for more adequate debate time as well as for amendments. This would insure that any rules changes proposed by either party but deleted by the Rules Committee could still be offered and voted on by the full House.

Mr. Speaker, I would hope that the Members of the 94th Congress will reject the proposed efforts to further strengthen King Caucus in the name of reform since caucus rule of the House would de-

stroy the objectives of the reforms we have adopted in the past and make it all the more difficult in the future to conduct our legislative business freely and openly. Let us instead work together on a bipartisan basis in the open forum of our legislative committees to both reform the House and fashion solutions to the problems of our times.

At this point in the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, I include the full text of the DSG "reform proposals":

#### REFORM PROPOSALS

Shift Committee on Committees from Ways and Means to Steering & Policy Committee. Replace Podell, Hansen & Owens and use present committee to make 94th Congress assignments.

Expand Ways & Means from 25 to 37.

Mandate leadership to obtain party ratios of "2 to 1 plus 1" (or not less than 67.2%) on all committees.

Require Caucus votes on Appropriations subcommittee chairmen same as for full committee chairmen.

Proxy compromise. Permit proxies if in writing and for specific purpose and/or if member is at another committee meeting or on official committee business elsewhere.

Adopt new Caucus rule setting forth procedure for binding members of a committee if so ordered by a majority of the entire Caucus (148) or 66% of those present and voting, whichever is less.

Prohibit Caucus from binding members on floor votes on substantive legislative issues. Binding on procedural or House rules matters would still be permitted, however.

Strengthen open committee rule by requiring a vote at start of each separate meeting rather than permitting one vote to close all meetings dealing with a particular measure. Also require transcript of any open meeting be available for public inspection.

New Caucus rule requiring that each member of a committee be entitled to a subcommittee assignment in order of seniority before any member is given a second assignment.

Instruct Hansen to make study & report on compliance with Caucus rules prior to Caucus votes on chairmen.

Set an age and/or term limit on committee chairmen.

Limit use of Closed Rules with new House Rule which would permit 20% of members of a committee to offer an amendment despite closed rule.

Adopt new House rule requiring a permanent 2-1 majority ratio on Rules, Ways & Means, and Appropriations regardless of overall House ratio.

Extend open meeting rule to conferences.

### LIEUTENANT GENERAL CARROLL SPEAKS OUT ON NATIONAL SECURITY

#### HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 25, 1974

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, Lt. Gen. Joseph E. Carroll has a long and distinguished record of serving our Nation. Among other positions, he has been Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency in the Department of Defense, Deputy Commander and Chief of Staff for the U.S. Air Force in Europe, and a member of the U.S. Intelligence Board. In late 1969, he retired as a lieutenant general in the U.S. Air Force.

Lieutenant General Carroll's background certainly qualifies him as an expert on our national security and defense needs. Consequently I am including in the RECORD a speech he delivered on September 18, 1974, before the American Society for Industrial Security.

His speech, entitled "National Security in Transition," warns that our Nation is sliding toward a position of military inferiority vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. If we fail to respond effectively to this threat, our Nation risks national obliteration.

Following is the text of Lieutenant General Carroll's speech:

#### NATIONAL SECURITY IN TRANSITION

It has been excruciatingly clear for some time that our national security is in a state of transition, particularly as regards the Soviet Union. A transition from a monopoly of power, to a clear and overwhelming superiority of power, to a diminishing predominance of power, to parity or equality of power—which looking through rose colored glasses is where we hopefully stand today, but possibly only momentarily, because the downward trend continues leading inexorably—unless stopped—to a posture of military inferiority with all the horrifying consequences that could entail.

How could this come about? How could this happen to the great United States? Ever since the founding of this Nation the preservation of our national security has been of the highest priority—at least when the chips were down. The tone for this was set by George Washington way back in 1793 when he told the United States Congress:

"There is a rank due the United States among nations, which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by reputation for weakness. If we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war".

Ever since the days of George Washington—until now—the status of our national security has been fully adequate, and we have prospered as a nation. Oh, at times our military readiness status at the outbreak of hostilities was not what it should have been, but blessed by our geographic location, our natural resources, our vast industrial capacity, our national will to rally in the face of clear and present danger, and above all the time which was inherent in the nature of warfare until recently, we always prevailed.

But, in this day and age the problem is infinitely more complex and more grievous. And the complexities must be recognized and placed in realistic perspective if as a nation we are to survive.

The fact of the matter is that national security considerations are in another form of transition, a transition from a traditional, standardized era of the past to a radically new, dynamic, uncharted era of the future.

As we assemble here this afternoon, I truly believe we are met in the most dynamic, most challenging era in the history of the human race.

In recent days man has pierced the sonic barrier, he has solved and harnessed the mystery of the atom. He has developed thermonuclear weapons. He has created inter-continental ballistic missiles. He is making gigantic strides into space. He is literally walking on the moon, and even now he is probing further and further into the mysteries of the universe . . . all of these things hitherto denied to man since the beginning of time.

As we reflect on all this, it is awe inspiring—isn't it—when we observe that in our generation the scientific and technological advances made by man totally eclipse the sum total of all previous gains made in the 6,000 years of recorded history . . . All of this in your time and mine.

Preeminent among these gains is the fantastic, literally incomprehensible power which man now possesses. Power so vast, so potentially catastrophic that it threatens not merely the well being but the very survival of the world as we know it. This is what science and technology have given to man. But, science and technology are neutral. It is man who uses such advances for good, or for evil. And, since in the past, man unfortunately, has always eventually used to the very full the power that was his against his fellow man, it should be clearly evident that man must now change his ways, and that he must learn to compose differences between people and between nations somewhat short of conflict and war. In other words, he must learn to pierce the barrier of violent controversy. We must develop a moral responsibility to match the vast power that is now his. He must recognize that man's new-found dominion over nature and its forces is a gift of divine grace and must be used for the benefit and not the destruction of human society.

This is nice rhetoric—incontrovertible as an abstract theological or philosophical expression of imperative need. But, considering man's past performance how can we realistically hope that he will make the required change for the better? But, considering the ultimate alternative, the horrors of nuclear war, we've got to try. This illustrates the importance of the SALT talks, the strategic arms limitation negotiations which at this very moment are resuming in Geneva.

This alone could justify our continued participation in the thus far pathetic United Nations. Yes, we've got to try. But we must not let pious thoughts or wishful thinking, or do-good impulses becloud the present realities of life on this earth. Our preservation as a people and a nation must come first and to this end the maintenance of a strong—second to none—national defense capability is a continuing imperative. George Washington bespoke the lessons of history when he said the only way to secure peace is to be strong.

Well, I have spoken of an unparalleled scientific and technological revolution which has posed new critical dimensions in man's relationship to man and in national security considerations.

And lo and behold! If we look around us we can see another dynamic force moving in the world, and particularly in this country, one also unparalleled in its scope and intensity, one also having a forceful impact on the old order of things and on man's relationship to man. I refer to what I shall describe as the sociological revolution which is sweeping the world, extending to all corners of the earth, and affecting every facet of the conduct of human affairs. While fraught with controversy, turmoil and uncertainty, repressions and excesses, underlying and sparking this dynamic movement are the human aspirations of all the people, a belated clamoring for a practical recognition of the dignity of the individual and an application of the precepts of justice and charity in the total conduct of human affairs.

In our democracy the social changes which have evolved from this dynamic movement and which are picking up erratic momentum have had a profound impact on our society and on our goals as a nation. These changes are evident in long overdue civil rights legislation, in vast and uncontrolled expenditures for health, education and welfare programs, for housing and urban development programs and the like.

Desirable as are these social objectives, they have caused a shifting in priorities—and national security considerations while continuing to receive sanctimonious lip service are actually being relegated to a back seat.

Not so in a communist state such as the Soviet Union. Oh, there are some limited

stirrings of a desire for social change and a betterment of the lot of the people, but in the Soviet Union the aspirations of the people are totally subjugated to the dominance of the dictatorship state and priorities as regards the build up of military power are being expanded and intensified rather than diminished.

And finally here in this country, undermining the health of our economy and further complicating considerations of national security, is our critical problem of inflation. Perhaps, and hopefully in the near future, our new President will come forth with a meaningful program to cope with inflation. But, it is almost axiomatic that part of the remedy for our ailment must lie in the substantial reduction of federal spending. This will inevitably generate more conflict between the early attainment of social objectives and the preservation of an adequate national defense posture. Even now pressures are mounting to still further reduce already inadequate defense appropriations.

There are good and strong reasons for reducing Federal spending, but I would hope that the American people, our legislators in Congress and our President in the White House will not become so confused and beset by competing objectives that they lose sight of the fact that "the security of the Nation remains the paramount function of government," and must be accorded realistic priority.

All of which brings us to the nub of the problem. What is the status of our national security today? How do our military capabilities compare with those of our principal potential enemy, an aggressive antagonist, the Soviet Union.

Twenty years ago the Soviet Union was in a position of absolute inferiority. The gap between their military capabilities and ours was so vast it appeared they could not possibly ever catch up. But, the Soviets had the determination to try! And like Avis, being second best, they tried harder to catch up than we did to maintain our lead. And they have not only done so, but even now, because of inadequate response on our part, they are in process of forging ahead.

Our national strategy over this period of time was obligingly accommodated to serve this Soviet progress. You will recall:

1. The Eisenhower strategy: 1953-1960:

It was one of "massive retaliation" with credibility contingent on nuclear superiority.

2. The Kennedy-Johnson strategy: 1961-1968:

It was one of flexible, graduated response, and strategic deterrent with credibility contingent on assured destruction.

3. The Nixon strategy: 1968-present:

This was a sort of continuation of the strategic deterrent concept but credibility is now described as being contingent upon "sufficiency." Which I suppose means enough is enough.

Inherent in both the "assured destruction" and "sufficiency" concept is an acceptance of parity or equality between us and the Soviet Union. We are deterred. They are deterred. (Shades of the days of King Arthur and Camelot. And we can live happily ever after . . .)

But will it stay that way? We are willing to have it so, and to place our hopeful faith in successful strategic arms limitation talks. But, how about the Soviets? How do they feel about status quo? Despite wishful protestations to the contrary by a disturbing number of people in high places, can the Mexican stand-off, the uneasy and precarious balance, which now presumably exists, be upset by the Soviets continuing their all out forward drive to go from "sufficiency" to "supremacy"? Bear in mind that throughout the history of warfare that which has been sufficient today becomes tragically insufficient tomorrow!

On March 12, 1971 the Pentagon released a 35-page statement entitled "The Shifting Balance of Military Power." The findings of the report were as follows:

1. The growing Soviet superiority in intercontinental ballistic missiles.

2. The Soviet commitment of greater resources than the United States to the development of strategic offensive and defensive weapons and their deployment.

3. The possibility that present U.S. technological superiority will be lost to the Soviet Union.

4. The convincing evidence that the Soviets seek a preemptive first strike capability.

5. The rapidly expanding Soviet naval capability.

6. The mounting hostility of segments of the public toward the military, the defense establishment and the "military industrial complex" without due recognition that sustained irresponsible criticism could undermine and weaken the only forces which provide security for the United States.

The summary then said:

"If these trends continue, the United States will become a second-rate power incapable of insuring the future security and freedom of its people." That was in 1971. Unhappily that trend has continued.

Having achieved parity, having reached the plateau of mutual deterrence where we are willing to rest the Soviets have kept driving forward. For example, SALT I, the first strategic arms limitation agreement entered into in 1972 gave the Soviets, because they had chosen to build more powerful boosters than we did, a four to one advantage over the U.S. in missile payload or throw weight. Initially the Soviets translated this payload advantage into much higher yield and thus more destructive weapons. But since then they have developed a MIRV capability, that is, how to project multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles and they now have the option of translating their superiority in throw weight into both numbers of warheads and megatonnage—well in excess of our capabilities.

In today's technological world nothing stands still, not even if you hopefully wish it to do so. While we have no, I repeat, no new ICBMs under development, and have cancelled all programs for new guidance and warhead improvements, in recent months the Soviets have tested not one, not two, but at least four new generation ICBMs. While we have been reluctantly funding a new bomber, the B-1, and an improved submarine missile program, the Trident, at minimum levels the Soviets have developed their rough counterparts—the backfire bomber and the submarine launched SS-N-8 missile—5 years before our systems can become operational. They have achieved all this and more not because of any technical superiority but merely because they had the will to do so, because they were willing to invest the required sums in these systems and we were not. As indicative of the disparity in effort between them and us, the cost of a single test of any one of the new Soviet ICBMs exceeds the projected F.Y. '75 funding for all advanced ICBM concepts in the U.S.!

Exemplified here is the story of our "national security in transition", penny-wise and pound-foolish!

During the period of time when the Soviets were breaking out of their inferior position—between 1953 and 1963—spending for national defense in this country increased 12%. But increases in non-defense expenditures was 94%. And still the clamor was heard to reduce military expenditures. And this pattern has held ever since despite the alarming growth of Soviet power.

Exactly 1 month ago today Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger stated in a C.B.S. "Face the Nation" television program: ". . . I would say that by almost all cri-

teria and particularly long run criteria, the Soviets potentially are ahead in terms of numbers, in terms of throw weight. At the present time we have a balance . . . over the longer haul the criterion of the effectiveness of missile forces, as technologies become equivalent on both sides, is throw weight, and the Soviets already possess a substantial advantage in throw weight—and their new missile force will have an even greater advantage."

The Secretary of Defense continued:

"The United States has reduced its expenditures on strategic arms to about 40% of what it was a decade or a decade and a half ago . . . if one has the vision of the United States being the first class power in the world, we cannot accept these cuts year after year. In fiscal year 1968 the Department of Defense drew about 10% of the manpower of the Nation; we are (now) down to 5% of the manpower of the nation. We are at a lower level in terms of GNP, in terms of manpower, in terms of almost any indicator in relation to the economy than we have been since prior to the Korean War, and each year there's a tendency toward annual cutbacks to fund something. In the long run we cannot live with it. . . ."

All of which means that time is running out on us.

I think that as a people, part of our problem is conceptual. In recent times we have all observed in our Nation to our chagrin and consternation, the uncovering on the part of highly placed people of, immoral, amoral, fraudulent, conspiratorial acts—many in the perverted name of national security. This has led to a cynicism so deep that many people have lost faith in Government, in public officials, in traditional institutions, and the term national security has tended to lose its patriotic appeal.

Then, too, in our life time we have been the most affluent, most powerful nation on earth. We have been number 1. And, no other nation or combination of nations could threaten us militarily. This notion is so deeply imbedded in us that we unconsciously tend to deprecate or even ignore—like an ostrich with head in the sand—the incontrovertible evidence that another nation, a potential antagonist, is rapidly becoming more powerful than we are.

If we will but open our eyes and our minds we will see that we are confronted with the most critical danger in the history of any nation, and that if we fail to respond effectively to it we are courting the greatest price that any nation can pay—national obliteration.

In this time of crisis where do we place our faith?

1. In the United Nations? God forbid. The U.N. is at best a propaganda forum. A place to make virtuous speeches and temporary compromise about relatively minor issues—not major issues between nations.

2. In the good faith, the good will, the forbearance, the basic morality of the Soviet Union and its Communist cohorts? God doubly forbid! To do so would be to ignore the brutally aggressive track record of the Soviet Union and all the bitter lessons of history.

3. Or in the development and maintenance of a clearly adequate national defense posture?

The more powerful a nation is, the more affluent a nation is, the more influential a nation is in world affairs, the greater the need for a clearly adequate national security.

National security is a composite of many things, but throughout history its most important, indispensable, characteristic has been determination to be strong. Will to win.

Which means that as we the American people measure up to the annihilating threat posed by the Soviet Union so shall we survive or disappear as a nation.

We, who are the prime target of an antagonist whose avowed goal is total power, might profitably reflect upon the unhappy fate of Olynthus, the ancient city state which was overrun and destroyed by Philip of Macedon. On the morrow of their misfortune those few who survived could be latedly think of many things which, if foreseen and acted upon could have saved them from destruction. Might it not be well for us to reflect upon the still valid comments of Demosthenes, the ancient Greek philosopher who, in commenting on the tragic fate of Olynthus said:

"While the boat is undamaged then is the time for the sailor and helmsman and all aboard to show unceasing vigilance and prevent anyone from upsetting it, either purposefully or accidentally. But, when the sea has overwhelmed it all effort is in vain."

In his analogy, of course, Demosthenes was referring to a ship of state, and our ship of state is indeed moving into troubled waters.

At the time of the American Revolution, just as our country was being born as a nation, a distinguished Englishman, Edward Gibbon wrote a several volume history entitled "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire". In these luminous pages he traced centuries of Roman rule and between these covers he compressed what is, perhaps, the greatest story ever told of these once great people.

But history is not a set of books. It is people who live, who love, who fight, who aspire and who finally die. A set of books only record these things. And may I presume to remind you that, like the Romans of old, we are living in the midst of great history in the making. We are participating in it and we are aiding in shaping its course. We do not hold with the Communist theory of historical determinism. We know that man by exercise of his free will determines the course of history. And we must will it that our national security will be sustained in the competition which the Soviet Union has thrust upon us. No matter what form the struggle takes we must meet it with a more firm devotion to belief and a more faithful dedication to cause. This we must do! Else some day, some place, some historian may well begin the narrative of the history of the United States with the words "once upon a time . . ."

Ladies and gentlemen, this, as I see it, is national security in transition. Where it is transiting to remains to be seen.

Thank you for listening.

#### ECONOMIC SUGGESTIONS

### HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 25, 1974

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, for several years now our Nation has been confronted by a variety of economic problems and no easy or quick solutions have been forthcoming. While I disagree with many of the President's recent economic proposals, I do commend him for his desire to establish a national dialog on inflation and its effects. Our economic problems are so widespread, that every segment of the American public, I believe, can offer some insight into the situation.

Today I would like to share some information I received recently from Samuel G. Blumenfeld of Blumenfeld & Co. of Millburn, N.J. Mr. Blumenfeld is a

CPA who for many years has demonstrated a keen understanding of the forces that shape our economy. Hence, today I would like to take this opportunity to share with my colleagues some suggestions Mr. Blumenfeld made recently to President Ford. Mr. Blumenfeld's letter follows:

SEPTEMBER 25, 1974.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD,  
President, United States of America,  
White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I realize that many papers will be submitted to you on our economic situation and since you have indicated a receptiveness to informed suggestions, I hope that you will therefore find time to read this letter, written from the vantage of fifty years of experience as a pragmatic accountant-economist. My knowledge and conclusions are based upon living with the problems of small business and not from the ivory-towered, rarified atmosphere of affluent, big-business-oriented economists, one of whom arrogantly compared the plight of stockbrokers with the unemployed and low-income workers.

In this letter I will try to briefly analyze the causes, effects and possible solutions to our present economic doldrums—as follows:

#### AS TO CAUSES

A very important matter to reflect on is that everything we need for our basic existence—food-drink-clothing-shelter-transportation and life's amenities, come originally in their raw states from the Earth, Free!

Our task is to convert such raw materials into finished products for man's uses. In a country like the United States, so abundantly blessed with natural resources, why then should we suffer any unemployment or that so many persons are ill-housed, ill-clothed or ill-fed? No matter what product is produced from the Earth, such product is created for the ultimate use of the consumer.

Basically these original raw materials are turned into finished products, controlled and eventually distributed to the ultimate consumer by big business. While labor is utilized in these steps, big business will only produce goods that must yield a profit, the bigger the better. Big business will slow down or stop production when profits slacken or disappear, with resultant unemployment, reduced consumption, greater deprivation to the worker and cyclical depression.

Money without goods to buy is valueless. To limit the availability of money to purchase goods is self-defeating.

While Mother Earth stores all of these raw materials free, no effort is made by government or big business to maintain an even flow of productivity, so as to ensure steady employment, production and consumption.

It is estimated that the small business man, ordinary worker and lower echelon executive is but three to six months removed from welfare status should he lose his business or job and have to live on his savings.

Many years ago Commodore Vanderbilt, the builder and dominant ruler of the New York Central Railroad, was asked during an investigation of the basis for determining rate schedules charged to his rail customers, answered with the now-famous quote "We charge all the traffic will bear."

All through economic history, prices of goods and services were based upon competition in the open market place. As businesses became bigger and acquired controls of natural resources and the market place, monopolistic practices created "administrative" pricing, policies, as defined by the late Senator Estes Kefauver, that violated competitive concepts and created unconscionable high prices and profits.

The writer has been shocked over the years by the intense greed of our giant industries and banks, as reflected in their annual operating statements when compared to the low operating income reported by the retailing and other competitive businesses.

Many economists blame the great increase in inflationary prices on the 1973-1974 energy crisis. A study of the "consumer price index" reveals a steady perceptible increase since the end of World War 2, but more greatly accelerated under the Nixon Administration.

A contributing factor to our present depressing economy is the high interest rates.

The Federal Reserve, bankers and economists claim that tight money requires high interest rates. The rationale is that high interest rates will discourage borrowing. This is specious reasoning as I don't know of any businessman, big or small, who will hesitate to borrow money to meet his needs, no matter how high the interest rates. Such increases in costs are only passed on to the ultimate consumer—who carries the real burden anyway.

An article I wrote on that subject appeared in the Congressional Record on September 21, 1966, at a time when interest rates, while lower than the present rates, were creating concern. The enclosed copy of this revealing article and prediction is very pertinent to today's situation.

If one word can describe the root cause of our present economic dilemma it is GREED. Greed as practiced by our large monopolistic corporations and the big banks, and condoned by governmental inaction.

The present income tax laws have also contributed to a decline in construction, by just a few illustrations, as follows:

#### High capital gains rates

In former years I have known of builders who have sold off properties to obtain needed working capital for larger projects, thus pyramiding their own growth. With tax rates as high as 40% or so, these builders are marking time.

In addition to these new higher capital gains rates, Congress is taxing as ordinary income any accelerated depreciation taken on commercial projects when sold. Thus the source of working capital is dried up, as the builder does not want to face the combined imposition of an increase in capital gains tax rates and the taxing of his accelerated depreciation at ordinary rates. We must remember that accelerated depreciation was originally written into the Revenue Act to encourage building programs as an aid to our economy.

Such high capital gains have also slowed down security transactions forcing investors to lock-in their investments where a substantial gain is indicated.

#### Interest deduction limitations on Net Leases

As you may be aware, an individual who pays interest on property mortgages subject to a net lease, may only deduct 50% of such interest in excess of an allowance of \$25,000.00, subject to the carry-forward of such disallowance in future years—if ever.

Assuming a million dollar mortgage at 9½% on such a lease, the owner can only deduct \$60,000.00 currently, total interest of \$95,000.00 less 50% of the excess of \$95,000.00 over the allowance of \$25,000.00. So that the property owner could lose the \$35,000.00 he actually paid as interest on the mortgage as an expense deduction.

Some builders plan their programs on the basis of tax considerations about in this specific example they are hesitant about foregoing the deduction of actual expense deductions.

So here too we see a deterrent to our economy because of unfair, unreasonable and unthinking tax situations.

All of these bits and pieces add up to the whole picture of a mismanaged economy,

both by big business, the banks and the national administration.

#### AS TO EFFECTS

Runaway prices and arbitrary high interest rates are eroding the income and savings of the worker and low-level executive and small business man. Reduced purchasing power is lowering the standards of living for the great American masses, and depriving the masses of decent nourishment.

Some of our home and industrial builders are being charged as much as 15% per annum on construction financing. These unusually high rates must of course be reflected in higher operating costs and passed on to the ultimate tenant or buyer. In addition, here in New Jersey, the permissible mortgage interest rates have been increased to 9½% and even at that rate, mortgage financing is difficult to obtain as bankers can earn more money in other areas.

The inflationary spiral and inordinately high mortgage interest rates have brought the housing industry to a virtual standstill, an industry that is one of the great pillars of our economy.

As an example, permit me to relate the experience of one of New Jersey's fine home-builders who presently has about 15 homes in the \$75,000.00 category in his inventory. His investment in these homes and the land totals more than one million dollars. Despite the fact that he has invested a great deal of his own funds in the project, he still owes some \$350,000.00 on construction mortgages, borrowed at an average rate of 15%. Because of the large down payment requirements today and the high prevailing 9½% mortgage interest rates, sales are now nonexistent. And he is feeling the pinch.

Also, permit me to illustrate the effects of a 9½% as against a normal 6% mortgage interest rate.

The monthly payments on a \$30,000.00 25 year mortgage would be \$68.81 more or \$825.72 per year and on a \$40,000.00 mortgage the monthly payments would be \$91.75 more or \$1,101.00 per year. Even the higher salaried person for whom these homes are meant, cannot afford to purchase and carry these homes.

Even for less expensively priced homes the same situation prevails. People can not afford to buy homes, thus creating stagnation not only with home-builders but extending all the way to suppliers, lumber mills, steel mills, appliances and furniture. And to millions of workers.

Another illustration I would like to furnish you with, involves a builder of industrial plants. This firm (not a corporation) has invested over one million dollars in certificates of deposits with banks at an average rate of 12% and has temporarily ceased building operations. While 12% is a high interest rate these people are aware of the fact that their net, after income taxes, still indicates an erosion of the value of their investment. Here too, these people do not want to pay 14-15% for construction money and 10% for permanent mortgage financing. They are awaiting for a hoped-for reduction in interest rates in order to make any building project viable.

We have witnessed the vast outflow of funds from savings institutions into U.S. Treasury obligations, bank notes all in small denominations and in bank certificates of deposits in excess of \$100,000.00. The Treasury Department has permitted the savings institutions to increase their highest rates to depositors to 7½%, yet despite this there has been a great outflow of such deposits. One must realize that a great source for residential mortgage financing has been from sav-

ings institutions, so how can we expect mortgage interest rates to be lower, when these institutions have to pay such high interest rates to their depositors?

In competition for investing funds, the federal government, states, and municipalities have increased their interest rates to as much as 8% and more, thus greatly increasing the size of governmental budgets and taxes.

Large corporations and utilities are offering investors bonds yielding very high interest rates also.

These high interest rates are of course considered costs of operations and again are being passed on to the consumer.

While I feel personally disheartened by such events, I have encouraged clients to invest in high-paying obligations and have even helped organize small syndicates to invest in bank certificates of deposits yielding as much as 12%. My contacts agree with me that we would rather earn no more than 6% on our investments so that our economy will be stabilized, and that funds would again flow into savings institutions to enable them to invest again in mortgages and stimulate home-buying.

May I digress a bit to relate an experience of mine during 1947-1948? In order to encourage residential construction, homes and garden apartments, the Congress legislated Section 608 under the Federal Housing Administration Act. The F.H.A. guaranteed the underlying mortgages to lending institutions. A client of ours borrowed about two million dollars at a total interest of 5½%, even including the mortgage insurance premium. On top of that, because of the competition among lending institutions for this type of investment, our client received a cash premium, or kickback—quite legal of nearly 5% of the total amount of the mortgage.

This type of easy credit availability encouraged a tremendous building boom that lasted for a number of years. All at low interest rates.

I have read comments by some economists who recommend a reduction in spending by the government and also by the people in this country. I consider this advice as naive and negative as the reduction in normal spending will in turn lessen consumptive demands on the production of essential goods and services, reduce employment and cycle us into a worsening recession. And then who can save money in banks at these prices anyway?

To avoid erratic economic conditions it is essential that this country maintain full employment which will create full production and full consumption. There are no longer luxuries in our economy—only necessities. And please remember that Mother Earth is still furnishing us with these raw materials for free.

It is government's duty to maintain this equilibrium, equitably and free of unconscionable greed and manipulation.

#### PROPOSED SOLUTIONS AND CURES

Our income tax laws, when properly and prudently applied, can achieve a stabilizing influence on our economic well-being by the following suggestions, that could be only a few of many possibilities.

1. Adjust capital gains rates. The longer the asset is held the smaller the tax.
2. Eliminate limitation of the interest deduction on moneys borrowed for net lease rentals.
3. Eliminate ordinary tax on accelerated depreciation when assets are sold.
4. Reduce interest on residential mortgages to a maximum of 6%.

Since our government already subsidizes many industries under many guises, such as the oil companies, airlines, lumber, min-

ing, cattle, farmers, railroads and numerous other entities by preferential tax treatment and cash payments, why not a partial subsidy for the home-buyer?

Let the Treasury Department subsidize, out of taxes all mortgage interest payments in excess of 6% by paying the going interest rate to the lending institutions. And also insure these mortgages to the lenders.

5. Increase the income tax exemptions to what is considered the minimum cost of living standard, which may be about \$6,500.00 per couple today. This will eliminate the processing of millions of tax returns. To compensate for this loss in revenue.

6. Impose an income tax of 5-10% on all tax-exempt income in excess of \$15,000.00 per joint tax return, \$7,500.00 per individual return.

7. To curb inflation we must curb greed. I therefore propose that Congress impose an excess profits tax on unconscionable profits to curb runaway prices and profits.

I suggest an excess profit tax rate of 80% be imposed on all net income exceeding the five-year average earned in the five years ended December 31, 1972—the ordinary profits still to be subject to the present normal and surtax rates.

During the two World Wars and Korea, Congress imposed similar tax rates presumably to take the profits out of war. Let us also now tax the greedy profits taken from the pockets of our vast population.

I anticipate the following results from this step:

a. Income tax collections would then be greatly increased which should then motivate Congress to reduce taxes on the individual level, thus making more funds available to individuals for productive spending and savings.

b. Cause big business to reevaluate their administrative policies so that to avoid such excess profits taxes it will decide to reduce prices instead, again as in a. above, making more funds available to the great American public for productive spending and savings.

Such spending will be directed to the maintenance of our production lines and stabilize employment.

8. I feel that until our economy stabilizes we need an effective ceiling on prices, interest and wages.

9. Subsidize essential industries showing operating losses that can not be offset by income from previous years, by cash contribution, which are to be treated as non-interest bearing loans but not to be repaid until profit picture warrants same.

10. Reduce or eliminate oil depletion allowances.

11. Multi-national companies should deduct all foreign taxes paid as operating expenses and not from the income tax due to the United States. All taxes paid by them to the various states are deducted as operating expenses and not as deductions from the total taxes due to the federal government.

I feel that the immediate implementation of these few ideas will help our economy turn around—not late in 1975, but within a few short months.

Mr. President, we generally heed calls for aid from all around the world—Let us now heed the calls for aid from millions of our own people who are living under sub-standard conditions on starvation subsistence, before it is too late.

I hope you will give this paper your sincere attention as I feel that it offers some excellent guide-lines for a proper approach to a solution of our economic problems.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL G. BLUMENFELD.

## TRIBUTE TO DANNY GRIJALVA

## HON. PAUL J. FANNIN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, a fine tribute to the late Danny Grijalva, of Phoenix, Ariz., was published by Mr. Sam Lowe, columnist for the Phoenix Gazette, on November 21. I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Lowe's column be printed in the RECORD.

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

## SHUFFLING IN DIGNITY

Danny Grijalva is dead.

He had his picture in the paper for the last time one day last week in the story that announced his death.

The obituary said he was born in Phoenix 64 years ago and taught 37 years in Lowell Elementary School until retiring recently. That he was awarded a high honor for his work with the Boy Scouts; that he was also known for his work with youth groups in his church.

It listed his survivors and funeral arrangements.

Nothing more.

But the Book of Life doesn't close easily on Danny Grijalva.

His story tells of a man who was physically handicapped almost from birth, an impairment that made it difficult to walk. So he shuffled through life.

If his years were chronicled, a major portion would tell about Danny Grijalva, the scoutmaster.

In 1938, he took over six-year-old Troop 24, sponsored by the Friendly House, when he was asked during a meeting to help out by becoming its scoutmaster.

"I didn't want to, but I said I would try it a while," he said later. But his history belies that statement—Danny Grijalva apparently never refused a request for his services.

And 31 years later, his "while" was recognized by members of his community when they staged a testimonial dinner and 500 people showed up.

In the interim, he received the Silver Beaver Award, coveted among Boy Scout people because it is the highest honor presented an adult scout leader in recognition of outstanding service.

Troop 24, the first in the city for young Mexican-Americans, was a valuable resource in the development of hundreds of young men, and Danny Grijalva oversaw it all, pioneering in an underdeveloped Scouting area.

There is a chapter on Danny Grijalva, the teacher.

He taught at Lowell School for nearly four decades with dedication, wisdom, loyalty and sense of humor. Noted Principal Ray E. Baca: "He was a poet, an educator, a humanitarian and inspiration to children, a friend to those in need."

He guided many youngsters who couldn't get proper guidance anywhere else.

"I saw so many boys get straightened out because Danny took the time to listen and work with them," said Mrs. Placida G. Smith, for many years a director of Friendly House. "You would understand if you only knew of the many underprivileged boys that he took in as scouts and transformed into outstanding young men."

Obituary writers do not select their own material, so Danny Grijalva's death received

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the customary number of inches in the newspaper.

Limited by time, space and tradition, an obituary cannot relate the void that this death has created in a sector of the city that knew him.

The pain will ease; the sorrow will diminish; the living will persist, temporarily. Some will forget Danny Grijalva but many will remember that he was, in a very quiet way, a great inspiration.

He possessed love of his fellow man and love of God. And when they buried Danny Grijalva last Saturday, his friends expressed their love in the only means left available to them—they filled Primera Iglesia Metodista Unida (First Methodist United Church) beyond its capacity and bid farewell.

He shuffled through life, but few will ever walk so erectly.

## TOURISM IS UP IN TENNESSEE

## HON. LAMAR BAKER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. BAKER. Mr. Speaker, those of us from the Volunteer State who are aware of the attractions our State has to offer not only for those of us who call it home, but for the millions who visit us each year, are not surprised that the gross tourist-related income may exceed \$1 billion this year. We see this as a logical development of the expanded programs to aid tourism promotion which have been initiated under the leadership of Gov. Winfield Dunn. The impetus he has given tourism in Tennessee will be evident for years to come. I salute Governor Dunn and the members of his staff for what they have done for the State of Tennessee during the past 4 years.

A newspaper account of what has happened in tourism in Tennessee this past year appeared in the Oak Ridger of Oak Ridge, Tenn., November 18. I insert this account in the RECORD at this point:

## DUNN REPORTS TOURISM IS UP IN TENNESSEE

Gov. Winfield Dunn in a joint announcement with Commissioner Pat Choate of the Department of Economic and Community Development states that expenditures of tourist dollars during 1974 may exceed \$1 billion for the first time in Tennessee history. Based on figures during June, July and August, tourists visiting the Volunteer State have increased significantly over the summer of 1973.

Gov. Dunn has consistently urged the Legislature to provide funds to expand programs within the state designed to aid tourism development. He points out, "If the present rate of growth in the tourism industry can be maintained through the balance of 1974, gross tourist related income could exceed \$1 billion in Tennessee this year."

During a recent meeting of the East Tennessee Tourist Council at Watts Bar Resort, it was pointed out that of all the Southern states, Tennessee was the only one to increase the economic gains of tourism, its third ranked industry. It is anticipated at the end of calendar 1974, Tennessee will be the only state in the U.S. to improve tourism income above its 1973 figures. These same figures also show over 114,000 Tennesseans employed in tourism across the state.

Gov. Dunn also says, "Travel growth in percent annually. We now anticipate the 1974 increase would be between 7½ and 8 percent. This is incredible considering the energy crisis which dealt tourism a devastating blow from January to April. At that time, tourist figures were off 20 percent. However, the summer season reversed the trend."

In 1973, more than \$875 million in tourist-related spending in Tennessee generated \$87 million in state taxes. Projected figures based on information provided by U.S. Travel Data Center in Washington, D.C., indicate the average traveler has experienced a 14 percent inflationary factor in travel costs over the past year. This figure, combined with a 7½ percent anticipated increase in tourism growth for the state, represents a potential increase in tourist related spending of \$197 million over last year. The total potential tourist expenditure is computed at \$1,073,000,000.

"Travel dollars are considered a premium because they, in effect, provide an industry without machinery or smokestacks," the governor adds. "People, while traveling, use very small amounts of electricity, water, and other important and necessary resources. Because tourists won't patronize a dirty or unsightly place, they help to keep surroundings clean and attractive. Also to be considered is the fact that the traveler does not require the use of our schools or any of the various services that are requirements of other industries."

During the peak tourism summer months of June, July and August, registrations representing one and one-half million persons have been recorded at the seven state line Welcome Stations. This figure represents a cumulative 12½ percent increase over the same period in 1973. For the first eight months of 1974, as of Aug. 31, registration representing more than two and one-half million travelers had been recorded at the Welcome Centers. Information derived from these figures support a probable overall increase in Tennessee tourism of 7½ percent to 8 percent for calendar year 1974.

VIRGIN ISLANDS NATIONAL GUARD  
RENDERS OUTSTANDING SERVICE

## HON. RON DE LUGO

OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. DE LUGO. Mr. Speaker, the initial recommendation that a National Guard unit be established in the Virgin Islands was met with strong opposition, and it was only after considerable effort that final approval was achieved. It is, therefore, with great satisfaction to those of us who supported and worked for the creation of a National Guard unit in the Virgin Islands to learn of its outstanding service during the torrential rains and subsequent disastrous flooding which recently struck the territory. The confidence in the future of the Virgin Islands National Guard was well founded, and I am particularly proud that it has more than fulfilled the expectations of its supporters.

I am pleased to insert the following editorial from the St. Croix Avis:



[From the St. Croix Avis, Nov. 21, 1974]

THEIR WORTH PROVEN

When it was proposed by the Evans administration that a National Guard unit be installed in the Virgin Islands, he was greeted with some flak, political and otherwise. In any event, the proposal was blessed by the federal government and the local National Guard became an actuality.

When the Governor recommended its formation, he stressed the aspect that an organization such as this would be invaluable in the event disaster strikes, as have been the civilian soldiers in areas on the mainland, particularly where flooding has occurred. This was the case in the territory, with some of the heaviest and prolonged rain in the Islands' history wreaking havoc as torrents rushed down hillsides towards the sea. With lives and homes endangered, the Guardsmen pitched in with shovels and vehicles to assist Civil Defense, Public Works and Public Safety, the Red Cross and volunteer workers to ease the plight of victims. One is aware now that Governor Evans knew whereof he spoke, that a National Guard would be an extremely effective force in the event of a happening such as we have just experienced.

Praise has been heaped on the members of all agencies who participated in rescue work during those hectic days and nights—and deservedly so. Bone-tired, wet to the skin, missing meals and downing cold ones when they were available, to them we can attribute the remarkably few injuries which occurred. Property loss, which was high, would have been even more so had they not appeared with shovels and heavy equipment where homes were in peril of being swept down hillsides.

As with the others, our National Guard is an addition to the scene of which we can be proud.

THE FARM AND FOOD POLICY OF  
THE FUTURE

HON. FRANK E. DENHOLM

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. DENHOLM. Mr. Speaker, the World Food Conference of more than 100 participating nations in Rome is over but the imbalance of food and population is continuing.

It is difficult to understand how the Secretary of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, or any person representing agriculture in the United States, could attend that Conference on food policy without recognition of an opportunity to negotiate the delivery and sale of 135 million pounds of nonfat dry milk reportedly held by USDA under the Commodity Credit Corporation loan and storage program. Particularly so, when American producers of milk and milk products are forced to sell the fruits of their labor below the cost of production.

The cost-price squeeze on American milk producers is so severe and of such magnitude that milk producing animals are being slaughtered in great numbers—in some instances entire dairy herds are sold for slaughter. The circumstances of mass killing demonstrations of the dairy breeds is only a miniature reaction to the economic crisis of the dairy industry in America.

The fact is that the economic depression now experienced by the dairy industry by forced sales of dairy animals

for slaughter has produced a devastating impact upon the domestic market of beef animals produced for the consumers of America. The forced slaughter of dairy animals has further depressed the market for beef breeds and the transferred impact endangers the continued production of both essentials to the consumers of this country in the future.

Shortsighted policies are of no value to consumers or producers. The elimination of a continuing source of supply of high protein food is wrong.

I have urged Secretary Butz to negotiate the delivery and sale of nonfat dry milk in storage and to seek the cooperation of oil rich nations to purchase a like amount for distribution to the starving in the pockets of poverty in the world. The World Food Conference was an appropriate forum for such negotiations. I regret that Americans attending that Conference failed the opportunity for positive action in the interest of the American people—and in the interest of hungry and starving people wherever.

It is of no practical sense to appease consumers of this country with the notion that we have leadership in policies of this Government that have depressed the domestic market prices to a level of bankruptcy for producers. What will those same great leaders answer to American consumers in want for protein foods in the future after the production and source of supply is no more?

Mr. Speaker, there are alternatives and I am saddened that our great country must suffer the embarrassment of "do-nothing" policies in these times of economic crisis for our dairy, livestock, and poultry producers. The American people, consumers, and producers, cannot profit from the failures of the World Food Conference, the failures of leadership by Americans attending that Conference and certainly not from "do-nothing" policies at home. It is time that we must lead—or be led. It is time for Congress to do what must be done. The farm and food policies of this country demand a priority of attention—and it is time for action. Let us be on with the unfinished task before us.

TENNESSEE STUDENT EVALUATES  
GROWTH OF GOVERNMENT—  
SAYS PRESIDENT'S STAFF TOO  
BIG—NOW EXCEEDING 5,000 EMPLOYEES

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, a student at David Lipscomb College in Nashville, Tenn., Mr. Brad Forrister, has written an excellent article, published in the school newspaper the Babler, which outlines in concise and clear terms the growth of the White House bureaucracy.

The article points out that President Franklin D. Roosevelt at one time received approval from Congress for only eight professional staff assistants, while

in the White House bureaucracy today there are 5,000 officials and employees.

Mr. Forrister calls for balanced form of Government as provided by the Constitution.

He asserts that:

If things are to be changed, there are two obvious tacks: limiting the President's power and trimming his staff, or increasing the Congressional staff so that it wields as much as the President's.

Because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this important matter, I place the article of this student in the RECORD herewith.

The article follows:

EVALUATING GOVERNMENT: IS PRESIDENT  
TOO BIG?

(By Brad Forrister)

At sometime during the course of Vietnam and Watergate, a large segment of the American populists became aware of a subtle yet far-reaching change in the office of the Presidency.

Somewhere along the line, many (if not most) of the checks and balances set forth in the Constitution and safeguarded for a century and a half got lost in the shuffle.

Whether the President usurped the authority or Congress gave it away or both is more or less immaterial; it happened, and now we must either accept it as a political reality and institutionalize it as an accident of history that's better than it might be, or we must work to rebuild the institution of government as it is outlined in the Constitution.

Accepting things as they are requires no debate, whether to accept or change is a matter for debate, and how to effect that change if the latter course is taken is another. But not to change requires only decision.

Let us outline, therefore, what courses might be taken if change is desired. To do so, we need first to examine briefly the history that has set the stage for the current situation.

The massive build-up of presidential power began with Franklin D. Roosevelt. He implemented large-scale expansions of the federal government's social, economic, and military involvement, largely because of a corresponding growth in the nation itself. FDR also asked Congress for salary for eight professional staff members, and after a long fight it agreed.

That has now burgeoned into a staff of 5,000 members. It overflows into the Executive Office Building and includes the Domestic Council, the National Security Council, and the vast hierarchies that go with each.

Originally, the staff members were meant only to make suggestions and give advice to the President. Now, however, the White House staff controls every area of the federal bureaucracy.

The White House controls the Cabinet now in a way heretofore non-existent. Never before Nixon had presidential aides dared give a dressing down to a Cabinet officer, yet in the past six years such occurrences have been commonplace.

The White House also controls the budgets (through priority-ordering, policy-making and the Office of Management and Budget) for all the departments, thus short-circuiting the intent of Congressional appropriations.

Congress has sold other responsibilities to the President, and has made gifts of still more. From the Formosa Resolution of 1955 to the Middle East Resolution of 1957 to the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution in 1964 (all similar in wording, although neither of the former have been repealed in Congress's recent effort to "re-affirm" her powers), Capitol

Hill has continually relinquished its powers of war regulation to Pennsylvania Avenue.

Its domestic powers, too, it handed over to the President, from controlling the federal pursestrings to making postal service appointments. Some of the responsibilities weren't even sought, such as the power to impose wage-price controls.

The only real controls Congress has kept are over-all budget-making, yes-or-no power over some presidential appointees, and impeachment. And Nixon managed to circumvent that.

It appears, then, that if things as they are are unsuitable, if things are to be changed, there are two obvious tacks: Limiting the President's power and trimming his staff, or increasing the Congressional staff so that it wields as much force as the President's.

Within those guidelines lie more problems that can be discussed in one article. And those guidelines are certainly not the only ones available. But what is certain is that whatever action is taken must be taken soon, before America forgets the lessons of her recent past.

#### ALLEGHENY COUNTY'S KANE HOSPITAL RECEIVES EXCELLENT RATING

**HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the John J. Kane Hospital of Allegheny County was recently rated one of the best long-term care facilities in the Nation. The Kane Hospital provides badly needed care for the elderly and chronically ill, who have limited financial resources and no other place to turn for medical aid.

I wish to bring Kane Hospital's outstanding achievements to the attention of my colleagues as described in the following article in the October 13, 1974, Pittsburgh Press:

#### JOHN KANE HOSPITAL GETS TOP U.S. RATING

Allegheny County's John J. Kane Hospital has been rated one of the best long-term care facilities in the nation by the Joint Commission on Accreditation of Hospitals.

The rating came after an inspection team spent three days at the hospital recently.

In a letter to Dr. Edward R. Deverson, executive director of the hospital, the commission said the hospital, "its medical staff, administration, nursing staff and all other departments are to be commended for their excellence and operation."

The letter reaccrediting Kane as a long-term care facility, said the inspectors were "particularly impressed with the excellent rehabilitation program provided for the patients."

It also cited the "live-in" program for the blind, the participation of the social service department, and "the manner in which the religious needs of the patients are being met by the chaplains."

The inspectors included a special commendation for the Rev. Hugh J. McCormley, the Catholic chaplain, citing his participation in community activities and efforts to bring dignity, reassurance and comfort to dying patients.

The commission is composed of representatives of the American College of Physicians, American College of Surgeons, American Hospital Association and the American Medical Association.

Also participating in the rating program are the American Association of Homes for

the Aging and the American Nursing Home Association.

"Allegheny County and Pittsburgh should really appreciate you," said Mrs. Ellen Gray, a registered nurse who served on the inspection team.

The rating put Kane in the top 12 per cent of the more than 23,000 long-term care facilities in the United States.

Kane, which has more than 2,000 patients, is maintained by Allegheny County for the chronically ill and elderly who have limited financial resources.

It is administered by the County Commissioners serving as executive and administrative officers of the Allegheny County Institution District.

County Commissioner Thomas J. Foerster expressed pleasure over the rating but added: "We could do an even better job of caring for our people if the state would give us proper financial assistance."

He noted the county spends more than \$19 million a year to operate the hospital and said "this is a tremendous load for the citizens of the county to bear alone."

#### THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

**HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, John Turnipseed regularly writes a column for the Indiana Prairie Farmer, a magazine I receive at my office here in Washington. His column on the Ten Commandments in the November 16, 1974, issue may not meet the Oxford standards on use of the English language, but the ideas expressed surpass every standard. May I suggest that the major cause of many of our current troubles is the failure of the Government to obey the Commandment, "Thou Shalt Not Steal." Somewhere along the way the idea has been accepted that governments are not subject to the Ten Commandments, nor are any groups. Society, the State, the Government, minority groups, and the "underprivileged" are all regarded as being beyond the reach of morality, especially beyond the reach of the Commandment against stealing. And that is why we are facing national collapse today.

The article follows:

JOHN COMES OUT IN FAVOR OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

(By John Turnipseed)

Now that election is over it looks like we will get a little peace for a little while. But nothin' really has changed. All our troubles are still with us. Nobody seems to know how to head off inflation. If they did they don't seem to have the guts to do what needs to be done. I hate to join the gloomsters, but from here it looks like we will get more of the same that got us into trouble in the first place.

Puts me in mind of the church that burned down in a small town. The deacons looked around for a place to meet an' tried the school. But the superintendent was afraid he might mix church an' state an' get into trouble so he said no. Luckily, the man who owned the night club on the edge of town an' who liked to think of himself as a good citizen offered to let the church people have the use of his place.

Early Sunday morning the altar committee took over the night club an' set about

making it ready for church. They fixed up a portable altar. They covered the bar an' most of the pictures with white sheets. But they forgot to cover the cage of the parrot.

When the preacher marched in with his flowing robes, the parrot opened one eye with interest an' sez, "Ah, a new bartender!"

When the choir marched in the parrot opened both eyes an' sez, "Imagine that, a new floor show!"

Then the people came straggling in. The parrot sez, "Same old crowd," an' went back to sleep.

Unless I am badly mistaken, the election did very little, if anything, to clear up our troubles. So now that I ain't in any danger of gettin' elected on a write-in ticket, I will come out with my platform for reform—the Ten Commandments, which have been laying around unused for a long time.

The lawmakers who are mostly lawyers have been busy a long time substituting legality for morality. Now nobody really knows what is right or wrong.

The politicians, with a lot of help from the sociologists, have decided all national troubles—crime, poverty, an' the lot—can be fixed by taking from those that have got an' giving it to those that ain't got, so everybody will be poor an' happy.

So we have chaos, a big, fat, rich, intellectual chaos created by smart people who sound off but refuse to be responsible for what they say.

That's why I have come out for the Ten Commandments. Read them an' see how many of our troubles would be taken care of if we would only pay some attention to them. Then send a copy to your congressman an' senator on account of they probably think the Ten Commandments have been declared unconstitutional. I reckon they ain't been printed in the Congressional Record since Abe Lincoln's day.

#### SENIOR ACTION EDITOR SPEAKS OUT FOR HEALTH CARE REFORMS

**HON. JACK F. KEMP**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, Dwight H. Warren, a resident of western New York, is the editor of Senior Action, a newspaper published by the New York State-wide Senior Action Council, Inc.

In the following article, Mr. Warren details the problems he and other senior citizens in my district and throughout the Nation find facing them in dealing with our present health care system. Mr. Warren points up, not only the high cost and inadequate care many of the elderly receive today, but also the problems facing all Americans in their search for adequate care and cost coverage.

I applaud Dwight Warren for his efforts to inform his readers and his urging of Members of Congress to act on the vital issues of health care and maintenance for the elderly.

I am pleased to include Mr. Warren's comments at this point in the RECORD:

TONAWANDA, N.Y.

To: President Ford and All Members of Congress.

Subject: The horrendous cost of health care for all U.S. citizens.

One of the most important bills to be considered by Congress is concerned with adequate health care of the citizens of our country.

In the August 19, 1974 issue of U.S. News & World Report is a statement made by President Ford:

"We should meet our health care problems by improving the present system, not by scrapping it and erecting a horrendously costly federal bureaucratic structure in its place."

However, in the January 22, 1973 issue of U.S. News & World Report, is a chart which shows our medical care bill rose from 17.3 billion in 1955 to 83.4 billion in 1972 and Secretary of HEW Weinberger stated recently that in 1973 the cost rose to 100 billions.

It would appear the present medical care system is horrendously expensive and very much needs to be replaced by a system that will place the emphasis on keeping people well rather than maintaining them in hospitals and nursing homes after they become chronically ill.

What we need is not more medicare, Medicaid, or medicaid but health maintenance organizations which place the emphasis on preventing disease and keeping citizens in good health by proper nutrition and health care.

#### 8,000,000 NEEDLESS DEATHS FROM CANCER

The American Cancer Society states, "If current rates continue, 50,000,000 now living will get cancer. Now, one out of three can be cured. It would be one out of two with early diagnosis and prompt treatment." Over 8,000,000 more lives could be saved by early diagnosis and treatment.

#### A MILLION DEATHS FROM HEART ATTACKS, STROKES AND KIDNEY FAILURE

An article in "Readers Digest", reveals "High blood pressure is the largest contributing cause of death in the U.S. today. It finally kills more than a million Americans every year thru heart failure, stroke or kidney failure. Impossible to treat." On the contrary—of all known risk factors for needless early death this is the one for which evidence is clearest that treatment can be life saving. The real problem is that most of the 24,000,000 Americans who have high blood pressure don't know they have it. The National Heart and Lung Institute has now mounted a massive campaign to find and treat sufferers.

#### 850,000 COULD BE SAVED FROM BLINDNESS

The National Association for Prevention of Blindness states, "Half of all blindness is needless. 1,700,000 citizens are being attacked by glaucoma and most are doing nothing about it." Half of these or 850,000 could be saved by early diagnosis and treatment.

#### 50,000,000 AMERICANS HAVE ARTHRITIS

There are over 200 million people in the U.S. and one-fourth of them have at least one thing in common. These 50 million are victims of arthritis.

Dr. Lockie, an arthritis specialist, points out that it is very important that possible victims consult a doctor at the first warning signs of the disease. When the disease is diagnosed and treatment is begun at the first onset, the prospects of relieving the symptoms, and slowing its effects are excellent, according to this Buffalo specialist. Only in a very small percentage of victims does the disease steadily progress despite treatment.

#### MANY CHILDREN NOT RETARDED, JUST HANDICAPPED

Children are often not really retarded, just handicapped for lack of proper health care. Preventive health care is always preferable and more beneficial than treating the ailment later. The Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare is responsible for a program that could help about 13 million children eligible under Medicaid. A bill that requires this medical care was signed into law seven years ago. Some states have refused to act. Secretary Weinberger of HEW states about two million children have been examined and about half required further testing and care.

"We found children whose rotting teeth had abscessed, gums which were pouring poison into their system. Dentists treated them. We found children who could barely hear. They were given hearing aids. We found children who saw the writing on the blackboard as a blur. They were fitted with glasses."

Why should little children suffer for lack of proper health care?

#### A PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

Please permit me to give a personal experience. A physical examination revealed I had a hernia. I did not realize the consequences of neglect. Because it is not painful few take prompt action. However when it began to interfere with my work I had it repaired some 10 years later after it was first discovered. About a year later I suffered severe internal bleeding resulting from those years of neglect. I was rushed to hospital by ambulance and almost bled to death. Again this too could be prevented if people were made aware of the consequences of neglect. (Incidentally the kind doctor who got up in the middle of the night to be at the hospital when I arrived died in a heart clinic in Texas a few years later. I can't help but wonder if he might not be alive today and well if the medical profession would put more emphasis on preventing disease rather than merely curing it.)

#### MEDICAL COSTS

85% of nursing homes are run for profit. A neighbor of the writer states his mother spent \$40,000 in the last two and a half years for nursing home care and now has had to turn to welfare. The cost of medical care for persons over 65 is three times that for young people.

#### EVEN DOCTORS' FAMILIES NEED HEALTH CARE

A doctor's daughter dies of cancer. I have mentioned frequently the instance of a doctor I know. His daughter recently died of cancer. She had a growth on her breast but didn't mention it to her father or brother, both doctors, until it caused her pain. It was too late. (Even the wives of presidents and vice-presidents could benefit from preventive health care.)

I mention also a garage mechanic who worked on my car. He disappeared three years ago. The last time I was in the garage I saw an old man sitting there.

Much to my surprise he was the same energetic man who three years ago worked on my car. He suffered a stroke. Why? He had high blood pressure and didn't know it. His nephew is a doctor but he was too busy to get a checkup. He will be an invalid for the rest of his life.

#### A BOTTOMLESS PIT

A man of science, senior professional associate of the Institute of Medicine, National Academy of Science, Washington, D.C., states in part as follows:

"The health professions are dealing with a bottomless pit—a morass of diseases from which the nation will have difficulty in arising, no matter whatever health bill passes (in Congress) for all that these bills really attempt to do is pay for a mere patching up of our citizens. Surely a country as wealthy and wise as ours can do better than that."

"We can do something, and we can start doing it right away. We can prevent this nation's horrendous flood of disease, deformity, disfigurement and dismemberment. I believe, that instead of patching people up, we need to concentrate on an all-out program of prevention."

#### HEALTH MAINTENANCE ORGANIZATIONS DESPERATELY NEEDED

Health Maintenance Organizations must be established in every community concerned with keeping citizens well. An annual physical examination sufficiently extensive as to indicate the possibility of disease should be required. We have compulsory car insurance and an annual checkup of one's car is

required so it will not be likely to cause injury to others. Perhaps we cannot compel people to care for their bodies in like manner, but if they would participate in an insurance program we do have that right in order that others may not be compelled to pay for their failure to protect their health. I think I have given convincing proof, based on reliable information, that a new emphasis needs to be placed on health care rather than medical care.

Every individual and organization should take a sincere interest in the health of his fellow citizens, and insist that our government pass a health bill that will adequately meet the health needs of all our citizens. We must scrap the horrendously expensive system which has caused so much pain and suffering as well as expense to the individual and society.

Remember, "Inasmuch as you have done it unto the least of these my brethren you have done it unto me".

Sincerely,

DWIGHT H. WARREN,  
A Concerned Senior Citizen.

#### THE ECONOMY AND INFLATION

#### HON. JOHN L. BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. JOHN L. BURTON. Mr. Speaker, as we are all aware, the economy and inflation are the prime domestic problems today.

Many fine people have suggested both short- and long-range proposals to remedy the situation. I am inserting into the RECORD a letter by Mr. Adolph P. Schuman, a distinguished businessman who possesses one of the keenest minds on the subject matter of economics in our Nation.

His letter refers to the Federal Reserve Board as the prime perpetrator of our economic problems that Mr. Schuman describes as "villainy without villains."

The letter follows:

DEAR JOHN: I have been gravely concerned for some time about the activities of the Federal Reserve Board. I hope you will find my suggestions worthy of your consideration.

I feel most strongly that the time has come for us, as staunch Americans and as staunch Democrats, to consider cutting out what I feel is a cancer eating at the roots of our economy since the year 1952 when Mr. William McChesney Martin succeeded in establishing a fiefdom of his own, a totally independent federal reserve system. Under his direction and guidance, in the pursuant years, the Federal Reserve Board has gradually taken over the management of the monetary responsibilities of the United States both as to policy and execution. With this powerful monetary mandate in its hands, the Federal Reserve has time and again flaunted the wishes of, and in fact dictated to, the Congress as to the monetary and fiscal policy of this nation.

These duties reside in the hands of seven men, no doubt well-meaning men, appointed by various Presidents for various reasons at various times for terms totalling fourteen years each. During these fourteen years, these men are limitless in their power. They are not subject to removal (except for misfeasance, malfeasance, or crimes), and they are not subject to reappointment. Therefore, in their hands they have the power to determine the amount of money put into circulation, the interest rates, and the availability of money in the United States. This

makes them actually the strongest type of economic dictators. They are economic dictators because of their power and because they are not elected by the people of the United States and do not serve at the will of either the President or Congress. These seven men, solely at their discretion, control our economic welfare, concentrating on what they consider to be their job, which is to control the monetary supply and the growth of the United States. They have done so with the intent of combating inflation, but at the cost of continuous repeated recessions (and many of our leading economists have called them depressions, not recessions).

Now, as we all know, there are two possible ways to avoid inflation. The first is a temporary one of decreasing the demand. This has the virtue of giving immediate results but, unfortunately, it leads to recurring doses of inflation. We recognize, in a growing country, this cure must, by its very nature, be temporary and can prove disastrous and self-defeating.

The second method, used in the United States previous to 1952, was that of increasing production so that if there was a scarcity of an item, the forces of the economy, given the proper monetary support, would naturally increase production and eventually lower prices.

Now, the Federal Reserve, this villainy without villains, is once more on the path of accepting a "finger in the dyke" theory of lowering the demand, and they cannot abandon this pattern, as a dog goes 'round and 'round chasing its tail, with the always recurring emergencies and the crisis responses preventing the taking of the long view of extensive monetary freedom. This would permit the resilience and flexibility needed to enable the building of facilities and the machine tooling which would in the long run cut down prices.

As a result of these policies, the seven so-called, well-meaning economic tyrants, again, not subject to the will of the people, the President or Congress, have taken this great, growing country along its present disastrous path since 1952. Now, let us look back and see where this continuous, uninterrupted policy of decreasing the demand in periods of inflation has led us. At the end of twenty-two years, the cost of our money has advanced from 2½% to 11%. It so stifled our long-term growth that we have only 4% to 5% annually over the twenty-two years, and the Federal Reserve, itself, considers a growth of 8% exorbitant. Its policies made us, in many respects, as far as new machinery and competition are concerned, well on our way to becoming a second class country. And, during this time, it has taken our growth of inflation from 2% to an inflation of 10% annually, so we must say that the succession of crises by the use of temporary recurring restraints on monetary supply by the Federal Reserve to decrease demand instead of increasing production is obviously a failure. Nevertheless, the same pattern continues and we make the same mistakes time after time.

We find ourselves, not only as Democrats but as Americans as well, facing a further danger. It is my firm belief that the American people are going to elect overwhelmingly a Democratic Congress this year. Hopefully, this tide will continue and the people will elect a Democratic President to office in 1976. But, the fact is, long after the impeachment, the resignation, or simply the end of the term of President Nixon, for eight, ten or twelve years thereafter, Mr. Nixon's appointees on the Federal Reserve Board will rule America's monetary policies and will dictate willy-nilly the fiscal policies of the United States of America. Mr. Nixon has appointed five of the seven members of the Federal Reserve Board who will control the destiny of this country with an iron hand unless some remedial changes can be found to prevent it.

As to the remedy, it will certainly take a wiser man than I, but I humbly submit several suggestions for your perusal:

Suggestion #1 . . . That the term of the Federal Reserve Board be limited to four (4) years and should start with the term of the incoming President. For example, the term of the present Federal Reserve Board would terminate January 1, 1977. A new Federal Reserve Board would be appointed by the incoming President and would automatically serve for a term of four (4) years. They could be reappointed. This would make the Federal Reserve Board closer to the will of the electorate.

Suggestion #2 . . . That the membership of the Federal Reserve Board must include:

- 1 person representing Business.
- 1 person representing Banking.
- 1 person representing Labor.
- 1 Economist.
- 1 person representing Agriculture.

Suggestion #3 . . . That there should be not less than three (3) appointees from each major party . . . three Republicans, three Democrats . . . and the Chairman.

I propose most sincerely and for your earnest consideration the fact that in the long run inflation can be only controlled by expanding supplies and that the short view point of containing and reducing demand can have no other ultimate result than the downgrading of the lives of the American people.

#### U.S. MILITARY: BIG OR TOUGH?

### HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, one of the most difficult problems faced by defense analysts is the question of how to measure the effectiveness of a military force. Frequently, the strength of a ground fighting force is expressed in terms of numbers of divisions or of numbers of men.

This method has always seemed to me to be superficial and misleading, in that it ignores motivation, training, and ability. Combat experience in the Middle East, Indochina, and elsewhere has shown that 10 well-trained, capable, and highly motivated men will defeat 100 poorly trained men who do not know why they are fighting and wish they were not.

Now that our own Armed Forces are recruiting on a voluntary basis, we are faced with this problem but, in my view, we really have not yet come to grips with it. We know for a fact that we cannot get all the capable men and women we need, so we have set quotas for each branch of the service.

This system may not work well. It has led to progressive lowering of acceptance standards, and in some cases to recruiter falsification in order to get people past the lowered standards. The results are marginal.

But the really serious problem comes when low-standard individuals are placed on active duty. Not only do they contribute little to the unit, they act as a drag on the performance and morale of those around them.

We would think that, if any service were immune to this problem, it would be the U.S. Marines. They advertise they

want "A Few Good Men" and think of themselves as an elite corps in which ability counts above all.

But according to a recent article by Marine 1st Lt. David E. Kelly, the Marines have severe manpower problems. Lieutenant Kelly talks of training a group of boots of which more than 60 percent had not graduated from high school. He talks of barracks criminality so widespread that honest marines are afraid to testify for fear of being beaten.

If Lieutenant Kelly is correct, we had better pay close attention. There is no question that our Armed Forces would be more effective and efficient if we released the misfits and incompetents and retained only the good men, almost without regard to how small this made our force. The fact that a small good force is far more effective than a larger force laden with liabilities appears to have been neglected in our fixation on numbers games. Moreover, in these times of acute budgetary constraints, the fact that a small force is cheaper than a larger one is of particular importance.

Lieutenant Kelly raises a number of other points worth considering. We now have the same number of generals in the Marine Corps as at the peak of the Vietnam war, even though our force is only one-third as great. The WPA philosophy of military management strikes again.

Lieutenant Kelly criticizes the Marines as duplicating the functions of the other services, particularly in the case of airpower, which he recommends removing from the Marines altogether. For my part, I am sympathetic to the tactic of having more than one service provide close air support in an attempt to gain improved performance through friendly competition.

But the theory has not worked out well in practice. First, we had Air Force and Navy pilots wasting bombs on worthless targets in Vietnam because each service was trying to say it had dropped more tonnage than the other. Second, we find ourselves buying the Harrier aircraft solely to keep the Marine Corps in the close air support business, when the Air Force A-10 can do the same job better. Lieutenant Kelly dismisses the argument that "Marine pilots understand Marine close support needs better" by citing his experience that, rather than identifying with Marine ground troops, Marine airmen tend to look down on and ridicule the "grunts" they are supposed to serve. Third and most atrociously, we now find the Marines buying F-15 fleet defense aircraft—what this has to do with defending Marines on the beach nobody can say. I agree with Lieutenant Kelly; Marine air should go. The Marines must return to their legitimate mission of amphibious offense.

For those who would like to read Lieutenant Kelly's views in full, I insert at this point in the RECORD his article entitled "Must the Marine Corps Shrink or Die?" from the Armed Forces Journal of October 1974:

#### MUST THE MARINE CORPS SHRINK OR DIE?

(By 1st Lt. David E. Kelly, USMC)

By an act of Congress, the Marine Corps has a definite, precise mission: Basically to plan for Amphibious Warfare, to take and

defend Advanced Naval Bases and such land operations as may be necessary to do so, to act as Security Forces for Naval Installations and Embassies, and other such missions as the President may direct. There is no God-given directive establishing the Marine Corps. It exists for a purpose, and when that purpose has been distorted or no longer exists, it is time to eliminate the Marine Corps. It would be unfair to the Nation and the taxpayers to hold onto tradition for tradition's sake.

In today's political climate, it is popular to attack the military in general and expensive duplication in particular. The Services must continually demonstrate their efficiency and effectiveness. Since World War II, the Marine Corps has gradually taken on more and more responsibilities and grown in peacetime size. It had better soon wake up to the fact that the more areas it tries to handle, the less reason exists for it to continue as a separate force. In Vietnam, we became bogged down in an Army-type land war. Our role as an Amphibious Striking Force was, with a few minor exceptions, almost completely unused. The more adept we become at doing the Army's job, the closer we move towards becoming a part of it.

The Corps' fighting strength today consists of three Infantry Divisions and three Air Wings. Combined, the three Divisions would be hard-pressed to field one full strength Division prepared for combat. As an example, the Third Marine Division stationed on Okinawa, supposedly the "Cutting Edge of the Sword" is badly under-staffed and over-committed. When one of the Regiments on Okinawa is preparing to deploy one of its Infantry Battalions, the remaining two Battalions must be cannibalized for equipment and personnel. The nondeployed units would be hard pressed to ever effectively mobilize in case of an emergency.

The Corps' strength is 186,000 men, yet less than two effective Infantry Divisions. The Corps recently announced in Navy Times that it had no plans to reduce the number of general officers in its ranks. So we will continue along with 73 generals, the same number that were in the Corps at the height of the Vietnam War when our strength was 500,000! Bureaucracy seems to have a way of entrenching itself so that even when it is no longer needed, it continues to stumble along and grow. Paperwork also seems to multiply geometrically, and this in turn adds to the burgeoning ranks of personnel needed to support the planning and record-keeping facilities. The percentage of combat ready personnel continually shrinks as more and more are needed to maintain the establishment. This problem is not unique to the Corps, but the Corps is more likely to succumb to it than the other Services. We cannot continue trying to be a miniature, self-sufficient armed service. Areas that can be better handled by the Army should be handled by them.

The Corps enjoys a reputation as an elite fighting force. But what is it in reality? Drug and racial problems seethe in the Second and Third Marine Divisions at Camp Lejeune and Okinawa. Antiquated equipment, living conditions far below that of the other Services, poor training facilities, and lack of discipline add fuel to the discontent of the average Marine. All the while, Commanders glowingly talk of terms such as Esprit, Combat Readiness, etc. . . . The plight of the Junior Officers and Staff NCO's who must deal with these problems is ignored. Many idealistic young men find themselves disillusioned with the whole mess. Too many of the quality Marines get out. The Army and Navy have problems and admit to them for the most part. The Marine Corps has problems and is either afraid to see them or unwilling to admit to them.

It is easy to point out problems. But what of solutions? The solution I see may seem

radical to some (especially those with vested interests). At present, I have no plans for a career in the Corps, so I feel that I can speak with some objectivity. The Corps should first be reduced to a small, elite force. Something which it now lays claim to but is far from being. Selective recruiting would in itself bring about a major reduction in discipline and morale problems. A young high school graduate would have a pretty good idea of exactly what he was getting into. And I emphasize high school graduate. With no exceptions, or some non-waiverable standard. And carefully screened AFQT results. Even without changing today's Marine Corps, more selection in recruiting would produce better Marines. Many of the Corps' discipline problems are due to the low level of recruit we are pushing through boot camp. (As a Series Commander at Parris Island, the percentage of recruits with high school diplomas was well under 40% in my Series.)

At the same time the Corps would be reduced to a truly elite force, its mission would be specialized. A higher percentage of Marines would be involved with this mission. Their identity with the Corps would be much greater. The Air Wing would be gradually phased over to the Navy as the Corps reemphasized its Amphibious Mission. The backbone of the Corps would be two or three full-strength (completely up to T/O) Infantry Divisions. Wherever possible, support would come from the Navy in areas where they can do a more efficient job. For example, the Seebees with their modern equipment would handle the jobs that our Engineers nowadays attempt with their antiquated gear.

To many, the suggestion of elimination of the Air Wing in the Corps reeks of sacrilege. The prized "Close Air Support" concept is dragged from the closet and expounded as gospel. I would not eliminate the helicopter capabilities of the Corps. This power would be even more closely allied with the fighting units. Perhaps with a certain number of choppers in direct support of, or attached to Infantry Regiments.

In the early days of Aviation, a few thousand dollars and a good mechanic would keep a biplane in the air. But rapidly advancing technology has put an astronomical cost on aviation. And by its very nature the Air Wing requires the more intelligent Marines to act as mechanics and in related fields. Many of the Marines assigned to the Wing joined the Corps to be Marines, and wind up doing a job that they could have joined the Air Force to do had they wanted to do them. Millions of dollars and much of the Corps' talent is lavished on the Wing, which for all practical purposes is a force unto itself. Its mission is supposedly to provide close air support for the Marines on the ground. This job could and should be handled by the Air Force or Navy. While the Ground Marines struggle along with antiquated equipment and rationed gasoline for jeeps on field problems, the Wing insures that its pilots are getting in their monthly "Stick Time," burning up thousands of gallons of fuel concurrently.

I am constantly given the argument of Close Air Support and the near miraculous feats that only Marine pilots are able to accomplish. Yet the whole six months I was deployed with Battalion Landing Team 3/4, and the Amphibious Reconnaissance Group A in early 1972, not once did our battalion work with Marine fixed wing aircraft on field maneuvers. Even if the aircraft had been there, what makes the Marine pilot so different from his counterpart in the Navy? He receives the same training as the Navy pilot to get his wings, and his operations with the ground forces are few, if any. The same close air support could be provided by the Navy operating off Aircraft Carriers, just as we presently receive Naval Gunfire support. Amphibious Operations in close coop-

eration with the Navy would again be a unique hallmark of the Corps, something that the Army would have a difficult time trying to duplicate.

The Corps has enough planes to probably assign one or two to every company in the field. But even if this were possible, would the expense of having a plane on 24 hour call be justified? I think not. Some of the money presently spent on aviation could be diverted to Research and Development for improved weapons systems for the ground troops. A lightweight mortar or improved 106 type weapons are two examples. Or how about the old reliable 105mm howitzer?

No major improvements have been made on it since Korea. A more mobile, easily transported weapon with the same capabilities would give the ground commander much more on-call firepower at much less cost than a jet which has limited on target time. Even the Harrier is little more than an expensive playtoy. If given a choice between calling in chancy air, or having an attached weapon of the 105's power, there is little doubt as to which the average ground commander would choose. Any necessary air would come from the Navy.

In the realm of morale, the Wing has developed a severe superiority complex and elitist attitude towards the "Grunts". The discipline and appearance of the grunts are derided, and they (Officer and Enlisted) look on themselves as something special when, in fact, their sole purpose for existing is to support the ground operations. In its attempt to be a miniature, complete Army, the Corps has factionalized itself. Added to this is the poor discipline, low morale, paperwork morasses, drug use, and racial problems running rampant. Shrinking the Marine Corps to a small unit with a specific mission would reduce many of these problem areas. Morale would soar as self-pride increased by virtue of being a member of a truly unique organization. The Corps is deluding itself when it brags about the uniqueness of being a Marine and Esprit de Corps. The only experience Marines now share is the experience of boot camp. After that the lines are clearly drawn between MOS's. Even the boast that every Marine is basically an infantryman has fallen by the wayside. We are now all "rifemen," a seemingly innocent rhetorical difference. All Marines still fire the rifle, but combat skills have taken a backseat to expediency. Where all Marines once received Infantry training after boot camp, present day recruits receive four days of Infantry training at Parris Island. The cooks, truck-drivers, and mechanics who battled their way out of Chosin Reservoir are no more. These Marines would now be hard pressed to get on line or assault any position.

Fuel for the ever growing bureaucracy comes partially from the mountain of paperwork due to discipline problems. Many of the marginal Marines who slid through boot camp cause many problems when they are given a little personal freedom in the Fleet Marine Forces. And many a hard-charging young Marine fresh out of boot camp is severely disillusioned when he sees what is going on at his first duty station. Barracks crime runs rampant because the honest Marines are intimidated into silence. Anyone brave enough to testify at Office Hours or a Court Martial runs the risk of being thumped by his barracks "buddies." Company commanders are unable to punish wrongdoers, and the paperwork required to recommend an administrative discharge is astounding. More often than not, the recommendations bounce back and the commander has to continue to try to effect discipline with his hands tied by legal restrictions. A small, unified Corps, with Marines who wanted to be Marines, would do much to eliminate many of today's personnel problems, and, in turn, cut down on much of the paperwork.

The Corps must stop biting off more than

it can handle and realistically face its problems. First of size, then of mission. Are we as efficient as it is possible to be? Are we truly unique any more? The Corps had better begin asking before some unfriendly Congressional Committee does. The traditional role of security forces on Naval Installations and Embassies would be continued and the amphibious mission re-emphasized and expanded. The fixed wing units would be phased over to the Navy and the Navy would provide support from carriers. Two or three full strength divisions plus security groups and support personnel would be the strength of the Corps. Just as bureaucracy increases geometrically, it would decrease dramatically as the Corps tightened its belt. A greater proportion of the Corps would be out of the office and out training and developing combat proficiency. A clearer sense of purpose and a true Esprit would be the net result.

#### WORKMEN'S CIRCLE CONCERN OVER NATIONAL ECONOMIC CON- DITIONS

**HON. EDWARD I. KOCH**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, President Ford has been urged by the Workmen's Circle to institute a concrete program that would attack national problems head on, and to use our Nation's resources to work in solving these problems.

The Workmen's Circle, founded by immigrant workingmen in 1900, is a nationwide cooperative fraternal society of 60,000 members with strong ties to the American labor movement.

I would like to append a letter from the Workmen's Circle expressing concern for the various pressing national ills of the moment for the information of our colleagues. The letter follows:

THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE,

New York, N.Y., November 20, 1974.

President GERALD FORD,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We speak for 60,000 members, and probably for many, many more American citizens, in expressing alarm over the deterioration of our national condition.

Our nation was hopeful when you took the Presidential oath of office last August. Outraged, and our faith severely shaken, by the corruption in high places that seemed to command all of our attention in the long period of revelations following the Watergate affair, we sincerely believed that with a new administration would come a renewal of commitment to solving the problems which weigh upon us.

Since then, however, the national fuel crisis has deepened. Unemployment in our country has soared to 6% nationally, and 11% for black people, and it is still soaring. Even higher unemployment rates among our youth are a more fertile breeding ground for delinquency. A runaway inflation eats away at the budgets and savings of wage earners and of the elderly and infirm living on fixed incomes. The housing shortage for middle class and poor families is steadily worsening. The pressures of an economy in recession are exacerbating racial tensions. Key industries are suffering economic blight, with no relief in sight. The needs of our decaying cities are greater than ever. Direct aid programs which addressed immediate

social needs, such as the subsidies for hot lunches for school children and the elderly, are being terminated rather than cleansed of waste and corruption. Welfare allocations are cut back, as the growing recession swells the welfare rolls.

These problems cry out for dynamic national leadership. We are deeply disappointed that you have not provided it. Where concrete actions and remedial relief programs are needed, you give us weak voluntary controls, a button to wear, and vague expressions of hope.

Major action is needed, Mr. President, and needed now. Jobs must be created for the victims of the present recession and for those chronically out of work. Housing and medical facilities are urgently needed, and increased costs must be absorbed by the national government. A national plan to expand the systems of public transportation must be assembled. Farm production must be stimulated to greater capacity. Youth corps programs must be devised to provide meaningful work for ghetto youngsters and prevent them from drifting into crime. A determined effort must be made to clean up our natural environment and intelligently conserve our natural and human resources. A program for a goal of national energy self-sufficiency must be spelled out.

We desperately need to develop a coherent program of economic reform, the aim of which should be a decent job at a livable wage for everyone able to work, and comfortable support for those who are not. In addition, we must strive to create extensive public facilities adequate for public needs.

Yes, Mr. President, it is indeed time to "fish or cut bait." Achievement of these goals requires your commitment to make a concerted effort to insure that all of our nation's resources are put to work in solving these problems which threaten to engulf us. We sincerely hope you will prove equal to the task. We are submitting a similar appeal to the Congress in the hope that it will assist you in this effort.

Respectfully yours,

HAROLD OSTROFF,  
President.  
WILLIAM STERN,  
Executive Director.

#### RABBI ROLAND B. GITTELSON ANALYZES THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM

**HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, the recent debate in the United Nations General Assembly concerning Palestine introduced many Americans to this serious and complex problem for the first time. The unfortunate participation of the terrorist Palestine Liberation Organization in this debate tended to overshadow the significance of the issues being discussed. Moreover, the tone of moderation employed by the PLO's representatives in addressing the General Assembly obscured the extreme and violent aims of this organization.

In the Boston Globe of November 20, 1974, Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn presents a trenchant, detailed analysis of the Palestinian problem and elucidates the character of the PLO. Rabbi Gittelsohn is rabbi of Temple Israel in Boston and past president of the Massachusetts Board of Rabbis and the Central Confer-

ence of American Rabbis. I commend Rabbi Gittelsohn's excellent essay to all of my colleagues:

[From the Boston Globe, Nov. 20, 1974]

THE PALESTINIANS: PRETENSE AND REALITY

(By Roland B. Gittelsohn)

A series of emotionally effective ads published during recent weeks in The New York Times presaged the major theme which is being stressed in the current UN debate on the Middle East. By skillful combinations of photograph and word, they conveyed the impression that Arab Palestinians—allegedly 2 to 3 million of them—are the world's most pathetically exiled people, ruthlessly driven from their ancestral homeland by Israel, wanting only the restoration of what is rightfully theirs.

This marks a major watershed in Arab strategy. No longer will the argument be posed as nation against nation—Egypt against Israel, Jordan against Israel, Syria and Iraq against Israel. The new line is that two national entities have equal historic claim on the same territory, that one of them has taken possession by brute force and now the balance must be redressed. If there is to be any hope for peace in the Middle East, it is imperative that we pierce the veil of propaganda and rhetoric to reveal the facts.

Let us begin by recognizing that there are two kinds of homelessness. The first afflicts individuals and families who have been uprooted from their places of residence. Their plight is always tragic; we Jews of all peoples have no right to minimize or ignore it. The tragedy is immensely compounded, however, when not only individuals but a whole civilization has been dispossessed. When an entire people, which has developed collective values, insights, ideals, goals and lifestyles indigenous to a particular soil, has been banished from that soil.

Here we come upon a quintessential difference between Arab and Jewish claims on Palestine. That there are Arab individuals rendered homeless by the establishment of Israel is quite true, though not in the quantity nor for the reason now suggested by their presumed spokesmen. In an earlier, less political time, the Arabs themselves recognized their own culpability in this matter. A few months after the establishment of Israel in 1948, Emil Ghoury, then Secretary of the Palestine Arab Higher Executive, declared: "That there are these refugees is the direct consequence of the unanimous action of the Arab States in opposing partition and the Jewish State."

But the Arabs have never suffered the second type of homelessness as far as Palestine is concerned. They have never enjoyed an independent national life there. Nor have they created a major civilization of their own based in that land. History is instructive on this point. The Muslims first conquered Palestine in the year 637. Thereafter the land and its inhabitants were ruled from Mecca, from Damascus, from Baghdad—never from within the country itself. They were always colonials, at the mercy of other Arabs living elsewhere or of local chieftains warring among themselves. At no time was there a strong, central, locally-based Arab government, or an indigenous Arab civilization.

In 1099 the Crusaders took over. Then the Ayyubids, the Mamelukes and the Turks. All were outside powers, imposing their will and culture on those whom they had conquered. Muslims outnumbered Jews in Palestine—for there was always a substantial Jewish population—whatever local culture emerged was more often Jewish than Arabic. In short, without denying the existence of individual Arab refugees, they have not suffered collective or national homelessness.

How many such individuals are there? The first in the series of recent ads identifies the Palestinians as follows: "They are a people of

over three million, for whom Palestine has been a home for centuries. . . . A simple exercise in elementary arithmetic will show how outrageously exaggerated the first part of this claim is. In 1922 the Arab population of Palestine—on both sides of the Jordan River—was 565,000. By 1947, just before the establishment of Israel, it had almost doubled to 1,200,000. This phenomenal increase can be explained not by the rate of natural population growth—the death rate then among Arabs at least counter-balanced the birth rate—but by the fact that even before the founding of Israel, improvements brought to the land by Jewish settlement had attracted a substantial immigration from surrounding lands. Which means, plainly and simply, that fewer than a half-million Arabs at most can honestly trace their residence there back as far as 1922. This is a far cry from "a people of over three million."

Geography can also help us uncover the truth. Arab propaganda would have the world believe that Palestine consists of Israel plus the currently occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Nonsense! The territory which has been called Palestine through the centuries, which was included in the mandate awarded to Great Britain after World War I, encompassed both sides of the Jordan River, much more of it to the East than the West. In 1922 Britain arbitrarily amputated 80 percent of the total, creating a new sovereignty which is now called Jordan and is ruled by King Hussein. In 1947 the UN further truncated the remaining 20 percent, assigning only the lesser part of it to Israel.

Palestine, therefore, consists of Israel and the West Bank and Jordan. Sixty-percent of today's legitimate Arab Palestinians live in Jordan, where they constitute a majority of the population, where they live in an Arab environment, where some of them, to be sure, live in squalid refugee camps, but others are in comfortable, even lavish homes.

A further truth needs to be emphasized. Since the end of the first World War, the Arabs have achieved independent sovereignty in 18 nations, stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Persian Gulf, encompassing in all an area larger than the United States. Any Arab who prefers to live in a predominantly Arab culture, enjoying and contributing to an on-going Muslim civilization, has a very wide choice of options. Where is it written—by God or by reasonable men—that only Jews of all the world's historic peoples are to have no established, secure homeland for themselves or their civilization?

### II

What do the Palestinians really want? According to their ads and the claims they will unquestionably make at the UN, two things: the simple justice of being allowed to return to their putative homes; and the conversion of Israel into a "secular, democratic state." Sounds innocent enough, doesn't it? Until we pause to remember that the Palestinian Liberation Organization, invited by the General Assembly to participate in this year's UN debate, embraces the terrorists who were responsible for the massacre at Lod Airport, the murder of Israeli athletes at Munich, the wholesale slaughter of passengers at Rome Airport, the carnage at Kiryat Shmona, at Ma'alot, at Shamir.

Bayard Rustin, distinguished American black leader, has referred to the PLO as "a blood-stained terrorist gang whose leaders should be in jail, not addressing the UN." These are the people who now wish to be Israel's neighbors, their weapons focused at ominously close range on Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv.

When the PLO addresses the world from the forums of The New York Times and the UN, it speaks in dulcet tones of moderation. Its more honest aims are revealed in the words it speaks to fellow Arabs. Its leaders were instrumental in formulating the Palestinian National Covenant, first adopted in

1964, strengthened and revised in 1968, reaffirmed and reinforced as recently as June, 1974. At no time have the objectives spelled out in that document been repudiated or modified by any authentic spokesman of the PLO.

What, then, do they really seek to accomplish? According to Article 15: "The liberation of Palestine . . . is a national duty to repulse the Zionist, imperialist invasion . . . and to purge the Zionist presence from Palestine." According to Article 21: "The Palestinian Arab people . . . rejects every solution that is a substitute for the complete liberation of Palestine." According to point 3 of the codicil adopted only last June: "The PLO will struggle against any plan for the establishment of a Palestinian entity the price of which is recognition, conciliation, secure borders . . . . "Needless to say, that means recognition of Israel, conciliation with Israel, or secure borders for Israel.

One of the most eminent Protestant theologians of our time has seen through the PLO subterfuge which has apparently befuddled the less perceptive powers-that-be in the UN. Dr. A. Roy Eckhardt, chairman of the Department of Religion Studies at Lehigh University, observes: "Our overall fantasy includes the notion that 'withdrawing' from 'occupied Arab territories' Israel could gain acceptance by her foes. In truth, every inch of 'Israeli territory' is considered Arab land. Israel could 'withdraw' to a half-acre settlement along the Mediterranean sands, and she would remain as 'guilty' as she is now or as she would be, for that matter, were she to occupy Cairo "or Damascus."

How about the second professed objective of the PLO, that all they want is a "secular, democratic state"? The best way to assess this, I submit, is by examining the kind of states already existent under Arab rule. Not a single one of them is either secular or democratic. All of them are theocratic sovereignties, in which non-Muslims are treated with contempt. Is it still necessary to review the brutal treatment of Jewish refugees wherever any of them remain in these states? Christians scarcely fare better.

Since 1952, the Coptic Christian community of five million in Egypt has been persecuted with fanatic cruelty. Christian cemeteries and churches have been systematically destroyed in Libya. In 1965, Christian institutions were forbidden to acquire property—by either purchase or gift—in that part of Jerusalem which was then under Jordanian rule. To this day, all students in Jordanian Christian schools are forced to study the Koran. If this is what the PLO means by a "secular, democratic state," Israel can hardly be blamed for wanting no part of it.

### III

What, then, can be done to help individual Arab refugees who need help without destroying Israel? Given the stability and security accompanying genuine peace, Israel will undoubtedly do even more than it has already done on behalf of the more than 300,000 Arab Palestinians who are among its citizens.

Jordan, if it wills to do so, can most legitimately and effectively act for those who are under its hegemony. It may be that a truly independent, demilitarized Arab state will be established in that part of the West Bank which Israel will most probably relinquish as part of a real peace agreement. But to turn such a state over to the PLO terrorists, who have never been chosen or franchised by the Palestinians to speak for them in the first place, would be a monstrous mockery. It would make as much sense as to turn the government of Massachusetts or New York over to the Mafia, charging it with the maintenance of justice and peace.

If the UN is not already slipping over the precipice of moral decency, it will heed the

challenge already addressed to it by Israeli's prime minister: "Understanding for the needs of the Palestinians—certainly; satisfaction of the demands of archmurderers who appoint themselves as saviors—decidedly not."

## CATHOLIC BISHOPS ELECT BERNARDIN TO HEAD UNIT

### HON. JAMES V. STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. JAMES V. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, last week, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops elected as its new president the Most Reverend Joseph L. Bernardin, who now serves as archbishop of Cincinnati, Ohio. I congratulate Reverend Bernardin on this fine achievement, and I extend to him my wishes for a productive tenure. I would now like to insert into the RECORD an article from the Washington Post on his election:

CATHOLIC BISHOPS ELECT BERNARDIN TO HEAD UNIT

(By Marjorie Hyer)

Catholic bishops meeting here yesterday elected a progressive and relatively young man president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

The Most Rev. Joseph L. Bernardin, 46, archbishop of Cincinnati and former executive secretary of the bishops' conference, was chosen to succeed John Cardinal Krol of Philadelphia.

Archbishop Bernardin's election by an overwhelming majority on the second ballot was seen by many as the beginning of a tilt by the Catholic hierarchy in this country toward a more liberal stance on both theological and social questions.

Both Archbishop Bernardin's predecessor, Cardinal Krol, and his nearest runner-up in the presidential balloting, John Cardinal Carberry, 70, of St. Louis, are identified with the conservative branch of the church.

After losing the contest for the presidency of the conference to Archbishop Bernardin 143 to 60, Cardinal Carberry was elected vice president. He defeated Archbishop William Borders of Baltimore on the second ballot, 133 to 107.

The bishops also voted down a statement condemning capital punishment.

Rejected on a written ballot, 119 to 103, was a detailed statement that viewed opposition to capital punishment as compatible with the church's "right-to-life" campaign against abortion and euthanasia.

A proposed resolution by Bishop John L. May of Mobile, Ala., to put the bishops "on record in opposition to the death penalty" was deferred.

Despite opposition by some traditionalists, the bishops gave conditional and carefully qualified approval to the participation by Catholics in charismatic prayer groups.

The rapidly growing charismatic movement is characterized by speaking in strange tongues during sessions of religious ecstasy.

The controversial movement attracts both Catholics and Protestants. Two Southern Baptist conventions earlier this month placed charismatic experiences out of bounds for their members.

The seven-page Catholic document said that the charismatic renewal movement could have "truly positive values" for both the participating Christian and the church at large, but warned that charismatic groups must "have a strong bond with the total life of the church."

**MICHIGAN FARMER DECLARES WAR  
ON AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT  
GIVEAWAY**

**HON. ROBERT J. HUBER**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Speaker, it recently came to my attention that a Michigan farmer, William Field, of Shelby, Mich., is protesting the giveaway of taxpayer money under Public Law 93-237. Evidently, the rules for throwing this money away on supposed disasters are now very loose. Mr. Field was upset enough to launch a full page ad campaign against this waste of the taxpayers' money. The story of his crusade, as it appeared in the Oceana Herald of Shelby, Mich., on October 3, 1974, follows:

**WILLIAM FIELD DECLARES WAR: \$10,000 FREE MONEY GRANT BEING SPENT ON AD CAMPAIGN**

(By Richard Lound)

It's an old objective with a new twist, but it's sure to raise an eyebrow or two before it's over.

William Field, a rural Shelby farmer, has declared war on the country's lawmakers. However, it's not to force passage of legislation to help the farming communities.

His plan is to force repeal of a bill that over the past two years has given him \$10,000 in cash practically with no strings attached and if continued he said will allow him another \$5,000 of free money this next spring.

Not only will Mr. Field be eligible for the money but so will a couple hundred other Oceana farmers who can qualify and who have collected the \$5,000 or part of it these past two years.

It's Public Law 93-237 and allows for disaster loans, with the first \$5,000 an outright grant. Over 200 Oceana farmers received almost one and a half million dollars last spring with over a million coming in the outright grants and the remainder in low interest loans.

According to Mr. Field the idea for the law originated to get money into the hands of people struck by a national disaster during the past few years. However, he feels the politicians and bureaucrats changed the meaning of the law.

"They stretched the meaning of the word disaster to apply to farmers who were hit by frost and now it's into any small business which can show a loss of profit if it's located in a declared disaster area," he said.

"It's pure idiocy. A world gone crazy, a system gone crazy and I plan on fighting it by spending the free \$10,000 that I've received on a news media campaign to force repeal of the law. Hopefully also with some free money given by other farmers—with individual auditing—whose conscience is beginning to bother them."

"Why am I doing it?"

"My conscience bothers me. I've worked many years to stop the drift toward such nonsense. I intended to return the first \$5,000 grant by this manner but we bought a summer home and came up short on money at the end of last year so I couldn't."

"I really thought perhaps one year of handing out millions of dollars would be the end of such foolishness but they left it open and I got a second \$5,000 handout too."

"For a whole year I've had to keep quiet about it, about the foolishness of it all, but now I feel so good, that I can finally move to correct the situation."

Mr. Field, 46, is a lifelong Shelby resident

and a first generation farmer who has been in business the past 10 years. Both he and his wife, Betty, have had to leave the farm in the low price years to keep the farm from bankruptcy and to keep food on the table for the family. He plans on working out again also this winter.

He'll readily tell you that the present government handout policy is not how the capitalistic system was supposed to work as he studied it in high school three decades ago. He's afraid now that the present generation of Americans aren't being taught, don't understand or just don't know how this country got to be strong with the capitalistic system.

"I think such politics are destroying our country, I saw what was going to happen years ago and now it's happening. If it continues we will cease to exist as we have for the past 200 years and the end result will be chaos and we'll be governed by a dictator of the right or the left with complete loss of ownership of our property," he emphasized.

"I'm starting out with a full page newspaper ad, the first comes out in The Oceana Herald, next week it's the Hart Journal, and the third week the Muskegon Chronicle. Where we go after that, Lansing, Grand Rapids, Detroit, will depend on the response of lawmakers, the farmers and the public."

A hope of Mr. Field right now is that anyone wishing to have a hand in stopping this policy of 'Idiotism' as he calls it, will send the page ads and a letter to President Ford, Senators Griffin and Hart, Rep. Vander Jagt, asking them just what is going on. Then send back the replies and he will buy full page ads to display their answers.

"I have no idea who voted for the program but the politicians and the bureaucrats who dreamed up this nonsense must be made to answer or be removed from office," he stated.

"The bureaucrats sit around conferring on ideas to justify their existence and out of such conferences come many dangers like this \$5,000 handout."

"I know I will get ridicule heaped on me from fellow farmers but I don't care, I feel deep down they know it's wrong too."

"I have listened to many farmers ridicule a poor migrant family who wasted some of their surplus food handouts and now we have beaten them a thousand times over, but we have more to lose because I believe here we have also jeopardized the ownership of our farm in the process."

"I have nothing against any farmer who got the money and it's not a case of whether he deserved it or not. No one deserved an outright grant if money was going to be available, it should have been as a loan at the going interest rate, with a solid lien back on the property and with a lenient repayment time."

"Some very well to do farmers received the grant, in fact, I personally know of only two farmers in Oceana County who were eligible last spring, who didn't get the free money. Their resistance to the handout was only noticed by their friends, hopefully mine can stir up public anger to bring their nonsense to a halt."

"If we don't, I see eventual collapse of the free enterprise system by destroying the incentive of people producing and paying taxes and seeing it squandered by politicians and bureaucrats in this sort of manner."

"I think it will be 100 percent effective because I still believe if you expose such idiocy it will bring pressure on the politicians and bureaucrats to end the program."

"I think the farmers' conscience will bother many of them to the extent they will give back the money and help in the fight to kill the legislation and with the general public I'm hoping they're not so fat and unconcerned that they can't take time to send a page ad and a letter to the political representatives"

**BICENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION**

**HON. ORVAL HANSEN**

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, the American Revolution Bicentennial Commemoration is indeed a challenge to all Americans. As we enter our third century, we are struck by the realization that our Nation has developed from an era of independence to one of interdependence. The three themes of the Commemoration—heritage, festival, and horizons—all suggest the worldwide significance of the Commemoration.

The Commemoration will focus on the values and aspirations Americans share with many other peoples of the world. These shared ideals provide a significant base for furthering international mutual understanding and two-way communication extending far beyond 1976.

Nongovernmental communication and people-to-people relations influence the ways in which nations cooperate in solving world problems. The greater the mutual understanding and respect between peoples, the greater the likelihood that differences will be resolved rationally and peaceably. The worldwide efforts of Rotary International are an outstanding example of people-to-people diplomacy in action.

In his remarks before the Rotary Club of New York recently, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Alan A. Reich describes the international opportunity of our Bicentennial Commemoration and suggests ways in which other peoples and Americans can further mutual understanding in the process of commemorating the Bicentennial. Because I consider this theme so important to all Americans and peoples of the world, I would like to share Mr. Reich's remarks with my colleagues and include them as part of my remarks:

**BICENTENNIAL CHALLENGE—STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING**

(Remarks of Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs Allan A. Reich)

**INTRODUCTION**

It is a pleasure and privilege to address again the New York Rotary Club and particularly on the subject of the "Bicentennial Challenge and Strengthening International Mutual Understanding." New York City has, since its settlement, led in the development of the nation and of the American ideals to be commemorated in 1976. New York symbolizes for the United States and the world the internationalism and global concern required of Americans as we enter our third century.

**A. The American Revolution Bicentennial Commemoration Is International**

Each of the Bicentennial themes (heritage, festival, and horizons) designated by the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration has international implications. The heritage theme recalls the ethnic origins and diversity of America and the fact that our way of life owes much to other peoples of the world. The contributions of other peoples find rich expression in American life. Reflecting together upon this heritage will result in much useful international dialogue.



Recently I somewhat mistakenly referred to "our Bicentennial Commemoration" in a conversation with a cabinet minister of another nation. He interrupted and said somewhat sharply, "The Spirit of '76 belongs to us, too, you know!" The remark brought home to me the fact that others around the world share with us the ideals set forth in our Declaration of Independence.

The festival theme suggests the opportunities international visitors will have to discover and get to know America and our people. Over a year ago, the President, through the Department of State and our embassies, officially invited other nations to participate in the Commemoration. It will be much more than a celebration, more than parades, and more than fireworks. There will be cultural, sports, arts and other attractions both in the United States and abroad which should enhance the mutual appreciation of achievements and understanding.

Last month, this appreciation for the American system and leadership in overcoming the Watergate problem and preserving democracy was expressed by leaders and writers around the world. One Asian newspaper, traditionally anti-American, commented, "Never before have the ideals of freedom and democracy emerged more triumphant than from the trial and torment of Watergate. . . . The whole world," the editorial concluded, "owes this land and people a solemn homage. . . ."

We are seen by peoples around the world as the conscience for democracy, and they wish to help ensure its durability into the third century.

The horizons theme of the Bicentennial is perhaps the most important to all of us because it looks to the future. The notion of the continuing revolution and all it stands for is captured in the growing awareness that we are interdependent; if mankind is indeed to survive, we must cooperate. Problems which a few years ago were national, now are global. Our neighbors' problems are ours, and vice versa. Improving the quality of life is a world-wide challenge. Concerns with population, inflation, use of resources require cooperative action. Strengthened informal relationships and people-to-people bonds help improve the climate for cooperation in solving these problems which know no national boundaries. The Commemoration will focus not only on the U.S. future, but also on goals and aspirations for mankind.

#### *B. People-to-People Relations Further International Mutual Understanding and are Relevant to World Peace.*

Formal diplomatic channels, of course, are crucial for the conduct of official business and the resolution of differences between nations. To an unprecedented degree, however, the problems nations confront, the means they choose to solve them, and even the perceptions people of one country have of another, evolve outside official channels. Diplomacy has gone public. Foreign relations are no longer the exclusive domain of the professional diplomat. The tone and content of our international relations are set by the vastly expanding contacts which occur between Americans and other peoples of the world.

The geometric increase in citizen involvement in world affairs has special significance for the diplomat. When people-to-people bonds and communications networks are fully developed, there will be a greater readiness to seek accommodation, and to negotiate. When people know and understand each other and appreciate their differences, the likelihood of confrontation diminishes, and prospects for peaceful solutions are enhanced. This rationale governs the interest of the State Department in the furtherance of meaningful people-to-people interchange.

In the past few years, scholars increasingly have studied the relevance of informal, non-governmental communications activities to

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

#### *C. Many Bicentennial International Activities are Underway.*

As you know, the Bicentennial Commemoration has no single national focus. It is nationwide, involving all our states, communities and people. Many other governments of the world, as well as private individuals and organizations of other nations have asked the Department of State and the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration for suggestions as to what they might do to commemorate the Bicentennial and in the process strengthen ties with the American people. Many exciting Bicentennial projects are being planned by other nations. They include:

Chairs in American studies to be established in foreign universities.

Symphony orchestra tours to the United States.

National folk group participation in the Smithsonian Folklife Festival and in community festivals throughout the United States.

Endowment of library collections of Americana.

Establishment of chairs for studies about foreign nations in American universities.

A number of historical books, studies, and films about the American experience are being commissioned.

Conferences on historical and philosophical subjects are being convened abroad.

Theatre and opera groups, museum collections, and traveling exhibits will be sent to the United States.

As other nations are developing their Bicentennial plans, it is heartening to note Americans too are incorporating an international dimension in their planning. Many of the local programs being organized and carried out by state and community Bicentennial groups involve peoples of other nations. Here in New York, you have a number of exciting international projects. Among them:

Operation Sall which is a visit of tall-masted sailing vessels from around the world to come to New York City on July 4, 1976.

The World Theatre Festival, a non-profit foundation, to sponsor appearances of distinguished theatre companies from around the world.

The International Salute featuring exhibits from other nations.

The South Street Seaport Restoration Project in Lower Manhattan which will recall New York's early maritime connections with the rest of the world.

Statue of Liberty events will feature the importance of immigration to the development of the United States.

Across the nation programs aimed at pro-

viding international focus for the Bicentennial horizons program and at improving understanding over the long term include:

The American Host Program, through its "Meet the Americans" project, is organizing home hospitality for foreign visitors.

Numerous international conferences are being planned.

The World Theatre Festival will extend to other American cities.

A Bicentennial World Food Conference will be held at Iowa State University.

The California Bicentennial Commission is sponsoring a publications program on ethnic contributions to California history.

People-to-People International, organized in 23 countries, is developing a coordinated program to provide homestays and exchanges for international visitors.

Operation Sall '76, like the World Theatre Festival, is a privately sponsored project which will reach other American cities as well as New York.

The American Council of Polish Cultural Clubs has already organized a poster contest on Polish immigration to the United States.

The American Medical Association is inviting counterpart associations of other countries to attend their 1976 annual convention to review medical contributions to man's health over the past 200 years.

The American Association of Museums is organizing a program for American museums to illustrate foreign contributions to America's development.

Sister Cities International plans to increase to 1,976 the number of U.S. and foreign cities affiliated in sister city relationships by the Bicentennial year.

The American Historical Association is offering a prize to the author of the best historical work on the American Revolution written in a language other than English.

I have singled out here projects that are essentially international in character. I would emphasize, however, that there are international dimensions in many projects that are thought of initially as purely domestic in nature. One of the most promising, in my opinion, is the recently announced American Issues Forum conceived by Walter Cronkite. The Forum is intended to effect a year-long nationwide dialogue by people in all walks of life and all levels of education concerning the values which have characterized our national development and their relevance to the future. One of the nine major issues to be discussed is "America's Role in the World, Past, Present and Future."

#### *D. The challenge of interdependence*

In government and in the private sector, there is much to be done. Service organizations, such as Rotary International through its people-to-people programs, are doing an outstanding job. Rotary's international youth exchange, involving 700 youths throughout the world annually, is a model program with considerable impact.

The Rotary Club matching program, which links Rotary Clubs in 150 countries with counterpart clubs for direct Rotarian-to-Rotarian relationships and shared service projects is equally impressive. Rotary's world community service program has helped people throughout the world. Through Rotary International's small business clinic program, many individuals in less developed countries have been helped to self-sufficiency and community contribution.

Two other elements of the overall Rotary International outreach are especially meaningful. First, the mere existence of some 15,000 Rotary Clubs joining 750,000 Rotarians in 150 countries is a potent force for mutual understanding. Rotary is made up of leaders from all segments of society; this fraternal relationship—professional to professional, businessman to businessman, and so on—generates good will among millions throughout the world.

Another service which Rotary Clubs perform is the furtherance of international person-to-person relationships by others in their communities. In visits throughout the United States, I have been impressed with the extent to which Rotary and other service clubs have initiated and developed sister city affiliations, people-to-people exchanges, international hospitality programs, and international activities of local performing arts and sports groups. These activities contribute to strengthened bonds between participating local groups and their counterparts in other nations.

I have been asked by leaders of private organizations what they might do to increase international understanding. Frankly, I cannot imagine a more significant organizational outreach, either in concept or in program, than that of Rotary International.

I would urge Rotary and other organizations to do more of the same—demonstrating so well the capacity for commitment of the American people in solving that most important of all human problems, the achievement of a sustained world peace, by sponsoring exchanges, providing community leadership in international programming, helping peoples of other nations to become less dependent, and strengthening international ties among key individuals and groups. Specifically, I urge you to undertake in whole or in part the following 12-point program:

1. Expand home hospitality and community orientation programs for international visitors (including doctors and other professionals, businessmen, and diplomats).
  2. Develop programs for continuing ties with the international alumni of U.S. universities and colleges.
  3. Expand and strengthen programs of art, sports, and cultural interchange. Support established people-to-people, youth, sister-city and binational exchange programs.
  4. Develop and improve community programs for foreign students to enhance their experience while in the United States; utilize foreign students as a community resource in improving cross-cultural awareness of Americans.
  5. Internationalize community involvement by affiliating with an appropriate international organization in cooperation with the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO.
  6. Strengthen relationships with professional counterpart organizations in other countries.
  7. Expand programs of international interchange involving America's ethnic and racial minority groups, drawing upon their special sensitivity and competence in cross-cultural communication.
  8. Form international institutional linkages affiliating universities, hospitals, schools, institutes, libraries, and museums for exchange relationships.
  9. Establish university chairs of international studies.
  10. Develop programs to ensure greater cross-cultural sensitivity and awareness of American participants in international activities.
  11. Enlist the support and cooperation of U.S. corporations operating internationally for meaningful public service activities; obtain foundation support for cross-cultural programs.
  12. Maximize the goodwill generated by ensuring public support and visibility for these activities both here and abroad.
- The challenge, the Bicentennial challenge of interdependence, is to improve mechanisms for the long-term so that as these activities are expanded, improved in quality, and institutionalized they will contribute in ways which will not sacrifice private sector initiative, dynamism, and diversity.
- Such a program, suggested by the Bicentennial Commemoration, will be very much in the U.S. national interest as well as in

mankind's interest of providing an improved climate for solving our global problems. As Secretary of State Kissinger stated recently, "An interdependent world requires not merely the resources but the vision and creativity of us all. We have come from independence to interdependence."

I thank the Rotary Club of New York and Rotary Clubs throughout the United States for your very real contribution in meeting the Bicentennial challenge of interdependence and helping to build the "human foundations of the structure of peace."

Thank you.

#### MATSUNAGA INTRODUCES EMERGENCY JOBS BILL

### HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, unemployment increased significantly in the month of October. The overall jobless rate climbed to 6 percent, up from 5.4 percent in August and 5.8 percent in September. To add to this dismal picture of unemployment, the jobless rate for teenagers rose from 16.7 percent in the month of September to 16.9 percent in October, surpassing previous post-World War II highs.

The Department of Labor indicates that unemployment compensation benefits for a 6 percent jobless rate could cost as much as \$9.5 billion. This could rise to over \$12 billion if a 7 percent jobless rate was reached. This Nation cannot afford this cost, in dollars or in the affront to human dignity.

In the light of these disheartening developments, I am compelled to introduce the Emergency Jobs Act of 1974, which is designed to provide additional public service jobs as the unemployment rate rises.

The bill would authorize appropriations for public service employment programs to make the following sums available: \$1 billion for any 12 month period in which the rate of unemployment averages 4.5 percent or more for 3 consecutive months; an additional \$1 billion when it averages 5 percent or more; an additional \$1 billion when it averages 5.5 percent or more; an additional \$1 billion when it averages 6 percent or more and such additional sums as may be necessary because of increases in the average rate of unemployment above 6 percent. Funds would be apportioned among prime sponsors as follows: 50 percent on the basis of the number of unemployed in the prime sponsor's area in proportion to the total number of unemployed; and 50 percent on the basis of the severity of unemployment as well as the number of unemployed in excess of 4.5 percent. This is the same formula which was established under the Emergency Employment Act.

In view of the current economic crisis, it is imperative that strong and effective measures be pursued without any delay. The Emergency Jobs Act of 1974 is one such measure, and I urge its early approval.

#### DÉTENTE AND THE FUTURE OF BERLIN

### HON. BEN B. BLACKBURN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, ever since the creation of a fortified wall dividing the city, Berlin has been a symbol in Germany and the entire world of the diametrically opposed views of the rights of people that are held in the Communist and the free worlds. Now, with so much discussion of détente and this past month the recognition of East Germany by the United States, we may have lost sight of the continual meaning and importance of Berlin in the world.

In a moving speech recently in Berlin, the leading German publisher, Axel Springer, provided a somber message to the Western World of continued repression of the people in East Germany under the Communist government there. Speaking before several thousand refugees from communism, he noted that despite détente rhetoric the wall still divides Berlin. Moreover, in just the past 2 years:

The "German Democratic Republic," the Soviet Union and other East Block countries have infringed the letter and the spirit of the four power agreement and the treaties with the East German Government on 63 occasions.

Rather than relinquishing in their drive toward the eventual domination of all of Western Europe, the Soviets, according to Springer, have used détente as a screen for the realization of this objective. In particular Berlin has become increasingly isolated from the rest of Germany. He refers back to a quote from Lenin that:

Whoever holds Berlin, holds Germany and whoever holds Germany, holds Europe.

The Soviets fear any genuine elections to determine the future of all of Berlin or Germany, but instead maintain tremendous military strength in the area to prevent any genuinely popular revolt as in Hungary or Czechoslovakia. Springer strongly criticizes Western World figures who speak of "recognizing realities" in order to justify the acceptance of a divided Germany and Europe. Through such a rationalization principles are abandoned. Instead he argues that:

Human rights, the right to live in one's own country, and the right of self-determination, these are the triple constellation of our aspirations.

Sensitive to the horrors visited upon his own country and the rest of the world by Hitler, he cautions us not to lose sight of the fact that "Soviet imperialism represents the greatest and most dangerous evil facing the world today." Consequently:

A policy of détente would be critically dangerous if it were simply aiding and abetting an immoral and abhorrent tyranny over half the world.

The cogent comments of Springer on détente and its meaning to the future

freedom of the people of Europe should be carefully studied in this country as we proceed in negotiations with the Soviets. I therefore insert the following excerpts from Springer's speech in the RECORD at this point:

BERLIN—CAPITAL OF THE GERMAN NATION  
(Translation of a speech by Axel Springer at Berlin on September 8th, 1974)

## PART I

The man who was once Mayor of Berlin, said to you nine years ago when he spoke on the occasion of "Tag der Heimat," Homeland Day:

"A place where a struggle is going on about justice, about human rights, the right of self-determination and the right to live in your own country, is not a place where freedom is threatened." This is one of the phrases often heard in Berlin in those days, which one can subscribe to without reservation. Today, I also want to speak to you about the right to one's native country, human rights and the right of self-determination. And a few other things; although nowadays he who talks about justice and freedom, will be called an enemy of peace.

This is the 25th time that you, the Berlin Expellees Association, are commemorating "Tag der Heimat". 25 years is a quarter of a century; but it is merely a moment in the whole of history, a sub-division resulting from the use of decimal numbers. I am particularly sensitive to numbers. For me, the number 7, the basic unit in the story of creation, has a symbolic force. And there is considerable reason to believe that this significance embodies a metaphysical and biological truth. If this is so, the 28 years (4 times 7) which have passed since 1946, that is since the beginning of the division of Berlin, are of more significance than the undistinguished figure corresponding to a quarter of a century; 4 times 7, this is good reason for believing that here we have a break in history.

The end of an epoch? Or a new beginning? That is the question. This is the guiding theme of my talk.

*A pivotal stage of history*

Most of you are aware of my recognition of obligation to Israel. This is in line with my political, historical and religious concepts which I have arrived at as a result of my long and anguished struggle with the problem of the second world war and the question of the guilt of our German nation.

And you also know that I regard the German relationship to Israel and the associated question of reparation to the Jewish people as a cardinal point of Germany policy.

This is not only because I regard these policies as a sign of genuineness of our purification, but also because I consider that support for this people which has suffered so much, and assistance for its national security must have a lucky effect on our own struggle for our national existence and will more than anything else re-establish our name in the world. Nevertheless, I do not allow myself to be hypnotised by this radical acceptance of German guilt, which I stand by absolutely, and it does not blind me to historical facts.

It is my opinion, which I make no attempt to conceal, that the reproach which the Swiss historian Carl Burckhardt (a man of remarkable intellect) made against the western powers, is a matter of historical fact:

This was that these powers failed to support Germany after the first world war and that, by their mistrust, they provoked it, instead of strengthening it by a sensible rapprochement, for so long that eventually there arose a man who was to mobilise the masses and rouse the people to support a policy of violence. And this above all (and here I am quoting from a letter of Carl Burckhardt to the poet Hugo von Hofmannsthal of 12th No-

vember 1925)—Burckhardt said: "Everyone is constantly watching Germany as though any decisive action will come from there and as though all danger originates from there, and behind the screen of this phenomenon of Germany, one is not aware of what is going on behind the curtain of the German borders."

Carl Burckhardt was referring to Soviet Russia.

"Do you", his letter continued, "do you believe for one moment that if everything were to go into the melting pot again, that this German Republic would be able to resist the pull of Marxist-Slavism? Pan-Slavism with all the dynamism of a new religion?"

And Burckhardt gave a warning against identifying Germany as a danger for the world whilst (I quote) "whilst the real threat is gathering behind this German facade, between the Baltic and the Pacific ocean, over a land area of a size which humanity has never yet seen."

And this prophecy was made in 1925.

And now let us hear what a world-famous Jewish intellectual born in Berlin wrote to me 49 years later, a fortnight ago, from London:

"It would be so much simpler if we could attribute the blame for a tragedy with such catastrophic consequences as the Hitler period, to the crimes of a single nation and hence by elimination of this nation prevent a recurrence in the future for all time.

Unfortunately, however, reality is nowhere near as simple as this and beliefs of this kind are dangerous illusions. While the Hitlerite gangs in Germany were committing their crimes, the crimes of the Stalinist tyranny in Russia were taking place, . . . the number of these runs into untold millions."

This shows a grasp of historical reality comparable to that of Carl Burckhardt and it defines the problem precisely.

*Soviet imperialism—the greatest of all evils*

I accept the view that it is possible for peoples to fall victims to demonism. And I support the view of Carl Burckhardt and my learned friend in London that Soviet imperialism represents the greatest and most dangerous evil facing the world today.

However, this is a point on which opinions are divided in our country. The American Senator Henry Jackson, critic of Dr. Kissinger, has repeatedly said that a policy of détente must be based on human rights. According to Jackson, and also George Meany, the President of the American trade unions organisation, there can be no détente unless the Soviets abandon their power politics and their immoral principles. Or in simpler terms: unless Moscow gives up its intention to compel the world by force, lies and terror, to submit to the Soviet yoke.

*The strategy of attrition and starvation*

A policy of détente would be critically dangerous if it were simply aiding and abetting an immoral and abhorrent tyranny (a hell on earth) over half the world. Many of you escaped from this hell only with difficulty and at high cost. However, the danger has not been exorcised. Where could the need for a re-thinking of our attitudes be proclaimed with more justice than in the capital of the German people which is at the same time the German town with the largest number of refugees?

This is where resistance must begin. This is the place where there must be no capitulation to the aggression of Soviet imperialism. Berlin, all of Berlin is Moscow's main target on the way to the Atlantic. Its strategy is attrition. Starvation.

The city is losing its life blood. In 1973 the excess of deaths over births was more than 21,000—the worst figures since 1946. And nearly 10,000 more German citizens left the city than came into it. But for an influx of 16,000 foreign workers the position would have been serious. Worst of all however: Berlin's right to exercise the functions

of a capital city was surrendered. Since the four-power agreement, there have been no official visits by the Bonn Government to Berlin. And what about the Party Conference that used to take place here?

The shifting of this year's Free Democratic Party Conference to Hamburg is rightly regarded by Berliners as the most striking piece of complaisance of a Democratic party towards Soviet imperialism which has yet occurred.

It cannot be too often repeated: Berlin has an unrestricted right to be the capital city of the German people. The capital city of the German nation which lives on despite the frontiers imposed by force.

This is the particular and exceptional feature about Berlin: that it remains a capital city despite demarcation lines, fences of death and walls of shame.

*Not "a city just like any other"*

It is a special city. Not "a city just like any other" as Walter Scheel liked to call it when he was Foreign Minister thus making his own glib contribution to the degradation of Berlin. "Look at this city", these were once the words of Ernest Reuter at a time when this city was still a warning, still a rock in the ocean, still the sacrificial offering of the nation. Look at this city today. What will become of it?

The East German regime will not even permit Berlin to have a federal office for environmental protection. This, they say, would interfere with détente. However, the four power agreement, the agreements with the East German Government and the policy of détente, on the other hand, do not prevent the Soviet Bloc from continuing its material, spiritual and political isolation and blockade of West Berlin. Within the last two years, from August 1972 to August 1974, the "German Democratic Republic", the Soviet Union and other East Block countries have infringed the letter and the spirit of the four power agreement and the treaties with the East German Government on 63 occasions.

63 occasions!

*Violations of the four power agreement*

These extend from:

Discrimination against Berlin exhibitors at the Brno Trade Fair and the International Chemical Industry Fair in Bratislava;

Refusal of entry permit into East Berlin for West Berlin photographic and television reporters;

Hampering the West Berlin Fire Brigade in an attempt to rescue a five year old boy drowning in the Spree;

Doubling of the compulsory exchange requirements for visitors to East Berlin;

To the latest trick of the Kremlin which consists of eliminating West Berlin works from the exhibition of "German realist painting of the 19th century" by refusal to give a guarantee of return.

Are we allowed to remain silent in the face of all this? If Berlin is to survive the struggle, if it is to remain a vital metropolis of the German nation, open to the world, and the bell tower of the free world against the wall of slavery, then it is necessary that now, now at last, a number of things must happen: what must be offered in this context is not merely material advantage. A commitment to Berlin must be created: this is where the freedom bell of the world hangs.

People must understand that here they are entering the true German capital. This right to exercise the functions of the capital of the nation is fundamental for Berlin's existence. It is an inalienable fundamental right.

Why is not much more being done to enable young people to live a proper life in this city? A fraction of the interest subsidies and credit aids given to the Eastern Bloc and, in my opinion, also a fraction of the development aid given to the politi-

cally doubtful countries who are so ready to hold forth against the free world in the United Nations, would be sufficient for this purpose.

Berlin is still the largest industrial town in Germany. But this is not enough. There are a few measures which are essential for guaranteeing the existence of Berlin:

*Measures for safeguarding the future of Berlin*

1. There must be no encroaching on the resources used for promotion of Berlin;
2. There must be continued encouragement of both German and foreign investment;
3. Rules must be worked out for guaranteeing the safety of the invested capital;
4. West Berlin must be included without limitation in the mutual law enforcement agreement between Bonn and East Berlin;
5. The Federal Government must ensure continuous foreign representation for Berlin;
6. West Berlin must at last be brought into the international air transport system on the basis of an air traffic agreement;
7. The Federal Government must take effective measures against the raising of the amount of compulsory D-Mark exchange;
8. The western powers must resist every attempt by East Berlin to act as a signatory power of the four-power agreement.

These are just a few examples.

And how often have I heard visitors from America, France or England tell me that we will have to do a great deal more in order to build up our Berlin into a major European cultural centre having world wide influence.

"MR. ED"

**HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 26, 1974*

Mr. ROBISON OF New York. Mr. Speaker, a singular honor was paid one of my distinguished constituents recently when Ed O'Brien was honored at the opening of the Tom Bishop Rodeo at the Double-R Ranch in Athens, Pa., just across the border from my congressional district.

Ed is a man of many parts. He has not only been instrumental in bringing the late Col. Jim Eskew's J. E. Ranch Rodeo to our area, making Waverly, N.Y., the rodeo capital of the East, but he is also the proprietor of O'Brien's Inn at Waverly. O'Brien's Inn is one of the outstanding dining places I know of, and Ed is there daily to meet the countless customers who come back often after they have eaten there once.

With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I will append a brief article from the Evening Times concerning this occasion. The article follows:

**ED O'BRIEN TO BE HONORED AT OPENING OF TOM BISHOP RODEO**

Ed O'Brien, owner and operator of O'Brien's Inn, Waverly Hill, Waverly, will be honored at the opening performance of the Tom Bishop 4-B Ranch Rodeo at the Double R Ranch in Athens Friday night.

Mr. O'Brien is no stranger to the world of rodeo. He was one of the businessmen instrumental in bringing the late Col. Jim Eskew's J.E. Ranch Rodeo to the Valley area, and ultimately made Waverly the rodeo capital of the East.

For many years Col. Jim transacted much of his rodeo business from a pay telephone in the former O'Brien's Daughter on Broad St., Waverly.

"Mr. Ed." as he is known by his many friends, was one of a group of Waverly businessmen who working long to entice Col. Eskew to come to Waverly to establish his headquarters in the Talmadge Hill area that later became the J.E. Ranch.

The J.E. Ranch was known the world over and for many years the late Col. Jim's picture was in the lobby of the old Madison Square Garden where the final rodeo was performed.

"Mr. Ed" never lost his love of the rodeo even after the J.E. Ranch Rodeo was disbanded in 1955. When he learned that the Double R. Ranch was fanning the flame of rodeo in this area a few years back, "Mr. Ed" jumped back in the harness and threw his full support behind the venture.

This year will be the largest rodeo of its kind to play this area with four big performances running Aug. 16 through Aug. 18 with two evening performances and two matinees at the Double R Ranch.

"Mr. Ed" will be honored just before the first performance gets underway Friday night at 7 p.m. He will be escorted to the center of the arena for the honors, representing 35 years of direct association with rodeo. The presentation will be made by a representative of the Double R Riders Inc., a division of the Double R Ranch.

**MISS CHARLOTTE I. BODO:**  
TEACHER

**HON. KEN HECHLER**

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 26, 1974*

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the lives of countless people were touched by the dedication of an unselfish and conscientious teacher, Miss Charlotte I. Bodo, who left our midst on November 15, 1974. At the time of her passing, Miss Bodo was teaching at the U.S. Department of Defense overseas dependents' school in Karamursel, Turkey. Services for Miss Bodo were held today at St. Marys Church in Holden, W. Va.

I have visited often in the home of Charlotte's fine parents, Mr. and Mrs. John Bodo of Valley View, Holden, in Logan County. Charlotte is survived by two wonderful brothers, John Joseph Bodo of Melville, public information director for the Logan County Board of Education, and Victor Bill Bodo of Huntington, as well as two fine sisters, Mrs. Fred Dean Lucas of Logan and Mrs. Charles Horsley of Huntington, W. Va.

Miss Bodo received her B.A. degree at Marshall University in 1952, and her M.A. degree at Marshall in 1961. She was dean of girls at Chapmanville High School and also had taught in the Charleston area as well as Michigan and Illinois before accepting employment with the U.S. Department of Defense. Her overseas teaching assignments were in London, Korea, Cuba, the Azores, Bermuda, and Bahrain as well as in Turkey. She was born in Monaville, Logan County, and was selected for Who's Who Among American Women in 1968 and 1969. She was affiliated with the Memorial American Association for Mental Deficiency in West Virginia, the Kanawha County Council for Retarded Children, the Medical Auxiliary of the Kanawha Valley Medical Society, the Amer-

ican Association of University Women and the West Virginia Speech and Hearing Association.

She had worked as a recreation therapist with handicapped groups and was recreation director of the Illinois School for the Deaf at Jacksonville in 1954-55. She was a speech correctionist in the Kanawha County school system and also taught at Logan Junior High School.

To know Charlotte Bodo was to know a vibrant person with a great sense of humor, who loved mankind, who devoted her life to helping mankind, and who died while carrying out that effort in a far-off land. I was glad that her dedicated work could be honored by the presence at her funeral services of Mr. Robert Ferguson, Deputy Director of the U.S. Department of Defense Overseas Dependents School Branch.

**STE. CROIX FAIR—1974**

**HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 26, 1974*

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, recently the mayor of Lessay "Manche" France, the Honorable M. Lecocq, welcomed Astronaut Walter Cunningham and Mrs. Cunningham to the Ste. Croix Fair.

Forty-seven years ago the town of Lessay welcomed Charles Lindbergh, and only 30 years ago Americans died on French soil. Mayor Lecocq and the town of Lessay honored the Cunninghams and the memory of those who died in World War II.

I want to take this time to salute the citizens of Lessay and their mayor for their warm wishes expressed to all Americans when they welcomed Colonel Cunningham.

The mayor of Lessay, France, the Honorable M. Lecocq's address follows:

Members of Parliament, Colonel Cunningham, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am particularly happy and pleased as Mayor of Lessay to welcome you here today at the great Ste. Croix Fair of 1974 which remains as popular and important as ever in spite of the weather. We thank you for being here with us.

Colonel Cunningham, it is not because of us but rather because of you, our guest of honor, that this is a red letter day in this region. The Town of Lessay once had the great honor to welcome with as much joy and happiness the "Messenger of the New World" after his wonderful achievement through a solo flight across the Atlantic, your illustrious compatriot, Colonel Lindbergh, upon his return to the United States of America on the 4th of June 1927.

The guest book of this town in which is recorded his famous autograph is the only municipal record that was salvaged in our bombed ruins of World War II.

It is indeed with deep emotion that I welcome one of the American Astronauts whose achievements, as those of Lindbergh astonished the world!

It is through you, a space hero, performing most extraordinary deeds inscribed in the pages of the history of humanity, that we direct our homage and gratitude to that great and noble American nation whose Power and Might has contributed to reestablish Peace and save Freedom!

In expressing our admiration to one of the heroes of Apollo VII how could we forget those young men who, under the same banner of the Stars and Stripes, having crossed the Atlantic ocean, have died thirty years ago to rescue our old continent from oppression!

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to remember them at this particular time when we honor one of the Pioneers of Space, Colonel Walter Cunningham and his charming wife.

I raise my glass to his and your Good Health! May the 1974 Fair of Ste. Croix be instrumental in having all of you keep a good remembrance of the Town of Lessay, of Normandy and of our beautiful country, France!

#### ARM IN ARM WITH GEORGE MEANY

### HON. ROBERT P. HANRAHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. HANRAHAN. Mr. Speaker, despite the many differences in beliefs of pro-union and anti-union people, there are many similarities in views. I have been in agreement with Mr. George Meany several times myself. Labor unions favor strong economic growth in this country as do I and many other people. For the interest of my colleagues, I wish to insert the following Wall Street Journal editorial:

#### ARM IN ARM WITH GEORGE MEANY

If George Meany, 80, ever decides it is time to begin a second career, perhaps he would consider a job writing editorials for this newspaper. Then again, if he does not read us regularly, he may not realize that in recent years his view of the world has frequently come to coincide with ours.

After all, we do share an economic bias with organized labor, both favoring economic growth at a time when that traditional American goal is being increasingly questioned. In pondering the nation's economy from his vantage point, Mr. Meany speaks for what he believes is best for labor. We try to consider what is best for business and labor, and, ultimately, the public. Because we almost invariably conclude that what is best for these elements of the private sector is less interference by government, as a matter of course we fall into agreement with Mr. Meany at least half the time. At times we part company with him when he thinks he can improve the condition of labor at the expense of business by joining forces with the government.

Because we are now in a period of more rapid encroachment by the government on the private sector, with labor and capital being cramped directly or indirectly, it is no wonder that Mr. Meany has been feeling uncomfortable. Just as he sensed that the McGovern candidacy in 1972 represented a threat to economic growth, he now worries that congressional Democrats will interpret their landslide at the polls as a mandate to take McGovern-like actions, accelerating the encroachment of government on the private sector in ways that give him pause.

Once again the other day we found ourselves arm in arm with Mr. Meany on the subject of wage and price controls. He shrewdly perceives what is running through the minds of the Democratic leaders in Congress as they plan to give President Ford authority to reimpose controls. Democrats like Senators Mansfield and Humphrey, he said, "want to load this depression onto the other party. Their motives are political." If things get bad, the Democrats will either be in posi-

tion to blame Mr. Ford for not imposing controls, and if he does, they can harpoon him for the damage the controls would do. If they were really serious, they'd legislate mandatory controls and live with their results.

We've consistently sided with Mr. Meany on this issue, at times jointly opposing the desires of a majority in the business community, those who thought they could get an edge over labor by joining forces with the government. But on other important issues, the tensions between capital and labor have kept them from joining in a defense of the private sector. Businessmen have fond dreams of getting government to break up the labor unions. Labor enthusiastically backs politicians who espouse the taxing of capital and the fracturing of "big business."

With the assistance of labor, "profit" has become such an onerous term that one corporate executive we know plans to drop the word from his company's annual report, calling the bottom line "savings" instead, which is what it is. He should also consider not paying "dividends" and pay "interest on equity" instead. Could Mr. Meany applaud corporate "savings," recognizing that without them there is no capital formation and economic growth? He would not, nor would we expect him to, if "savings" increased at the expense of labor.

But what if the savings of both elements of the private sector, management and labor, could increase? Labor could keep more of what it produces and so could capital—if only government could be persuaded to take less. A determined effort to restrain the growth of government spending would do just that, by permitting the systematic reduction of taxes on capital and labor. Government spending and revenues can only be permitted to increase as a share of real economic growth, not as a result of inflation.

We suspect Mr. Meany has come to understand this implicitly, which is why he suddenly seems so uncomfortable with the "veto-proof" Congress he helped elect. Unless we are wrong, the country is in for another two years of government expansion at the expense of capital and labor, after which time Mr. Meany may be ready to take up an editorial pen.

#### COMPETITION WOULD SPUR THE POSTAL SERVICE

### HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, at this time it should not be necessary to speak in great detail or at great length about the unfortunate manner in which the U.S. Post Office is functioning.

Postal rates continue to increase, and postal deficits continue to increase along with them. The Post Office has seen fit to enter into a number of business ventures which tend to detract from the possible efficiency of its postal operations, yet postal officials insist that rates must go up at the very moment when service is deteriorating.

The U.S. Post Office has a monopoly with regard to the delivery of first class mail, a monopoly which is written into the law. Private companies are permitted by law to deliver second and third class mail, and make a profit doing so. Second and third class mail, U.S. postal officials argue, is the most costly and least profitable. Yet the U.S. Post Office shows a continuing deficit despite its monopoly

hold on the delivery of first class mail—the most profitable undertaking in the postal system. Something is obviously wrong.

What we desperately need is competition in the delivery of mail. Economist Milton Friedman notes:

One obstacle to competition is a lack of imagination. Our minds are not fertile enough to envisage the miracles that unfettered enterprise can accomplish, in mail service as in other areas—rapid delivery within a city by pneumatic tubes and between cities by facsimile wire, much more extensive use of traveling post offices instead of monuments to the political pull of the Postmaster General and the local congressmen, and so on ad infinitum.

An articulate advocate of competition in the delivery of first class mail is John L. Ryan, a former member and chairman of the U.S. Postal Rate Commission.

In August, Mr. Ryan was interviewed on the Manion Forum radio program by Clarence Manion, former dean of the University of Notre Dame School of Law.

Asked for his solution to current postal problems, Mr. Ryan declared that:

I think there is a very good solution . . . and that is the repeal of those portions of the Private Express Statutes which confer the monopoly status on the Postal Service. The result of this would be to let free enterprise competition pick up that portion of what is now the Postal Service's Monopoly business, which the Postal Service simply can't handle in accordance with the customer's desires and requirements.

Mr. Ryan expressed the view that:

This would be as good for the Postal Service as it would be for the users, because it is my clear cut opinion that the Postal Service, particularly in large cities, is giving all of the indications of a business which is operating under a massive overload.

Several other advantages would result from such an approach. Mr. Ryan declared:

First of all, it is not the nature of a monopoly to tailor services to customer requirements. . . . Free enterprise would introduce a variety of new services which would succeed or fail according to how the public received them. . . . One of the bad effects of monopoly and regulation . . . is the stifling effect which it has on technological innovation, and this is certainly true as can be seen by the labor intensity nature of the Postal Service today.

I wish to share with my colleagues the thoughtful analysis of our postal problems presented by John L. Ryan on the Manion Forum of August 25, 1974 and insert into the RECORD the text of that program:

#### COMPETITION WOULD SPUR THE POSTAL SERVICE

#### PRIVATE CARRIERS COULD TAILOR SERVICE TO FIT CUSTOMER NEEDS

(By Mr. John L. Ryan)

DEAN MANION. With me here at the microphone now is John L. Ryan, a prominent Indiana businessman and former member and Chairman of the U.S. Postal Rate Commission. Since leaving the postal service some months ago, Mr. Ryan has stated in testimony before the Congressional Committee on Postal Service and on radio and television that the present statutory monopoly held by the United States Postal Commission for the transmission and delivery of so-called First Class mail should be ended so as to permit private enterprise to compete with the U.S. Postal Service for the transaction of this particular business in the

interest of better mail service at possible lower costs.

This suggestion involves technical and legal complications which the public has difficulty comprehending and which Mr. Ryan, in view of his important official experience in the Postal Service, is well qualified to explain. I am delighted that he has consented to give us this explanation.

Mr. Ryan, welcome to the Manion Forum. Mr. RYAN. Thank you, Dean Manion, it's a pleasure to be here. I've been an admirer of yours and of the Forum for many years. DEAN MANION. Mr. Ryan, what is the difference between the way the Postal Service is run now and the way it operated in the days before the Postal Commission was set up?

Mr. RYAN. From a practical point of view, that is, from the point of view of the normal users of the mail, there is very little difference, if any. There were some changes in form through the Postal Reorganization Act but relatively little in terms of substance, although there was a small amount of substance.

DEAN MANION. Most Americans were led to believe or assumed that mail service would improve under the new set up, yet mail service seems to have deteriorated. There are more public complaints than ever. What happened?

Mr. RYAN. I think there was a good deal of enthusiasm over the prospect of a new and reformed Postal Service. However, I think that inasmuch as the major criteria of the service had remained unchanged, the improvements simply didn't occur. I think a great deal of that initial enthusiasm is being looked at again.

DEAN MANION. Wasn't a lot of that initial enthusiasm based on the belief that the Postal Service was being taken out of politics?

Mr. RYAN. I think it is out of politics in the sense of Democrat and Republican. Incidentally, I am not sure that taking it out of politics is necessarily a good idea. The mail service was much better when it was more political.

DEAN MANION. Is it true that Postal Service is by law a government monopoly? Many people are under the impression that the Constitution so states.

Mr. RYAN. It does in fact enjoy a monopoly. It is, as economists would say, statutory, as opposed to any form of a natural or special monopoly. However, the monopoly power does not reside in the Constitution but in a set of laws which is generally referred to as the Private Express Statutes. The Constitution itself simply mandates the U.S. Government to have a mail service. It does not mandate a monopoly, nor does it even imply it.

DEAN MANION. What is the nature of the Private Express Statutory monopoly system, are there any exceptions permitted?

Mr. RYAN. The Private Express Statutes, which confer a monopoly status on the Postal Service, confer that power on what is described in the Statute as "letter mail." Now, the definition of "letter mail" has been left up to the Postal Services and it is not further described in the Statute as such.

As far as the average person is concerned, the monopoly arrangements in the Post Office are about as follows: the Postal Service has monopoly control over what we think of as mail—that is, letters to and from private citizens or to and from citizens and corporations. That monopoly also exists by statute in respect to financial transactions which go through the mail. The mail also carries, in addition to messages of the sort just described, periodicals and publications, which is second class mail, that is, newspapers, magazines, etc. There is no statutory monopoly there, although I understand recently the Postal Service has claimed a kind of shadow definition of that as "letter mail,"

and then waived the monopoly situation with respect to that.

Third Class mail, which is primarily advertising—referred to by many people as "junk mail"—is not covered in large measure by the monopoly, although there are some exceptions to that. And then Fourth Class mail, consisting of packages and bulky items without messages in them, which does not enjoy any monopoly protection at all under the current postal definition of "letter mail."

DEAN MANION. Obviously the results of the Postal Service reorganization have not yet borne out the initial expectations. What are the prospects for the future, in your opinion?

#### *Automatic cost spiral*

Mr. RYAN. I am not very optimistic. I'm afraid that it's going to be very much more of the same. Let me explain that, if I may. In the first place, for a large part of its income in business, the Postal Service is a monopoly employer. In the second place, it is dealing with an equally monopolistic union, and in the third place, the Postal Service is what is described as a labor intensity industry. By that they mean that the vast majority, in fact some 85 per cent of the expenses of carrying and maintaining the facilities which are negotiated, for all practical points of view, between a monopolistic employer and a monopolistic union. This suggests that there is going to be, as there has in the past, very substantial pay raises every two years as the union contracts come up for negotiation. These costs, in my opinion, can only be passed on from now on, at least to a large extent, to the First Class mail users.

DEAN MANION. Why should a disproportionate share of the costs be applied to First Class mail? Isn't it the duty of the Postal Service to spread these costs equitably? Shouldn't all classes of mail pay their own way?

Mr. RYAN. Yes, it's actually the function of the Postal Rate Commission, of which I was a member, to see that costs and postal rates are equitably applied across the board. However, there are certain practical considerations because of this rather unusual nature of the Postal Service of being part monopoly and part competitive.

Let me run down through the four major classes in terms of where they stand now in terms of their rates compared to competitive or potentially competitive services. I'll start with Fourth Class. For a long time now Fourth Class has not enjoyed statutory monopoly. It not only has potential competition, it has actual competition. All the bus companies, United Parcel Service and many private carriers, Railway Express, etc., handle packages in competition with the Postal Service. They provide essentially the same type of service even though they may have certain additions to the services that are offered by the government. What this amounts to, from the point of view of rate, is that the Postal Service is already charging as much as the market will bear with respect to this competition.

Until fairly recently, the Postal Service subsidized Third Class mail. Although the cost situation is always difficult to determine, I think it's fair to say that at the present time the Third Class mail rate is a fair one in terms of absorbing costs from the Postal Service. However, it is also at a point at which competition from the outside not only can but does in fact exist. So here again the Postal Service is up against the problem of market competition.

Now, on Second Class, periodicals, which is a relatively small part of the Postal Service's revenue, they are not yet at the market point, that is, they are not at a rate which will clear the market in terms of competition. However, they are getting closer to that and there have been rather whopping percentage increases in Second Class rates in recent years.

What this amounts to is that rate increases above the market for Second, Third or Fourth Class mail will do the Postal Service no good in terms of increasing volume or increasing revenue. As a result of this, you are up against the ceiling of a market in everything but First Class mail. Therefore, any increase in costs are going to have to be borne, or at least the vast majority increase in cost will have to be borne by First Class mail, in my opinion.

DEAN MANION. What about the pleas from the publishing industry to the effect that many magazines and periodicals will be forced to cease publication because they and/or their subscribers cannot afford to pay further postal increases?

Mr. RYAN. Of course, I am a very firm believer in the free market and I think that as a general proposition if a business or service oriented organization does not sufficiently appeal to the public to make money or break even at a fair price, that simply means that the public doesn't want their product. Therefore, I think that this is the classical argument for subsidy which we hear from too many areas of the country all the time. It is simply another aspect of somebody making a decision for the market rather than letting the people make the decisions for themselves.

DEAN MANION. You indicate that First Class rates are going to go up and up. What about all of the glowing predictions we read about automation? We are told that it will relieve labor costs and save time. What are the chances for a more efficient service from this direction?

#### *Constant cost pressure*

Mr. RYAN. I'm afraid the chances for better service are very little better than the chances for lowered cost. One of the problems which the Postal Service faces in terms of this pressure for increased costs and prices on First Class mail is that it's almost impossible to even hold down costs to the extent that they are being held down now without limiting services. In fact, you see a limiting of services going on in the Postal Service all the time. One of the things that bothers me is that as the cost pressure increases, they may get into services which really make a great deal of difference to customers. As far as regularity in the mail service, delivery in the mail service is concerned, I see no particular improvement available there. I'm afraid that automation is something which the Postal Service talks a lot about but has not found a practical way to implement it.

DEAN MANION. Is there any solution at all, in your opinion? Are we faced with an endless succession of rate increases and deteriorating service?

Mr. RYAN. I think there is a very good solution as far as both the Postal Service and the users of the mail are concerned, and that is the repeal of those portions of the Private Express Statutes which confer the monopoly status on the Postal Service. The result of this would be to let free enterprise competition pick up that portion of what is now the Postal Service's monopoly business, which the Postal Service simply can't handle in accordance with the customer's desires and requirements. I say that this would be as good for the Postal Service as it would be for the users, because it is my clear-cut opinion that the Postal Service, particularly in the large cities, is giving all of the indications of a business which is operating under a massive overload.

This is one of the reasons why you get rather good mail delivery from a metropolitan area one day and very poor mail service at some other date. There is no consistency, there is no consistent flow arrangement or flow pattern to the mails. This, I think, would be automatically corrected over a brief period of time with competition.

I think there are several other advantages. First of all, it is not the nature of a monopoly to tailor services to customer requirements. It is the nature of a monopoly to force requirements on customers in accordance with the services which they want to give. Free enterprise would introduce a variety of new services which would succeed or fail according to how the public received them and how they evaluate them in terms of their cost. There would be new technology, new techniques in message transmission.

One of the bad effects of monopoly and regulatory activity is the stifling effect which it has on technological innovation, and this is certainly true as can be seen by the labor intensity nature of the Postal Service today, and the fact that, in my opinion, there will be almost as much of that labor intensity in the near future.

DEAN MANION. If the monopoly were eased, wouldn't it be possible that some free enterprisers would move in and skim off the lucrative aspects of mail handling—say large volume service in high density areas—and thereby leave the Postal Service and the taxpayers stuck with higher costs in order to provide service in other areas?

MR. RYAN. I think that's probably exactly what would happen. Of course, this is precisely what you want to occur in the marketplace. That is, the high cost user should pay the cost of the requirements of their service and those who operate in such a way as to hold costs down for their supplier of service, in this instance, should reap the benefits. In fact, the Postal Reorganization Act in the section of the Statute which talks about the Postal Rate Commission gives a direction, a mandate, that the Postal Rate Commission in its decisions avoid undue discrimination. What the Postal Service and other monopolists refer to as skimming is simply an institutionalized form of undue discrimination. I think we would have different rates for different services and the people would judge these according to their needs and requirements.

DEAN MANION. You think then that a practical solution would be to have Congress take away the "letter mail" monopoly from the Postal Service? Is there any action in prospect in this respect?

MR. RYAN. I think, not only is it practical, it is absolutely mandatory if we are going to improve mail service for the people who use it. Congressman Philip Crane, of Illinois, has a bill in Congress now—H.R. 433, which in fact is for the express and only purpose of repealing that portion of the Private Express Statutes which confers the monopoly on the Postal Service. I think there is more support for this legislation than most people realize and with a little encouragement I do believe that it's possible that the law could be passed.

DEAN MANION. Thank you, John Ryan, of Indianapolis, former Chairman of the U.S. Postal Rate Commission, for this frank and helpful explanation of our so-called First Class mail monopoly now held by the U.S. Postal Service.

My friends, remember that the Crane bill—House Resolution No. 433 will enable private enterprise to compete with the existing Postal Service monopoly—a competition that is certain to offer the public better service at a lower price.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT—HELP IS ON THE WAY

**HON. PIERRE S. (PETE) du PONT**

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

MR. du PONT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate

late the conferees on the Labor-HEW appropriations bill on their decision to retain the Senate provision which added \$65 million for unemployment insurance and \$18.5 million for employment services. The steadily increasing rate of unemployment places a heavier burden on the State employment offices. Chrysler's shutdown of its plant in Newark, Del., is a prime example in my home State. I cannot overstate the importance of this conference provision as inflation and unemployment continue to take their toll throughout the Nation and urge my colleagues to support this conference report.

#### HEADS THEY WIN: TAILS WE LOSE

**HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

MR. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, it is increasingly apparent that President Ford is free-wheeling down the same yellow brick road as his predecessors when it comes to dealing with foreign powers. He plans on using foreign aid giveaway programs, regardless of the cost or effect on the American people, to shore up creaky foreign policy programs, regardless of their worth.

In short, President Ford is playing the same game which calls for; "Heads they win; Tails, we lose!"

Last September, after telling the American people to tighten their belts, make sacrifices, endure food shortages and high prices because of economic upheavals at home, the President went before the United Nations. What message did he give that organization, which has grown bloated and arrogant on American generosity and tax dollars?

Did the President preach the same gospel of self-sacrifice to them? Surprisingly, no. Instead, he told them that the United States would "substantially increase" aid, including food, to other nations.

The American consumer now realizes that his belt-tightening was not to remedy our serious domestic economic predicament, but instead to expand our notorious foreign aid give-aways.

Now, President Ford has gone to Japan and blissfully told Japanese officials not to worry about shortages; that the United States will "continue to be the suppliers of the goods you need."

According to newspaper accounts, the President continued:

If shortages occur, we will take special account of the needs of our traditional partners. We will not compete with our friends for their markets or their resources. We want to work with them.

Mr. Speaker, I am gravely concerned that if Congress should accept this line of thinking, the American people will end up working "for" and not "with" such friends. I know of no such commitment or promise on the part of the Japanese or anyone else not to compete for our markets or our resources. On the contrary, until its own recent economic reversals, Japan was embarked on a worldwide buying spree for any market, any resource, including ours. And, we have

seen in recent years a growing desire, almost an obsession, on the part of some to buy up American markets, resources, industries, and businesses.

But, what did President Ford receive from Japan in return for his most generous offer to continue to furnish it a "stable supply" of soybeans, wheat, and feed grains, 90 percent of which they get from us?

He received, according to the newspapers, a hint, a mere hint, the Japanese might relax their all-out ban on imports of American beef—and two photographs from the Emperor. The Japanese "concession" is most interesting, coming as it does at a time American cattlemen are forced to slaughter their livestock because shortages of feed grain have raised the price so high they cannot afford to feed their calves.

We must bear in mind the fact that our excessive exports of feed grain and soybeans drove up the price to the American cattleman which in turn was reflected in the increased price paid by the American consumer.

What type of concession is it for Japan to relax its ban on American beef, when our supply of beef is dwindling? Japanese imports would only serve to make the available supply of beef even more costly to the American consumer.

In view of the resignation of Prime Minister Tanaka, what is the future of these "concessions?"

I submit that they are so innocuous, we lose in any case. But you can bet your bottom dollar that the Japanese will insist on our living up to our commitment. So, as I said earlier, "Heads, they win; Tails, we lose."

GEN. GEORGE BROWN

**HON. FORTNEY H. (PETE) STARK**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

MR. STARK. Mr. Speaker, when Gen. George Brown recently shared his anti-Semitic views with a Duke University audience, he was, I hope, making some of his last public utterances while serving in an official capacity. A man of such singularly poor judgment should be removed without delay from responsibilities that affect all U.S. citizens and the world community as well.

It is hard for me to believe that in 1974 anyone, let alone Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, could harbor and freely air such prejudice and misinformation. General Brown's preconceived notions about "Jewish money" and Jewish dominance of banking and the newspaper business were more than "ill advised and poorly handled," as the White House termed them. Mostly, they were blatantly false, as banking in particular remains one profession still largely inaccessible to Jews following a decades-old tradition of exclusion.

It is my intention to see that the general and his opinions are retired. Each day he continues to occupy a position of influence over millions of service men and women with public trust is an additional day of insult and injury to us all.

GROWTH, STATES RIGHTS, AND  
THE QUALITY OF LIFE

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Monday, November 25, 1974

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, one of the growing areas of social conflict is that between people who wish to preserve a way of life, or establish a new lifestyle, and people who wish to continue the exponential growth in the production and use of material goods.

This conflict is particularly prominent in the area of Federal oil, gas, and coal leases. The ramifications of massive developments in offshore oil or Western coal have only begun to be explored. The regions that are likely to be the most seriously impacted have been urging caution, and they have asked for a more thorough assessment of the energy development proposals. This is an eminently reasonable request. Unfortunately, the Ford administration does not appear willing to concur with this suggestion. Because of this, States may be forced to reassert their own rights and prevent premature Federal action.

The Washington Post columnist David Broder wrote about this subject in his November 11 column, which I would like to insert in the RECORD at the conclusion of these remarks.

In that article, Mr. Broder raises the question of whether States rights is a liberal or a conservative issue. The Governor-elect of Colorado, who has been opposing Federal policies, responded that he would like to see a new motto carved in stone in Washington. That motto would be, "Beware of policies appropriate to the past but dangerous to the future." This statement sums up the new mood in this country. Old labels and old policies are inappropriate to the needs and aspirations of the future, and the sooner the media and the political pundits realize this, the easier it will be for people to deal with the real issues of the day.

On the specific point of using States rights to preserve environmental standards, I would like to mention my own contribution in this field, H.R. 16223.

The purpose of H.R. 16223 is as follows:

## STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SECTION 1. The purpose of this Act is to direct that, to the fullest extent possible, the policies, regulations, and public laws of the United States should not be interpreted as precluding or denying to any State or political subdivision thereof the right to adopt or enforce any standard, requirement, limitation, or other restriction, with respect to major governmental actions significantly affecting the quality of the human environment. It is also the purpose of this Act to insure that compliance with any standard, requirement, limitation, or other restriction of any State or political subdivision thereof with respect to such actions should not relieve any person of the obligation to comply with the provisions of any Federal law or regulation or order issued pursuant to such law.

This legislation is a recognition of the fact that the Federal law will always represent the lowest common denominator of environmental protection, and

some areas will require, or be willing to demand higher standards. We should welcome, not oppose, efforts by local jurisdictions to improve their own quality of life.

The Washington Post article follows: [From the Washington Post, Nov. 24, 1974]

## A REGIONAL ALLIANCE IN THE WEST

(By David S. Broder)

HILTON HEAD, S.C.—A breakfast meeting on the final morning of the Democratic Governors' Conference here last week brought into view a new issue and a new alignment in American politics—one which may cause yet another redefinition of traditional "liberal" and "conservative" positions.

Several of the newly elected Democratic governors of Rocky Mountain states met with Montana Gov. Tom Judge (D) to discuss the formation of a regional organization on resource development.

While nothing more was accomplished at the first session than an agreement to pool some federal-aid funds and set up a staff to prepare an agenda for further meetings, Judge's goal is the creation within four months of a regional alliance to control energy and resource development in the West.

"We've got to organize," he said, "or the Eastern banks and corporations, helped by the Ford administration, will pick us off one by one."

What makes this alliance politically practical is the conversion of the mountain West, in this month's elections, into a Democratic territory. It will be governed by men who are pledged, in one way or another, to a "go-slow" policy on the exploitation of the region's enormous coal, oil shale and mineral resources.

Judge was elected two years ago on a platform pledging tight controls on strip mining in eastern Montana and a three-year moratorium on water diversion for industrial uses from the Yellowstone River.

"I was in a pretty lonely position out there," he said, "but now I've got allies." Judge found ready agreement to his regional approach from the newly elected Democratic governors of Colorado, New Mexico and Wyoming—Dick Lamm, Jerry Apodaca and Ed Herschler.

With potential help from carry-over Democratic governors Cecil Andrus of Idaho, Arthur Link of North Dakota and Calvin Ramp-ton of Utah—who missed the organizing session here—Judge sees a balance to assemble a political block strong enough to resist solutions to the energy crisis "that mean plowing and plundering our states."

Colorado's governor-elect Lamm, a nationally known environmentalist who first won fame for his successful efforts to keep the 1976 winter Olympics out of Colorado, put the position of the westerners in blunt terms.

"We have only 3 per cent of the population in the Rocky Mountain states," he said, "but we have 49 per cent of the resources and 16 per cent of the membership of the United States Senate."

"Our position is easily misinterpreted," Lamm said. "We belong to the United States and we're proud of it. We're not blue-eyed Arabs trying to hold up this country."

"But we're saying that there are certain things that happen to colonies—whether they are Colorado or the Congo—if there is not some assertiveness on the part of their leaders. And we are not going to be colonized."

"We have seen what's happened to Kentucky and Tennessee and West Virginia and other states that have been the nation's coal bin, and we're not going to let that happen to us," Lamm said.

The westerners say their position is not one of "locking up" their energy reserves while the nation suffers. Rather, in Judge's phrase, "If we are going to produce, it's go-

ing to be on our terms—not on terms somebody else dictates."

In their determination to protect the social balance and special character of their states, in their willingness to form a regional political movement and to use the disproportionate power low-population states enjoy in the Senate, the new Democratic leaders of the West are strongly reminiscent of the Southern Democrats of previous generations.

When Lamm was asked if this fight represents the states right battle of the 1970s and 1980s, he said: "You bet it does, but I hate to use that term. My first government job was in the civil rights field, and I know the connotations of 'states rights.'"

Lamm continued: "The motto I'd like to see carved in stone on the Capitol is 'Beware of policies appropriate to the past but dangerous to the future.'"

"The federal government had to intervene in the states in decades past, not only to guarantee civil rights for their citizens but to provide services the states were incapable of providing. Now there is a new breed of legislators and governors and the case for federal intervention is far weaker."

The irony, of course, is that "states righter" Lamm has been described as one of the most liberal of the new Democratic governors.

The new "states rights" doctrine he espouses, coming from an environmentalist who is the enemy of the international energy corporations, is likely to be as appealing to "liberals" across the country as the old "states rights" doctrine of the Southern Claghorns was repugnant. But the issue is no less divisive in its new form.

DOLE SOFTENS INDUSTRIES, SAYS  
FTC HEAD

HON. ROBERT J. HUBER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Speaker, last month Mr. Lewis A. Engman, Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, confirmed what many of us have been asserting for a long time—that Government regulation of industry stifles competition, efficiency, and keeps prices up, not down. So those Members of Congress who feel that more regulation of industry is the answer to our current economic problem—as well as the energy shortage in particular—had better take another look. The article from the Daily Tribune of Royal Oak, Mich., of October 8, 1974, follows:

DOLE SOFTENS INDUSTRIES, SAYS FTC HEAD  
DETROIT.—Federal Trade Commission Chairman Lewis A. Engman says major industries have grown soft under Federal protection, leading to higher prices for consumers.

"Most regulated industries have become Federal protectorates, living in the cozy world of cost-plus, safely protected from the ugly specter of competition, efficiency and innovation," he said.

"Our airlines, our truckers, our railroads, our electronic media and countless others are on the dole. We get irate about welfare fraud. But our complex systems of hidden regulatory subsidies make welfare fraud look like petty larceny."

Engman said the Government should reduce the extent of regulation to restore competition in regulated industries, which he



said produce about 10 per cent of everything made and sold in the nation.

His remarks were delivered Monday at a conference attended by about 300 members of the Financial Analysts Federation.

"Much of today's regulatory machinery does little more than shelter producers from the normal competitive consequences of lassitude and inefficiency," Engman said. "The consumer, for whatever presumed abuse he is being spared, is paying plenty in the form of government-sanctioned price fixing."

He singled out for specific criticism the Civil Aeronautics Board, which regulates airline routes and rates, and the Interstate Commerce Commission, which oversees railroads and trucking.

The CAB exercises such tight control over airline rates and routes that "for all intents and purposes, there is no competition at all," Engman said, noting that the only area left for competition is in the services provided passengers.

"That is why the average airline commercial looks like an ad for a combination bawdy house and dinner theater," he said.

Engman said Trans World, Western and United airlines were forced to cut rates for their San Francisco-Los Angeles flights after Pacific Southwest Airlines, an intrastate carrier free of CAB regulations, established much lower rates.

"I would find it hard to imagine a more obvious instance of prices being pushed up by regulation than the case of the airlines," Engman said.

Engman said the ICC restricts new trucking firms from entering the market and seldom investigates rates charged by existing firms.

Engman said there are some private estimates indicating that regulatory policies in the transportation industry may cost the consumer more than \$16 billion a year.

"Each and every regulation or regulatory policy that contributes to inflation should be re-examined to make sure that the trade-off between costs and benefits which presumably brought about its institution, is still valid," he said.

#### CONSTITUENT PRAISES WORK OF THE USIA

### HON. JOHN B. BREAUX

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. BREAUX. Mr. Speaker, it has, unfortunately, become an unusual occurrence to receive favorable comments from constituents concerning Government programs.

I am pleased to include in the RECORD a copy of a recent letter I received concerning the responsible work of the USIA. I feel these comments are noteworthy, as I have also found the same to be true with the USIA.

I include the text of Mr. Bienvenu's letter to be inserted in the RECORD at this point:

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHWESTERN  
LOUISIANA,

Lafayette, La., October 18, 1974.

Congressman JOHN BREAUX,  
Cannon House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JOHN: I recently completed a tour of eight African countries and Madagascar as a Short Term American Grantee under the auspices of the United States State Department.

The lectures, seminars, conferences, and other work to which I was assigned came un-

der the responsibility of the representatives of the United States Information Agency (USIA) in the various countries which I visited. I want you to know that I was very much impressed by the dedication of these representatives to their work and by the enthusiasm and interest in which they approached their jobs. In fact, their enthusiasm was infectious and made me all the more willing to exert extra effort to be accommodating.

I have very seldom witnessed an organization of so very highly qualified, conscientious, and loyal employees. To be quite frank, I was overwhelmed, not only by the personnel but by the effectiveness of their work. I returned from my tour with a greater love for my country and assurance that the work of the USIA is having a significant positive impact on our relations with other countries. It is my hope that the thoughts conveyed in this letter will make you more interested in supporting USIA and its programs. I frankly know of very few avenues in which our dollars could be so effectively spent.

Respectfully yours,

BERNARD J. BIENVENU,  
Professor and Head of the Department  
of Management and Administrative  
Studies.

#### ACTION TO HALT SUGAR PRICE INCREASES

### HON. C. W. BILL YOUNG

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the White House Council on Wage and Price Stability began a series of hearings yesterday to investigate the exorbitant increases in sugar prices over the past year. As we are all aware, the retail price of a 5-pound bag of sugar has climbed some 400 percent in a year, and these prices continue to rise. The Council is directing its efforts to determine the underlying causes for such inflationary pricing, and hopes to make recommendations for bringing the situation under control.

I have today submitted testimony on this important subject to the Council's Director, Mr. Albert Rees. For the information of my colleagues, following is my letter to Mr. Rees and my testimony before the Council:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., November 26, 1974.

Mr. ALBERT REES,  
Director, Council on Wage and Price Stability,  
the White House, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. REES: On behalf of my constituents of the Sixth Congressional District of Florida, may I express my gratitude for the Council's efforts to investigate the skyrocketing prices of sugar. Many residents of the Sixth District are older Americans trying to live within fixed incomes, such as Social Security and Veterans pensions, and the current inflation in food prices hits hardest at such individuals.

Enclosed please find a copy of my testimony on this problem, which I would appreciate being included in your official hearing record. In addition, I would appreciate being informed of the Council's findings and recommendations on the problem of sugar prices.

Please be assured that I stand ready to do everything possible to help cope with this problem, and hope you will not hesitate to call on me if Congressional action is required.

Thank you for your attention and assistance; with best wishes and personal regards, I am

Very truly yours,

C. W. BILL YOUNG,  
Member of Congress.

#### TESTIMONY OF THE HONORABLE C. W. BILL YOUNG

Mr. Chairman, I am very pleased that this Council is holding hearings on a problem which is of central concern to all American consumers—the shocking and exorbitant increase in the price of sugar. As we all know, in just over a year the average retail price of a five-pound bag of granulated sugar has jumped from around 80¢ to \$3 or more. This constitutes an almost 400 percent increase within a year!

Needless to say, this 400 percent increase has made its inflationary effect felt on the prices of a wide range of foods utilizing sugar as a basic ingredient. Small bakers are being forced to the wall because they literally cannot afford the ingredients for their products. Candy, soft drinks, ice cream, pastries, bread, canned goods—practically all of these processed foods have jumped in price to keep pace with the rising cost of sugar.

Quite simply, Mr. Chairman, millions of Americans living on low and fixed incomes cannot survive these increased prices of basic food commodities. Sugar, beans, rice, flour, milk, meat—the basic necessities of life, the cheapest foods available—even these are no longer affordable by retirees with limited pensions. Stories of older Americans dying of malnutrition are becoming all too familiar, a shocking commentary on the richest Nation in the world.

We have been given a multitude of explanations as to why sugar prices have skyrocketed. We are told that worldwide demand is outstripping production, especially in the face of poor harvests during 1974. But we are also told of substantial speculation in sugar futures, of panic buying which forces prices higher, and of oil-rich nations buying more than double their needs to push prices even higher. The latest Agriculture Department statistics indicate that this year's world sugar crop will reach 81.1 million tons, barely above current consumption estimates of 81 million tons. Clearly, the competition for available sugar will keep prices well beyond the reach of most Americans for some time.

Under the aegis of the outmoded Sugar Act, U.S. sugar production has been only half of our domestic needs for some time now. The Congress has allowed the Sugar Act to expire, and farmers may now grow as much sugar beets and sugar cane as they wish; the market will certainly support such production. But it will take a year or two for the impact of this new production to make itself felt on sugar prices. America can and will meet her own needs for sugar with domestic production—a sort of "Project Independence" in this agricultural area—and an important one.

Until we reach this goal of domestic self-sufficiency, however, strong measures must be undertaken to bring sugar prices under control and back within the bounds of reason. While I am certainly no expert in this area, certain remedies immediately suggest themselves.

1. Stop the speculation which drives up prices. The Congress has just created the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, a regulatory body designed to prevent just such wild speculation as drives up the prices of our basic food commodities. The first task of this new agency should be a close monitoring of trading in domestic sugar futures, and coordination with the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Commerce to prevent any exports so long as domestic demand remains unfilled.

2. Place an immediate embargo on all sugar exports. The Export Administration Act em-

powers the Secretary of Commerce to place an embargo on any product or commodity when two conditions prevail: (1) domestic shortage; and (2) excessive and inflationary foreign demand. Both of these conditions clearly prevail, and an embargo should be imposed immediately.

3. The long-standing uncertainties about the safety of sugar substitutes should be resolved once and for all by the Food and Drug Administration. First cyclamates were removed from the market, due to suspicion that they caused cancer. Similar doubts are now being cast upon saccharin, and a new and powerful and inexpensive artificial sweetener is the subject of similar allegations. It is difficult for me to believe, with the scientific manpower and technology available to this great Nation, that we cannot come up with an inexpensive and safe artificial sweetener which can take the place of sugar in many processed foods. Many older Americans are on special diets which require such substitutes, yet they too are subjected to uncertainty and rising costs.

Sugar substitutes are cheaper, and in many cases, healthier than sugar. The Federal Government should resolve the controversy surrounding them once and for all, and encourage private enterprise to make the maximum possible utilization of these substitutes in processed foods, in order to reduce prices.

Mr. Chairman, these are but a few of my own thoughts on this critical problem, ideas pertaining to actions on the domestic front. The world sugar market, subject to intense bidding and competition, is less amenable to our control. But I would like to point out that I have introduced H.R. 14561, which authorizes the President to "barter" our foreign assistance in exchange for strategic or critical raw materials, rather than continuously giving our aid and then paying through the nose for commodities we must have. Hearings have been held on this bill, and I suggest that we have before us now a situation in which this authority would be very useful indeed.

The United States provides foreign assistance to many sugar-producing countries, and under my bill, could require shipments of sugar in exchange for this aid. The Philippines, for example, receives substantial U.S. economic and military aid. Yet that nation has just contracted to sell 400,000 tons of its sugar crop to the Soviet Union, an action which caused yet another jump in world sugar prices. This constitutes yet another negative aspect of our foreign aid program, which does out largesse from the U.S. taxpayer without any built-in returns for this Nation. My bill would help remedy this defect, and I sincerely hope that the current world commodity market in sugar and other necessities will provide the impetus for Congressional action. Action is needed, and needed now.

#### A DAY OF THANKS

### HON. FRANK E. DENHOLM

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. DENHOLM. Mr. Speaker, at the close of business today Members of this House of the people will prepare for the homeward journey to join families and friends in the tradition of our heritage to give thanks for all that is ours to enjoy on a day to remember—Thanksgiving Day U.S.A.

There are many more things to remember than there are millions of people to remember them but each in our own way have the multiple sum total

to give thanks for in respect to each other.

These are not easy times—these are not ordinary times but they are times of no military conflict—no war.

Among our many blessings is the assurance that our system of government has endured the test of time—in peace and in war.

The assurance that here the people rule is a lasting confidence the governed are supreme. That this Government, as an institutional entity, is subservient to the will of the people and that the people shall never be the servants of the institutional system of government in America. May it forever be—and for this and much more must we be thankful for on Thanksgiving Day.

#### PITTSBURGH, PA., MUCH ACCOMPLISHED BUT STILL WORK TO BE DONE

### HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the city of Pittsburgh, whose citizens I proudly represent, has made tremendous progress in renovating its downtown area. The manner in which Pittsburgh rebuilt its Golden Triangle, cleaned its polluted air, and restored much of its economic viability established new patterns of urban development for the Nation.

As somebody who played a small role in our city's renaissance, I wish to bring the great achievements of Pittsburgh to the attention of my colleagues, while observing that much work remains to be completed. The remarks of Pittsburgh industrialist Roger S. Ahlbrandt, to the Society of Industrial Realtors, are of great importance in evaluating what steps Pittsburgh must take to continue its revitalization. An editorial recently appearing in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette is an excellent summary both of Mr. Ahlbrandt's thoughts and the current situation in Pittsburgh.

The editorial follows:

[From the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Oct. 26, 1974]

#### PITTSBURGH'S NEXT LEAP FORWARD

As industrialist Roger S. Ahlbrandt sketched briefly the history of Pittsburgh for the Society of Industrial Realtors, the audience could pick up a significant thread that ran throughout his speech.

At each milestone in the city's development, it was pointed out that public officials cooperated with business leaders to achieve badly needed public improvements.

"Transportation and transit," Mr. Ahlbrandt recalled, "played a major role in the growth of the city over the years and, time and time again, demonstrated government-business cooperation." A key illustration: the bonds of the Pennsylvania Railroad were guaranteed by the City of Pittsburgh when this city and Philadelphia were linked by the railroad in 1852.

Then what happened after the renowned rebuilding of downtown Pittsburgh in the years immediately after World War II? "For the past several years," said Mr. Ahlbrandt, "there seems to have been a pause—a great

gap in our forward progress. We seem no longer to enjoy continued cooperation and communication between civic, industrial and local political leaders. In fact, not even between our several governing bodies."

As if to underscore the accuracy of that observation, it was learned this week that Mayor Flaherty submitted to the state a proposal to let a private company build an electricity-generating incinerator for refuse disposal without consulting county officials even though county participation is required if the project is to be feasible.

To pull the district out of civic stagnation and make Pittsburgh a more dynamic urban center, Mr. Ahlbrandt proposed the next "great leap forward" to be called "Project 2000."

Toward that goal, to be reached through five-year plans extending to the end of this century, he would convene a "Pittsburgh Planning Summit" to include representative political, business, civic, religious, labor and other leaders to produce new plans, laws, financing and ideas required to move "Project 2000 from dream to reality."

We commend Mr. Ahlbrandt for his perceptiveness and public spiritedness. He has provided a good diagnosis of the district's ills and he has pointed a possible way to recovery.

Without disparaging his proposal, however, we expect that little will come of it until there has been a drastic change in the district's political climate. Where there is no cooperation—actually no meaningful communication—between the Democrats who control the city and county governments, there is little hope of another great leap forward until the electorate puts into office people with vision and a spirit of cooperation. Pittsburgh's next leap forward must be made at the polls.

#### BASIC EDUCATION SCHOOLS

### HON. MARJORIE S. HOLT

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mrs. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I was delighted to learn that the board of education of Prince Georges County, Md., is considering the establishment of basic education schools which would emphasize the teaching of fundamental skills and strict discipline.

If the Prince Georges County School Board implements the plan, I predict that the rush of parents to get their children into the three pilot schools will be so great that the program will need to be expanded quickly.

Mrs. Kathy Barker, a member of the school board, deserves the applause of every citizen for originating the plan, under which three elementary schools would be used to establish the program.

They would concentrate on basic education—reading, writing, mathematics, history—with traditional methods of instruction.

There would be rules of conduct to be obeyed, and students would be required to comply with a dress code.

This, I believe, is the direction we should be going in the whole country. It is a move toward restoring the education values that helped to create a great nation.

One of the saddest developments of the modern era has been the decline of education in our country during the past

couple of decades. Liberal educationists have converted schools into jungles.

It is intolerable that so many young people complete their schooling without being able to read proficiently or perform simple mathematics. Far too many of our young people are graduating unequipped for life, unable to exercise self-discipline because they have never experienced discipline.

I hope the Prince Georges County School Board will move with dispatch to create the alternative, basic education schools. A proposal such as this offers hope that civilization can endure.

### SOCIALISM AND INFLATION

#### HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Virginia Howard of Houston, Tex., kindly sent me a clipping from the October 17, 1974, issue of the Houston Tribune on the subjects of inflation and socialism. The article authored by Alice Widener, argues convincingly that inflation is a direct result of worldwide socialism. I might add that starvation and overpopulation are also the direct results of socialism.

Socialists, who believe that all problems of production have been solved, concentrate on the redistribution of wealth. They fail to realize that the problem of production is never solved, and that their efforts to redistribute wealth only exacerbate the problem of production. Socialism "knows all about how to redistribute wealth but nothing at all about how to create it."

Actually redistribution of wealth by the Government is a violation of the seventh commandment. Inflation, coin-clipping, a more subtle method of redistribution of wealth, but it is also legalized thievery. Unless the American people and their representatives in Congress come to realize this quickly economic chaos will be inevitable. It is just a matter of time.

Mr. Speaker, I particularly call to the attention of my colleagues, Alice Widener's panacea for the mess we are in:

**INFLATION IS DIRECT RESULT OF WORLDWIDE SOCIALISM**

(By Alice Widener)

NEW YORK CITY.—In a posthumously published book, unfinished but brilliant, the late Georges Pompidou, president of France, wrote the wisest, most trenchant epigram of our century: "Socialists know all about how to redistribute wealth but nothing at all about how to create it."

Our present inflation is the direct, punitive result of worldwide socialist redistribution of wealth without sufficient creation of real new wealth. The latter comes solely as a result of hard productive work under profitable conditions conducive to capital savings for investment. There is no other way to create wealth; it cannot be created by printing money or through government handouts or subsidies. The only solution for our present economic difficulties is for us, the American people, to buckle down to hard, productive profitable work on a scale big enough for us and our nation to accumulate new

wealth. Almost all our present wealth is in hock to creditors, domestic and foreign. The annual cost of servicing interest payments on our national and international near-trillion-dollar indebtedness gobbles up our investment capital.

During my recent trip abroad and brief vacation there, letters piled up from troubled readers asking, "What do you think of our own and the world economic situation?" Here is a very short answer given with a deep sense of my own fallibility:

This is not a time to speculate in an effort to make capital gains. It is a time to try to hang on to what money you've got. Get out of debt as fast as possible, even if it means painful self-denial, otherwise your creditors, painfully squeezed themselves, will change all the contract rules, grab you by the throat, and say, "Pay up, or else!"

Accumulate all the cash you can and buy a few gold coins for D Day, Disaster Day. If it doesn't come, and I hope it doesn't, you won't be worse off. Despite inflation, anyone with cash and no debts probably will be in a most enviable position within the next 12 months, for he or she will be able to buy greatly undervalued assets with that cash, assets undervalued possibly as much as 90 cents on the dollar.

Looming nationally and internationally, in my opinion, are a General Debt Moratorium, subsequent Consolidation of All Existing International Debts into long term low-interest obligations, and the New U.S. Dollar or Hard Dollar. There probably will be attempts to reflate existing economies among the advanced free industrialized nations, but such reflation—meaning more government deficit spending and subsidies, and more printing of paper money—will only worsen the eventual breakdown. Also, reflation will hasten the already frightening advance of the Corporate State with severe loss of remaining economic and personal freedoms.

Soon, now, it will become starkly evident that the advanced industrial free nations are unable to pay their debts. The coming Italian and British defaults probably will bring on a falling-domino series of defaults with catastrophic consequences to many big commercial banks and all central banks. As far as we Americans are concerned, it is highly unlikely we'll ever collect even 10 per cent of the colossal debts owed us by India, Britain, Pakistan, Brazil, and other nations, including Israel.

If war comes in the Middle East or Mediterranean, the write-off will be immediate and total. If war doesn't come, there will nevertheless be the biggest write-off of debts the world has ever seen, dwarfing the write-offs after World Wars I and II.

To sum up, the only way we can get out of our present economic difficulties is to work our way out, accepting severe hardships and a big reduction in our present standard of living. Remember though, that despite all the holocausts and losses of the past, we still are here. The only thing that kept us here was hard, profitable work under a Benign Providence which never guaranteed anybody a free lunch.

### ARKANSAWYER BOOTS HIS WAY INTO NCAA RECORD BOOK

#### HON. BILL ALEXANDER

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday in Jonesboro, Ark., an Arkansas State University senior kicked his way into the NCAA record book. Joe P. Duren III booted a 63-yard fieldgoal to

set a new distance record in college football.

I recall that it was another Arkansas kicker, Bill McClard, who first broke the 60-yard mark in fieldgoal kicking. I am proud to see that this record once again belongs to an Arkansas athlete.

I might add that it was Duren's 56-yard fieldgoal as time ran out that brought Arkansas State a 22 to 20 victory over McNeese State Saturday. It was undoubtedly Joe Duren's day.

I commend this accomplishment to my colleagues.

### BROOKLINE, MASS., OPPOSES U.N. RECOGNITION OF PLO

#### HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, during the past few weeks, I have joined many of my colleagues in the House of Representatives in condemning the recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization by the United Nations. Hundreds of my constituents have written to me expressing their opposition to the decision by the U.S. General Assembly to permit the PLO to participate in debate on Middle Eastern problems. On Friday, November 22, the General Assembly compounded its earlier mistake by according permanent observer status to the PLO.

On November 4, the board of selectmen of the town of Brookline in my Fourth Congressional District unanimously adopted a resolution protesting the action by the United Nations with regard to the Palestine Liberation Organization. I commend this excellent resolution to all of my colleagues in the House:

#### RESOLUTION

Whereas, the General Assembly of the United Nations, by resolution adopted October 14, 1974, has invited the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in its plenary session meetings; and

Whereas, the United States of America voted against the aforementioned resolution; and

Whereas, the Palestine Liberation Organization is composed of constituent organizations dedicated to the destruction of a sovereign member of the United Nations—the State of Israel; and

Whereas, the member organizations of the Palestine Liberation Organization have gleefully conducted and publicly taken credit for the Munich Massacre, the Maalot Massacre, the massacre at Kiryat Shimon, massacres at airports throughout the western world and other terrorist activities, including the assassination of American diplomats at Khartoum; and

Whereas, the General Assembly, by its invitation condones acts of terrorism, chaos and destruction; and

Whereas, the General Assembly, by its invitation, sets back the chances for peace in the Middle East and increases the chances for war. Now, therefore, be it

Resolved that the Town of Brookline, through its Board of Selectmen:

1. Protests the action of the General Assembly in inviting the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in its sessions.

2. Urges our representatives in the Congress and the Senate of the United States to register this government's disgust at the lack

of morality on the part of the United Nations in admitting terrorists and murders to an international body dedicated to peace.

3. Urges the President of the United States to instruct our Ambassador to the United Nations to challenge the legality of the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in its sessions.

#### THE REPEATING PATTERN: COMMUNISTS IN COALITION GOVERNMENTS

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the issue of Communist participation in coalition governments is once again one that is commanding the attention of policymakers and students of international affairs. A coalition government is in existence in Laos. In the Portuguese Government, the head of the Portuguese Communist Party is a minister without portfolio. The Communist Party is one of the most important organized forces in that country.

In other countries in Europe the possibility of coalition governments that include the Communists cannot be discounted. In Italy the country is faced with one governmental crisis after another. The Communist Party has been able to capitalize on the discontent there to become a threatening force.

In France the Communist Party also has the support of millions. They have been attempting to downplay their ties with Moscow in order to be considered as a partner in a future leftist government.

Various American academicians and former Government officials have advocated coalition governments for Cambodia and South Vietnam. While these ideas have not gained official backing, they do remain in the realm of possibility.

With the current situation in mind, the recent re-release of a study by Dr. Gerhart Neimeyer on Communists in Coalition Governments takes on special importance. The Council Against Communist Aggression, 65 North Court Avenue, Orlando, Fla., 32801, is making this study available to those interested.

At this point I include in the RECORD excerpts from the "Conclusions" of this excellent study:

#### CONCLUSIONS

Coalitions including Communists fall into a pattern that is repeated in country after country, allowing for certain differences of time and circumstances. The first thing that strikes the observer is the strong Communist urge to come to power within the framework and the legitimacy of a coalition. Again and again they urge, nay even compel non-Communist parties to participate in elections, to agree to a joint ticket, or to send their leaders as ministers into a government. The need for the blessing of non-Communists seems to be axiomatic in Communist strategies.

If one analyzes the basis of coalition agreements, one finds in practically all cases five elements: (1) agreement that there is a "common cause" in which Communist and non-Communists share alike; (2) agreement

on the value of unity as such; (3) agreement on the goals of national policies to be jointly pursued; (4) agreement on non-tolerance of certain parties, ideas, and individuals in the political theater; and (5) agreement on the distribution of power positions among the coalition partners.

The "common cause" serves as the rationale for the coalition; the "value of unity" enjoins loyalty to the coalition as a moral obligation; the "National Policy Goals" provide the coalition with a practical purpose; "non-tolerance" is directed against elements that play the role of the devil in the design; and the "sharing of political power" is the *modus operandi*.

The postwar period offered opportunities because of the Fascist and Nazi danger against which the Allied powers had just won a victory. Fascism was easily coupled with "reaction," so that all postwar coalition agreements stress the "common cause" of a fight against "Fascism and reaction." The vagueness of the definition lends itself readily to Communist manipulation. "Imperialism," "war," "militarism" and other devil-notions of our time provide similarly suitable contents for agreements on a "common cause." The "value of unity" has powerful appeal to all Marxists, because of their fixed idea that the workers' revolution would have inevitably triumphed if it had not been for the split of workers' parties into Socialists and Communists, not to mention the anarchists. "Disunity" among workers has been considered tantamount to a betrayal of the workers' movement.

The "value of unity" has an equally strong appeal in any country where national calamities can be ascribed to a lack of unity, particularly among the democratic parties. Furthermore, "unity" is strongly desired in any difficult situation, particularly a period of national reconstruction. All this makes for minds to which "unity" as such seems to be more important than the principle or end for the sake of which unity is desired, so that political ends, values, and principles are then used as bargaining points in order to achieve and maintain unity. Agreement on "national policy goals" can thus usually be slanted toward the Left, because the non-Communist parties feel that, in moving toward the Left, they can obtain the cooperation of the Communists while they themselves have no strong objections in principle to a certain measure of socialism.

There is a significant difference in the assumptions of non-Communists and Communists regarding the basic coalition agreements. Non-Communists think essentially in terms of the status quo, that is, the present. For them coalition is a matter of mutual concessions entered into in order to safeguard the basic elements of the status quo while sacrificing certain unessential aspects. One can almost say categorically that for all non-Communist democratic parties, the continuation of their own functioning as political units is the essence of the status quo. . . . If self-preservation motivates the democratic parties entering into a coalition with Communists, no such assumption can be entertained by Communists, for Communists regard the present not as a status quo to be preserved, but as a period of transition in the revolutionary struggle for a Socialist future. The destruction of the status quo, including the parliamentary multi-party system, must therefore be the Communist design regardless of what Communists tell their coalition partners. One cannot accuse the Communists of insincerity when they say that they are interested in democracy, elections, civil liberties, and coalition governments. They are, indeed, interested in having these advantages which greatly facilitate their operations. Unlike others, however, they do not look upon these things as elements of an enduring order, but only as means of power in a passing phase

of history which must be "liquidated" with all possible speed.

The Communists are oriented toward a future which in no wise resembles that of present-day democratic politics, whereas their coalition partners are oriented toward the democratic order of the present as something desirable in itself. Their orientation toward the future causes the Communists to think not in terms of desirable solutions for present-day living, but rather in terms of an endless accumulation of power for the Party which "holds the future in its hands." In Communist thinking, as exemplified by the excerpts from Marx and Lenin in the first section, the road to the future counts for everything, and that road is one of spiralling power accumulation.

It is this basic difference in orientation which causes Communists to manipulate other parties by means of agreements on "common causes," "value of entity," "national policy goals," etc. Taken by themselves, many of these causes are good causes, and the joining of several political parties for a common pursuit of such causes is a good thing. Since the Communists are essentially oriented toward a future world that by design has nothing in common with the present, they cannot feel loyal to any cause that is conceived in terms of the present, including the fight against present evils. In the present world, everything must be either an obstacle to, or a tool for, Communist power. What seems to be a "common cause" uniting Communists with non-Communists is but an illusion.

The creation of this illusion with respect to ends and means is the most important element in the Communist design. Wherever Communists succeed in creating the impression that they have entered with others into a basic agreement on common ends, and on means appropriate to these ends, they succeed in being accepted as friends and partners, which enables them to move in circles previously closed to them and to manipulate institutions to which otherwise they would have no access. Once this kind of *entré* has been obtained, the Communists begin the operations which are important to them. In these operations one can distinguish the following: (1) occupation of positions of power, (2) legitimization of Communist power, (3) the elimination and destruction of rival parties and political forces, (4) organized control of the masses, and (5) terrorization of the opposition.

The "occupation of positions of power" aims at getting Communists into two kinds of agencies: those having the authority and the means to arrest, punish, and ultimately terrorize, and those having authority and means to change the basic order of society. . . . such agencies are the ministers of the Interior, Justice, Industrial Production, and Agriculture. Occasionally, an Institute of Agrarian Reform will do in lieu of the latter. The Communists also are interested in getting their hands on the official means of propaganda, but may content themselves with staffing these agencies rather than directing them, or even merely with controlling their supplies, such as paper for the press.

"Legitimization of Communist power" is something that Communists seem to crave almost with the strength of passion. They are profoundly aware of their being rejected by the public opinion of the world, and of the impossibility of legitimizing their rule in terms of their own ideology which is not shared by the people. Precisely because they define themselves as strangers in the present world and enemies of all that now exists, they know that they cannot count on the consent of the masses if they appeal to the masses mainly as Communists. . . . The legitimization of power can be conferred upon them only by political processes and elements that have standing the present world, above all

by those of democracy. They are extremely anxious to have their own power sanctioned by democratic parties, leaders, procedures, and, above all, to base their "mandate" on popular elections. Coalition governments therefore have the important purpose of obtaining for Communists the official endorsement of what Karl Marx called the "overwhelming majority" of the people. . . . In order to obtain the desired electoral support, the Communists exploit the "national policy goals" to which the coalition has committed itself. They push policies that appeal to this or that part of the population, upset the entire society, destroy social and political elements opposed to their rule, and profit again from a public indictment of these elements. Socialization, agrarian reforms, "millionaires' levies," wage raises, and even constitutional reforms are thus tactical devices by which the Communists hope above all to increase their electoral support. In the eyes of the people, they give themselves the appearance of advocates of the downtrodden, champions of reform, initiators of innovation, . . . Such policies, once enacted, often supply the Communists with further means to secure the adherence of the masses. . . . For all this, they need the cooperation of democratic parties, but only for as long as it takes to establish a "legitimate" basis for the rule of Communists.

Ultimately, the Communists are determined not to share power with anybody. While using the coalition with democratic partners for the purpose of legitimization, they proceed simultaneously with "the elimination and destruction of rival parties," their partners in the coalition. In this process, they exploit to the hilt the possibilities created by the "basic agreements," above all the "common cause," and the "non-tolerance of certain parties, ideas, and individuals in the political theater." The "common cause" includes the fight "against reaction." When certain parties, ideas, and individuals are barred from political activities because of their "reactionary" character it is not difficult to throw suspicion of complicity with "reactionaries" on leaders of bourgeois parties that are members of the coalition. Discrediting leaders on political and personal grounds, the Communists find it possible to undermine the people's support of democratic parties. In an atmosphere of high political pressure, it is always possible to find evidence of "plots" and to pass off such "plots" as attempts to destroy the coalition and to endanger the "unity" that has been declared of supreme value. The very existence of several parties can be made to appear as a threat to "unity." With this kind of public argument, the Communists manage to mareuver their partners into consenting to joint tickets for the entire coalition. A joint ticket is the first step to the termination of autonomous parties. The next step is the absorption of other parties into a "Marxist Bloc," or into a "Government Bloc," in either of which the Communists alone call the tune. "Unity" can be pleaded in various terms which appeal to different groups. Workers' parties can be induced to merge with the Communists in the name of "proletarian unity," left-wing bourgeois parties, in the name of "socialist unity," and other democratic parties, in the name of "patriotic unity." Once the Communists have persuaded other party leaders to agree to a merger, these leaders all too often become willing and permanent tools of Communist leadership. While there have been many defections from the ranks of the Communists themselves, former liberal or democratic leaders who have passed into the camp of a "unity party" seem incapable of reversing themselves.

The "organized control of the masses" is both an end and a means for the Communists. The "United Front" idea serves them as a pretext to merge already existing organizations into larger units, and to add new

organizations corresponding to the spirit and purpose of the United Front. The first step usually is the creation of a single national trade union organization out of unions that in most cases have different political colorations. In the process of unification, which is accomplished under Communist prodding, the Communists usually succeed in occupying the few administrative positions that secure control of the entire body. Almost without fail, the Communists have pressed for the creation of new "united" organizations for women, youth, veterans, etc., flanking all of these with a "friends of the Soviet Union" organization.

Communists are excellent organizers. When organizations are started from scratch, at a given signal, rather than growing from below, the Communists can usually count on seizing the reins before others even realize their opportunities. However, the Communists can be beaten at this game by people who have learned to recognize and even to imitate their tactics.

Another device of organized mass control is the creation of national committees for some purpose recognized by the basic coalition agreements. These can be national committees for seemingly democratic administration, or committees for agrarian reform, or "liberation committees." The pattern is that of the Russian soviets. These organizations, being new and created on order, can easily be taken over by local Communists who in turn are under the discipline of the Communist Party's central leadership. As they mobilize for political action masses of people who previously were passive, the institution of such organization is in itself somewhat of a revolutionary step. "Mass control" also usually includes a militia, armed groups set up on Communist request and thus under Communist management. At all times, however, they can be used as instruments of pressure and terror, until Communists establish their dictatorial rule and once again disarm the people.

The need for all these types of new mass organizations is usually established in terms of the basic coalition agreements. These agreements arouse the hope of a new unity, a new national awakening, indeed a new world of peace and harmony. Once there is the illusion of a "new spirit," the Communists have very little trouble in persuading their partners of the necessity to embody that spirit in broad popular organizations, and less trouble in getting their own men into the key positions of control.

Finally, the "terrorization of the opposition" is not merely a means to eliminate rival parties but is at the same time a permanent feature of Communist rule and, thus, an end in itself. The Communist goal, according to Stalin, is the "voluntary and conscious submission" of the individual to the Party's leadership. A person who is amenable to Communist ideology can and must be persuaded to submit to the Party for the sake of the Party's ideological ends. A person who cannot thus be persuaded must still be induced to submit "voluntarily and consciously." This can be accomplished only by fear.

The logic of the Communist process of persuasion . . . is a combination of seemingly lofty and idealistic appeals with criticism and denunciation of the individual which goes on until the last remnant of self-respect and personal dignity is destroyed. This method is applied not only in sessions of "criticism and self-criticism," but also in campaigns against politicians whom Communists want to destroy as public authorities. In the name of apparently ideal principles of social justice, patriotic unity, and political harmony, these leaders are publicly accused of selfishness, reactionary ideas, subservience to sinister interests, and complicity with "imperialism." In addition, they are exposed for personal failings, made to appear corrupt, compromised in doubtful sexual relations, caught in shady deals. Political ac-

cusation and personal vilification are followed by arrests. "People's courts," one of the first demands Communists usually make upon entering a coalition, can be counted on to move swiftly and vengefully against someone whom the Communist police have skillfully prepared for public trial. It does not take more than three or four such cases before the other opposition leaders get the message . . . They either leave the national scene, as did Ferenc Nagy in 1948, or acknowledge defeat and resign, as did Largo Caballero in 1937.

The regime of terror assures the Communist that there will be no successors to those who thus go down. The terror is extended to local bodies and organizations, so that there is the most complete compliance with Communist rule, out of a deep realization of individual helplessness and exposure. . . .

The Communists never initiate their campaign of terror with the claim that there is danger for their Party alone, but always with the public discovery of "plots" and "conspiracies" against the country, the coalition, and the declared "national policy goals." This enables them to enlist for their purposes the services of courts, magistrates, and officials who on a traditional basis enjoy established authority. Here is one of the most important reasons for the Communists' desire to begin their rule as members of a coalition with traditional parties. They require, however, not merely the partnership of democratic parties, but also an official ban of certain political elements, in the name of the coalition. When a part of the people have been read out of the political community and declared nationally unacceptable, then it is possible to smear others by the trumped-up charge of "association with the people's enemy."

The United Front coalition that begins by setting political limits to the citizen's rights delivers into the hands of Communists the weapon of terror that will ultimately be turned against the members of the coalition itself.

Coalitions are nothing new in the history of communism. Communists came to power in Russia in company with other revolutionary parties whom they attacked and destroyed as soon as they controlled the public means of power. Since then, coalitions have been used by Communists wherever they have established their rule. In spite of the historical record, the Communists have again and again been able to find partners willing to bestow on the Communists the mantle of a coalition's respectability and official sanction. Underlying the readiness to enter into a coalition with Communists there seem to be (1) the conviction that "agreement with Communists is possible," (2) the illusion that there are "common interests" between Communists and non-Communists, (3) a confusion between "Communist demands" and "Communist ends," (4) the expectation that "Communists can be controlled through coalition governments," and (5) the hope that out of a coalition with Communists there will come "peace, unity, and/or democracy."

The impression that "agreement with Communists is possible" is not always derived from a mistaken notion about communism. Quite frequently that impression arises because Communists do change their behavior. From loyalty to the Soviet Union they seem to have moved toward patriotic loyalty, from destructive action in the streets to the give-and-take of parliamentary debate. When such change of conduct is interpreted as a "change of mind," then people are ready for the conclusion that "agreement with Communists is now possible," recognizing that up to that time it had not been. Democratic parties are all too prone to persuade themselves that, when Communists change their minds, it must mean necessarily a move toward democratic ideas. This explains the fact that at every one of

the frequent turns of Communist tactics, many elements in democratic countries stood ready to welcome the wayward sons with open arms, never stopping to find out whether the lost son had actually come "home," or had simply embarked on a new tack.

The "illusion of common interests" between Communists and non-Communists stems, by contrast, from a real ignorance of the Communist mentality. It assumes that Communists, like everyone else, have real interests in the present-day world, even though these interests may widely diverge from the ordinary. On this assumption it makes sense to discover, every once in a while, that in a given situation the Communists must embrace goals in which they are as genuinely interested as others. It is extremely difficult for ordinary persons to understand the mentality of a political movement that actually is based on the complete and utter rejection of the present-day world, has put all its eggs into the basket of a visionary future, and thus has no present interests except that of effecting a transition to that future. Since Communists so often seem to be pragmatically rational, it is hard to believe that they or anyone else could entertain such notions. Communists often make use of the institutions of the present world, but without any sense of loyalty or obligation except to their own enterprise of increasing their revolutionary power to total intensity and universal extension. The interest of Communists may, therefore, happen to coincide with those of others at certain points, but they can in no sense be called "common interests."

A similar mistake confuses "Communist demands" with "Communist ends." Parties oriented toward a political order in the present world embody their ends in the form of political demands with which they confront the electorate, the government, and other parties. The Communists approach their coalition partner likewise with certain demands. Projecting their own democratic mentality into that of the Communists, the democratic leaders believe that the Communist demands represent also Communist ends. They then hope to conciliate the Communists by meeting them halfway or even more than halfway, seeking to elicit the Communists' good will by proving their own. Communist demands on the political scene of the present-day world, however, never represent their ultimate ends. The Communist ends are not limited but total, that Communists aspire to nothing less than a complete transformation of human life and even human nature into something which has not been known before.

Insofar as Communists resort to making demands in the political arena, such demands are merely tactical devices. Marx tells his followers to raise their demands as soon as they are met, or are likely to be met, always to push their demands further than the concession they expect, and to use them for the purpose of upsetting and disturbing the social order by what he calls "the revolution in permanence." Since the establishment of the United Front pattern, the Communists have deviated from Marx's instructions in one respect: they have leaned over backwards in presenting to their coalition partners moderate demands. We know from the Communist documents, however, that these moderate demands are as little representative as the impetuous ones which Marx recommended. Thus one cannot hope to satisfy Communists by meeting their demands even 100 percent. Behind every set of Communist demands there are ends that lie beyond all demands and which cannot be represented concretely except as tactical devices in the struggle for limitless power.

The belief that a coalition government can "control Communists" stems from a naive underestimation of the skill and persistence of totalitarian movements. Democratic parties, when uniting in coalition, do indeed

exercise a certain restraint on each other. That is due, however, to the democratic assumptions which all share. Every democratic coalition member assumes that, if he pushes his own case too far, others will leave the coalition and the joint government will come to an end.

In the case of Czechoslovakia, the resignation of the non-Communist ministers in February 1948 was clearly based on the expectation that their departure from the government would bring the Cabinet down. The Communist Premier, however, calmly filled the vacancies with Communists and obtained for this new Cabinet the President's sanction, in the name of peace and coalition unity. For democrats, coalition government is a form of political being, but for Communists it is a one-way road to power. Therefore no coalition government can hope to tame Communists. It will either be converted into a communist dictatorship, or it will have to curb the Communists by means other than parliamentary coalition maneuvers.

The hope that "peace, unity, and/or democracy" can be furthered by a coalition with Communists has less to do with ignorance of communism, than with superficial and fallacious thinking about peace, unity, and democracy. Underlying this view is a vague notion that democracy requires the universal inclusion of all kinds of political forces and elements into one system, that unity can be attained without inner agreement on truth and morality, and that peace consists in the mere absence of overt large-scale violence.

Here is an overestimation of methods and processes, and an underestimation of ends and convictions. Communists confront non-Communists in openly declared total and irreconcilable hostility. It is believed that if one succeeds in bringing such hostile elements together in a coalition government, the hostility has been overcome and peace has been established through unity. The examples of coalition government with Communists discussed on these pages have shown that this belief is utterly fallacious, because the hostility between Communists and non-Communists has proved to be unconquerable on both sides, and unity has been used for purposes of conquest rather than peace. As far as democracy is concerned, we would do well to remember one rule at least: democratic policy is impossible in the absence of some basic agreement on goals, on political morality, and on the "rules of the game." On all such grounds, binding agreement with Communists is impossible.

Communists have used coalition governments as their chosen vehicle to establish their own totalitarian and exclusive power. It can be said, however, that the principle of coalition is a general Communist mode of operation, of which coalition government is merely a special application. Communists have always sought the company of non-Communists. By themselves, Communists feel deeply insecure because of their chosen self-alienation from the world in which they live. Totalitarian control of the world and all that moves in it is one means by which they seek to overcome this alienation. On the roads to this kind of power, however, Communists have required allies, friends, fellow travelers. They have never isolated themselves prior to having all means of power under their control. They have allied and associated themselves with all kinds of social classes and parties. They have associated themselves with the Nazis. They have fought by the side of the Western capitalist powers during a great war. They have sought the endorsement of democrats, peasants, intellectuals, pacifists—all of whom represent views totally unacceptable to Communists.

Communist successes have been possible ultimately only through the cooperation of their future victims. The first counsel of self-protection against Communist totalitarian-

ism is the realization that, with Communists, no common cause or binding agreement is possible—except on their own terms.

#### AMERICANS MUST UNITE TO AVOID POTENTIAL DANGER

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, the danger signals which appear on the horizon should induce our Nation to take deliberate steps to avoid disaster. The tendency to voice indiscriminate criticism of assorted public figures is both irresponsible and ominous. Indeed, there is an urgent need for unified action in behalf of our national welfare.

Mr. Speaker, the dangers inherent in these warning signals and the desirability of support from an informed and responsible leadership for national unity are set forth convincingly in a recent editorial which appeared in the Brighton-Pittsford Post, published in Pittsford, N.Y. This editorial, which has come to my attention, deserves the careful and thoughtful review of all of my colleagues—and the call for national unity should be heeded by enlightened citizens throughout the Nation. The editorial follows:

#### TIME OF DANGER

If we were a winner in one of the last week's Congressional or Senatorial elections, we would face our elective responsibility with a degree of concern unmatched since the 1930's or even the 1850's.

For we think that while the politicians and polemicists have been venting their rage on Richard Nixon, Watergate, and inflation, the world has been slipping toward an era of chaos and potential war.

No, let's not look around for other Americans to blame. Most of the problems—world famine, the energy crisis, the Mideast confrontations, world economic upheaval—were not created by the United States, nor do we have the ability to remedy such problems singlehandedly.

The infinite danger for the United States lies in the fact that our world commitments, moral and diplomatic, are far greater than our ability or will to support.

The alliances which came out of World War II have degenerated to the point that they often represent fearsome liabilities. America's military superiority, so pronounced 25 years ago, has dwindled sharply.

Western Europe, which we have garrisoned for a generation, refused in Vietnam to support the theory of collective security. Most of these nations today are balking at the idea of collective protection for Israel. They have let the United States carry most of the load in world relief efforts, and the heaviest burden of the costs of the United Nations and its agencies.

In a chaotic world, it appears that tried and true friends are few indeed.

But in the Mid-East the New York Times feels that a renewal of war is probable—with the Israelis facing Arab hosts whom the October War proved to have become formidable military forces.

Should the Israelis prove unable to stem these forces—can the United States go to Israel's aid, virtually alone?

What about our position in our own hemisphere? Do we fully realize that the growth of Hawaii and Alaska, and their advance to

statehood have given the nation responsibilities it has not really faced?

Do we realize that by their control of oil, the Arabs have a kind of control over Western Europe that even Hitler never had?

Do we realize that our relations with South America are in almost total disarray, a South America that is gaining economic and military power?

And what are we doing?

In our supreme arrogance we assume that our military position is still intact. We assume that our economic power is so great that:

1. We can dominate world trade (one viewpoint).

2. We can feed and morally uplift the rest of the world (another viewpoint).

Even the very people who violently opposed the Vietnam War apparently learned nothing from the ability of the North Vietnamese to withstand American military power. In other parts of the world, these former Vietnam War opponents now act as if "gunboat diplomacy" still works.

And at a time when the world security system borders on chaos and America simply no longer calls the tune, we are expected to impose on other nations our ideas of government, morality, and what have you.

And at home?

Ignoring the world powder keg, we allow ourselves the luxury of a divisiveness which could be fatal in time of war or national crisis.

Probably at no time since the 1850's have Americans been so suspicious or so scornful of the motives and value systems of other Americans. Practically everyone has jumped into ideological trenches and is peering fearfully and critically at the other groups which make up the nation.

Intellectual leadership is at the cocktail party level. Moral leadership? No warmth; no concern; no understanding; no balance; in sum, no charity.

Take to the streets or write big checks to aid or hinder some movement halfway around the world.

But call your neighbor a crackpot or a bigot because you and he differ on the means of achieving some social or economic objective on which you both agree.

In the "Soaring Sixties" an incredibly complacent and arrogant nation thought it could afford the luxury of such divisions. Today we still think that we can afford to hate, ridicule, scorn, and antagonize other Americans.

The nation somehow must come to realize that national unity is neither a slick phrase or a put-on.

In today's world, it is a stark necessity.

Can the "new" Congress help us meet this challenge—and to realize our danger?

CONSTANTINOS YOUSISSIS, AN  
INSPIRED ARTIST

HON. MARJORIE S. HOLT

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mrs. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, great religious art that can convey the image of God to man is something we should treasure. The parishioners of St. Katherine's Greek Orthodox Church, Falls Church, are privileged to have their house of worship adorned with the iconography of Constantinos Youssis.

Mr. Youssis is among the finest Byzantine artists in the world, the dean of Byzantine iconographers. The congregation of St. Katherine's Church expresses its profound gratitude to this artist for the work which has made their church

a religious attraction of the Washington area.

JAMES RESTON SAYS: UNITED STATES SHOULD IMPROVE EFFICIENCY OF AGRICULTURE—SOLVE THE FOOD CRISIS

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, Mr. James Reston, the distinguished writer for the New York Times, points out in an article in the Reader's Digest that the U.S. technology in agriculture has not kept pace with improvements in missiles and other military hardware.

He emphasizes that great progress has been made in improving the efficiency of American agriculture—but suggests that more resources be applied to secure more efficient production.

Because of the interest of the American people and my colleagues in this important matter, I place the article from the Reader's Digest in the RECORD herewith.

The article follows:

How Do You MIRV a Cow?

(By James Reston)

THE UNITED STATES COULD MAKE MORE FRIENDS AND PROGRESS IN THE WORLD TODAY BY SOLVING THE FOOD CRISIS THAN BY FIDDLING WITH THE MISSILE CRISIS

During the worst of last winter's oil crisis, Americans complained that the nations of the Middle East were monopolizing the world's oil reserves and creating great hardships by charging the highest prices possible.

Today, with less publicity, the world is facing a food crisis, and the main question this time is what the United States and Canada will do about it. For North America now controls a larger share of the world's exportable supplies of food grains than the Middle East does of oil.

The analogy, of course, is not precise, because the United States is not withholding grain from nations for political purposes. But the price of wheat, soybeans and corn has more than doubled in the last 20 months, and the nations that need food the most are precisely those least able to pay for it.

This raises some hard political and even moral questions. As Lester Brown, of the Overseas Development Council, put it to the Rockefeller Commission on Critical Choices for Americans: Can we rely primarily on the marketplace to set the price and determine the distribution of so essential a commodity as food? And should Americans continue to consume as much fodder as they now do, most of us consuming more than we actually need?

"There is little doubt," Brown told the Rockefeller Commission, "that a year from now we will see the largest food deficit of any region in history unfolding in Asia. Political leaders in the more affluent countries, including the United States, may have to decide whether to throw up their hands and cast Asia adrift, or go to consumers and ask the food equivalent of turning the thermostat down six degrees—reducing consumption of, say, livestock products in order to free up many millions of tons of grain to move into Asia."

World demand for food—basically because of rising populations and improvement of living standards in some countries—is increasing by 30 million tons a year. In 1961,

we had reserves amounting to 95 days of world food consumption. Now, despite very good crops in the major grain-producing countries last year, reserves are down to 27 days and declining by 10 million tons a year.

The U.S. farmers and the Department of Agriculture have probably made as great a contribution to world peace as the soldiers at the Pentagon or the diplomats at the State Department. In the last 20 years, they have increased corn production at a phenomenal rate. And so great has been the demand for soybeans that one acre out of six in the United States is now planted to that crop. U.S. soybean exports now bring in more money than all our high-technology exports such as computers or jet aircraft.

Meanwhile, enormous progress has been made in increasing the production of poultry, eggs and milk. Brown notes that the average milk production of a cow in India today is about 600 pounds a year. In the United States, it averages 10,000 pounds a year.

This, however, does not satisfy the Department of Agriculture experts. They want to know why one remarkable cow in the State of Washington produced 44,000 pounds of milk last year; and why the average American hen, even when tricked by controlled lighting, produces only 232 eggs a year, while the Japanese induced one hen to lay 365.

It is a particular disappointment in Washington that the scientists have not been able to produce multiple births in cattle. This is really, to use Henry Kissinger's term, the "conceptual breakthrough" the agricultural scientists are looking for. They would rather MIRV a cow than missile, but so far they haven't managed to do it, and supply keeps running behind demand.

They are other reasons. The United States is running out of idle acres. Fertilizer is in short supply because of the rising price of oil—a vital ingredient—and increased demand. While the average person in poor countries consumes about 400 pounds of grain a year, the average North American is now consuming nearly a ton of grain a year, about 35 pounds of it in the form of beer and whisky.

Also, while we are now putting much marginal land back into production in the United States, we are also taking out of production about a half-million good acres a year for highways, shopping centers and golf courses.

It is true, of course, that the Malthusians have long been predicting disaster in this race between people and food, but the surplus of people and the shortages of water, land, energy and common sense are beginning to catch up with us again.

The guess here is that the United States could make more friends and progress in the world by solving the food crisis than by fiddling with the missile crisis. This will take some doing. For the rich world doesn't yet really believe in the coming food crisis. But it will. One day we'll all be Weight Watchers, including Henry Kissinger. But not until the crisis is much better understood.

DÉTENTE IS NO CURE FOR BUGS IN  
MOSCOW

HON. ROBERT J. HUBER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Speaker, the expansion of East-West trade, as the result of so-called détente, has not in the least dimmed the ardor of the KGB for espionage. The KGB even went to the trouble to bug the residence of the Vice President of the new U.S.-U.S.S.R. Trade

and Economic Council in Moscow. The story by Betty Beale in the Washington Star-News of October 27, 1974 follows:

**DÉTENTE IS NO CURE FOR BUGS IN  
Moscow**

Bugging may be out of style in Washington but it is definitely the thing to do in Moscow.

Here we are all gungho about detente with Russia and the Russians seem to be making new concessions toward linking arms commercially and diplomatically with the U.S. but each government has about as much confidence in the other as the White House five now on trial have in Richard Nixon. With appropriate fanfare the new U.S.-USSR Trade and Economic Council was established October 14 with its vice president, John Connor Jr., taking up permanent residence in Moscow. But what did John find in his Moscow digs?

"He found 23 bugs," said a male guest at Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and Mrs. Weinberger's tea last Sunday afternoon. "Ugh!" said a woman guest. "What kind were they?" "I'm talking about listening bugs—as in Watergate," corrected the gentleman visitor.

It seems the Russians were taking no chances with the new trade arrangements. The 23 bugs were scattered in a mere five-room apartment! Of course, all were completely concealed but an American team went over the apartment with a detector and located them.

**HISTORICAL ST. PAUL**

**HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, the city of St. Paul is making major strides to preserve and restore its historical buildings and sites. A major example is the work now being done in the Old Federal Courts Building. And playing an important part in this effort is the Ramsey County and St. Paul Historical Society. I offer a newspaper account from the St. Paul Dispatch of November 20, 1974, detailing some of the society's efforts, for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

**A CELEBRATION OF ST. PAUL HISTORY  
"WHERE IT'S AT"**

(By Oliver Towne)

A year ago Virginia Brainard Kunz sat in the basement of a one-room restored schoolhouse on the Gibbs Farm Museum grounds in Falcon Heights, trying to run the Ramsey County and St. Paul Historical Society.

"It was," she said, "like standing out in left field for nine innings when the whole game was being played at home plate."

Home plate, in this case was St. Paul, the closer to the Mississippi River the better.

"The real action in St. Paul history always has been right where we are," Virginia said.

For the better part of 1974, "here where we are" has been the Old Federal Courts Building, facing Rice Park, that "Rhine-stone" turreted acquisition bidding fair to focus the best of St. Paul civilization under one roof.

Thursday the first anniversary of adding the words "St. Paul" to Ramsey County Historical Society will be observed. It will be done by candlelight in the immense balconied Courtille (Courtyard), with wine, food and accolades.

Since the society opened its historical vistas from the northwest corner of the main floor, "we've suddenly become a sought after, consulted, involved and dynamic part

of the whole city as it sweeps toward the end of the 20th century," said Virginia.

There is this adage, too, about being at the right place at the right time.

"Suddenly we're riding the crest of a wave of nostalgia, an enthusiasm for the past, old buildings, old music, heritage and we're going to ride it right into America's Bicentennial," she said.

The only reason nobody ever thought about a "St. Paul" historical society is because until lately no one in the city was interested.

"It was a loyal, little band of people in rural Ramsey County and St. Anthony Park who nurtured our history and so it took on a rural, rather than urban character.

"What we added last year was not only a name, but also a second dimension. The Gibbs Farm Museum will be our rural site of Ramsey County's past and down here we added the urban historical development," Virginia said.

The latter has reached out into the city with eager and friendly hands.

Graphic arts shops and the society staff have been turning out prodigious pamphlets, brochures and reprints of art by America's early artists who painted the scene—Seth Eastman, for instance.

Very early, Virginia sat down and designed a "Walking Tour" of Downtown St. Paul history—a dozen marked sites on a map. Places like Irvine Park and its remaining notable houses, the Pioneer Building, Ramsey home, Assumption Catholic and First Baptist churches, McColl Building, Park Square Court, Central Presbyterian and St. Louis Catholic churches, Smith Park. There are others.

Just now, with high professionalism, a paneled display covering the walls of the society's exhibit rooms depicts the very beginnings of St. Paul—10,000 years ago when the last glaciers set the geographical stage for the city.

A modest, but amply-filled gift shop is just off the exhibit rooms. Hand painted plates with the Old Federal Courts Building sell for \$35—collector's choices.

"What we're trying to do is tell people, 'Hey, this is where it was at . . . the pioneering of the Northwest . . . right here in St. Paul, where the river bends,'" Virginia said.

"Why, do you know that over on the West Side, where the Spanish-Americans now cluster, that land once belonged to Spain, from 1762 to 1803? You see how the past relates to now?"

In its new role Downtown, the society is beginning to do some original research, separating fact from fiction and coming up with a lot more realism and honesty in the people and events that shaped the city.

"They weren't all heroes," said Virginia. "I like to think we're helping people get themselves together for the Bicentennial and beyond," she said.

So does Robert Orr Baker, author, historian and secretary of St. Paul Insurance Companies, who engineered the society's new "bloom" as president.

Virginia Kunz's enthusiasm and conversion to St. Paul history shouldn't be overlooked—considering she was spawned in Minneapolis and earned her living writing for the Minneapolis newspapers.

"Until," as she said, "I fell off my horse."

**LAND USE AND THE WORLD FOOD  
CRISIS**

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

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, now that the World Food Conference

is over, and we have some idea about the enormity of the task that faces America in meeting the world food crisis, I think it is appropriate that we consider some related issues closer to home.

Agriculture is again being recognized as one of the prime uses of the land. In some areas, such as my home State of California, there has been considerable neglect of this fact. In California alone there has been a loss of agriculture land to residential or industrial uses at an appalling rate of 64,000 acres per year. This destruction of land that is needed for food production cannot continue.

Fortunately this situation has been recognized, and some people are attempting to remedy the situation. One of the leaders in this effort has been Assemblyman Charles Warren, who is chairman of the California State Assembly Committee on Energy and Diminishing Materials.

I would like to share an article that Assemblyman Warren wrote for the October issue of California Today at this time because I believe it has national significance.

The article follows:

**AGRICULTURAL LANDS—CALIFORNIA'S RESPONSE  
TO WORLDWIDE FOOD CRISIS**

(By Assemblyman Charles Warren)

American agriculture has been turned upside down in the last year. Plagued by years of overproduction and surplus, the agricultural industry suddenly found itself unable to meet demand even when operating at full throttle.

In 1973 a crop failure in Russia and a series of agricultural problems in Asia reduced food supplies 4% below 1972 levels, while population growth and increasing affluence had pushed demand up 2%. This net 6% worldwide shortfall hit the U.S. hard—both because it is the world's largest exporter of basic grains and because of an unusually large but unfavorable wheat sale to the USSR. With the high value people place on a commodity as basic as food, even the apparently small shortages sent prices through the roof. Meat prices doubled and grain prices tripled, fanning the flames of a ruinously high inflation rate.

Is this a temporary aberration or the emergence of a longer term trend? A distinguished committee of agricultural specialists from the University of California recently saw no cause for alarm. Their report noted that 8 billion people, 4 billion more people than are alive now, could be provided with adequate food if all the world's potentially arable land were producing crops at current world average yields.

But the question is not so much one of total available resources as one of timing—increasing production at a rate that will keep pace with expanding demand.

At least until the end of the century, demand will grow at a rate near 2% annually. That means that shortly after the year 2000 food production must be 100% above this year's level in order to satisfy demand. Because of a variety of impediments—increasing costs, fertilizer and materials shortages, lack of capital, physical and economic limits to increased yields and general inertia—a 2% annual worldwide supply increase to keep pace with demand just doesn't look likely.

Even if we had the potential to feed 8 billion people, that level of production would not likely be reached until there were 12 billion hungry people to be fed. In other words, unless present conditions change radically, we will experience an era of chronic food shortage in the world. Many in the poorer nations will simply find food priced out of reach—and starve—while in the U.S.



the continued pressure in the international market will keep prices up, continuing the alarming hike in each family's food bill.

## CALIFORNIA

These alarming facts are of particular importance to California, where agriculture is the state's major industry.

In California today, 54% of the state's total land mass is in agricultural production: timber, grazing, crops. The world demand on California agricultural products is high. We export citrus products to Italy, grapes to England and cotton to Japan. California also supplies 25% of U.S. table crops and the demand is increasing.

Unfortunately, while demand for California crops is growing, the amount of prime agricultural land in California is shrinking—due largely to the horizontal spread of cities and suburbs. Each year 64,000 acres of prime agricultural land are lost to residential or industrial development. The California State Division of Soil Conservation has estimated that the total of new capital investments required to replace the prime land lost to agricultural production in California is as much as \$207 million a year.

While the base is being balanced by new irrigated acreage, that acreage is generally on poorer soils, has a lower yield per acre, is more costly to farm per acre and requires a substantially larger energy input (for fertilizer, water transfer and irrigation, farm machinery and transportation) per unit of food output.

County	Acres irrigated	
	1954	1964
Los Angeles.....	147,288	78,813
Orange.....	101,140	54,893
San Bernardino.....	101,981	81,173
San Diego.....	62,779	52,436
Santa Barbara.....	68,984	65,079
Santa Clara.....	114,776	78,665
Ventura.....	112,306	103,161
Total loss 1954-64.....		195,034

Source: The Politics of Land, Robert C. Fellmeth.

The loss of agricultural land is especially rapid near expanding urban centers. Cities generally expand on land that is flat, accessible, well-drained, favored by climatic conditions—criteria which match exactly those of prime agricultural land. In many instances the agricultural land is not only prime due to mineral content or climatic conditions, but the land may be particularly well suited for special crops (vineyards or artichoke fields). The sprawl of suburbia forces farms farther and farther from the city centers—which adds an additional factor into the cost spiral—ever increasing transportation costs.

A perfect example of the spiral is the tremendous increase in the price of milk—much of which can be traced to the increased distance between the dairy and the market.

## A SOLUTION

Faced with worldwide food shortages, one of the most valuable things the state could do right now to begin to slow this trend is to halt the urbanization of our major food producing resource, prime agricultural lands—placing all prime agricultural land in an agricultural preserve, and taxing it accordingly.

Such a proposal, of course, is bound to generate much controversy. But I would suggest that much of the initial opposition to preservation of prime agricultural lands would disappear once it is shown that there are, in fact, no alternatives so easily implemented nor so cost effective.

## ALTERNATIVES

What are the alternatives?

All the forces which have traditionally contributed to the rapid growth in agricul-

tural production are showing signs of constraint.

Bringing more land under cultivation has become an expensive and slow task. To meet 1985 food needs, the increase of worldwide cultivated land would have to double its present pace of 0.15% per year. To achieve such a goal would require massive infusions of money to provide new water projects, fertilizer, farm equipment, and roads and vehicles to carry the produce the ever increasing distance between the farm and the market.

The prospects for increasing crop yields per acre appear equally dismal. The major avenues to better crop yields are the use of hybrid plants and the application of fertilizer. As everyone knows, there has been a rather substantial change in the world market price for oil. For agriculture in the developing countries the major side effect has been the tripling of the price of fertilizer, a petrochemical product. In the U.S. heavy fertilizer use is so widespread that large quantities of fertilizer are required to produce minuscule yield increases from existing cultivated land. To double the U.S. yield on land now in production would require six times the present fertilizer input.

Similarly, the increasing use of new plant varieties will be limited. In the middle of the last decade the rapid spread of the "miracle" grains of the Green Revolution raised hopes of marked improvements in yields per acre. In the last few years, however, the use of these grains has spread very slowly in comparison to the boom years of 1967 and 1968. In the U.S., high-yield hybrid grains are planted so commonly that little potential exists for quick gains in the future.

Consideration of all the factors involved strongly leads one to the conclusion that increased yield per acre will not provide for the needs of the population. Immediate action is needed to protect that land which is now under production.

Preserving agricultural lands is one sure way to halt the process of urbanization and achieve quick gains in the food shortage battle which are not eventually counterproductive—in contrast to the other major options discussed above. It also has the advantage of avoiding several environmental problems (salinization, pollution from fertilizer run-off, and massive water projects), as well as eliminating the need for substantial capital investment in agriculture and providing lower cost food.

## CONCLUSION

It would be easy, but incorrect, to assume that this solution creates a direct conflict with the need to accommodate new urban growth. Such a conflict is more apparent than real. In fact, the setting aside of lands under protection may be just the catalyst needed to at last do something about our decaying inner cities.

The need to establish an agricultural preserve does highlight our failure to develop a more comprehensive integrated land use management policy.

But, in my opinion, the exigencies of the food crisis require a rapid response in this one small area of the total land use puzzle. We just can't wait. This is an action which the state can take immediately without waiting for federal prodding or without feeling helplessly caught in a morass over which it has no control.

Stringent prime agricultural land preservation will have substantial impact only if implemented by all major agricultural states. But California has had the recurrent habit of being the vanguard of major new problems in several areas. One can certainly hope for similar success with an issue as basic as prime agricultural land preservation, and that should make it rate high on the list of priorities for 1975.

## THE PENALTY FOR EXCELLENCE

## HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, one of the major news items last week was the announcement by the Justice Department that they had filed suit against A.T. & T. on the grounds of an antitrust violation. This announcement had predictable impact in financial and business circles and was greeted with a great deal of verbal support on Capitol Hill.

I respectfully recommend to my colleagues an editorial by Richard Wilson in the Monday, November 25, Washington Star-News which expresses a point of view that merits serious review:

## THE PENALTY FOR EXCELLENCE

(By Richard Wilson)

Picking up the phone anywhere in the world outside the United States is an adventure into the unknown, even for those having command of languages. Even in Britain the phone call Americans take for granted can have unpredictable results.

The Bell System of America is the best for the money in the world, easiest to use, most predictable and most extensive. It is one of technology's major triumphs and has contributed immeasurably to this country's growth and prosperity.

If the U.S. mail were delivered half as well life would be simpler.

The antitrust action now undertaken by that dedicated group in the Justice Department who think bigness is clear proof of badness may change all that.

A worse time could not possibly have been chosen than the present economic recession to prove that AT&T should be broken up for the purpose of increasing competition. It is quite likely to increase the cost of telephone service and to reduce its quality.

But that is probably not the worst of it. The worst of it lies in the signal that goes out to all big business that the political climate in which they operate has changed. They are exposed anew to the truly pernicious doctrine that successful organization and management, with all the advantages it brings to the consumer cannot be tolerated if it grows big and pervasive, no matter how well controlled it may be.

It cannot be tolerated because of some theoretical doctrines based upon outmoded ideas. These doctrines hold that a proliferation of competitors will bring prices down, improve quality, benefit the consumer and prevent the creation of economic dictatorships.

Does anyone really believe any more that a multitude of soap companies vying for a market with stupendous costs for advertising and marketing gives us better soap at cheaper cost? Does anyone really believe that the proliferation of kinds, makes, sizes, colors and shapes of motor cars improves transportation or even makes them cheaper? Certainly no one believes that breaking down General Motors into a score of companies making separate cars would help any.

With soap and cars it can be argued that the sum of competition for the buyers' dollar creates a gushing fountain of economic activity providing employment, well being and profits. It's the American system, bless it, and it has made us the most prosperous people in the world.

With phones and other communications it is quite different. An integrated system of the greatest complexity, nationwide and even worldwide, creates the necessary linkage for

successful operation. This is well known in every advanced country and the usual way of creating it is government ownership, control and operation of communications systems.

But in the United States this has been done with far greater success by private enterprise, so much so that the country was led to hope that the postal service might be handled in much the same way. But it could not be and the failure lay in the lack of a thoroughly organized, efficiently operating, fiercely proud and technologically superior structure like that of the Bell System and its associated enterprises.

So now, because of antitrust ideas applicable in a different time to different problems, the Bell System must be taken into court and broken up without the slightest agreement that this would be good for the country.

Hands are raised in holy horror at the Justice Department when it is suggested that now, with Nixon gone, the dedicated breakers-up think they will have their way and President Ford does not dare stop them.

But that is the way the AT&T action will be read in more than one board room by directors already quaking with fears of declining markets and increased costs.

No stronger adverse signal could have gone out than government action against the world's biggest, and maybe best, corporation. It will be many years in all probability before the issue is resolved and perhaps common sense will finally come to the rescue.

#### A NEWSMAN VIEWS ONE ALTERNATIVE

### HON. ROBERT J. HUBER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial broadcast over station KPOL, Los Angeles, Calif., pointed out the contrast between the operation of the U.S. Postal System as opposed to the operation of Bell Telephone over the years. This editorial should give pause to those who speak lightly of Government ownership of industry. The editorial follows:

#### A GOVERNMENT SYSTEM?—A NEWSMAN VIEWS ONE ALTERNATIVE

It seems that people who think the government should go into private business would have second thoughts every time they have to wait four days for a government-run post office department to get a letter across town.

In the early 1930's, a first class stamp cost two cents, and you got home deliveries of mail twice a day and three or four times a day at your office.

But today, a first class stamp costs 10 cents and you get one delivery a day at home and one at the office.

At Bell Telephone in 1932, it cost \$9.50 to phone from Los Angeles to New York and it might have taken 20 minutes to make connections. Today, the same phone call costs \$1.45, or even less, and you'll get through almost immediately.

Since 1935, the post office has accumulated a total deficit of more than \$22 billion made up by taxpayers—who also pay ever-increasing postage costs.

During the same period, Bell has put more than \$54 billion into government coffers through tax payments and has managed to

pay several billions more in dividends to stockholders.

California State Senator "Bill" Richardson concludes, "the next time you hear of someone wanting to nationalize any American industry, just imagine that the same folks who brought you the post office will be running the store."

If that doesn't send shivers down your back, nothing will.

#### SUPPLEMENTAL SECURITY INCOME

### HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, I am very concerned about the problems that have developed regarding the implementation of the medicaid portion of the supplemental security income—SSI—program. The Texas State Department of Public Welfare, which is very capably administered by its commissioner, Raymond W. Vowell, has estimated that some 20,000 disabled Texans, a handful of blind people and thousands more elderly persons over 65 are being deprived of guaranteed medical assistance. The Social Security Administration of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is supposed to provide the Texas Department of Public Welfare with eligibility lists that the DPW uses to pay medicaid benefits. But evidently high officials in HEW did not anticipate the magnitude of this problem, and as a result, there have been serious errors and delays.

I would like to insert into the record a letter from Commissioner Vowell to HEW Secretary Caspar Weinberger which details the difficulties in a more specific manner:

STATE DEPARTMENT  
OF PUBLIC WELFARE,  
Austin, Tex., October 24, 1974.

HON. CASPAR W. WEINBERGER,  
Secretary, Department of Health, Education,  
and Welfare, Office of the Secretary,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SECRETARY WEINBERGER: On April 17, 1974, I wrote to you regarding the failure of the Social Security Administration to fulfill its contractual responsibilities to the State of Texas. Pursuant to Section 1634 of the Social Security Act, on November 30, 1973 the Texas State Department of Public Welfare contracted with the Social Security Administration to render Title XIX eligibility determinations for those persons who receive benefits under the program of Supplemental Security Income, and to provide the State with accurate data regarding accretions and deletions on a daily basis via the SSI/State Data Exchange System (SDX). Although this contract was renewed on June 18, 1974, the Social Security Administration has been unable to comply with the terms of the contract because the communications link, the SSI/State Data Exchange System (SDX), does not function as anticipated.

In my letter of April 17, 1974, eleven specific problems were enumerated. Although some problems have been alleviated by stop gap measures such as the manual Medicaid certification procedure initiated by Texas in August, 1974, the basic problems with the SSI/State Data Exchange System have not been resolved.

1. The Social Security Administration's updating of the SDX files has improved but is

still sporadic. Texas is receiving four to five updates per month but the tapes are received in batches. The update data itself is not always current when received.

2. Individuals who are issued an SSI check through a manual process in the SSA District offices are not accreted through the SSA computer system. A manual system to establish Medicaid eligibility has been initiated. However, many cases still go unreported and many cases remain open for medical assistance after eligibility for SSI has ended.

3. The SDX tape sent to Texas continues to contain individuals with residency addresses in other states.

4. The SDX information regarding the basis for eligibility (i.e., age, blindness, or disability) continues to be inaccurate or missing.

5. Although income information is now being provided, the data is frequently incorrect or out of date. Lump sum payments are reported as monthly income.

The correct monthly income is needed by Texas to compute the amount of income which the individual is to apply toward the cost of care in nursing facilities or institutions. The inability of the SDX system to provide this information has made it impossible for the Texas State Department of Public Welfare to issue prompt, correct payments to the providers of nursing care. Because of present and past inadequacies in the SDX system, the problem of nursing care payments has reached intolerable levels. Approximately 85% of the SSI eligibles in nursing homes are receiving incorrect payments on their behalf because of faulty data concerning income and SSI payment levels. Providers of care are claiming over seven million dollars is owed on behalf of these recipients. In addition, there are approximately 3,580 SSI recipients in Texas nursing homes for whom no payments have been made because they have not been accreted to the Medicaid rolls via the SDX system. Based on need for care \$3,244,337.68 is owed on behalf of these recipients. Payment cannot be made until Texas is notified of eligibility for SSI by the Social Security Administration. Reports indicate the problem is not decreasing but increasing by approximately 300 cases per month.

The problem of payment has reached such epidemic proportions that some nursing homes are refusing to accept SSI recipients in need of nursing care. Many more homes are borrowing funds at exorbitant interest rates to stay in business. At the same time that nursing facilities are facing bankruptcy because of the SDX system, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is enforcing more restrictions upon the providers of care through the new nursing care standards and increased utilization reviews.

As I stated in my letter of April 17, 1974, the fault does not lie with the willingness of the Dallas Regional staff of the Social Security Administration to cooperate in attempting to resolve these problems. The problem is the result of the inability of the SSI/State Data Exchange System (SDX) to function as anticipated and the failure of the Health, Education, and Welfare Administration at the highest level to respond in a satisfactory manner.

This matter is called to your attention because the problems experienced by Texas are not unique but are common to other states in varying degrees. The communications link between the SSA and the states is the key to the success or failure of our joint efforts to serve the people of this State and of the nation. Our efforts are doomed to failure unless the system can be corrected to provide necessary information on an accurate and timely basis. Your attention to this matter and its prompt resolution is appreciated.

Sincerely,

RAYMOND W. VOWELL.

**GIVING THANKS FOR FREE ENTERPRISE ON THIS THANKSGIVING**

**HON. JACK F. KEMP**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, as we celebrate Thanksgiving all of us will take stock of that for which we can be thankful, both as individuals and as a nation.

Too often, perhaps, in our day-to-day dealings with problems and issues, we tend to overlook how much for which we have to be thankful, as to the institutions and traditions which insure that continuity of our American way of life.

We, of course, associate Thanksgiving each year with the first Thanksgiving feast at Plymouth Colony, where thanks was first offered to God for the bounty of a new land by the Pilgrim fathers.

It would serve us well during this Thanksgiving season to ponder the experience of those Pilgrim fathers, especially as to how they turned away from a fruitless policy of collectivism and central planning and found the bounty and productivity which arises naturally from private ownership, individual effort and the incentives of a free market economy.

It is in this spirit that the writings of William Bradford, governor of the Plymouth Colony during its formative years, bear heavily upon the debate in our country today on whether economic freedom and prosperity can long endure the burdens of the collective government controls and regulations now weighting it down and threatening our future progress and individual liberty.

I here include Governor Bradford's remarks:

"So they began to think how they might raise as much corn as they could, and obtain a better crop than they had done, that they might not still thus languish in misery. At length, after much debate of things, the Governor . . . gave way that they should set corn every man for his own particular, and in that regard trust to themselves; in all other things to go on in the general way as before. And so assigned to every family a parcel of land, according to the proportion of their number, for that end, only for present use . . . and ranged all boys and youth under some family. This had very good success, for it made all hands very industrious, so as much more corn was planted than otherwise would have been by any means the Governor or any other could use, and saved him a great deal of trouble, and gave far better content. The women now went willingly into the field, and took their little ones with them to set corn; which before would allege weakness and inability; whom to have compelled would have been thought great tyranny and oppression.

FROM FAMINE—

"The experience that was had in this common course and condition, tried sundry years and that amongst godly and sober men, may well evince the vanity of that conceit of Plato's and other ancients . . . that the taking away of property and bringing in community into a commonwealth would make them happy and flourishing; as if they were wiser than God. For this community (so far as it was) was found to breed much confusion and discontent and retard much employment that would have been to their benefit and comfort. For the young men, that were most able and fit for labour and service, did repine that they should spend their time and

strength to work for other men's wives and children without any recompense. The strong, or man of parts, had no more in division of victuals and clothes than he that was weak and not able to do a quarter the other could; this was thought injustice. The aged and braver men to be ranked and equalized in labours and victuals, clothes, etc., with the meaner and younger sort, thought it some indignity and disrespect unto them. And for men's wives to be commanded to do service for other men, as dressing their meat, washing their clothes, etc., they deemed it a kind of slavery, neither could many husbands well brook it. Upon the point all being to have alike, and all to do alike, they thought themselves in the like condition, and one as good as another; and so, if it did not cut off those relations that God hath set amongst men, yet it did at least much diminish and take off the mutual respects that should be preserved amongst them. And would have been worse if they had been men of another condition. Let none object this is men's corruption, and nothing to the course itself. I answer, seeing all men have this corruption in them, God in His wisdom saw another course fitter for them . . .

TO PLENTY

" . . . Harvest was come, and instead of famine now God gave them plenty, and the face of things was changed, to the rejoicing of the hearts of many, for which they blessed God. And the effect of their particular planting was well seen, for all had, one way and other, pretty well to bring the year about; and some of the abler sort and more industrious had to spare, and sell to others; so as any general want or famine hath not been amongst them since to this day . . .

"That they might therefore increase their tillage to better advantage, they made suit to the Governor to have some portion of land given them for continuance, and not by yearly lot. For by that means, that which the more industrious had brought into good culture (by much pains) one year, came to leave it the next, and often another might enjoy it; so as the dressing of their lands were the more slighted over, and to less profit. Which being well considered, their request was granted."

I am indebted to Prof. Milton Friedman, the distinguished professor of economics at the University of Chicago, for bringing this excerpt from Governor Bradford's writings to our attention at the beginning of this holiday season, as well as, his many efforts to promote the cause of competitive free enterprise.

**THE BIRTHDAY OF WINSTON CHURCHILL**

**HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI**

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, on November 30, nations which adhere to the traditions of democracy, will celebrate the centennial birthday of Winston Churchill—a great bulwark of those traditions.

Whether in war or peace, the inimitable Churchill exercised his varied talents, political sagacity, and expansive knowledge, as he wrote:

Continue to pursue that course marked out for us by an all-wise hand and carry out our mission of bearing peace, civilization and good government to the uttermost ends of the earth.

Relentlessly spurring England to fight it alone in World War II earned him the title—"saviour of his country." Yet, his acts carried further than the British Isles.

Churchill's public determination and private courage instilled a heroic spirit in the history of the late 20th century.

And our country should build upon that spirit—now and in the future.

The United States bestowed its first and only honorary citizenship upon Sir Winston Churchill in 1963. In ceremonies marking the occasion the late President Kennedy spoke eloquently of the great British leader:

Churchill is the most honored and honorable man to walk the stage of human history in the time in which we live.

I join all Americans in saluting the memory of this admirable man.

**UPDATING HON. CHET HOLIFIELD'S PUBLIC SERVICE RECORD**

**HON. JOHN J. McFALL**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, in the House of Representatives, on March 7, 1972, you spoke some eloquent words in tribute to Congressman CHET HOLIFIELD of California for his enduring legislative achievements. You observed that he is regarded with great respect and affection in the House for his hard work, his consideration of others, and the open and honest way in which he conducts himself in presiding at committee meetings.

You also entered into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that day some biographical data highlighting Congressman HOLIFIELD's legislative career.

At the end of this Congress, Mr. HOLIFIELD will retire after 32 years of continuous service in the U.S. House of Representatives. He never lost an election and certainly that is a tribute in itself. That length of service, I may note, never has been exceeded by any representative from the State of California since it was admitted to the Union in 1850.

In view of CHET HOLIFIELD's retirement, which we all greatly regret, but which we recognize is well earned, it is fitting to bring up to date the record of his legislative achievements, since March 7, 1972.

In many ways, the 93d Congress has been for CHET HOLIFIELD and for this Nation, a most productive one. He serves as chairman of the great Committee on Government Operations. As you know, Mr. Speaker, this committee has jurisdiction over Government reorganization, including the establishment of new Government agencies.

NEW ENERGY AGENCIES

Under Chairman HOLIFIELD's masterful direction, legislation was developed and enacted into law creating several new Federal energy organizations. Public Law 93-275 created the Federal Energy Administration. Public Law 93-438 created an Energy Research and De-

velopment Administration, a Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and an Energy Resources Council. These agencies are or will be working to solve America's short- and long-range energy problems—tasks that are vital to our country's present and future welfare. The Nation is indebted to Chairman HOLIFIELD for his initiative, dedication, and creative approach to energy legislation.

#### IMPROVING GOVERNMENT PROCUREMENT

CHET HOLIFIELD, as a successful businessman in his own right, has long been interested in the business of Government. Back in 1949, he authored the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act, which created the General Services Administration, to give central direction to Government procurement and property management.

Twenty years later, as Government expenditures multiplied, Mr. HOLIFIELD developed legislation for a comprehensive and systematic review of Government procurement practices. In 1969, Public Law 91-129 created a blue ribbon study group, the Commission on Government Procurement. Mr. Speaker, in recognition of his authorship of the legislation and his expertise in Government procurement matters, you appointed CHET HOLIFIELD as a member of the Commission, which tendered its four-volume report to the Congress in December 1972. This report contained 149 recommendations for legislative and administrative action to improve the Government's procurement procedures and practices.

Two important pieces of legislation responding to the Commission's recommendations recently have been enacted at Mr. HOLIFIELD's initiative. One is Public Law 93-356, the purpose of which is to simplify procedures in small purchases—under \$10,000—by the Federal Government. This simplification will save mountains of paperwork and reduce administrative burdens, with estimated savings of \$100 million each year.

The other piece of legislation is Public Law 93-400, establishing the Office of Federal Procurement Policy. This carries out a key recommendation of the Commission on Government Procurement. The new agency will work continuously at improving the Federal procurement process, with potential savings to the taxpayers of billions of dollars. Remember that expenditures for Federal procurement of goods and services now approximate \$55 billion for a single year. The savings potential is obvious.

#### CUTTING DOWN ON PAPERWORK

The Committee on Government Operations, which Mr. HOLIFIELD chairs in the House of Representatives, has two watchwords: economy and efficiency. Having in mind the constructive experience of the Commission on Government Procurement, Mr. HOLIFIELD also decided that it would be helpful to the taxpayers, and to American business, particularly small business, if ways and means could be found to reduce the burden of Government paperwork—the numerous forms and reports that Government agencies require of business establishments and others. This massive paperwork reflects, of course, the complex so-

ciety in which we live, and the numerous regulations which are imposed for one purpose or another.

Recently, the House passed H.R. 16424, reported by the Committee on Government Operations under Chairman HOLIFIELD's direction, to establish a temporary Commission on Federal Paperwork. Its purpose is to determine if the Government can do with less paperwork. The Senate is expected to act on this bill shortly.

A related measure passed by the House and awaiting Senate action is a bill, H.R. 14718, to eliminate reports, now required from Federal agencies by law, which are no longer necessary or useful. Chairman HOLIFIELD requested the Comptroller General to study existing reporting requirements and to identify those reports which could be eliminated without loss of needed information and with resultant savings.

After the Comptroller General submitted his report, Mr. HOLIFIELD introduced the necessary repeal legislation. Although this is a modest step in reducing paperwork, it is a recurring activity of the Committee on Government Operations, which indicates that the committee explores every possible avenue of achieving economy and efficiency in the Federal Government.

#### CONSUMER PROTECTION

In one important legislative area, Mr. Speaker, I regret to say that the Senate is not likely to act this year. I refer to H.R. 13163, a bill to establish a Consumer Protection Agency. On two separate occasions, a Consumer Protection Agency bill, painstakingly developed under Mr. HOLIFIELD's direction and reported from the Committee on Government Operations, was passed overwhelmingly by the House of Representatives. Both times the bill failed in the Senate because of a filibuster. If the Senate were able to vote on the bill, as the House did, it would be the law today.

CHET HOLIFIELD has established himself as a leader in consumer legislation. His efforts will not be wasted. I am confident, Mr. Speaker, that in the next Congress, the Consumer Protection Agency legislation will prevail, building on the constructive legislative base that CHET HOLIFIELD has prepared.

#### AN INFORMED CITIZENRY

I should mention several other important items of legislation reported from the Committee on Government Operations under Chairman HOLIFIELD's direction. One is Public Law 93-502, amending the Freedom of Information Act. This law is designed to make Government information more accessible to the citizenry. It insures, under proper safeguards, that the American people will be able to get the information they need and want about the workings of their Government.

President Ford was ill-advised to veto this legislation. That veto was overridden by overwhelming votes in both the House and Senate, and the law is now on the statute books.

#### IMPROVING THE ADVISORY PROCESS

A related item of legislation, Public Law 92-463, the Federal Advisory Com-

mittee Act, was developed earlier under Mr. HOLIFIELD's chairmanship in the Committee on Government Operations. The Federal Government utilizes hundreds of advisory committees for many different purposes. The legislation was designed to introduce some regularity and order into the advisory process, so that advisory committees could be publicly identified and minutes of their proceedings made available to the public.

The public is entitled to know who advises the Government and how this advice is given. The overriding purpose is to insure that the advice is impartial and objective, not self-seeking and directed toward private gain.

#### RIGHT OF PRIVACY

The Federal Government not only has a responsibility to enable the citizenry to be informed about its operations; it must also protect individual rights of privacy in matters of personal information which get into Government records. In this computer age, when scores of agencies maintain records on individuals, and information can be retrieved and distributed with lightning speed, we have to be mindful of the harm to individuals when information gets into the wrong hands.

H.R. 16373, reported by Chairman HOLIFIELD's committee, recently passed the House. Similar legislation passed the Senate. When the differences are reconciled, we will have legislation to insure protection of individuals' rights of privacy in the handling of Government records.

#### ATOMIC ENERGY ACTIVITIES

Although chairing the Committee on Government Operations for a full-time job, Mr. HOLIFIELD manages to find time for his other important committee assignments. He is a very active member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, having served on that committee since its inception in 1946.

In 1972, he served as chairman of the Subcommittee on Agreements for Cooperation between the United States and other countries in nuclear developments and was a member, additionally, of the following subcommittees: Legislation; Military Applications; Raw Materials; and Research, Development, and Radiation. In 1973-74, he was chairman of the Subcommittee on Licensing and Regulation and a member of the Subcommittee on Energy.

For the past 3 years, CHET HOLIFIELD has been appointed a congressional adviser to the official U.S. Delegation to the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency. In 1974, he received the Henry DeWolf Smyth nuclear statesman award from the Atomic Industrial Forum.

#### A JOB WELL DONE

Mr. Speaker, when CHET HOLIFIELD retires, he will be sorely missed in the Congress of the United States. We will miss his wise counsel, his unflinching energy, his dedication to the highest and best purposes of Government. But we wish him well and, I sincerely believe, we can all say in full agreement: "CHET, that was a job well done."

## GENERAL BROWN AND FOREIGN POLICY

## HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. George Brown, recently made a statement at Duke University which clearly undermines his ability to lead this Nation's defense effort. He has spoken out concerning issues and policies over which he has no jurisdiction. He has violated the principle of civilian control over the military and he has caused a considerable commotion, because of the nature of his remarks. Joseph Califano wrote an editorial for the Washington Post on November 25 which I feel is very incisive. I feel he gets right to the heart of the matter and I think my colleagues will be interested in his view:

## GENERAL BROWN AND FOREIGN POLICY

(By Joseph A. Califano, Jr.)

In the course of patently anti-Semitic remarks, Gen. George Scratchley Brown, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said recently that (1) the United States had "no plans" to use force in the Middle East; 2) he could conjure up a "Seven Days in May" situation where in the face of another oil embargo the American people might "get tough-minded enough to set down the Jewish influence in this country and break that lobby"; 3) when the Israelis come to us for equipment they have the Congress in their hip pocket; 4) the Jews own "the banks in this country, the newspapers, you just look at where the Jewish money is in this country"; 5) the "terrible disruption" of another oil embargo on Europe and Japan could precipitate another demand that something be done; 6) the flow of money to Middle East and Persian Gulf oil producers would put "all of the money . . . in their corner of the bank . . . seven or eight hundred billion dollars and they are going to be the world's banker"; and 7) the Arabs are taking on a role "they aren't equipped to handle." He concluded by reassuring the Arabs and Soviets that he did not "intend to go off to war in the Middle East, if that's the question."

Thus, in the context of the most explosive situation in the world today—the one situation most likely to precipitate a major war involving not only the Israelis and the Arabs but our country and the Soviet Union—the chairman of the Joint Chiefs vented his spleen on the Israelis, the Arabs, the American Jews, the Congress, and informed the world that he didn't intend to go to war in the Middle East.

Gen. Brown's audience was not limited to a handful of law students at Duke University. His audiences included the American public at large, the Israelis, the Arabs, the Soviets, the Chinese, the U.N., the President, the Secretaries of State and Defense and fellow military officers. His apology to the Jewish War Veterans may have saved his job for the moment, but it is not likely to affect the way these critical audiences read him in the future.

What is Gen. Brown's credibility with the Israelis today? A few days after publication of the general's remarks in *The Post*, the Pentagon disputed a report by Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin that the Soviets had some 20 ships unloading arms in a Syrian port. The Pentagon said that number of ships was normal and that, contrary to what Rabin said, only a few of the ships were unloading arms. Who are we to believe—a JCS Chair-

man, who under pressure from the Secretary of Defense recanted his anti-Semitic comments, or the Prime Minister of Israel?

How do the Arabs feel knowing that the top military officer of the United States believes they are incompetent to handle the money that is flowing to them? What is the Soviet reaction to Gen. Brown's publicly stated reluctance to fight for the Israelis in the Middle East? And to his thinly veiled hope that the American people will "put down the Jewish influence in this country"?

What about Gen. Brown's credibility at home? Unquestionably, there is a powerful pro-Israel lobby in Washington. But there is also a potent oil lobby in town and the Middle East desk at the State Department has been known on Capitol Hill to lean decidedly toward the Arabs. Does anyone believe that the Congress is such a pawn—as Gen. Brown seems to think—that they can be turned off and on by the pro-Israel lobby at will? Does the general believe that collective congressional motivations are so simple-minded? Anyone who has dealt with the Congress must recognize how demeaning Gen. Brown's remarks are to Senate and House members.

Finally, there are the American Jews. Many American Jews, who initially called for Brown's removal, backed off for fear that such action would be interpreted as confirmation of their alleged power. Perhaps—only perhaps—that is why President Ford and Secretary Schlesinger decided merely to slap Gen. Brown on the wrist. If so, they have all missed the point. That may be understandable in the case of American Jewry in view of their emotional involvement in this nasty business. It is inexcusable for the general, the Secretary and the President.

Offensive as Brown's comments about American Jews are, his grievous national security sin is that he has irreparably damaged his ability to serve effectively as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. If he testifies before the Congress or makes recommendations to the President that favor the Arabs and those recommendations are made known to the public what credibility will he have? Indeed, is he likely, consciously or unconsciously, unduly to favor the Israelis to prove that he is not anti-Semitic? In short, Gen. Brown has no business speaking about foreign or domestic policy; his public remarks should be limited to defense matters. This should be the role for all Defense Department officers, but the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is not just another general. He is the only military officer that truly has frequent opportunities to communicate with the President and the congressional leadership. Compare the general's remarks about the Israelis, the Arabs, the Congress, the American Jews and the dollar problem with the provision in DOD Directive 5230.13, issued by then Secretary Robert McNamara on May 31, 1961:

"In public discussions all officials of the Department (of Defense) should confine themselves to defense matters. They should particularly avoid discussion of foreign policy matters, a field which is reserved for the President and the Department of State."

That Defense Department policy, which was repealed on March 4, 1969, by then Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird, was the subject of months of controversial hearings in 1961 and 1962 by the Senate Armed Services Committee and its Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee.

In the early stages of those hearings, McNamara was royally roasted for issuing that directive, but by the time the hearings had ended, the committee (with Sen. Strom Thurmond dissenting) approved the directive (with some DOD hedging in recognition of the difficulty of drawing precise lines between military and foreign affairs) and the propriety of limiting public statements by military officers to defense matters.

The restriction on the subject matter of speeches by military officers began to get formalized under President Truman. Eisen-

hower reaffirmed Truman's policy in a Cabinet meeting on March 11, 1960, where he stated that no speech affecting foreign relations should be made by an administration official without prior clearance from the State Department. Within three weeks of assuming office, President Kennedy publicly associated his administration with the Truman-Eisenhower policy. The McNamara directive drew on these consistent presidential precedents.

In response to questions about the Brown comments, Defense spokesman William Beecher reaffirmed the prior clearance procedures for "a formal speech—written speech" but noted that the current Defense Department policy on public statements answering questions of informal or written speeches by a military officer is simply that, "He uses his discretion." When asked "whether there's any policy saying that you are discouraged or ordered not to engage"—presumably in public discussions of foreign or domestic policy—Beecher cut the question off with a brusque "there is no such policy." He stated that there was no intention to revise or even clarify policy on military officers making public statements. This is the glaring failure of the President and the Secretary of Defense in handling the Brown incident.

The only sure way to put this matter to rest is to reinstitute the McNamara order that Laird revoked. As the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee concluded in 1962, "one of the truly great bulwarks of our system of government is the principle of civilian control of the military through the executive branch of the government of which the military is a part." President Ford and Secretary Schlesinger should reaffirm that principle in the particulars of this case.

The personal tragedy of Gen. Brown is his failure to evidence any true appreciation of the extent to which his effectiveness is impaired. Brown should re-examine his decision to hang on as chairman of the JCS. After the riots in Panama in 1964, as Army counsel I spent about a month defending the actions of the U.S. military command there before a group of international jurists and the Organization of American States. Both bodies eventually concluded that the United States had not exerted any force beyond that necessary to protect the inhabitants of the Canal Zone and that the military commander, Gen. Andrew O'Meara, had performed just about perfectly in a singularly difficult situation. On my last night in Panama, Gen. O'Meara asked me to dinner. He knew that he would be vindicated, but he said, "When you get back to Washington, tell Secretary McNamara that he will have to move me out of this command if he wants to pursue negotiations with the Panamanians. I have become a symbol that will make fruitful negotiations impossible."

There is a lesson for Gen. Brown in that heroic incident.

## PRESIDENT FORD'S SUCCESSFUL VLADIVOSTOK MEETING

## HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, the early reports of President Ford's summit meeting with Secretary Brezhnev indicate a most promising and successful understanding between the great super powers on the subject of limiting strategic arms.

Mr. Speaker, representatives of our respective nations have been meeting for

many years to establish limits on the aggregate number of intercontinental ballistic missiles, missiles containing multiple warheads, and other subjects affecting arms of mass destruction which threaten the very survival of mankind.

Mr. Speaker, while the details of the understanding arrived at in Vladivostok are not fully known, there appear to be reliable assurances that President Ford has achieved a substantial breakthrough toward long-range peace between the East and the West.

Mr. Speaker, it is to be hoped that we can provide national support for our President and for his successful efforts toward peace in our time. The President has demonstrated a success in negotiations in goodwill and in international diplomacy, for which he deserves the high praise of the American people, and a strong expression of national unity for world peace.

Mr. Speaker, the time of the President's testing is over, and he has passed the test with flying colors. I urge my colleagues and citizens throughout the land to express their support and confidence in President Ford, and in his successful efforts to ease world tensions, and to promote meaningful détente, that is, mutual understanding, respect, and peace.

LIDO CIVIC CLUB VOTES ANTONIO M. MARINELLI, MAN OF THE YEAR

### HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, the Lido Civic Club of Washington, an Italian-American organization of area business leaders, this month honored Antonio M. Marinelli, president of the Intercounty Construction Corp., as its 1974 man of the year.

Previous recipients have included former District of Columbia Police Chief Robert V. Murray, U.S. Ambassador to Italy Clare Booth Luce, heavyweight champion Rocky Marciano, and Senator John O. Pastore of Rhode Island.

Mr. Marinelli, who lives in Potomac in Maryland's Eighth Congressional District, last year was awarded the title of "Cavaliere" by the Republic of Italy. He is the first past president of the Lido Civic Club to be named man of the year.

The award, made at a gala dinner-dance at the Sheraton-Park Hotel, cited Mr. Marinelli's "outstanding and extraordinary achievements in the field of business and labor and his untiring efforts and his many contributions in behalf of civil, charitable and humanitarian causes."

Mr. Marinelli's accomplishments were also sketched in the program for the dinner-dance. The sketch follows:

Antonio Michael Marinelli, known to his friends as Tom, was born March 14, 1920 at Bristol, Connecticut of parents who had emigrated from Italy. The fourth of six children, three boys and three girls, he was graduated from high school in Rye, New York in 1937 and went on to attend New York University. After service as an artillery officer in the United States Army during

World War II, in 1948 he married Phyllis M. Diorio of New York City. They have a daughter Kim, 19, and a son Michael, 16 years of age.

Mr. Marinelli began working in the construction business as a water boy with the firm founded by his father, and worked his way up to his present position as President of Intercounty Construction Corporation, now a subsidiary of Westinghouse Electric Corporation.

He has participated actively in a number of civic organizations, particularly those serving the American-Italian community. In 1971 he organized "AMERITO," a Federation of American-Italian Organizations in the Washington Metropolitan area, and became its first President. He was a leading proponent of legislation to make Columbus Day a National Legal holiday.

Tom was one of the founders of the National Utility Contractors' Association, served as its President for two years, and continues to be active on its Board of Directors and as a Regional Vice President. For more than twenty-five years he has been a Trustee on the Laborers' Union Welfare and Pension Fund. He also serves as a Director of the Free State Bank & Trust Co. of Potomac, Maryland.

### ENVIRONMENTAL LAWS FAN INFLATION

### HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, this Nation is now experiencing a particularly unpleasant bout of inflation. If we learn no other lessons from the experience, I hope at least that we learn something about reckless spending. It is only when prices are rising dramatically that all of us have to grapple with the fact that everything costs money and that we cannot afford to buy simultaneously everything we might want.

The environment provides us with a case in point. For several years our activist lawyers and some of their friends in Congress have been pursuing a policy designed to improve the quality of life for us all. If one excludes the hangers-on who have seized the issue as a stick with which to beat business, then most of us would applaud these motives. The trouble is that we have to decide priorities; we cannot automatically vote expenditure for everything we approve of, or the country would soon be bankrupt. While the environmentalists have scored their successes in the courts and in the legislature, it should be pointed out that all of this has cost the American people both jobs and money.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the field of energy. I wonder how many of those who complain of the shortages of energy and the high prices which we have to pay have any idea of the direct link between environmental legislation and those very same prices and shortages. In the name of environmental standards we have put off the conversion to nuclear power; we have delayed the building of much-needed oil refining capacity; and we have imposed antipollution standards which guarantee us less energy and higher prices.

Of course, no one wants to pollute the environment. The question is not about

whether we should permit pollution, but about the rate at which we can eliminate it, and the resources which we are able to expend on that elimination. One instance in which we clearly went too far too fast was with the Clean Air Act of 1970. By that act we prevented power stations from burning high sulfur coal, which is very cheap, and made them switch instead to burning high-grade coal or oil, both of which are much more expensive. The result has been higher prices for our power, combined with a shortage of high grade coal and oil, a shortage which has helped to push their prices even higher.

They failed to recognize first that a ban on high sulfur coal would multiply both prices and shortages, and second, that it takes time for conversion to take place smoothly. Desulfurization plants are not built overnight, nor are sulfur extraction facilities at powerplants. We have rushed our power industries into a measure which is both expensive and ill-timed. The other failing is that we have not allowed for the fact that different areas have different pollution problems. While it might be completely reasonable to restrict the burning of high sulfur coal at power stations situated within areas of high population density, it makes no sense at all to impose the same standards in areas not at risk.

Since the United States has half of the world's known coal reserves, it is obvious that coal will continue to have a big role in the provision of cheap energy; and cheaper energy means cheaper prices throughout the economy. If we give more latitude now to power stations on the burning of high-sulfur coal, we can allow time for the development of more desulfurization facilities both at the stations themselves, and for the treatment of the coal they burn. We can thus delay the imposition of further nonproductive costs, and contribute to the lowering of prices and the easing of the inflationary burden. Such a move would increase the supply of high-grade coal for the steel industry, as well as lowering the price of coal-produced power. It would lessen the demands on our limited supplies of oil, and help to achieve the self-sufficiency in energy to which we are committed. This is a clear case in which more time will yield lower prices.

The recent wage and fringe benefits for coal miners further inflates energy costs. The public must be made aware of these facts.

### GUN CONTROL: THE CONCLUSIONS UPON WHICH THE LIBERALS BASE THEIR FACTS

### HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, it seems that a renewed campaign for some type of gun control was recently launched by various persons in the Government and in the press. The liberal minds that guide this country have studied the growing crime rate and have concluded that the solution is to lock up the guns

and let the criminals go free. Queer ideas like this are characteristic of the liberal mind. What is surprising is that so many otherwise sensible people seem to be taken in by the most specious of arguments for gun control. One of these arguments—perhaps the central argument—is that guns are the aggressors; that guns cause crime; that were no guns present at the scene of a crime, no crime would have been committed.

Unfortunately for this rather peculiar idea, Dr. Marvin Wolfgang conducted a study of criminal homicide in the city of Philadelphia and published a book entitled "Patterns in Criminal Homicide," now over 15 years old. I believe a few quotations from that book would do a great deal of good in any discussion of the role of guns in crime. Dr. Wolfgang writes:

It is probably safe to contend that many homicides occur only because there is sufficient motivation or provocation, and that the type of method used to kill is merely an accident of availability; that a gun is used because it is in the offender's possession at the time of incitement, but that if it were not present, he would use a knife to stab, or fists to beat his victim to death. (Page 79.)

The world around us abounds in available means to inflict death. Everyone has access to many cutting and piercing instruments or to solid, heavy objects that can be used to bludgeon a victim. From the Philadelphia police files such common household items as an electric iron, a floor lamp, and a pencil were uniquely listed as homicide weapons. (Page 80.)

During a drunken brawl, or in the white heat of passion, an offender uses whatever weapon is available—a brick in an alley, a stick on the sidewalk, a butcher knife on the kitchen table, or his bare fists if necessary. (Pages 80-81.)

These passages should be considered carefully, for it is usually the example of the crime of passion that the liberals use when discussing the alleged effectiveness of and need for gun control laws.

Another of the arguments used by the liberals in support of gun control legislation is that easy access to guns, due to the great quantity of guns in this country, leads to a high crime rate. Consider what Dr. Wolfgang has written about this notion:

Several students of homicide have tried to show that the high number, or easy access to, firearms in this country is causally related to our relatively high homicide rate. Such a conclusion cannot be drawn from the Philadelphia data. Material subsequently reported in the present study regarding the place where homicide occurred, relationship between victim and offender, motives, and other variables, suggest that many situations, events, and personalities that converge in a particular way and that result in homicide do not primarily depend upon the presence or absence of firearms. While it may be true both that the homicide rate is lower in Europe and that fewer homicides abroad involve use of firearms, it does not necessarily follow that the relatively high homicide rate in this country is merely due to greater accessibility of weapons (Pages 81-82.)

The hypothesis of a causal relationship between the homicide rate and proportionate use of firearms in killing is, therefore, rejected. (Page 82.)

To measure quantitatively the effect of the presence of firearms on the homicide rate would require knowing the number and type of homicides that would not have occurred had not the offender—or, in some cases, the victim—possessed a gun. Research would re-

quire determination of the number of shootings that would have been stabbings, beatings, or some other method of inflicting death had no gun been available. It is the contention of this observer that few homicides due to shootings could be avoided merely if a firearm were not immediately present, and that the offender would select some other weapon to achieve the same destructive goal. Probably only in those cases where a felon kills a police officer, or vice versa, would homicide be avoided in the absence of a firearm. (Page 83.)

Unfortunately Dr. Wolfgang's 1958 study of homicide in Philadelphia has been and is ignored by the liberals. Their conclusions about guns and the need for gun control are the conclusions upon which they base their facts. All evidence not supporting their conclusions is ignored or suppressed.

#### SUPPORT FOR TRADITIONAL VETERANS DAY OBSERVANCE

HON. C. W. BILL YOUNG

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, on January 3, 1973, I introduced House Joint Resolution 126, to restore the traditional November 11 observance of Veterans Day.

This special day had long been set aside to honor the men and women of our armed services who fought so valiantly on behalf of this great Nation. Shifting Veterans Day to October 28 in the interest of a 3-day weekend served only to commercialize the true meaning of Veterans Day, and I strongly oppose this move. Many other Members of Congress have joined me in my effort to restore November 11 as the legal holiday and, in fact, a discharge petition has been filed on House Joint Resolution 126.

I am very pleased to inform my colleagues in the House that the great State of Florida did not fall in with the Monday Holiday Act but instead observed Veterans Day on November 11. As Mr. M. P. Fleischer, staff writer for the Pinellas Times, has noted, holidays by decree cannot change history, and I am pleased that Floridians have stuck to the traditional observance of Veterans Day.

Mr. Speaker, I enclosed for my colleagues' information the article by Mr. Fleischer in the Pinellas Times discussing the question of celebrating Veterans Day on the correct date. I hope that the worthwhile thoughts contained in this article will spur increased interest and action on House Joint Resolution 126 by the Congress:

ANOTHER OPINION: HOLIDAYS BY DECREE CANNOT CHANGE HISTORY

(By M. P. Fleischer)

By an act of the Legislature, this state is the only one in the nation to celebrate Veteran's Day on Nov. 11, the traditional Armistice Day.

This year, 49 states celebrated Veteran's Day on Oct. 28. The reason is that a few years back, Congress decided to alter the holiday schedule so that workers could have more three-day weekends.

But Florida, which is peopled with retirees who have a sense of history, decided to march to the tune of a different drummer. The result is that we in the Sunshine State celebrate the holiday on Nov. 11—and it doesn't matter whether Nov. 11 falls on a weekend, or a weekday.

Celebrating on Nov. 11 while the rest of the nation celebrated on Oct. 28 leads to some interesting situations.

State, local and county governments are closed except for emergency services. The federal government is working.

Florida did not have mail delivery on Oct. 28, the day the federal government celebrated Veteran's Day. It did have mail delivery on Nov. 11, when local government offices and many other things were closed.

Schools across the nation—except for Florida—were closed on Oct. 28 and the news media was alive with reports of Veteran's Day activities here, there and yonder.

Schools in Florida were closed Nov. 11. Whatever ceremonies there were in the state attracted local news media attention but you can bet that not much national attention was paid to events here. And President Ford did not come to Florida to place a wreath on a soldier's grave. He did that in Washington about two weeks ago.

All of this makes for a kind of strange day.

If, for example, you are a federal employee and your spouse works for the state, a city, a county or some private industries, you worked Nov. 11 while your spouse was off. If you have children in school, they were off, too.

By the same token, you were off Oct. 28 and they worked.

It also made for some interesting situations among various government agencies. Suppose, for instance, that you were a county employee dealing with federal officials, on, say, pollution control matters. On Oct. 28, you might have well stayed home as try to get in contact with them. They were off. On Nov. 11, federal officials dealing with counterparts in Florida couldn't get them. They were off.

Regardless of the value of three-day weekends, it seems we have lost a bit in changing some of our important holidays around. And when we want to preserve the traditions, we run into problems. Granted, they are niggling little problems, but they are annoying.

Veteran's Day by decree may have been Oct. 28, but history tells us it was really Nov. 11. Just as Columbus Day historically is Oct. 12, Memorial Day is May 30 and George Washington's Birthday is Feb. 22. Decrees so that we can have more three-day weekends cannot change history. Perhaps it is time once again to follow that history.

MAYOR BEN WEST

HON. RICHARD H. FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, one of America's outstanding figures in municipal government of this century, former Nashville, Tenn., Mayor Ben West, died last week. His passing marks the end of a career that left a lasting imprint not only on the face of my community but upon the legislative bodies of American government at the State, local, and Federal level.

My friendship with Mayor West covered two decades. During the early political years of my late brother, Lyle, and then during my early political years, I always welcomed the counsel and advice of the mayor. My father and Ben West's

father were friends in the late twenties and early thirties when they were both employed at the railroad. Much of my progressive outlook is a result of my exposure to his political outlook as well as his great personal vision.

It was through the tenacity of Ben West in pursuing an impossible task against overwhelming odds that the Supreme Court of the United States ultimately rendered its vital Baker against Carr decision which brought about legislative reapportionment in America on the basis of one man one vote.

At the height of his career, there was no abler municipal official in America than Ben West. And throughout his career, for those who understand and appreciate the talent, there was no abler practitioner of the art of politics than the dynamic, shrewd, and acutely astute Ben West.

In politics, perhaps as in life, the sweetest words are words of praise uttered by your political enemies. Throughout most of his career Ben West found himself politically at odds, often bitterly, with the morning newspaper of our community, the Nashville Tennessean. Yet on his death the dean of Tennessee political reporters, Mr. Joe Hatcher, who for years knew and covered the career of Ben West, stated:

"Politically I was opposed to West throughout his career . . ." However, Hatcher added: "Ben West probably will be recorded in history as one of Nashville's great mayors, of the great mayors of this nation."

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Hatcher is not guilty of overstatement. I would like to place in the RECORD at this point Mr. Hatcher's article, "Ben West's Career," as well as the Nashville Tennessean editorial of November 21, 1974, "Mr. Ben West: Mayor, Senator, Politician":

JOE HATCHER RECALLS: BEN WEST'S CAREER  
(By Joe Hatcher)

Ben West, who died this past week at 63, was mayor of Nashville from 1951 to 1963—but my own acquaintance with him goes back much further than that.

I first knew Ben casually as a student in my wife's classes at Central High School and as an office boy at the Banner at that time. Later I knew him better when he was in Vanderbilt, a member of my fraternity—the ATO. During those early years he showed his political instincts as an organizer and class official at Central. At Vanderbilt, he pursued his political education by forming a fraternity coalition to "boss" politics on the campus, and to be elected President, a post I had held previously.

Ben was a master politician, almost literally hoisted by his own bootstraps, from the day he entered Central High until his ultimate defeat in a comeback race for mayor in 1966. He lived and breathed politics from infancy, his activities indicated, and he actively engaged in Democratic politics until his health no longer permitted.

Along the way he served as an assistant attorney general, state senator, vice mayor, mayor, president of the American Municipal League, and on numerous advisory and national agencies.

Stricken in childhood with polio, Ben was incapacitated for athletics in school, but few ever knew of his handicap, or realized that this experience might have been the background for his lifelong drive for leadership and public service.

Ben West will probably be recorded in history as one of the great mayors of Nashville, or the great mayors of the Nation. His

shortcomings and his highly controversial career as mayor will be forgotten in the writing of history.

If for nothing else his leadership in the noted Baker vs Carr decision of the U.S. Supreme Court that led to reapportionment of the entire 48 states of his time, entitles him to a rare place in history. The urban areas of the entire nation owe Ben West an undying debt of appreciation for his determined fight for the rights of the people. His famous quote that "pigs and cows in Moore County were three times better represented than the people of Nashville," won't be forgotten.

History will also record that West drove to completion the Capitol Hill Redevelopment program in Nashville, built the Municipal Auditorium, built the \$11 million sewage disposal plant, inaugurated the East Nashville Urban Redevelopment program, initiated the modern street lighting system for the city, built the present airport terminals and airport expansion, and initiated the School Mothers' Patrol.

As president of the American Municipal League, West carried the image of Nashville to many points in the world, including speeches before some 15 state municipal leagues, before a world conference at the Hague, in Tel Aviv, in Rio de Janeiro and San Juan. He also delivered a series of lectures on city government and urban problems at George Washington University. He preached nation-wide of the need for an Urban Affairs cabinet post in all national governments.

Politically, I was opposed to West throughout his career, and in many of his races the Tennessean was a target of his criticisms. But in the final analysis, West was always a Democrat and the hatchet was buried when general elections rolled around. My last direct contact with West was at a Democratic banquet at which West sat at the table with the publisher and editor of the newspaper so long at odds with him in his campaigns against Mayor Thomas L. Cummings and later Mayor Beverly Briley.

The newspaper's differences with West were largely based upon his methods and tactics in governing rather than upon his overall politics.

As Mayor, West originally supported Metro government for the first losing referendum. He reversed his position after he had annexed some 80,000 citizens to the city's boundaries, and County Judge Beverly Briley entered the campaign for Mayor in 1963 on the Metro platform. In his 1966 race against Mayor Briley, he shifted his support to the new Metro plan with his own ideas of its operation. Actually West's major annexations after the first defeat of Metro so angered the suburban areas that they supported Briley against West.

As Mayor, the major criticism against West was his tendency to play petty politics at all levels, including individual police assignments, locations of street improvements, his big stick methods with the city council, and clear political favors for those supporting him.

In those days, West was portrayed in the newspaper cartoons as "Little Ben", pictured as a well-known trade-mark—a polka-dot tie, you'll recall.

Old time council members remember one occasion when West presented a budget found heavily out of balance. It was withdrawn and written into it was an item "unanticipated income". It escaped the notice of the critics and apparently of the council and was passed, and was found to be acutely out of balance.

That Ben literally climbed by his own bootstraps is reflected throughout his career in his willingness to meet the issues and his opposition, and fight to the last ditch as in the appeal of Baker vs Carr to the U.S. Supreme Court.

West was born in Columbia, March 31, 1911. His father was a railroad telegrapher with a large family and times were hard in the Great Depression when Ben was maturing. He moved to Nashville as a youngster, living in the Flat Rock area, near Radnor Yards where his father worked.

His first job was a counter boy in a drug store. He served as an office boy at the Banner while still in Central High, and waited on tables to attend law school at Cumberland. He graduated there in 1930 and entered Vanderbilt where he graduated in 1934, working part time as a reporter, waiting on tables, and whatever was available.

Immediately after graduation he was appointed an assistant attorney-general and served as prosecutor in several major criminal trials during his career. He was elected vice-mayor in 1947 after withdrawing from the mayor's race, but obviously was aiming at the top office at the next opportunity. He was elected to the state senate in 1949 and while there passed legislation boosting pay for city employes before entering the race for mayor against Mayor Thomas L. Cummings in 1951.

West won the office by only 55 votes when the official tally boosted that margin from 27 in the unofficial returns on election night.

In his third term, he took an interest in the pending suit seeking reapportionment of the legislature. "They just laughed at me. I'll show them," he was quoted after appearing before the legislature seeking a better division of state revenues. He did. He intervened in the pending suit that had been filed by Memphis' Walter Chandler, Knoxville's Hobart Atkins, and Nashville's Tommy Osborn. The three judge federal court dismissed the suit as without jurisdiction, but permitted West to remain in the case and amend his intervening petition.

West then persuaded the city council to advance funds to appeal the case, and hired Charles Rhyne, a noted Washington lawyer, and former president of the American Bar Association. West also was instrumental in interesting President John F. Kennedy in the case and Archibald Cox, of recent Watergate fame, entered the case as Solicitor-General of the U.S. The result was the ultimate decision that the federal courts had jurisdiction. The victory was Ben West's as much as the lawyers who won the case. Followed the one-man, one-vote decisions and a general reorganization of legislatures, school boards, and other agencies.

West was buried in the old City Cemetery where many of Nashville's greatest leaders rest. It was West's request to be buried there. He was responsible, along with the late Jack Dennis, for the restoration of the old cemetery from its badly run-down condition and might have well been forgotten except for West's restoration. Fittingly he rests with many of those who have left their indelible marks on Nashville's history.

When the city celebrates its 200th birthday, in the spring of 1980, and the names of the builders of the city are recalled, Ben West will be prominent among them.

[From the Tennessean, Nov. 21, 1974]

MR. BEN WEST: MAYOR, SENATOR,  
POLITICIAN

Mr. Ben West, mayor of the old city of Nashville from 1951 to the coming of Metro in 1963, former state senator and a political force in the community for more than 30 years, is dead at the age of 63.

Mr. West was widely admired and respected as an authority on municipal affairs, as a political tactician and as a hard working and conscientious public official. This newspaper often found itself in disagreement with his political methods, but there be no denial of the fact that he served energetically and with distinction and moved the city forward.

He began his public service career as an



assistant district attorney in 1934. He went on to become vice mayor and serve in the legislature and finally was elected to three terms as mayor.

His tenure in the mayor's office came during a period of crisis and change in municipal governments throughout the nation. The cities, absorbing the post-war migration from the farms, were beginning to experience pressing problems of overstrained services, dwindling revenues and an imbalance of legislative representation. Mr. West was a leader in the long fight—which culminated in success shortly before he left office—to have the courts order more equitable representation for the growing municipal areas.

The former mayor was also active in many other aspects of municipal government. He served as president of the American Municipal League in 1957 and was in considerable demand as a speaker on municipal and urban affairs in many parts of the nation and in foreign countries. He had served in official capacities in numerous public service organizations concerned with the future planning and the provision of municipal services to urban areas.

Although his work in these fundamental areas of modern urban planning and administration may have been the highlight of his career, Mr. West left numerous local memorials to his energy and industry. Capitol Hill redevelopment, the municipal auditorium, the municipal airport terminal, the sewage disposal plant and others stand as reminders of his administration. He also established the School Mothers Patrol and in 1958 received the Distinguished Service Award of the American Transit Association for his advancements in mass transit in Nashville.

As a political combatant, Mr. West can most appropriately be described as tough, able and unrelenting. He was a man of firm conviction, and he didn't hesitate to defend his convictions. The 1951 mayor's race between Mr. West and the late Mayor Thomas L. Cummings, which was won by Mr. West by a margin of only 55 votes, stands out as one of the classical political battles of the city's history.

Although his administration was filled with much controversy, Mr. West was held in respect by his political opponents. He played the game of politics aggressively and skillfully, and in so doing helped sustain a climate of controversy and striving of the type on which democracy thrives and out of which progress is fashioned. The news of his death is saddening.

## CUBAN-PANAMA SITUATION

### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, apropos earlier remarks on the Cuban-Panama situation, attention is invited to the stands taken by our great veterans organizations, among them the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. A recent press release by its national commander in chief, John J. Stang, and two of its 1974 resolutions follow:

VFW CHIEFTAIN REJECTS "NERVOUS SOCIOLOGY" OF PRIVATE UNITED STATES-LATIN AMERICAN STUDY GROUP

WASHINGTON, D.C., October 31, 1974.—Termining it "a blue print for hemispheric disaster," John J. Stang, of LaCrosse, Kansas, National Commander-in-Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, put his nearly 1.8 million member organization in "total opposition to the nervous

sociology inherent in the recently published 33-point program published by the "Commission on United States-Latin American Relations."

Mr. Stang focused on the following major Commission recommendations as being "a purposeless, self-destruct course from an American position of prudence and responsibility."

The Commission recommendations included:

An immediate and unconditional end to inter-American economic sanctions against Cuba;

The negotiation of a new Canal Zone treaty with Panama;

Termination of military assistance to Latin America and phase out U.S. military advisory groups;

Abandoning the threat or application of unilateral measures of economic coercion in cases of uncompensated expropriation of American property or the seizure of American fishing vessels; and,

Restraining from actively encouraging the purchase of arms by Latin American countries, but repeal legislative restrictions on arms transfers that discriminate against the hemisphere.

The V.F.W. leader, in setting forth his total opposition to the foregoing recommendations, noted that, unlike other major areas of the world, the western hemisphere has been spared wide-spread warfare and major power competition.

"Adjustments can always be made in light of changing circumstances," Mr. Stang concluded, "but the approach envisioned by the 'Commission on United States-Latin American Relations' would not be a shrewd adjustment. It would be an irrevocable dismantling of a pattern of relationships that has assured relative peace and promises regional economic progress."

## RESOLUTION NO. 407: NO TRADE WITH OR RECOGNITION OF COMMUNIST CUBA

Whereas, since the visits of former President Nixon to Communist China and Communist Russia, many newspapers, TV stations, and other media have sent up "trial balloons" stating that, in their opinion, it is now time to "normalize" relations with Communist Cuba in wake of the anti-hijacking agreement; and

Whereas, Communist Cuba's dictator, Fidel Castro, has, notwithstanding, kept thousands of Cuban citizens languishing in filthy prisons and concentration camps; and

Whereas, the Cuban Communist regime has continued the repressive policy of no free election, systematic withdrawal of all democratic freedoms, systematic spying on all citizens and coercion of all Cubans into the Communist system; and

Whereas, Communist Cuba has continued unabated in its implacable hatred of the United States of America and has continued to send out Communist agents to other countries in this hemisphere and continues to train and inspire agents for sabotage and insurrection in various countries; and

Whereas, the United States of America has admitted hundreds of thousands of anti-Communist refugees from Cuban shores; now, therefore be it

Resolved by the 75th National Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, That we call upon the President and the Congress to continue the present policy of no trade with Communist Cuba and the policy of no diplomatic recognition of the Communist state for as long as it remains the policy of the Cuban Communist regime to retain the many harsh injustices now extant in that unfortunate land; and be it further

Resolved, That the U.S. Government grant no concessions whatsoever on the complete U.S. sovereignty, control or use of Guantanamo Bay.

## RESOLUTION NO. 414: U.S. CONTROL OF THE PANAMA CANAL

Whereas, Article II of the 1903 Convention between Panama and the United States, as modified in part by the 1936 Treaty between the two Governments, states:

### ARTICLE II

The Republic of Panama grants to the United States in perpetuity the use, occupation and control of a zone of land and land under water for construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection of said canal of the width of ten miles extending to the distance of five miles on each side of the center line of the route of the Canal to be constructed; the said zone beginning in the Caribbean Sea three miles from mean low water mark extending to and across the Isthmus of Panama into the Pacific Ocean to a distance of three marine miles from mean low water mark with the proviso that the cities of Panama and Colon and the harbors adjacent to said cities, which are included within the boundaries of the zone above described, shall not be included within this grant . . .

The Republic of Panama further grants in like manner to the United States in perpetuity all islands within the limits of the zone above described and in addition thereto the group of small islands in the Bay of Panama, named Perico, Naos, Culebra and Flamenco;

and Whereas, the United States of America has fully met its obligations to Panama under existing treaty arrangements and, moreover, has efficiently and responsibly accommodated an ever-increasing number of transits and amount of tonnage through the canal; and

Whereas, the revolutionary government of Panama, a product of coup d'etat, has, since June 1971, under the guise of seeking new canal treaty arrangements, undertaken a bitter and sustained campaign of anti-American propaganda fueled in large part by Cuban and Soviet Communists; and

Whereas, given the emotionally irrational situation in Panama, a political/psychological "timebomb" is being consciously fabricated by the revolutionary government of Panama set to explode to the detriment of the United States and the world shipping community, as was the case in the abortive meeting of the UN Security Council in Panama and the subsequent threat to the U.S./UN Ambassador; and

Whereas, due largely to our clearcut V.F.W. position, nearly more than one-third of the U.S. Senate has gone on record in opposition to the unprincipled "Statement of Principles" signed by the Administration and the Panamanians; now, therefore be it

Resolved, by the 75th National Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, that

(a) U.S. control and defense of the Panama Canal are non-negotiable;

(b) tensions relating to the administration of the Canal Zone be resolved on the spot without disturbing present treaty arrangements;

(c) U.S. citizens and employees in the Canal Zone continue to meet their responsibilities under U.S. sovereignty; and

(d) the foregoing position be again communicated to both the President and to the Congress.

## MORALITY IN POLITICS

### HON. STEVEN D. SYMMS

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. Speaker, a lot has been said over the past 2 years about the

climate of morality in politics. Nowhere have I seen the American political scene put in such perspective as a recent article written by my friend, Allan C. Brownfield. In order that my colleagues might have an opportunity to read Mr. Brownfield's comments, along with those of an eminent political observer, Richard Whalen, I insert the column at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Anaheim Bulletin, Nov. 18, 1974]  
 RICHARD WHALEN DISSECTS THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

WASHINGTON.—Most of the old political labels no longer make very much sense. If Democrats and Republicans really differ, it is primarily over who should be elected. If businessmen really believe in free enterprise it is difficult to explain their eagerness for government subsidization. And even the casual observer knows that things have gone awry when a Republican president declares that he is a "Keynesian" and when candidates of both parties are sold on television with little attention to either their records or their programs.

These are some of the observations of Richard Whalen in his recently published book, "Taking Sides." Whalen, a man who has distinguished himself as an original and thoughtful observer of the political scene, has been a contributing editor of Time, a member of the board of editors of Fortune, author of the best selling biography of Joseph P. Kennedy, "The Founding Father," and advisor to Richard Nixon during 1967-68. His analysis of our current political battlefield is worthy of serious consideration.

In his discussion of Richard Nixon, a section aptly entitled "Politics Without Purpose," Whalen expresses the view that those who thought of the Watergate conspirators as "ruthless, brilliant men, scheming for the highest prices" were mistaken. He notes that, "... stupid men also scheme. Conspirators may be motivated by nothing more than fear of losing what they have. The fictionalized ambition to seize power by a bold stroke becomes in real life the petty desire simply to hang on to the trappings and satisfactions of power—the luxurious jets, the fleet of limousines, the protected villas and retreats, the warm feeling of total security. To most of those who possess it, power is not desired as a means to great ends. It is a perfectly satisfying end in itself."

#### CYNICAL CONSPIRACY

Richard Nixon, the author points out, "made no distinction between the politics of campaigning and the politics of governing. With a handful of exceptions, the men around Nixon when he came to the presidency were experienced solely in campaign politics. He and they merely continued the ways that had worked well enough to give them what they sought. Most of these men were also strangers to the President and to each other, separated by fear, jealousy and suspicion, yet joined nonetheless in cynical conspiracy."

Whalen blames the Republicans, particularly the conservatives in the Senate, for remaining silent while Richard Nixon isolated himself from those who had made his nomination and election possible and, at the same time, dramatically reversed party policies, particularly in matters of defense and economic policy. He writes, "The conservative barons of the Senate—Barry Goldwater, John Tower, Strom Thurmond—who had played a decisive role in Nixon's 1968 nomination and election kept their fury bottled up long after they saw both ideology and political common sense betrayed. . . ."

Also subject to Whalen's criticism is the Washington press corps, which has been hailed for discovering Watergate but which, in fact, overlooked all of the things which produced it. Whalen asks: "Where, as all

this happened, were the professional scrutinizers, the watchmen of the Washington press? They were, for the most part, in a state of culture-shock brought about by the arrival of the first Republican administration they had encountered. . . . While the reporters panted after such colorful figures as Kissinger and (while he lasted) Moynihan, there was almost no critical scrutiny of the extraordinary White House organization structure and the concentration of enormous power in the hands of a few men unknown to the public. . . . Reporters covering the administration had daily evidence that they were pressing their noses against a plastic P. R. bubble surrounding and concealing a non-government. Yet they did not poke through and expose it. Within the bubble were men who believed in nothing, aspired to nothing, and wanted nothing, except to enjoy incumbency. . . . A press corps made docile by the desire for 'access' to the powerful played along. . . ."

#### POLITICS OF ILLUSION

Richard Nixon and his supporting cast, however, are not the only bad mark given by the author in contemporary American politics. John F. Kennedy is another. He refers to Kennedy as "a man without a goal beyond personal victory" and declares that he won election "by projecting an image of 'freshness' and 'vigor' in a time of national self-doubt. He practiced a media-oriented politics of illusion, which only a few skeptics challenged."

"In my family," John Kennedy once told an interviewer, "we were interested not so much in the ideas of politics as in the mechanics of the whole thing." Joe Kennedy told Arthur Krock in 1957 that, "We're going to sell Jack like soapflakes." Whalen charges that the Kennedy campaign itself made religion an issue in 1960, in both the primaries and in the general election. He states that, "Far from being a liability, Kennedy's religion was one of his solid assets. If he had been a wealthy young Episcopalian bearing the same record and credentials, he would not have received the publicity which made him the front runner entering 1960. And his relevant qualifications for the presidency—or lack of them—would have come under less sympathetic scrutiny."

Both John Kennedy and Richard Nixon represent to the author the emptiness of today's American political scene. One of the most negative forces on that scene, he believes, is the mass media. He writes, "Abraham Lincoln could be physically unattractive yet popular at the same time. The images on the screen are contrived to satisfy the values not of traditional politics but of mass entertainment; and the politicians who entered the realm of the entertainers were judged by their standards."

As a conservative himself, Richard Whalen laments the fact that self-proclaimed political conservatives are willing to accept such policies as wage and price controls and deficit spending as long as a Republican administration, rather than a Democratic one, imposes them. He notes that, "The dominant conservative impulse is to react—negatively to liberal proposals, positively to those bearing the Republican label, almost without reference to their specific contents. This habit of assent—knee-jerk conservatism—is symptomatic of a weak-mindedness apparently peculiar to Republicans."

#### MANIPULATION

In an excellent essay about John Connally, Whalen notes that American businessmen have ceased to believe in capitalism: "Traditional American capitalism, with its emphasis on ownership, enterprise and the free market, is being replaced by a managerial state capitalism centered in Washington. The mainspring of the system was no longer the market mechanism; it was political bargaining and manipulation. In

return for political submissiveness, large private interests were protected against the hazards of competition and the consequences of their own mistakes." He refers to this policy—embraced by Republicans and Democrats alike—as "an American kind of socialism, cloaked in the rhetoric of enterprise."

Richard Whalen believes that the policy of detente is probably the most serious offense of the Nixon years. He writes, "Ironically, the Soviet overthrow of American nuclear superiority has produced much activity carelessly described as 'peace-seeking.' In fact, the U.S. and its apprehensive allies are engaged in competitive deal-seeking with the Soviets. The reality is not 'peace,' but gradual accommodation to emerging Soviet dominance and phased capitulation to Soviet demands."

Whalen is a serious conservative intellectual and he paints a bleak picture. But it is not without hope. He urges the center to give the nation a new set of values, confidence, and direction, after it has been lied to by both the politicians and the media. He believes in freedom and strength and thinks that the majority of Americans agree with him. The political job of organizing that majority, however, he will leave for others.

#### THE CONSUMER PRODUCT SAFETY COMMISSION

#### HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, Mr. F. J. Rarig of the Rohm & Haas Co. of Philadelphia wrote an essay shortly after the enactment of the Consumer Product Safety Act in 1972. It is a brilliant piece of thinking, and I wish to share it with all my colleagues in Congress. I have edited it in order to allow it to fit within the confines of two RECORD pages, but I do not believe that I have impaired any of Mr. Rarig's style or argument. He states correctly that establishment of the Consumer Product Safety Commission is counter-revolutionary. That is, it is opposed to the principles upon which this country was founded, and to the common law. It is a throwback to feudalism. I trust that my colleagues will find Mr. Rarig's essay as good as I have.

#### THE ROLE OF STANDARDS UNDER THE CONSUMER PRODUCTS SAFETY ACT

(By F. J. Rarig)

This paper is primarily an effort to define the place in our system of law of the consumer product safety standard, the key legal instrument of the Consumer Product Safety Act.

The role assigned to this novel legal device is critical to the successful operation of this remarkable piece of legislation.

I suggest that the burden placed on the Consumer Product Safety Standard may be more than it can carry. I will define this burden by contrasting the theory and operation of the common law concept of "due care" and the legal system that gave effect to it with the theory and proposed operation of the system created by the Consumer Product Safety Standard Act which is designed to protect the consumer by making consumer products safe through a new kind of American Standard—a Consumer Product Safety Standard.

Speaking generally regarding the effect of the Consumer Product Safety Act on the voluntary standards system, I would say that the Commission created by the Act has been

given the authority (with muscle) to set standards for consumer safety standards and to order that such standards be promulgated when and if required. They have, indeed, been given fully sanctioned authority to do for standards, in this enormous area of our economy, what ANSI is theoretically supposed to have had the authority to do for standards generally in the United States.

Because Consumer Product Safety Standards will define the form of a product which may lawfully be sold on the American market, I would assume that the procedure that produces such a standard will be required to conform meticulously to the conception of fairness enshrined in the concept of due process of law. There are presently only a handful at most of voluntary standards groups that can provide the broad representation of interested persons and the fundamental safeguards that are essential elements of due process.

To assess with some degree of accuracy the legal significance of Consumer Product Safety Standards which will be promulgated under the Consumer Product Safety Act, we must first attempt to assess the historic legal and economic significance of this legislation.

Hackneyed and trite though it may sound, it must be said that the Consumer Product Safety Act constitutes a revolutionary change in our system of justice—a change which is fraught with tremendous and far-reaching economic and political consequences.

Actually, it is more accurate to characterize this legislation and the trend which it represents not as revolutionary but as counter-revolutionary.

This Act is a further (I am tempted to say *final*) step toward liquidation of our federal system of government which was constructed in Philadelphia in 1787. You older members of the Bar and students of constitutional history will recall that under this federal system, the police power was denied to the national government.

But the revolutionary significance of this Act is not derived from the contribution it makes to the rapidly accelerating process of liquidating the great Philadelphia invention of federalism.

Its revolutionary character derives from the novelty and radicalism of the change which it makes in our fundamental system of jurisprudence.

No state government ever undertook to do what this Act does. We are now undertaking, through the creation of an elaborate pattern of administrative control and a huge national administrative apparatus, to protect people from harm, not by holding all men to a standard of due care, but by establishing prior control over the production and marketing of goods in an endeavor to assure that the things produced by American industry will be safe; that is, will not injure those who use them. The principal mechanism for accomplishing this objective will be a national injury reporting and analysis system that will identify dangerous products. The principal means of eliminating product hazards will be consumer safety standards.

This undertaking is truly counter-revolutionary because it returns us to the system of economic control that was replaced four or five hundred years ago by the common law.

The cornerstone of the common law system was the provision of remedy in tort for injury caused by conduct that did not meet the prevailing standard of due care defined by case law and jury verdicts.

The Consumer Product Safety Act proposes to establish safety by prescription of acceptable product performance and product design—a condition precedent to market entry. The common law sought to proscribe injurious conduct by holding the producer to a standard of due care in the production of goods and by providing a remedy to any in-

jured party, a condition subsequent to market entry.

The definition of acceptable products in Consumer Products Safety Standards constitutes prior control of production and marketing through government regulation. The technique of the common law was assurance of freedom to act subject to the duty to act with due care for the safety of others. The common law sanction for the commandment, "Thou shalt not injure thy neighbor" was the imposition of liability and damages for injury caused by wrongful conduct. Under the common law the individual was free to use his genius, ingenuity and industry to produce products which others would buy. No sovereign power told the producer how to make a safe product. He was held to a standard of due care by the structure of the common law which made him responsible for the safety of his product. He made an unsafe product at his peril. The price of freedom was the duty to produce a safe product. If his product caused injury, he was then held accountable to a standard defined by the value of the society and the culture of his time. The great virtue of the jury verdict was its resolution of all of the imponderables which confront us at the threshold of the standards writing process. These include reconciling functional demands with safety considerations, balancing the need for goods versus the security of the individual, balancing the cost of the imposition of a high standard of care against the scarcity and demand for the products of industry, and balancing the need to provide incentive to produce versus the need to assure the safety of the consumer.

The verdict of the jury constituted a finding of malfeasance or nonfeasance, resolved the issue of causation and often put the whole matter in balance by assessing damages.

When we consider the key role that Consumer Product Safety standards are to play under the Consumer Product Safety Act, you must keep in mind what was accomplished by the common law procedure of a trial of the issues of fact in accordance with rules of relevance and materiality, the role of the judge, the role of the jury, the role of expert witnesses, and the role of trained legal counsel representing the plaintiff and the defendant.

We have to go back to the pre-common law era of feudalism, to find a precedent for a system of law that seeks to protect people from things by defining products rigidly and controlling their production. In the era of feudalism, products were defined and their production controlled through royal guild charters, royal grants of monopolies and by appointment as approved provisioners of the royal household.

The effect on the American market of a return to authoritative definition of products and control of marketing of new products will be far-reaching and incalculable. From here on in, no business school lecturer on marketing will know what he is talking about unless he studies the pattern of control of access to the market developed by the administrative apparatus which will be created under the Consumer Product Safety Act.

The theory of the Act is that safety from dangerous products will be assured through an investigative, legislative and enforcement procedure. This procedure will authoritatively identify hazardous products by conducting investigations of accidents. It will resolve issues of causation which have heretofore been decided by juries, and it will fix responsibility for injuries as between the product and the user. Through this process it will require compliance with mandatory product safety standards, ban products from the market which mandatory safety standards cannot make safe, require informative labeling to assure disclosure of possible hazards, require the description of new

products, monitor the entry of new products into the market place and, in the process, undertake to define a new product. It will, then, presumably decide whether or not a consumer product safety standard is required to protect the consumer from possible hazards associated with the new product before that product can be marketed.

The authority that defines consumer products, the authority that decides that a product has caused injury, the authority that determines that an existing product standard does not protect the public, the authority that requests and approves a product safety standard, the authority that dictates the terms in which product hazard shall be disclosed and, most significantly, the authority that defines what constitutes a new product requiring consumer hazard analysis and disclosure—this authority will bring the American market under control, and possibly reduce virtually all American industry to the condition of the American pharmaceutical industry which has liquidated the greater part of its research facilities and markets most new drugs abroad, rather than in the United States.

The impact of this market control will ramify far back into the marketing plans and practices of industry and beyond marketing into the halls of product development laboratories, raising fundamental questions regarding the feasibility of the delay between product conception, development and marketing. Those responsible for developing research budgets and calculating the return on capital investment will be compelled to include in their analysis a calculation of the risk that a product will either fail to negotiate the maze of restrictions that will become the path to the market or, once marketed, will run afoul of a determination that it has caused injury, is hazardous and must be taken off the market.

Not surprisingly, a legal philosophy that conceives of products as causing injury, assigns to a document called a "product safety standard" the role of protecting the consumer. The product safety standard is the device relied upon both to protect and to inform the consumer. Conversely, it is the device that will control production and regulate the market.

It is not the manufacturer's sense of responsibility or concern for product liability judgments or loss of good will for his products and his enterprise that will protect the consumer—it is a document called a "Consumer Product Safety Standard."

Animism holds that things cause injury. McLuhanism teaches that the medium is the message. The Consumer Product Safety Act, reflecting a touching faith in the efficacy of words, moves on the conviction that the product safety standard is a shield that will protect the user of the product.

I know that you have all read the Act and will be studying it carefully; I believe you will agree that the device relied upon to protect and inform the consumer is the product safety standard.

You can see that the new religion of Consumerism has found its icon. Safety is not the exercise of care, safety is a document—a consumer product safety standard.

Well, those of us who have devoted most of our professional lives to writing standards of one sort or another have certainly come into our own.

Before we get carried away with enthusiasm for the legal ingenuity and thoroughness of the authors of this Act in utilizing the device of standards to eliminate hazards and to provide terminology for informative labeling, let us check briefly into the status of some current projects to deal with specific hazards and several efforts at informative labeling. Such an exercise may suggest that the path to safety through product standards and informative labeling is not free of detours and delays. Consider the pin-pointed

hazard of the motor car's failure to protect the occupant to the right of the driver. DOT is relying on an automatically inflatable air bag standard to give the car the capability of protecting this occupant. The Ford Motor Company has installed this device in some experimental cars but it warns: "persons five feet tall or less should not occupy the right front seat because the deploying airbag may impose dangerous loading on the head if the occupant is in a 'jackknifed' position due to sudden deceleration of the vehicle."

Incidentally, it has taken a bit more than 180 days to come up with an answer to this pin-pointed risk.

Consider the hazard of flammable children's sleepwear. Several years of herculean effort on the part of the national government and industry has finally produced a requirement for the following presumably informative label on cotton nightgowns and pajamas up to and including size 6X for children up to six years of age. "Flammable (Does Not Meet U.S. Department of Commerce Standard DOC FF-3-71.) Should not be worn near sources of fire."

Consider the flood of understanding that envelops the consumer when he checks the meaning of the generic name on the label of his new suit—a generic name provided by the Federal Trade Commission to assure informative labelling of fabrics. Do not be choosy, take any generic. Take NYTRIL. The consumer will learn, if he looks it up in the F.T.C. Listing of Generic Names for Man-Made Fibers that NYTRIL is "A manufactured fiber containing at least 85% of a long-chain polymer of vinylidene dinitrile ( $\text{CH}_2\text{-C}(\text{CN})_2$ ) where the vinylidene dinitrile content is no less than every other unit in the polymer chain."

If it occurs to you that you might avoid Safety Commission orders banning your product from the market for lack of an adequate product safety standard by developing a prophylactic product safety standard, consider the plight of toy balloon manufacturers who the other day learned with horror that a child in Tennessee recently choked to death when she stumbled and swallowed a toy balloon which she was endeavoring to inflate. When you haven't anything else to think about, let your mind dwell on the prospect of designing a non-swallowable balloon.

This brief survey will serve as a fit introduction to the challenge which confronts the voluntary standards system under this new Act and the response of one of its oldest and most important standards institutions, the American Society for Testing and Materials, to this challenge.

As the Consumer Product Safety Act moved through the various stages of Congressional action and its nature and scope were made public, the word in the upper echelons of the American Society for Testing and Materials was: "If this thing becomes law, it's going to be a whole new ball game."

If the method of operation under the Act consists of monitoring NEISS reports and peeling off the top ten of the hazard parade for standards action, I would agree with the optimists that the Act will be a great boon to human safety and happiness and the work of the Safety Commission will show a good cost effectiveness payout; but I have a strange feeling that I have been here before. The feeling may derive from the fact that as a Special Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States, I assisted in implementing the greatly strengthened Food, Drug and Cosmetics Act following World War II.

I remember asking the general counsel of the Food and Drug Administration how long a new drug would retain the status of a new drug. "Oh, for perhaps a year—maybe two years—it depends upon how generally it is used," was the reply. Most of you are aware

that new drug status has in fact continued indefinitely. For some years the Food and Drug Administration facilitated the introduction of new drugs but it soon used the new drug concept to bring thousands of established drugs within the new drug classification in order to increase its authority over them and in order to simplify enforcement proceedings.

Even if the Product Safety Commission endeavors to enforce The Consumer Product Safety Act with restraint and common sense, because the Act is an act to protect the consumer and because private citizens can initiate proceedings under it, it may be unable to control the course that enforcement takes. The political pressures to utilize and expand all of the authority granted by the Act will be irresistible. . . .

I hope that the administrators of this new Act will realize that the future of the American market and of American industry is literally in their hands.

We must all hope that these new masters of the American market will realize that this market is not something that just happened. It has been built on a sound philosophical and institutional base. . . .

In the meantime, let us hope that the Consumer Product Safety Commission will provide a miracle of administrative efficiency, self-restraint, courage and common sense—qualities that are missing in most bureaucracies, private as well as public. . . .

#### FOOD DAY

### HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, there is no better example of the failure of international cooperation among nations than the world food shortage and no better example of the failure of U.S. governmental policy than the high cost of food here at home.

We are all deeply concerned over the world food crisis. For millions of people in underdeveloped countries the crisis is one of hunger. For millions of others, the crisis is one of not having the money to purchase a nutritionally adequate diet.

That is why I am pleased to be a part of the effort to establish a "National Food Day." Only the most extraordinary circumstances justify the designation of a day to study any single issue of public importance.

A broad coalition of citizens groups and concerned individuals have designated April 17, 1975, a national day of action to develop a food policy aimed at assisting needy nations, reducing food prices, improving the quality of the American diet, insuring competition in the food marketing system, and insuring the livelihood of the family farmer.

We must know why and how our food policies have failed. We must pinpoint responsibility for skyrocketing food prices. We must know whether an agricultural policy that deliberately encouraged the depletion of our grain reserves through unbridled "for profit" exports was responsible for high domestic prices and U.S. and world shortages. We must measure the impact of corporate agriculture on the demise of small family farmers and competition in the marketplace.

For myself, I will use my time on Food Day to work for the establishment of a special congressional committee to study the cost and availability of food, the establishment of a strategic grain reserve, an end to speculation in the food commodities market, and the sensible regulation of exports.

The American consumer this year is paying record high prices for food at the supermarket. At the retail level, inflation in food prices is running at nearly 12 percent a year, and at the wholesale level it is almost 20 percent.

Once this Nation was a land of plenty; today the only thing we have in abundance is shortages. While inflation has soared over the past 5 years, we have had two administrations preaching the old time religion of a free market in an increasingly concentrated food marketing system while urging consumers to clean their plates and tighten their belts. That approach has been nothing but disastrous.

Federal regulation and management of the Nation's food marketing system has failed to provide consumers with food at reasonable prices and farmers with a fair return on invested capital.

The absence of a coherent national food policy has victimized both consumers and farmers while speculators, grain men, and retailers reap windfall profits. A lack of competition in certain segments of the food industry contributes to consumers being overcharged billions of dollars annually, according to the Agriculture Department.

The administration policy of depleting our once-enormous grain reserves and its unrestricted food export programs have contributed directly to higher prices for almost everything we Americans eat, and it has contributed to the world food crisis by pricing our grain out of reach for many developing nations.

The problem has become so severe that in my district in New York City and elsewhere, some elderly persons are eating pet food because that is all they can afford, and supermarket thefts are increasing. It is sad that people have been forced into stealing envelopes of dehydrated soup from grocery store shelves while the grocery manufacturers and retailers are posting record profits.

Food prices and profits are soaring and the quality of our food is declining, as witnessed by the proliferation of junk foods. This is due in no small part to the fact that our regulatory agencies are controlled by the very industries they are supposed to regulate.

I am convinced that, barring massive crop failures, there is a solution to the food price dilemma. We can provide consumers with an adequate supply of food at reasonable prices and still allow farmers to earn a fair return on their invested capital and we can and should meet our moral obligation to help feed hungry nations.

The American people should be encouraged to choose a simpler lifestyle, one that will result in less energy and food consumption; and governmental policy should encourage and sometimes require such actions. But the large corporations cannot continue to reap record

profits at the same time consumers are being called upon to sacrifice.

Although consumers are frustrated—and outraged—by ever-rising prices and dismayed by famine overseas, it has been difficult for them to understand some of the root causes of our current predicament, and, more importantly, to work toward some solutions. Food Day can be the catalyst for involving people in finding answers at both the local and the national levels.

I strongly urge all Americans to take part in Food Day activities in their communities. To encourage such participation, I am, along with Senator CLARK today, submitting a joint congressional resolution to declare April 17, 1975, National Food Day.

The text of the resolution follows:

H.J. RES. 1170

November 26, 1974.

Joint Resolution designating April 17, 1975, as "National Food Day."

Whereas food shortages have resulted in massive hunger and starvation in many nations; and

Whereas malnutrition is a fact of life for millions of Americans; particularly the poor and the elderly; and

Whereas inflation, shortages of fertilizer, economic concentration in the food industry, adverse weather conditions, and other factors have led to record high food prices in the United States; and

Whereas the diets of tens of millions of Americans lead to serious health problems; and

Whereas changes in agricultural practices are threatening the survival of small family farmers; and

Whereas a broad coalition of citizens groups and concerned individuals have designated April 17, 1975, a national day of action to develop a food policy aimed at assisting needy nations, reducing food prices, improving the quality of the American diet, ensuring competition in the food marketing system, and ensuring the livelihood of the family farmer: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That April 17, 1975, is designated as "National Food Day," and the President is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation to promote public involvement in developing a national policy guided by the needs of people, both in the United States and abroad.

MARCHMONT "MARCHY"  
SCHWARTZ

HON. FORTNEY H. (PETE) STARK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, Marchmont "Marchy" Schwartz, a former Notre Dame football great and head coach of Stanford University, will be inducted into the National Football Hall of Fame in December 1974.

It gives me pleasure to draw congressional attention to Marchy's honor, because he is a long-time personal friend who typifies the finer qualities of competitive sportsmanship. The attitudes and philosophies which made him famous on the field were carried over into the business world, where he also has performed

as a champion and, as always, a gentleman.

March Schwartz was honored recently during halftime ceremonies of the Notre Dame-Miami University game in South Bend. He was awarded a plaque for the Pioneers Football Hall of Fame and congratulated for his upcoming induction into the National Hall of Fame.

His steady march toward the ultimate recognition of his feats is worth recording. Born in New Orleans on March 20, 1909, March prepped at St. Stanislaus College in Bay St. Louis, Miss., where he was an outstanding athlete and student. He was also later inducted into the St. Stanislaus College Hall of Fame.

After attending Loyola for a year, he enrolled at Notre Dame and played football during the 1929, 1930, and 1931 seasons. The 1929 and 1930 teams were national champions under Knute Rockne—who died in March 1931. Marchy was an All-American in both 1930 and 1931. He still holds the single season record for most yards gained rushing.

While studying law from 1932 to 1933, he was an assistant coach under Hunk Anderson at Notre Dame. During 1934, he was the backfield coach under Clark Shaughanessy at the University of Chicago. In 1935, he started a 5-year stint as head coach at Creighton University.

In 1940, he rejoined Clark Shaughanessy who introduced the T-formation to football at that time. Marchy became the head coach at Stanford in 1942 and remained the head coach after the war from 1946 through 1950. At that time, he retired from coaching and coached the West team in the 1950 Shrine College All-Star game.

Since then he has been a real estate executive in California with Gannon and Harrity, Northamerican Title Insurance Co., and Transamerica Title where he has been an executive for the last 10 years.

Marchy is married to the former Rosemarie O'Donnell; they have three sons, two daughters, and nine grandchildren. Marchy, Rosemarie, and their children all live in California.

THE NORTH SHORE COMMUNITY  
ARTS CENTER

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this time to call to the attention of my colleagues the achievements of the North Shore Community Arts Center. This group, established some 25 years ago, has acted as a major innovative force in improving the cultural climate of the North Shore of Long Island. The center and the individuals involved can be rightfully proud of the accomplishments of the past 25 years and I wish them success for the future.

A brief history of the center has been prepared and I would like to insert it into the Record at this point:

THE NORTH SHORE COMMUNITY ARTS CENTER—  
A BRIEF HISTORY

Twenty-five years have passed quickly and busily, and the vigorous infant first called "Children's Cultural Center" has grown into an impressive young adult, known widely and well as the North Shore Community Arts Center.

It has been the object of interest by individuals, the media and arts agencies from many parts of the country, and has been the prime motivating force in cultural affairs in this area for most of its 25 years, and has a record of accomplishment of which we can all be proud.

Your arts center, this arts center, has brought to our area, and to its hard-working members, vastly gratifying amounts of artistic nourishment. Let's take a look at the record.

In 1949, when the Children's Cultural Center was founded in Roslyn under the inspired leadership of Ida Rosenfield, the first objective was to bring enriching experiences to our children. Classes were begun in the arts—painting, sculpture, music and dance, always of the highest quality, with fine artist-teachers.

It was soon realized, however, that this was not enough. The children must be served, indeed, but their parents had needs, too. In 1950 this larger need led to the formation and incorporation of the NSCAC. From this point on, the story is one of constant growth, tremendous effort, and remarkable accomplishment—with growing pains to match.

The educational program has grown from an enrollment of a few score to well over 900 students who participate in each year's classes—children, teen-agers, adults and senior citizens. Many of the country's finest artists and educators in the various disciplines have contributed to this ever widening scope. Among the earliest of our teachers were George Kleinsinger, Harry Sternberg, Robert Cronbach, Arthur Edelman, Nathalie Donnet and Roberta Lazes. Since then, many well-known artists have been with us—Minna Harkevych, Joseph Konzal, Alfred Van Loen, Margit Beck, Tully Filmus, Elsa Goldsmith, Frank Kleinholz and Jean Liberte, Seong Moy, Anthony Tony, Merce Cunningham, June Lewis, Billie Mahoney, Sophie Maslow, Fritz Kramer, Felix Popper, Hugo Weisgall, Lawrence Arrick and Alec Rubin, the successful ANTA Training and Production Workshop, and now our newest theater association with Ellen Stewart of La Mamam Experimental Theater Club.

We are proud of our present staff: In art, Alex Dain, Phil Darling, Shirley Gorelick, Mort Haber, Ruth Leaf, Margot Lovejoy, Helen Meyrowitz, Agnes Mills, Elsie Nyderf, Suzanne Schild, Arline Shapiro, Rita Squier, Jerry Walker, Joyce Rosa, Bert Weinmann, Bernice Winston in our art department. In music: Barbara Graham, Liz Reiner, Paul Rudoff, and Edith Wax; in dance: Risa Jaroslow, Muriel Manings, Wendy Summit, and George Tomov; in theatre: Bill Korff, Peter Alzado, Ozzie Rodriguez, Dorothy Schindel and Fred Yockers—never forgetting Carol Fijan and Paul Vincent-Davis puppeteers extraordinaire, Ron Gross in poetry and Bob Strassman and Daniel Quat teaching photography.

Over the years we have presented many of the most important artists and performing groups. To list a few highlights: Alvin Ailey, Judith Anderson, Marian Anderson, Jacques D'Ambrose, Ossie Davis, Viveca Lindfors, Martha Graham, William Gropper, Sioban McKenna, Jack MacGowan, Agnes de Mille, Arthur Mitchell, Carl Sandburg, Pete Seeger, Maria Tallchief, Paul Taylor, Edward Villella and Emyln Williams.

With "Cinema 6" we led with foreign film presentations on the island, what has become a major development everywhere began right here at NSCAC. Our contemporary composers series—Aaron Copland, Hugo

Weisgall, Elie Siegmeister, Walter Piston and Paul Creston have appeared and discussed the musical scene through their own compositions;—the Oriental Bhaskar and his troupe, an evening with Morton Gould complete with snowstorm; Joseph Papp's "Romeo and Juliet"; some of the great chamber music groups in our country; Guarneri, Cleveland, Tokyo, Juilliard, Lenox and Budapest quartets have all performed for us. "The Negro Artist Looks at America" with Ruby Dee, James Baldwin and John Killens; the important new dance teaching and performance residences with Eric Hawkins, Twyla Tharp and Bella Lewitsky.

The large program of community service extended by the center includes the arts in therapy program. Now in its third year, and coordinated by Marion Berliner, and is co-sponsored by the Long Island Jewish Hillside Medical Center. Through the well planned efforts of a consultant psychiatrist and a qualified staff of therapists, special students between 5 and 21 years of age are offered a program in art, games, dance movement and video therapy in addition, community service programs reach out to local service centers and head start program where classes in the arts have been taught by our teachers over a period of many years. Added to this are the cooperative efforts with after school day care program and individual scholarships.

In the area of performing arts, in its second season is La Mama Long Island Experimental Theater directed by Ozzie Rodriguez, with new participants being trained at this time, and our highly professional concert puppet theater, with a company of 20 teens, directed by Carol Fijan and Paul Vincent-Davis, is playing to filled houses in its second season.

In all this, one thing stands out. The NSCAC has always been a major innovative force in the Cultural Development of the North Shore, and of the entire county. We have been, and continue to be, imitated and emulated. Our ideas have been borrowed. Our counsel sought, our energy admired—and while new groups both philanthropic and commercial spring up around us, there remains enough to be done to keep us all at this business of moving forward and upward for many years to come. It is with some awe that we look at the past and see how far we have come—and it is with a great deal of humility that we realize how far there is yet to go.

So far the story is fascinating and the picture of accomplishment most satisfying—but there have been problems to match both the fascination and gratification—and there may be those who would say that they more than match. We have had space and money problems from the very beginning, and we will not now go into a detailed account of the various homes the arts center has had prior to its present location in Great Neck, where we have been for 9 years. Those of us who can remember the scattered operation in numerous buildings and homes can look back on those days with amusement, as perhaps, those who are dealing with this year's problems may do a few years hence—but the fact remains that we do have, right now, a pressing need for even larger quarters and an even more pressing need for a stable financial base.

Until recently the NSCAC, along with other similar groups throughout the Nation, has been relatively self-supporting—and always operated at a deficit. Now with additional Government support and accompanied matching fund programs the possibilities for growth have been extended.

Our pressing problem today is an excessive current deficit. Our various fund-raising committees have striven long and mightily, but our deficit mounts. . . .

Our program is complicated. It is active, it is large, it is perpetually in motion. Such activity required administration—and what a task that is! We have had and continue to

have, directors who have given of their very life's blood to keep the NSCAC moving and growing—and who have been, at the very best, paid for less than half the time they have put in. No one can say "arts center" without saying, "Ida Rosenfield, Ruth Stone, Sylvia Faulkner, Alan Davis, Dorothy Tulman, Barbara Meltzer, Martha Meyers, Gert Perna, currently Bernice Olenick, and for the past ten years through the present, Norma Reiner." We have had Corps of Volunteers working in our office to help keep up with the many details that must be attended to, and the additional paid workers who have all given and continue to give. Could there have been an arts center without a Danny Jacoby, a Nettie Good, an Irv Stewart (to name but a few), the Traums, Shirley Romaine, Zeldia Aronstein, the Swerdlows, the Wachtels, Joan Burton, Millie Hoffman, Helen Frank, Gladys Doudin, Esther Shatter, Jules Reiner, Willie Parker, the Petroffs, the Filmus, Lenore Chapman, the Silvermans, and on and on . . .

Unmentioned thus far is the fact that many of our board and committee members are equally distinguished and accomplished. It is safe to say that a high percentage of the artists, musicians, teachers and other professionals of the community have and continue to serve the center in one way or another . . . and still our debts mount.

In this situation we have met and talked and met again and talked again—and again—and in a final effort to reach a satisfactory solution, we have decided that we must really "go public."

We have, of course, always been a "public" organization. Our membership is open to all and we welcome every individual and family that wishes to join us whether the participation is as student or audience. But we have never really reached outside that membership for substantial help. We are doing that now.

In the 25 years of its existence, NSCAC has had 14 presidents, each of whom devoted an incredible amount of time to the development of the arts center, each of whom contributed to its growth, each filling the particular need of the moment; Ira Belfer, Alan Nordlinger, Don Liederman, Morton Leavy and Steven Katzner, all of Roslyn; Will Landsberg, Port Washington; Alfredo Valente, Sea Cliff; and Harry Wachtel, Stanley Swerdlow, Walter Zacharius, Paul Bauman and Sidney Silverman all of Great Neck.

As an organization which has truly led the way to an improved cultural atmosphere, we know we have contributed substantially to the entire community. We have no greater desire than to continue in this work—and to include as many more of our people in its inner workings as desire to participate. We can only do this if we have real and consistent financial help from sources such as the people in the community, local chambers of commerce, service organizations, business groups large and small, philanthropic individuals, organizations, foundations and government sources of funds for the arts.

The first 25 years were the hardest—on to the next 25 for a period of continued growth and creativity!

#### HATHAWAY, LIETZ HONORED

### HON. GEORGE M. O'BRIEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. O'BRIEN. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to pay tribute to Mr. Charles Hathaway and Mr. Herbert Lietz who retired this week after serving Iroquois County, Ill., for more than half a century.

Mr. Hathaway, a native of Martinton, Ill., was elected to represent his town on the Iroquois County Board in 1918. He was 19 years old then, the youngest man ever elected to the board. With 56 years service now behind him, Mr. Hathaway has the longest record of service of any Illinois board member. His dedication to the people of Iroquois County deserves their fullest gratitude.

Mr. Lietz is retiring after 16 years as county clerk, but his public service career spanned 30 years. He did a terrific job and now I understand he is planning to move to Texas with his family. I just hope the Lone Star State appreciates him as much as we are going to miss him in Illinois.

The following are two articles published by the Iroquois County Times and the Joliet Herald News on the subject of Mr. Hathaway's and Mr. Lietz's retirements:

[From the Iroquois County Times]

BOARD PAYS HONORS TO HATHAWAY, LIETZ;  
CONDUCTS REGULAR BUSINESS

(By Vicki Gowler)

"A happy and sad occasion" summed up the end of the November County Board meeting, which was the last meeting County Clerk Herbert W. Lietz and board member Charles Hathaway, Martinton, would attend.

Both men were honored with plaques to mark their years of services to the county. Hathaway, 85, has served on the board for 56 years. Lietz just ended 16 years as county clerk.

Undercurrents of emotion almost overflowed as the county board members and guests gave both men a standing ovation after they received their plaques.

Hathaway was first elected to the board as the Martinton supervisor in 1918 and became the youngest member ever elected. After the redistricting, Hathaway was elected board member for District 2 which includes Papineau, Iroquois, and Martinton. He might have served the longest tenure of any board member in Illinois.

Lietz first took office in 1958 and automatically assumed the duties of County Court and Probate Clerk. He has gone through the building of a new courthouse and jail and the redistricting of the county.

In a speech read by the incoming County Clerk, Donald W. Pursley, Watscka, Lietz said, "According to Webster's Dictionary, a public servant is one who belongs to the people. I have belonged to you, the public, for over 30 years. My wife has felt at times that I was married to the people of Iroquois County—my children at times have felt I was the father of the courthouse."

He continued, "I'm happy that my responsibilities as county clerk have come to an end and my wife and I can now do so many things we couldn't do before. I'm sad because I've made so many friends here in Iroquois County over the years and I'm certainly going to miss you all."

Lietz and his wife, Nola, will be moving to Texas.

Certificates of appreciation were given to three other board members. Bernard Fleming, John Dowling and William C. Merkle. Both Fleming and Dowling decided not to run for office again. Merkle was defeated in the general election last Tuesday.

[From the Joliet Herald-News]

HATHAWAY HONORED IN IROQUOIS COUNTY

WATSEKA.—Service to Iroquois County that spanned more than five decades ended today with the retirement of Charles L. Hathaway, Martinton.

Hathaway, 85, has served the Iroquois County Board 56 years, with six as chairman

when it was called the board of supervisors. His current assignment was chairman of two committees—liquor control and public buildings and grounds.

When he was elected supervisor of Martin-ton Township in 1918, he was the youngest member ever elected to the board. Several years ago the state's Township Officials Association records showed he had the longest tenure of any board member in Illinois.

Since redistricting, Hathaway has served District 2 which includes Papineau and Iroquois in addition to his home township.

At today's Iroquois County Board meeting, Hathaway received a plaque in recognition of his service. He was honored at a luncheon that followed the meeting.

Herbert Lietz, clerk for 16 years, was also presented with a service plaque by the board. He is retiring and will be succeeded by Donald W. Pursley who was elected Nov. 5.

Hathaway was born in Martinton Township March 1, 1889 and was educated in local schools. His wife, the former Melia Coash, is deceased. He has several daughters and numerous grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

His most recent occupation was operator of the Hathaway Garage in Martinton. Before that he worked as a harness maker and shoe repair man.

His community activities include charter membership in the Martinton Lions Club, Republican precinct committeeman and membership in the Iroquois County Law Enforcement Association.

#### GOVERNMENT ACTION NEEDED TO BRING SUGAR PRICES DOWN

### HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, the tremendous rise in the price of sugar during the past few months has placed another massive burden on American consumers struggling to make ends meet in this period of double-digit inflation and growing unemployment. We have been told to expect the price of sugar and sugar products to go still higher in the months ahead. The sugar industry blames the high prices on a worldwide sugar shortage. Yet the excessive profits recently announced by major American sugar companies has led me, along with thousands of consumers, to suspect that the industry itself is driving prices up in an attempt to maximize its profits. That conclusion is buttressed by reports published this past weekend that sugar is selling in Mexico, just across the American border, for about 10 cents a pound while American consumers are paying more than 60 cents a pound in supermarkets across the United States.

Yesterday I submitted testimony on this important consumer issue to the President's Council on Wage and Price Stability which is holding public hearings on the price of sugar. I attach that testimony herewith in the hope that it will provide some impetus toward the formulation of a legislative solution to this grave economic problem:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN  
ROBERT F. DRINAN

Mr. Chairman, during the past few years, as inflation has reached the highest rate since 1946, American consumers have experi-

enced increasing difficulty in stretching their dollars to buy enough food to feed their families, sufficient energy to heat and light their homes, and adequate medical care to preserve their health. While nearly all consumer goods have escalated in price, three essential commodities in particular—beef, petroleum and now sugar—have in turn undergone sudden, meteoric price increases since 1972. In each of these instances, the consumer has been the victim and the industry has reaped immense profits. In each case, the public has been told that rising prices resulted from excessive demand relative to available supply, but the immense windfall profits earned by the giant oil conglomerates during the "energy shortage" last winter indicate that the selfishness of private industry has played an important part in driving prices upward. The lessons gleaned from the recent beef and petroleum "shortages" should not be forgotten in examining the problem of excessive sugar prices and considering possible remedies.

The price of refined sugar in American supermarkets has risen more than 400 percent this year. Products containing large quantities of sugar including candy, soft drinks, baked goods, and processed foods have also risen sharply in price. The retail price of Coca-Cola, for example, has increased nearly 50 percent in the past year.

Although recent pronouncements by federal officials presage a decline in sugar prices sometime next year, sugar futures are still rising on the world market and consumers continue to face higher prices for sugar and sugar products each time they venture to market. In the United States, which consumes more than 11 million tons of sugar each year, such a drastic upturn in prices constitutes a serious economic hardship both to consumers and to companies dependent upon sugar as a major ingredient in food production.

One prime factor in this recent price increase is the inadequate supply of sugar available to satisfy world demand, the explanation offered by both the sugar industry and the Department of Agriculture. There is no doubt that world consumption of sugar has increased significantly during the past five years while production has remained relatively stable. The Arab nations, in particular, have increased their consumption of sugar products in conjunction with their vastly increased wealth. Moreover, the Arab states have been speculating in sugar futures on the world market, further driving up the price. The Soviet Union, the world's largest sugar producer has had a number of poor crops and recently purchased 400,000 tons of sugar cane from the Philippines. We have been told that the insufficiency of the world supply of sugar in meeting the constantly rising demand has resulted in the high prices American consumers now face.

The complexity of the sugar industry and the reluctance of the industry to provide information about its operation makes it difficult to challenge this line of reasoning, which seems to exonerate both industry and government from blame for excessive prices. A few important questions should at least be raised. For many years, the United States has protected the domestic sugar industry at the expense of the consumer through the system of quotas and subsidies provided by the Sugar Act. It is difficult to understand why the Administration has continued to support a program which limits domestic supply by restricting sugar imports during this period of growing demand. Earlier this year, the House of Representatives voted to end the Sugar Act after forty years of existence, but the provisions of this domestic subsidy program, including its import quotas, will remain in effect until the end of 1974.

Our commercial policy towards Cuba certainly deserves reconsideration if we are serious about increasing the supply of sugar available to the United States. Before the

imposition of the trade embargo with Cuba in 1961, that nation provided the United States with more sugar than any foreign nation except the Philippines. Cuba, one of the world's largest sugar producers, has expressed a desire to resume commercial relations with the United States. But while the Administration proclaims its commitment to providing Americans with an adequate supply of sugar, it recently refused to join with a majority of American states in lifting sanctions against Cuba.

The Administration thus continues to hold the preservation of cold war foreign policy over the economic interests of the American people.

According to available data, world demand for sugar has outstripped production in four of the past five years. In light of that fact it is not surprising that prices have increased steadily on the world market from 3 cents per pound of raw cane in 1966 to 7 cents in 1972 and 9 cents in 1973. Today, the spot price of world sugar is more than 60 cents per pound! How are conditions in this industry any different now than they were two years ago? Why have prices risen so drastically in so short a time? Can it be attributed solely to the impenetrable "laws of the marketplace"?

The focus upon inadequate world sugar supplies has drawn public attention away from the role which the sugar industry itself has played in raising prices to unprecedented levels. This industry is dominated by a handful of large corporations which own most of the 58 beet sugar factories and 27 refineries in operation. The largest American sugar company, Amstar, which produces Domino Sugar, recently announced profits up over 100 percent. The rest of the industry has enjoyed similar benefits as the price of sugar has shot up. Even the sugar growers have never had it so good. While the sugar industry has reaped steep profits, the twenty largest American sugar growers have been paid annual subsidies totalling more than \$11 million at taxpayers' expense under provisions of the Sugar Act.

Much like the situation in the oil industry last winter, nobody knows much about what the sugar industry is doing during the current "shortage" other than the fact that it is making a tremendous amount of money at the expense of the American consumer. The Justice Department has been investigating the price-setting mechanisms and other aspects of the sugar industry giants for more than a year, but has yet to announce any results.

Is the industry hoarding refined sugar in the expectation of driving the price still higher? Is the industry failing to import all of the sugar it possibly can in order to maintain a domestic shortage and keep prices high? Is the industry fixing prices to maximize profits and eliminate competition? I don't have the answers to these questions. The public doesn't have the answers to these questions. I, for one, am unwilling to take the industry's word that these practices are not being engaged in. The American people have a clear right to know whether they are being cheated by the sugar industry through excessive prices administered in violation of anti-trust statutes.

There is no paucity of those prepared to deplore the high price of sugar. Such expressions of dismay, while laudable, will not help the overburdened consumer. There is no single answer to this serious problem, but there are a few constructive proposals which should be considered by Congress as soon as possible.

First, we should examine the possibility of lowering tariffs on imported sugar to encourage more imports at lower prices. In 1973, the United States collected more than \$61 million in duties on raw sugar imports. While a reduction in that duty would lower tariff revenues somewhat, the savings could be passed on directly to the consumer in the form of lower prices.

Second, we should restore trade relations with Cuba, formerly our second largest source of imported sugar. Since most sugar contracts are negotiated many months in advance of delivery, the immediate restoration of trade with Cuba would not produce an immediate flow of sugar from Cuba to the United States. Nevertheless, the sooner we take the overdue step of restoring commercial relations with Cuba, the sooner our sugar supply will be enlarged, permitting the price to decline.

Third, Congress should initiate an intensive investigation of the American sugar industry to determine the extent to which factors other than the world market are responsible for the current high prices.

Fourth, Congress should resist any efforts to restore the Sugar Act in any form, particularly the establishment of domestic or foreign quotas for sugar production and the subsidizing of American sugar growers through direct payments at taxpayers expense.

Fifth, Congress should investigate the feasibility and impact of imposing temporary price controls on refined sugar by taking into account the price of raw sugar, the cost of production, and a competitive price margin for companies in the sugar industry. The purpose of such controls would be to reverse the inflationary trend in refined sugar and sugar products.

Finally, the Food and Drug Administration should publicize its scientific findings concerning the nutritional value of sugar. If the FDA agrees with most nutritional experts that sugar has virtually no positive value as a source of needed vitamins and minerals, that determination should be made public. If Americans are consuming too much sugar, the federal government should take an active role in encouraging the substitution of inexpensive artificial sweeteners. President Ford has acted in this regard by asking all Americans to reduce their consumption of sugar by one-half. The FDA should continue the campaign to reduce sugar consumption and lower the price.

It is encouraging that this Council has agreed to hold public hearings on this crucial economic issue. I fear, however, that the Council will stop short of recommending the decisive measures necessary to provide the American consumer with needed relief. I urge the Council to consider the problem, to listen to testimony presented by all sides, and to propose specific remedies based on its findings.

It is easy to deplore the outrageously high price of sugar, just as it was easy for the Administration to express sympathy for the public last winter when the price of gasoline and heating oil skyrocketed. In that instance, the Administration revealed the shallowness of its compassion by vetoing the Energy Emergency Act to roll back the price of domestic petroleum. I urge the Council to follow up its concern in this instance with remedial action and take the steps necessary to bring the price of sugar down.

#### NO ON ROCKEFELLER

### HON. JOHN L. BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. JOHN L. BURTON. Mr. Speaker, the Hastings Law News editorialized on the confirmation of Nelson Rockefeller as Vice President of the United States.

I would like to call the Members attention to the opinions of the newspaper from this most respected law school that

is situated in the congressional district that I represent:

#### NO ON ROCKEFELLER

When Richard Nixon handpicked Gerald Ford to be his heir apparent, Ford became the first American Vice President elected by no one. With the resignation, Ford became the first President to be elected by no one. In order to broaden his political base, he then selected "liberal" Republican Nelson Rockefeller to be the second Vice President elected by no one.

Rockefeller's nomination was favorably received by the opinion-makers in Congress and the media. He was hailed as the epitome of moderation and respectability. The confirmation hearings before the Senate Rules Committee were prolonged, but polite.

There were, to be sure, some criticisms. Religious groups opposed him for being pro-abortion. The right wing opposed him for not being Barry Goldwater. More substantively, the left wing opposed him for his handling of the Attica situation, his role in U.S. imperialism in Latin America, and his personification of the nexus between economic and political power in our society.

Despite these misgivings, however, it was generally assumed that Rockefeller would be confirmed with little difficulty. Indeed, the lengthy hearings were regarded by many as little more than an irksome ritual made necessary by the erosion of public confidence in the government.

Recently, however, certain facts have come to light which place Rockefeller's fitness for the office in serious doubt. First, it was announced that Rockefeller had given a total of \$1.8 million in "gratuities" to 18 political cronies over the years. These gifts ranged in value from \$15,000 to \$625,000.

Even more significant than these gifts, however, was the disclosure that Rockefeller's brother Laurence had financed publication of a derogatory biography of former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg in 1970, when Goldberg was opposing Rockefeller for the governorship of New York. The book's author had previously produced "hatchet jobs" on John and Robert Kennedy.

Rockefeller denied any prior knowledge of the \$60,000 expenditure and at first tried to pass it off as a mere "business investment", although the book apparently had no commercial value. Rockefeller later took "full responsibility for the whole regrettable episode," but still did not admit any personal involvement.

For many of us, this latest "dirty tricks" story had an oddly familiar ring. For political moderates, as well as those on the right and left, the Rockefeller image had suddenly become tarnished.

At this time in our nation's history, there is a grave need for the restoration of public confidence in our leaders. President Ford severely impaired his ability to bring about such a restoration by his pardon of Nixon. Thus, it becomes crucial that the unelected Vice President be a person of unimpeachable integrity. At a time when millions of Americans are suffering from a troubled economy, it would also be desirable to have a Vice President of modest means. There are certainly many Americans in both political parties who possess these attributes. President Ford would not have to look very hard to find them.

High political office is a privilege, not a right. In his lifetime, Nelson Rockefeller has already enjoyed more than enough privilege for any man.

In view of these considerations, the Rockefeller nomination should be rejected. Members of the Hastings Community should so urge members of the House Judiciary Committee and the Senate Rules Committee, as well as their own representatives.

#### PLOWSHARE—A CONTINUING FAILURE

### HON. TENO RONCALIO

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. RONCALIO of Wyoming. Mr. Speaker, I have long maintained that the Atomic Energy Commission's Project Plowshare is a waste not only of the taxpayer's money, but also of precious supplies of uranium, natural gas and other energy resources.

In a white paper I presented to the Tri-State Energy Conference in Denver last February 1, I argued that this program to free natural gas and oil shale by the use of nuclear detonations should be abandoned. Nuclear stimulation could provide but a drop in the bucket toward meeting our national energy needs, hardly worth the economic and environmental risks of further development. After some 10 years of experimentation and three test events in the Rocky Mountain West at a cost of more than \$34 million, it has not produced a single cubic foot of gas for market.

Two recent developments at Project Rio Blanco in Colorado, the most recent test, support my position. It has been established that the three cavities at Rio Blanco failed to connect due to a basic technological flaw, which raises serious doubts about the economic feasibility of this process. And a second release of radioactive material from the well in 3 weeks suggests the environmental risks are much greater than we have been led to believe.

Following are two articles from the Rocky Mountain News of November 20 concerning these latest failures at Rio Blanco:

#### RIO BLANCO FLAW THREATENS PROJECT

(By H. Peter Metzger)

None of the three underground caverns created by the nuclear blasts of Project Rio Blanco has connected with any other.

That disclosure Tuesday by a top project scientist suggests that the entire esoteric technology for extracting natural gas from tight rock formations may be economically unworkable. It could sound a death knell for the nuclear gas stimulation program.

Six months after the May 1973 Rio Blanco detonation in western Colorado, scientists learned that the uppermost cavity wasn't connected to the bottom two—a development which was distressing but which might have been a fluke occurrence. Tuesday's disclosure indicates that failure wasn't a fluke but stemmed from a basic technological flaw.

Project Rio Blanco was a key experiment in the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) plan to use underground nuclear explosives to free tightly held deposits of natural gas from rock formations deep under the ground.

Three atomic devices, each with the equivalent of 30,000 tons of TNT, were exploded in the same well bore near Meeker. Some 6,000 feet down, and separated by about 400 feet, each explosion was supposed to produce a large cavern. If the three connected together, an underground chimney about 900 feet long would have been created.

Natural gas seeping into the void then could be drawn off at the surface using the same well bore through which the explosives originally were lowered.



To make certain the caverns would connect, the explosives were placed 30 per cent closer to one another than was theoretically necessary. But something went wrong.

After the discovery in November 1973 that the top cavity wasn't connected to the one beneath it, a new \$1 million hole was drilled to get into the lower cavern.

The bore was completed in October. Early this month samples of gas from the bottom cavity were withdrawn and sent to the AEC's Lawrence Livermore Laboratories in California.

John Toman, Rio Blanco Project scientist for Lawrence Livermore, was in Denver for a meeting Tuesday when he learned by telephone of the test results.

"We have not connected the three cavities, and we don't know why," he told the News. The conclusion was based on the analysis of the gas from the bottom cavern. Each of the three nuclear devices used in the project was equipped with a tracer gas so the gases produced in each cavity could be individually identified in a laboratory.

Hal Aronson, vice president of CER Geonuclear Corp., said, "We're disappointed, but we're hopeful that things will change as (gas) production goes on. Not all is lost. The final results are not yet in."

CER is an industrial co-sponsor of the project along with the AEC.

Because the three cavities aren't connected, the original hole is useless for drawing off the gas. This hampers the already trouble-plagued technology with an additional burden. If the experience at Rio Blanco is typical, all future wells will require an extra hole, drilled alongside the caverns, to extract the gas.

"For another million dollars, you could construct another hole," Toman said. "This might add 20 per cent to the cost of the gas."

The Rio Blanco experiment, for example, already has required redrilling the original hole to get to the top cavity and drilling a new bore to get through to the bottom cavity. None of the gas from the middle cavity has been extracted.

Although most persons connected with the project were surprised that such enormous energy (the equivalent of 60 million sticks of dynamite in each explosion) couldn't crack the 400 feet of rock between them, one man was prepared for the news.

Frank Stead, a geologist with the U.S. Geological Survey, was assigned by the U.S. Department of the Interior to observe the AFC experiment.

"My first thought was that we were pushing it using simultaneous detonations," Stead said. Each explosion, he explained, blasts rock away from itself and toward its neighboring explosion when the shots are simultaneous. This squashing of the rock between each blast can create a wall between the cavities even more impermeable than the original rock.

"You can't get rid of rock, you can only compress it."

AEC scientist Toman told the News, "I am personally disappointed that it didn't work out as expected, although that happens in experiments. But I'm frankly more concerned about Amendment 10 in Colorado."

(This amendment, approved by Colorado voters Nov. 5, prohibits underground nuclear explosions in the state unless okayed by a vote of the people.)

"The most disappointing thing is that we're completely frustrated in that we're not able to go ahead with future experiments," Toman said.

Even before voters approved Amendment 10, and even without the technological flaws disclosed Tuesday, the AEC's nuclear gas stimulation program was in jeopardy.

Private industry interest already had cooled, environmentalist opposition had reached a crescendo and doubting congressmen were marshaling their forces to kill the program.

#### NEW RIO BLANCO RADIOACTIVE LEAK FOUND

(By Richard J. Schneider)

Another unexpected radioactive substance—strontium-90—has been found in the natural gas and water produced by Project Rio Blanco, state health officials confirmed Tuesday.

The confirmation comes on the heels of the disclosure that project scientists found cesium-137 in the water and gas that came from the well less than two weeks ago.

Until the cesium-137 disclosure Nov. 5, sponsors of the nuclear stimulation experiment had been telling the state and the public that neither of these substances would escape from the well.

In a statement released Tuesday the project scientists admit they were wrong when they said none of these substances would be produced.

They requested and received another amendment in their wastewater discharge permit because the levels of cesium and strontium in the water exceed state limits.

Both cesium-137 and strontium-90 are fission products formed when a nuclear device is exploded.

Major objections to the experiment, jointly sponsored by CER Geonuclear Corp., Continental Oil Co. and the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), came from environmentalists who claimed a miscalculation might cause the escape of the two substances.

Cesium-137 is known to cause cancer and genetic defects. Strontium-90, which is many times more deadly than cesium-137, settles in bone marrow where red blood cells are produced. It has been linked with bone cancer and leukemia.

Project sponsors said Tuesday that all of the water and "sludge" that came from the well has been contained.

The first public mention that cesium-137 had been found came in a news release from CER Geonuclear received Nov. 5.

The re-entry well drilled into the lowest of three chambers formed by the detonation of three devices had been completed, CER Geonuclear said. A short production test of the well produced the "small amount of cesium 137," the firm said.

State health officials told of the discovery Nov. 4. Three days later, Nov. 7, project officials telephoned health department officials and said strontium had been found.

The strontium discovery became public Tuesday when officials from CER Geonuclear and the AEC's Lawrence Livermore Laboratory in California sought a last-minute spot on the agenda of the Colorado Water Quality Control Commission meeting.

CER Geonuclear told the commission it needed another amendment to the wastewater discharge permit which allows the company to reinject the water produced from the Rio Blanco well into another deep well nearby.

The levels of cesium-137 and strontium-90 were so high that the water produced thus far is too radioactive to be reinjected under the guidelines of the current permit.

Commission chairman Thomas Ten Eyck said this change in the permit could be taken care of by the administrative division of the Department of Health rather than by the commission. That change was agreed to later in the day.

CER Geonuclear, feeling the pains of the public relations disaster caused by the cesium-137 disclosure, Tuesday prepared an official explanation of the incident in a memo to reporters.

In it, John Toman, gas stimulation program chief for Lawrence Livermore Laboratory said the project scientists didn't expect to see cesium-137 and strontium-90 in the water produced from the well.

Toman, who was in Denver Tuesday, told the News that he and others thought the two substances would stay inside the explosion area.

But when water was pumped into the well

to force out sludge used in the drilling operation, some of the substances were brought to the surface on tiny chips of rock and in solution.

Toman said only water that isn't vaporized can dissolve the two radioactive chemicals. He said most or all of the water has been removed from the well.

The rest of the water, which will come up during future production testing, will be vaporized and won't contain cesium-137 and strontium-90, Toman said.

He concluded that little if any additional cesium-137 and strontium-90 will be produced.

A total of 3,360 gallons of liquids containing the radioactive substances were produced during the early test.

Even though the concentrations of those substances are higher than originally thought, state health officials say they pose no health hazard.

Tuesday's amendment to the wastewater discharge permit was the second based on miscalculations by the project scientists.

The first amendment was necessitated when scientists realized the well would produce more radioactive water than originally thought. That amendment took effect earlier this month.

#### THE FUSION ENERGY ACT OF 1974

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced the Fusion Energy Act of 1974. The bill is a first legislative step toward a national crash program to develop useful power and hydrogen from thermonuclear fusion. Recent technological advances have greatly increased the prospects for useful, controlled thermonuclear reactions. The bill would provide for the appointment of a blue-ribbon committee of fusion experts to reappraise the current state of the art for fusion and to recommend an expanded and accelerated research and development program and whatever else may be necessary to yield useful power and hydrogen from nuclear fusion.

The intense concentration and focusing of intellectual, physical, and financial resources of a crash program seems justified under present world energy conditions and the current state of fusion technology. The urgency of achieving unlimited electrical energy and hydrogen from the fusion reaction can hardly be overemphasized. A little over 30 years ago Albert Einstein wrote to then President Franklin D. Roosevelt:

Some recent work by E. Fermi and L. Szilard, which has been communicated to me in manuscript, leads me to expect that the element uranium may be turned into a new and important source of energy in the immediate future. . . . This new phenomenon would also lead to the construction of bombs, and it is conceivable—though much less certain—that extremely powerful bombs of a new type may thus be constructed. . . . that it may become possible to set up nuclear chain reactions in a large mass of uranium, by which vast amounts of power and large quantities of new radium-like elements (now generally known as fission products) would be generated. Now it appears almost certain that this could be achieved in the immediate future.

It took just 3 years of focused, intensive effort of the Manhattan project to

deliver workable nuclear weapons. This "crash" project used multiple approaches as technological insurance. Two kinds of nuclear weapons were developed and put into the Nation's armory. Four processes producing uranium-235 from uranium were tried and two continued into full-scale production. Plutonium was derived from nuclear reactors. I believe there is now the necessity to mount a similar program for the production of useful energy and hydrogen from nuclear fusion. We are at a time of crisis in world energy and we need a solution urgently. Fusion energy would provide the most pervasive solution to man's energy needs of any potential energy source on the horizon.

Most fusion scientists believe it can be successfully harnessed within a few years. No one knows how much a multiple path technology approach would accelerate the advent of a useful fusion process. Every expert agrees that millions spent now to achieve a "commercial" fusion system would save billions in the U.S. economy in the decade following its practical adaptation.

The development of fusion needs a substantial technological insurance through parallel, full-scale construction of experimental and demonstration facilities and equipment. Industry should be brought into this national effort to achieve useful fusion power at an early date.

Today, in 1974, our scientists and engineers are much closer to the goal of controlled fusion than were their predecessors to the goal of controlled fission in the 1940's. We may even have more potential avenues of success in fusion systems than was the case earlier. The United States and the U.S.S.R. have both achieved so-called fusion burns—with an English team confirming the nature of the first U.S.S.R. burn. These so-called burns mean that we have demonstrated neutrons that can be produced from the fusion of hydrogen atoms under controlled laboratory conditions. This is a vital demonstration. The next step is to produce more energy in a fusion reaction than is consumed by the experimental apparatus, a milestone on the way to practical thermonuclear power. To reach that milestone will require rapid development of several technologies that are now converging and that promise to produce quantum jumps in progress rather than limited incremental progress. It is just in such convergence of parallel technologies such as plasma physics, laser optics, accelerator science, low temperature physics—super conductivity—ultra high speed electronics, and the materials sciences that achieve unpredictable successes dividends and "spin-offs". Controlled thermonuclear fusion, the experts tell us, can be achieved by one or more of the following approaches:

First, magnetic or electrostatic field containment wherein hot plasmas—ionized gases—are confined and heated to produce temperatures sufficient for the fusion of hydrogen atoms.

Second, laser beam induced fusion—either through their use for plasma heating or impacting on small pellets of hydrogen isotopes.

Third, electron—or ion—beam induced

fusion—either through their use for plasma heating or impacting on pellets of hydrogen isotopes.

Various combinations of these techniques may ultimately prove to be the most efficient way of achieving a useful fusion "burn." Such fusion systems will constitute intense neutron sources which can be used in many geometry configurations to achieve tritium production from lithium and fissionable materials from thorium and depleted uranium. Perhaps these fusion-fission hybrids will play an important transition role on the road to achieving a pure fusion power or fusion hydrogen generation system. The useful fissionable nuclear fuels, plutonium and uranium-233 would allow the fuller interim development of fission reactors which is now seriously clouded by the potential shortage of uranium in the world.

Indeed, some scientists and engineers have proposed that neutrons from a fusion source might be used to sustain the chain reaction of a conventional fission reactor and by so doing greatly reduce the present problems of nuclear safety. As I mentioned earlier the fusion neutrons generating systems may also be used to produce more of the fusion fuel tritium—an isotope of hydrogen—as well as natural hydrogen gas. Such hydrogen gas may ultimately be produced from the fusion process directly by heating or from electricity produced. Regardless of which fusion path produces the most economic hydrogen this raw material for methane and other organic fuels could meet our U.S. vehicle fuel needs.

Some idea of the recent growth of the beam impact on pellets approach is gained when we are told that there are some 50 skilled technicians in various U.S. laboratories now making the incredibly small, sometimes complex, pellets which will contain the nuclear fuels. And that the Fusion Division of the American Nuclear Society has grown from 50 to 500 members in the past year is further evidence of the growth of this area.

The designs for the experimental equipment to pursue the various fusion options is even now on the drawing boards. We need a crash program to take these designs to final form, to build and operate the fusion experimental and demonstration machines needed to get on with the job of creating a practical and useful thermonuclear technology.

Of the several engineering approaches to fusion, perhaps the dark-horse approach is the electron beam approach. It can be shown that the necessary beam energies required to produce fusion are more within our technological grasp than are the powerful lasers required for laser fusion. We hope that increased funding for the electron beam approach can be initiated very soon.

I would like to further stress the exciting prospect of using neutrons from a fusion reaction to break up water molecules into their constituent atoms of oxygen and hydrogen, both of which are immediately useful. Or, through high temperature disassociation, and scientists and engineers anticipate that in the future hydrogen will become widely used as a fuel and as a means to store excess

power produced by intermittent power sources energized by solar, wind, or tidal energy. The successful demonstration of a fusion neutron source to manufacture hydrogen could open up the prospects for greatly reduced dependence on imported oil. Hydrogen is the basis of all of our organic fuels and fertilizers. Just think of the implications of a major, virtually limitless source of hydrogen.

There is still another prospect for the fusion beam-pellet process. This could be used to provide the thrust for space propulsion.

A laser or electron fusion propelled space vehicle could "tour" the solar system within a few weeks in comparison with the years required for conventional chemical propulsion.

More recently, Prof. Hannes Alfvén, a winner of the Nobel Prize in 1974, observed that both the Manhattan and the Apollo projects have shown our science and technology to be so powerful that if an intense effort is made, we can do almost anything we want to in about 10 years.

When we consider these potential applications for controlled fusion reactions—generation of electricity, manufacture of hydrogen and synthetic fuels, and space propulsion—we cannot help but realize this energy source deserves a super national and international effort to demonstrate its practicality at an early date. There is sufficient deuterium, the fuel of the fusion process, in the oceans of the world to constitute a virtually limitless energy supply for the world, its economies, and its peoples. The fusion process produces none of the air pollution of burning fossil fuels, nor the intensely radioactive fission products of the fission reaction. It is inherently far less dangerous than the controlled fission processes and offers prospects of higher thermal efficiencies, meaning less waste heat to be dissipated in the environs of a powerplant.

As a corollary to this bill we urge that the President with the assistance of the new Energy and Resources Council immediately designate specialists in the following areas:

Magnetic containment approaches, 3; laser induced fusion approaches, 3; electron beam induced fusion, 3; hybrid combinations of the preceding approaches and combination of fission and fusion; and a chairman.

This committee will consist of 13 scientists/engineers eminently qualified to decide on the proper balance of funding, available manpower, and facility requirements. This committee is to come up with its recommendations within 6 months from the date of its formation and report to the Energy Resources Council its findings. The council will then appoint a committee for the continued direction of the expanded fusion program. Further, the council would establish an advisory committee for International Coordination in Fusion Energy Development. Open international cooperation in fusion power should be encouraged by the United States.

There is no question in my mind that the fusion program should be expanded now. The exact magnitude and direction of this expansion I leave up to the com-

mittees of experts. I have herein proposed. They will assess and recommend the how and where of the expansion.

I therefore recommend to your careful consideration and early action on this bill to get on with the development of fusion power. I further rush to supplement the above with the conclusion from an assessment of fusion power made by scientists of Brookhaven National Laboratory—BNL 18430.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The principal conclusions of this study are:

First. Synthetic fuels derived from fusion reactors can supply most of the U.S. energy needs, eliminating all oil and gas imports, coal gasification, and coal strip mining. Fusion reactors can supply these synthetic fuels indefinitely into the future.

Second. Synthetic fuels from fusion reactors will probably be comparable in cost to synthetic fuels derived from coal. However, the use of fusion reactors would avoid having to strip mine a large fraction of the West. Without fusion reactors 4,000 miles per year would have to be stripped. Further, conservative fusion reactor and H<sub>2</sub> production technology has been assumed for this analysis, and it is possible that synthetic fuel production costs with fusion reactors may be substantially less than those from coal.

Third. Production of synthetic fuels is also feasible with fission reactors. However, fusion reactors seem preferable to fission reactors. Synthetic fuel production costs are significantly lower with fusion reactors, but more importantly the problem of large scale generation of radioactive wastes is virtually eliminated.

Fourth. Total CTR power generation in the United States is almost an order of magnitude larger if CTR's are used for synthetic fuel production and all electric needs, rather than being used only for part of the electric needs—the remainder being supplied by base loaded fission reactors and fossil peaking plants.

Fifth. CTR unit reactor size can be much larger if synthetic fuels are produced. Unit rating up to 20,000 MW(e) appear compatible with the total U.S. energy system. If CTR's are used only for electric generation, the unit ratings will have to be approximately an order of magnitude lower. In addition, synthetic fuel CTR plants can all be base loaded, where only some fraction of CTR electric generation plants could be base loaded.

Sixth. Catalyzed DD fuel cycles appear competitive with DT fuel cycles in the range of 10,000 to 20,000 MWe reactor size. A DD cycle should greatly ease blanket development problems and could result in much cheaper blankets. It should also greatly reduce tritium emissions and inventories from the amounts in a DT cycle.

Seventh. The larger reactor ratings possible with synthetic fuel production should significantly ease plasma containment problems. Because of the large plasma diameter, the ratio of required containment time/Bohm time is much smaller than the value necessary for reactors used only for electric generation.

Also, weaker magnetic fields can be used for containment.

Eighth. For DT fuel cycles, synthetic fuel costs are not greatly affected by reactor size in the range of 5,000 to 20,000 MWe, under the assumptions of the study, which limited the scale-up of most nonnuclear components.

Ninth. The principal environmental concern with siting large CTR reactors for synthetic fuel production appears to be with thermal discharge effects. Coastal or offshore siting would resolve this concern however. The thermal effects at such sites appear to be minimal.

Tenth. In the long run, the supply of fossil fuel will be exhausted. Of the four alternatives, fission, fusion, solar, and geothermal, fusion seems like the only practical source for the production of synthetic fuels on the scale required. Fission will be more expensive and produce a large amount of radioactive wastes, while solar and geothermal are either too diffuse or limited in extent to meet the demands for synthetic fuels. From a conservation standpoint, it may well be desirable to have CTR's take over fuel production before fossil fuels are exhausted, since the remaining fossil fuels would be of value for other purposes.

#### THE 56TH ANNIVERSARY OF LATVIAN INDEPENDENCE

### HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, of all the world's states to learn and know the treachery of atheistic red communism, none know it better than the Baltic States of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

The history of Soviet Russia's double-dealing and broken promises is well known to all those who have taken time to study it. It is a grisly story of man's inhumanity to his fellow man.

Following the Armistice that ended World War I in November 1918, the three Baltic States led by Latvia established themselves as free, independent, and sovereign nations that controlled their own destinies, fates, and policies. Though they were small in population, Mr. Speaker, with no pretensions toward empire, conquest, or power politics, they did flourish and provide for their fine people a standard of living and freedom that they had not known previously and which, I am sorry to say, they have not enjoyed since.

These Baltic States, all too familiar with the dangers of living next to the hungry bear since the days they were provinces of imperial Russia, were to again know tyrannical domination. Following that most odious of treaties, the Nazi-Soviet Communist nonaggression pact of 1939, and the outbreak of the Second World War, the Communist red army swarmed across the borders and in a matter of days occupied the three small, peaceful, and freedom loving Baltic States.

As is well known to the world, Mr. Speaker, what followed was one of the most cruel and systematic eliminations of people's culture and national identification known to man. Persecution, imprisonment, and murder became the common lot of the decent, freedom-loving people of these three small countries.

Thank God the United States of America has never recognized the vicious, forceful annexation of these peaceful, industrious Baltic States into the atheistic Soviet Union. This steadfast policy of ours gives at least some degree of hope to all peoples oppressed by communism and, I am sure, reinforces their drive to attain national independence and freedom.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I applaud the efforts of the fine people of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia as well as all the subjugated peoples of the world to be free from the oppressive yoke of tyrannical Godless communism and to establish free and representative governments of their own. Because of that feeling, I consider it a high privilege to join in honoring the people of Latvia who valiantly mark the days until they will enjoy their freedom and self-determination once again.

#### DR. MICHAEL PAP SPEAKS OF THE NEED FOR THE ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES PROGRAM

### HON. JAMES V. STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. JAMES V. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, as one who worked for the enactment of, and funding for, the ethnic heritage studies program, I would like to commend to my colleagues the excellent statement of Dr. Michael Pap of Cleveland, Ohio, on the program. His speech, which was given before the first national meeting of the ethnic heritage studies program directors on October 22, speaks of the "new pluralism" which has taken hold in our country, and how the ethnic heritage studies program is an essential element in furthering this constructive attitude toward our ethnic background.

I share Dr. Pap's disappointment over the fact that the ethnic heritage studies program was not provided any funding for this year. However, I am pleased to report that I have received from my esteemed colleague, Chairman DANIEL FLOOD of the House Labor-Health, Education, and Welfare Subcommittee, assurance of his support for the program, and for continued funding of it next year.

Dr. Pap's speech follows:

#### WHY TITLE XI?—WHY DO WE NEED AN ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES PROGRAM?

Together, as the directors, coordinators, Federal officials, ethnic communities representatives, and originators or "godfathers" of our Nation's first ethnic heritage studies program, we share today the many joys of our accomplishments. Our continuous efforts to establish this program, legitimizing pluralism in America, have produced an unprec-

edented widespread interest in ethnicity and a massive outpouring of ethnic heritage studies materials. As "Yogi" Berra once said at his own testimonial, "Thank you for making this day necessary."

Through title IX we have demonstrated our capacity to introduce into an abstract promissory document practical realities which are applicable to all American people for all times. Our program exemplifies the growing awareness of the meaning of ethnicity and a greater respect and appreciation for the part that America's ethnic groups have played in the history and development of our Nation.

In reviewing the points stating the purpose of the ethnic heritage studies program act, once again I am inspired by the profound conceptual basis and empirical validity upon which this act was established.

Title IX was approved: "In recognition of the heterogeneous composition of the nation . . ." According to the 1970 census, approximately 34 million persons living in this country are immigrants or the children of immigrants. This figure alone is a substantial portion of the American population; however, according to a special census bureau taken in 1969, there are more than 75 million Americans who identify themselves with one of many major ethnic origins. U.S. immigration and naturalization records show that from 1820 to 1973, more than 46 million persons immigrated to the United States from all countries. Almost 36 million of those persons came from Europe.

In addition, our black American population is now over 22½ million. We have more than 9 million persons of Hispanic (Spanish) origin; more than 6 million persons of Jewish heritage; and more than 1½ million Asian (Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Hawaiian) Americans; there are approximately 800 thousand American Indians; we have the most heterogeneous composition of any nation in the world and, indeed, we are in fact a "nation of nations."

The act also states "in recognition . . . of the fact that in a multi-ethnic society, a greater understanding of the contribution of one's own heritage and those of one's fellow citizens can contribute to a more harmonious, patriotic, and committed populace. . . ." We know that many persons somehow regard all "newcomers"—the foreign born—as ethnics but, simultaneously, ironically consider themselves as non-ethnic. The fact is that "we are all ethnic." In our ethnic heritage studies program we have defined "ethnic" as a term designating "any of the basic groups of divisions of mankind or of a heterogeneous population as distinguished by customs, characteristics, language, common history, etc." The term, therefore, includes not only nationality groups but also those peoples linked together by regional characteristics (Appalachians), racial characteristics (blacks), religious characteristics (Jews), and mixtures of nations or tribes (American Indians). Each ethnic community is linked by a common heritage, customs and culture which they have uniquely developed over the ages.

Our American society has been given its essential form and character by the multiplicity of ethnic groups which have embraced it. We talk about a "new pluralism" in our nation which consists of both national self-consciousness and group identity. This "new pluralism" is the product of unique American conditions and not imports from abroad. Ethnicity, as the most creative form of pluralism, has enriched our society through its numerous expressions. The multiplicity of ethnic groups gathered together on these shores has given this Nation its unique face, identity and strength among the nations of the world. The immi-

grants came to America to help to build and strengthen the most durable Democratic system of Government in the world! and yet—in the past—they were often excluded from policy decision making process! They were only counted on—they now are hopefully counted in.

To emphasize the point which is brought up and discussed at many occasions, Henry Ford's "melting pot" myth operated in this Nation at the time of the "great immigration"; The "Natives" thought that all "foreigners" would enter into the great American crucible which would purge away all their differences and erase their "old world" identities; but the melting pot did not perform the functions expected of it, and the impact of American life tended to accentuate rather than obliterate group consciousness. Those occasions when the peasant immigrants were made to identify themselves by their national origin—when filling out forms for social agencies or employment applications—offer an example of how ethnic identity was stamped on them.

Since those early immigrant days—America's ethnic consciousness hasn't vanished, but rather has grown. It has resulted in an intense search for answers to the questions: "Who are we?"—"Where are we from?"—"Where have we been?"—"What have we contributed to growth of this Nation?"

This search is the first step to sanity in an age of ever changing and perplexing social and economic issues and events. Ethnicity is thus a tool and an agent for goals beyond itself. Ethnicity contributes its rich resources to the major needs of a society growing daily more desperate. New confidence, poise and courage come to bear upon these needs as we all develop a sure sense of our roots and our identity.

Today we have reached a critical point in the process of nation-building. As we celebrate the 200th Anniversary of this Nation, we need to increase our knowledge and understanding of our commonalities as well as the Unique cultural characteristics of all peoples in our multi-ethnic society. And in a world which is made increasing smaller and inter-dependent by technological advances, a better understanding of who we as Americans—are, is crucial. America—having the most cosmopolitan population of any Nation—has an unusual opportunity to lead all the Nations of the world in improving human understanding, by demonstrating to the world that people of diverse backgrounds can live together in harmony, peace and freedom!

Ethnicity, particularly as expressed through our ethnic heritage studies program, therefore, has international implications. We are aware that the essence of our democratic society is individual freedom. Americans of all ethnic backgrounds have worked hard to achieve the proper balance between rights and responsibilities of all citizens. Protection of individual freedom in our society is the most cherished achievement. In our pluralistic society we also have the freedom to identify with all ethnic groups, a few ethnic groups, one ethnic group, or no ethnic group. Acknowledging and accepting ethnicity is, in a sense, like expressing our freedom of choice and equality of opportunity regardless of who we are and what our origin.

The Ethnic Heritage Act also stresses that "In recognition of the principle that all persons in the educational institutions of the Nation should have an opportunity to learn more about the differing and unique contributions to the national heritage made by each ethnic group . . ." The introduction of ethnic heritage studies into the American educational system has a two-fold meaning: First, it stands as the recognition of the

rights of members of all our ethnic groups to constructively cultivate their unique cultural heritage, which we consider essential to the processes of identity formation and general personality growth; and second, it marks the rejection of the concept that the teaching of ethnic diversity is a betrayal of national unity meant to tear the country apart. Ethnicity is a positive factor leading to higher levels of social and cultural organization and reinforcing the development of conscious unity both through explaining and experiencing the ideals of freedom and equality.

The general climate in our society and in the educational system itself, regarding the acceptance of the concept of ethnic pluralism and our program of ethnic studies, has been improved tremendously over the past year. However, it will take several more years before a general consensus on these issues will develop in our society.

Today we have only established the conditions for a free and dispassionate exchange of ideas. Our focus on ethnic studies in terms of "self-identity, mutual understanding, and community cooperation" has brought to our curriculum development the rich resources of viable and vital ethnic communities across the nation.

We have reached new levels of inter- and intra-ethnic collaboration and cooperation within communities because we recognize the necessity of making the ethnic heritage studies program a high priority for our educational institutions. From the point of view of identity formation and of attitude toward self and others, it is essential that our program begin at the moment of entry into the school experience. Therefore, our efforts to work with educators, in training teachers and preparing curriculum materials, have brought us together in the true spirit of "E Pluribus Unum" (one out of many).

In a period of national focus on equality of opportunity, what program can better equip the youth of our Nation in dealing with the diversity in our unity than Title IX—The Ethnic Heritage Studies Program.

"It is the purpose of this title to provide assistance designed to afford to students opportunities to learn more about the nature of their own heritage and to study the contributions of the cultural heritage of the other ethnic groups of the nation."

It is with deep regret and concern that we learned about the exclusion of the ethnic heritage program from the Federal Budget of 1975-76. I was particularly disturbed that the ethnic heritage program was ignored after the ethnic communities had fought so hard to have it included in the education bill of 1974-75, which was passed by Congress.

I am at a loss to understand the logic of the policy decision makers who refuse to consider the fact that when the 1973-74 Federal allocation of \$2.3 million for the ethnic heritage programs in our schools was announced, it produced such an unexpected and widespread reaction that the U.S. Office of Education was only able to fund a small fraction of the 1,042 applications.

The submission of our Cleveland area proposal—a joint proposal of the Academic Council on Ethnic Studies and Cleveland Board of Education with cooperation of public, private and parochial school systems and ethnic communities—through the Cleveland Board of Education represented our attempt to develop a program for research and curriculum development in ethnic studies which would bring our community closer together. Our ethnic diversity continues to be one of our major resources: It has also been the source of our strength. Cleveland reflects our Nation's pluralism.

We pride ourselves that our community

represents the peoples and cultures of almost all nations. We have numerous examples of our diverse citizenry working together to enrich this community and improve the quality of life for all people. We have demonstrated our unity in our diversity; we have worked together toward common goals and in the process added depth and richness from our unique perspectives.

I am sure this is a national trend. We are trying to establish a meaningful dialogue to eliminate fear which leads to misunderstanding, chaos, and destruction.

Let me conclude with the funding all of us have received through title IX. We are seeing educational institutions and community organizations working cooperatively to develop a meaningful ethnic heritage studies program for our Nation's primary and secondary schools. However, all these efforts will have limited results unless the Federal Government continues to give its financial support. After all, the new federalism calls for a return of some Federal tax money back to communities. We cannot complete and expand this program without this support.

I also believe that it would be a tragedy for America, the nation of nations, to celebrate its Bicentennial without the aid of the ethnic heritage studies program. This program has the potential to project us into the third century of our nationhood with a clear understanding of the multiplicity of contributions of freedom-loving Americans of a plurality of backgrounds.

Whatever the obstacles or outright hostilities, I am sure of one axiom: Together we will make it and earn for America the respect of the world and restore the identity—which eroded in the past—as indeed the promised land of liberty.

#### YOU CAN'T GO HOME AGAIN

### HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, it was a privilege to twice hear a great message brought by Rev. J. Russell Comer, associate pastor of my church, the First Baptist Church of Greenwood. This great address means so much to me as I contemplate going back home. This message is a challenge and inspiration to me which I commend to the attention of my colleagues and to a "nation under God":

#### YOU CAN'T GO HOME AGAIN

Last weekend I returned to my hometown in southwest Virginia to perform a most difficult task . . . that of selling my parents home . . . a home they lived in 35 years . . . we also had to share their personal belongings collected over 48 years together . . . and 68 and 70 years as individuals.

During those moments of truth the words of Thomas Wolfe came to mind which makes the point that you can't go home again. His point is at once practical and profound, mundane and philosophical, somber and joyous, bitter and sweet, devastating and exhilarating. Most of us have tried to go home a thousand ways and know with Thomas Wolfe that you can't go home again!

" . . . You can't go back home to your family, back home to your childhood, back home to romantic love, back home to a young man's dreams of glory and of fame, back home to exile . . . back home to lyricism . . . back home to aestheticism . . . back home to the ivory tower, back home to places in the

country . . . back home to the father you lost and have been looking for, back home to someone who can help you, save you, ease the burden for you, back home to the old forms and systems of things which once seemed everlasting but which are changing all the time—back home to the escapes of Time and Memory." (Thomas Wolfe, *You Can't Go Home Again*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941, p. 706)

The Hebrew children spent forty fruitless and futile years trying to go home again, to what was in reality an alien land. Their experience is recorded with brilliant clarity in Numbers: "And all the congregation lifted up their voice, and cried; and the people wept that night. And all the children of Israel murmured against Moses and against Aaron: and the whole congregation said unto them, 'Would God that we had died in the land of Egypt! or would God we had died in this wilderness! And wherefore hath the Lord brought us into this land, to fall by the sword, that our wives and our children should be a prey? were it not better for us to return unto Egypt?' And they said one to another, Let us make a captain, and let us return unto Egypt" (Num. 14: 1-4).

For trying in her own faithless, circumscribed, feminine, human way to go home again, Lot's wife turned into a pillar of salt.

The wise man in Ecclesiastes was saying that you can't go home again when he said, "Say not thou, What is the cause that the former days were better than these? For thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this." (Ecc. 7:10).

T. S. Elliot spoke with poetic precision when he had J. Alfred Prufrock to say, "I have seen the moment of my greatness flicker and I have seen the eternal Footman hold my coat, and snicker, and in short, I was afraid." (T. S. Elliot, *The Song of J. Alfred Prufrock*) these are signs that we, like Prufrock, have seen the moment of our greatness flicker, we have seen the eternal Footman, hold our coat and snicker, and in short, we are afraid. This is a critical time for Christians generally. We will forfeit the future if we continually bathe ourselves in nostalgia and expend our energies in vainly trying to go home again.

It is in order for us to focus briefly on the home from which many of today's churches in the United States have come.

We were a country people, but, like the rest of America, we have moved to town.

We were an uneducated, even ignorant, people, but we are now learning a few things.

We were a provincial people in confident control of our province, but to our anguish and dismay our cogs no longer seem to engage the gears of any real power in our culture. We find ourselves an isolated and waning force in the court house, the state house, the White House, and the Glass House on Saluda River.

We were racially, historically, economically, politically, and culturally homogeneous, but we are fast becoming irreversibly heterogeneous.

We were revival-oriented, but revivalism as known and practiced when I was a boy is dead! It is dead in spite of our frantic mouth-to-mouth breathing over it and even though we still respectfully hold one-week and even two-week memorial services in loving tribute to its memory.

We were poor, but now, by any reasonable standard on earth, we are rich.

We were ill-housed in our one-room, crowded, frame meeting houses, but now we meet in splendid, magnificent, uncrowded sanctuaries for which we are gloriously in debt.

We were fervently convinced of the righteousness of our cause, but now we harbor all the questions and doubts that normally accompany a measure of sophistication.

We were stoutly and vociferously opposed

to the institutionalism of the old-line churches, but in only a hundred years we have established institutionalism of every shape, form, and fashion; and all the web is not yet woven.

We were rooted in the soil, but now from the cradle to the grave we roll around on the pavement. (We hire Black men to do our yard work, so we can go play golf to get some exercise.) We were a brash and lusty adolescent people bulging with unguided muscles, but the aging process has worked its unwelcome work on us and we are now polite, cautious, meticulous, respectable, proper, aging.

We live in a settled, unchanged world where we knew even as we also were known, but we now live in a world where the winds of change blow with devastating fury across the face of all the earth.

We lived in an isolate, marvelous moated land where men never dreamed of mastering the black arts of nuclear war, but the time has come when men in a fantastically shrunken world have both dreamed that dreadful dream and actualized it.

This has been home. For us to go home again would be to go back to the country, back to ignorance, back to provincialism, back to radical sectarianism, back to homogeneity, back to revivalism, back to poverty, back to isolationism, back to our cabins in the clearings, back to the frontier, back to all this and much, much more.

Why are we trying to go home again? Because it is the natural thing to do. Because it is inevitable when growth has come. Because we can not help it when we have aged a bit. Because we are caught in a world in travail and we are badly disoriented. Because we have not yet found ways of adjusting to industrialism, unionism, urbanism, statism, socialism, or for the most part even capitalism. Because we have discovered that our old formulae for success are no longer producing results and we are in shock about it. Because we have not learned to speak today's tongue. Because we are really not at home in this brave new world. (We better stop singing "this world is not my home I'm just passing through . . ." This world is your home . . . it is the only one you have at the moment.)

How are we trying to go home again? By reproducing country churches in the city suburbs. By resorting to the use of artificial stimuli to produce results like we used to have. By hiding the fact that while we are fierce of visage we are actually faint of heart. By maintaining the pretense that we are as brave as bulls when we have actually become as timid as mice. By cultivating a mood that says, "Hang the facts, Give me a cliché." By our compulsive activities. What is going to come of the effort to go home again? The effort will win some battles but it will lose the war. It is not a mean and ignoble thing to try to go home again. In fact, it has certain truly sublime elements. It is simply not started to succeed. We cannot turn back the clock or even stop it no matter how dramatic our historicities. We cannot re-capture our past. We cannot recall yesterday. We can't go home again.

If we can't go home again, then where can we go?

Like Abraham, we must seek that city whose builder and maker is God. While the City is in eternity, the seeking must be done in time. Christ was teaching us something very near to the heart of His gospel, not just a bit of pretty ritual, when He taught us to pray: Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven" (Matt. 6:10). Believers are not free to flag or fall until "the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and his Christ" (Rev. 11:15).

While we can't go home again, we can move measurably toward the true home which

God is preparing for them that love him. Here and now, with God's help and by His grace, we are to be moving consciously, conscientiously, and consistently toward this ideal home. Its final consummation we necessarily await, but its distinct outlines and chief characteristics we need already to be getting familiar with.

In order that we may neither waste precious time in looking back at the home whence we have come or in looking bewilderedly for the wrong city, let us give attention to some of the distinctive features of our home, the City of God. Any home which is satisfying and adequate for God's people here must approximate in outline and foreshadow in form the qualities of the home hereafter.

How can the eternal home be identified? What is heaven like? Unto what shall the City of God be likened? It is a family. It is a brotherhood. It is a moral fortress. It is a workshop. It is a kingdom. Let us consider these characteristics.

The ultimate home which Christians seek is a family. In it God is Father, Jesus Christ is elder Brother, and the Holy Spirit is eternal comforter. In it, the family of God's redeemed children shall ever dwell together in unity. The home we seek is characterized by love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control.

In view of that home which is our ultimate destination, let us, as an earnest example of our intent, begin here and now to make of our human homes little colonies of heaven where we dwell together in Christian love, Christian joy, Christian peace, Christian patience, Christian kindness, Christian goodness, Christian faithfulness, Christian gentleness, and Christian self-control. If my profession of interest in the home to come is genuine, then there must be a reflection of that interest in my home housed on Amherst Drive in Greenwood.

The concept of family in our Christian faith today eschews too-early dating, immature marriages, feminine fathers, masculine mothers, undisciplined children, absentee parents, juvenile delinquency, promiscuity, divorce, materialism, and all the other forces that fragment today's families. It should be a concept that embraces careful preparation for marriage, and marriage that is both initiated and lived out "in the Lord," where believers are not yoked unequally together with unbelievers and where husband and wife and parents and children are so caught up in a dream bigger than themselves, that they strive through the years to make the dream of a truly Christian home come true.

Christians seek a home characterized by brotherhood. It is a city without walls. Outside walls are not necessary in the home where we are headed because there are no enemies there. And inner walls are not required because the redeemed who dwell together in brotherly love have no selfish interests to protect, no evil to hide, no exclusiveness to relish, no psychological complexes to nurture by shutting out somebody else.

In view of the city without walls sought by the saved, it behooves us to begin here and now to build such cities of brotherhood. The middle wall of partition which still divides believers is a wall Jesus Christ died to tear down. To the extent that we worship that divisive wall, we re-crucify Christ. To the extent that we tolerate it, we deny Him who came to break it down. To the extent that we cherish it, we dishonor Him who hated it and who hates the pride and prejudice it still stands for.

To pretend that our prejudice in maintaining the walls of racial segregation, class consciousness, economic exclusiveness, and social snobbery does no violence to the gospel of Jesus Christ our Lord and the altar of

God, our Saviour, is to close our eyes to the real purpose of the life and death of Christ.

We need to abolish racial discrimination in our country and in our churches, not because of a clause in the membership policy, nor because of the communist challenge, nor yet because we need the votes of the watching world. We need to conquer race prejudice because it is a sin against almighty God and a rejection of the precious blood of Jesus Christ, His only begotten Son.

Let us then cease shouting at each other across Kipling's "sea of misunderstanding." Let us rather undertake to learn, in preparation for the brotherhood beyond, to call God, "Father," and all His people "Brother," so that God's city without walls begins to look attractive to us here and now.

Christians seek a home which is a moral fortress. It is that bastion of ultimate integrity, that impregnable mother lode of rectitude, that veritable quintessence of righteousness which John the Revelator described as the city where "There shall in no wise enter . . . anything that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie." (Rev. 21: 27).

As we seek the city "wherein dwelleth righteousness" let us "follow righteousness" on our way there. As we seek the city where no immorality in any form shall ever be, let us make our profession of religion a morally relevant and ethically meaningful thing here and now. Christian morality demonstrates its genuineness only when it authenticates itself outside the church house in the rough-and-tumble world in which we daily live.

In this world's moral gloom let us not idly tolerate the erosion of all moral standards until our churches become like Robinson Crusoe's goat pasture, so that the goats inside are as wild as the goats outside. Let us rather in the moral realm become "Christ's men from head to foot and give no chances to the flesh to have its fling" (Rom. 13: 14).

Christians seek a home which is a workshop. The old rocking chair won't get us there. The notion that in heaven we will be stretched out on flowery beds of ease to do nothing forever has an unquestioned appeal when we are tired, but the fact is that the notion is extra-Biblical and grossly inaccurate. Our true home will be a place of creative and satisfying work for God where "his servants shall serve him" (Rev. 22: 3).

As we seek the home which is the Christian's ultimate workshop, let us perform our daily work, here and now, "As unto the Lord." In the beginning God assigned Adam the work of tilling and keeping the Garden of Eden. In the decalogue He commanded His people, "Six days shalt thou labor." Even so He wills for us to work. Paul proclaimed this principle when he admonished, "If any one will not work, let him not eat" (2 Thess. 3: 10). The Christian's approach to work involves seeking to find God's will concerning what work to do; experiencing something in the work itself which is significant before God and meaningful to man; cultivating a spirit of responsibility which takes honest pride in the work done; and in finding through daily work the highest self-development of which we are capable. Daily work, rightly understood, is no chore but a holy task.

Christians seek as their permanent home the City of The Great King where our final citizenship is. As we await the final papers for our future citizenship, let us honor that future with a significant Christian citizenship where we now live.

In the 1960 presidential election when interest in citizenship reached a new high, only 64.3% of the qualified voters in the United States bothered to go to the polls. If we find corruption in government, we can-

not, honestly put all the blame on the so-called professional politicians. The blame must be shared by those who refuse to work in the normal processes of citizenship. In recent years many a good man has sought elective office only to be defeated by the apathy and inertia of his friends—equally good men who did not bother to get involved. Plato rightly said that the punishment suffered by the wise who refuse to take part in the government is to live under the government of bad men.

The Christian citizen recognizes that civil government is of divine appointment. He prays for those in positions of authority. He pays his taxes. He obeys the laws. He conscientiously casts his ballot. When the situation requires it, he presents himself as a candidate for public office. He remembers to use moral discernment in his support of governmental programs, bearing in mind that his ultimate loyalty is to the King of Kings. The responsible Christian citizen will not even try to wash his hands of politics. He will rather try to get redemptively involved in the whole realm of citizenship.

If Christians bear clearly enough in mind the open portals of the eternal Home and hold well enough in focus the beckoning arms of the heavenly Father, then we will avoid both crippling commitments to the home of yesterday and compromises with the home of today. We must ride light in the saddle if we are to avoid injury when the horse stumbles. We must, if we are to manifest spiritual vigor and moral thrust, maintain a structured tentativeness with regard to this present age. Indeed, "It is people for whom the navel cord of this world has been cut who can give themselves most joyously to its redemption." (Karl A. Olsson, *Passion*, New York: Harper and Row, 1963, p. 91).

This does not mean, however, that we are to retreat into stained glass sanctuaries, cutting off all concern for and commerce with the world. Quite the contrary. If we fail to leaven the lump, we fail Christ.

This emphasis on the Christian's responsibility in this world is based on the understanding that God Himself cares about what happens on this earth. Jehovah God was portrayed by the prophets as being concerned about things such as military alliances, the selling of debtors into slavery, the plundering of the poor by the rich, the cheating of the buyer by the seller, and the oppression of the weak by the strong. The God of the Bible, the God Christians know through personal faith in Jesus Christ, is no abstract First Cause or Prime Mover or Great Unknown out in the Great Somewhere who can be placated by a bit of discreet crying in the chapel. He is a personal God who is very deeply and very definitely concerned about military alliances, racial segregation, the unconscionable profits of the drug industry, the indefensible price fixing that honeycombs big business, and the criminal corruption that persists in organized labor. He is concerned about tax evasion, padded expense accounts, the exploitation of violence as entertainment, the toleration of senseless killings in the boxing ring, family fragmentation, and the unsolved problems of the aging. He is concerned about the unemployment which has been almost six percent of our labor force in recent years. (Did you realize that the U.S. lost more time in one recent year from unemployment than we lost in the past 35 years from strikes) and the billions which the world now spends on weapons. He is concerned about the hideous inanities preached as a sorry substitute for the Christian gospel, the infuriatingly bland and crashingly dull church programs calculated to produce an attitude of profane indifference, the immensely absurd spectacle of lov-

ing the souls of Blacks in Africa and hating their guts in Greenwood, and all the other moral floatsam and spiritual jetsam that could be orchestrated into this melancholy tune.

God cares, God is concerned. And since God is concerned, His people have an obligation to be concerned too!

The demand of Christ our Lord is not that we should take a sentimental journey back home. It is rather a demand for us to take a bold and visionary giant step toward our Christian destination. What God wants of us today is not an all-things-to-all-men, or a formal confession of creedal correctness. What He wants is a quality of life that demonstrates to this world and to the great cloud of witnesses above that we have been with Jesus.

#### A SALUTE TO LIMA, OHIO

### HON. TENNYSON GUYER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. GUYER. Mr. Speaker, one of my primary concerns since coming to Congress has been the working relationships between the Federal Government and all units of local government in the Fourth Congressional District of Ohio. Lima, Ohio, the largest city in my district, is a splendid example of what can be accomplished through the combined cooperation of local, State, and Federal agencies. This record of achievement has recently been noted in one of the national weekly news magazines.

Lima, Ohio has, in a meaningful way, accomplished many of the objectives made in the proposals by President Ford in his October 8, 1974 address to the joint session of Congress and in his remarks to the Future Farmers of America, October 15, 1974.

A successful effort to open the railway passenger station at the closed Penn-Central facility was achieved by such a joint effort, which was supported by the Lima area Chamber of Commerce and local citizens. Amtrak operations at Lima, Ohio commenced September 11, 1974 and have proven to generate more revenue to date than anticipated. The opening of the Amtrak passenger station was accomplished at one charge to Amtrak, the private sector, or the city of Lima. This is one of only seven stations in the entire United States to be reopened. Amtrak passenger station ticket and baggage operations, inaugurated September 11, 1974 has proven most beneficial for the Lima area and the surrounding nine counties. I was pleased to have been of assistance in this community endeavor.

I have also been gratified with the cooperation received from Mayor Harry J. Moyer and the Chamber of Commerce in our joint effort to construct a new Federal building in downtown Lima. This will be a part of a downtown renovation program that will include many other improvements for the benefit of the entire community. The centrality and com-

binning of many Government services at one location will greatly serve the people of the community in convenience and accelerated accommodation.

Under Mayor Moyer's leadership, the Lima-Allen County Welfare Department and city of Lima, Ohio, joined in a fine beautification project in April 1974. In addition to the 230 tons of salvageable automobiles collected, 190 plus tons of debris were collected and committed to Lima's landfill at no extra cost to the taxpayers. Able bodied welfare recipients provide the necessary manpower in an ongoing effort for the Lima central business district program of litter removal and street beautification, with shrubs, ivy, and tree plantings provided from the city nursery, and planting supervised by the forestry division of the public works department.

The organized military stationed at Lima, Ohio, have inaugurated and completed work projects for the city totaling thousands of dollars, without displacing employable contractors and/or employees. Work performed has been done in lieu of "out of area" camp training; that is, Camp Grayling, Mich. This work consisted of earth moving, lake dredging in municipal parks, and other environmental enhancements. The organizations involved are: 13th Ohio National Guard Engineer Battalion; 983d U.S. Army Engineers Battalion, Reserve; U.S. Navy-Sea Bee Battalion; and U.S. Navy Reserve.

Mayor Moyer proposed and implemented with the cooperation of the city council, a subsidized daily transit system for Lima, which began April 24, 1974. To date, this system, in a city of 55,000 residents, transports approximately 10,000 people per month and has reached a break-even cost operation utilizing a standard production vehicle "customized" locally by Superior Coach Division Sheller Globe Corp.

I support deputy director of public works, C. Richard Kriegel's statement that Lima is fortunate to have a compatible labor organization, UAW-CIO CAP Con Council, dedicated to Lima's future, but performing today. This group has, and is, providing the know-how and expertise in a successful local "materials recycling program" and has received national recognition with the receipt of the Johnny Horizons Award from the U.S. Department of Interior.

I ask my colleagues to join me in this salute to Lima, Ohio, a community in action, working for a better America.

#### GILMAN SEEKS TOP PRIORITY FOR RESOLVING MIA STATUS

### HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, during the November recess, on Veterans Day, I

participated in a "POW/MIA Justice Before Amnesty Vigil" at the White House with MIA families, friends, veterans and concerned citizens from the Mid-Hudson Valley and throughout the Nation, protesting the lack of progress in accounting for our missing men.

During the course of our day in Washington, we took part in prayers at the Justice Department, a rally in Lafayette Park and marched in front of the White House in order to focus national attention on the need for our Government to vigorously pursue a full accounting for our MIA's. More than 1,000 participated, including former POW Emmet Kay, the last known American held captive in Indochina.

Carnations representing each of our 1,100 MIA's were tossed onto the White House lawn. The demonstrators, stressing the fact that search missions have not been conducted for over a year, urged that maximum use be made of American economic policies as a means of securing North Vietnamese cooperation in the search for our missing Americans.

Participating in the MIA vigil from my region were the family of Joseph McDonald of Wappingers Falls and the father of Jack Pearce of Milford, Pa., missing since March 1972. Also attending were Al Marino, State Americanism chairman of the American Legion; Legion Post Commander Albert Bell of New City; Past Commanders Mike Maltese of Tappan, Joseph Rosen and John O'Rourke of Sparkill; Orange County Legion Commander William Rogers and Jack Stewart of Stony Point.

When I traveled to Laos last January, seeking information about the MIA's, I was informed that several American flyers may still be in enemy hands. We have also received information about journalists and missionaries who were captured and who are probably still held captive. The only way we can really find out the whole truth about those missing is to step up our search efforts. We know the locations of graves, crash sites, and capture sites. An exhaustive search of those areas could produce useful information to dispel much of the uncertainty lingering in the minds of our MIA families. We have an obligation to continue our efforts in that direction with utmost vigor.

During the Veterans Day MIA demonstration, I was pleased to have been able to arrange a White House meeting between Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and representatives of the MIA's to urge more vigorous action by the administration on accounting for these men. The MIA representatives included Maureen Dunn, board chairman; Buz Mills, executive director and George Brooks, board member of Newburgh, whose son, Lt. Nicholas Brooks, was shot down over Laos in January 1970.

During the meeting with General Scowcroft, we requested an early decision on the request to establish a Presidential Task Force to resolve the MIA issue, a report on the 82 MIA files turned

over to Le Duc Tho and a meeting with the President.

In response to my follow-up request to the President concerning our MIA's, I received the following letter from Max L. Friedersdorf, Deputy Assistant to the President, which I request be printed in this portion of the RECORD:

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
Washington, D.C., November 15, 1974.

HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BEN: I would like to acknowledge and thank you for your November 12 letter to the President reporting on your recent meeting with General Scowcroft and outlining steps that you would like the President to take regarding our MIAs.

The President shares your concern for these men and their families and agrees with you that this is a matter of high national priority. He demonstrated this on September 18, when he welcomed the release of Mr. Emmet Kay, the last known American being held prisoner in Indochina. In his message on that day, the President reaffirmed his dedication to resolve this problem. A copy of his statement is enclosed.

In our efforts to account for our still missing men, we have made direct representations to the North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao and have solicited the help and support of numerous outside parties. Unfortunately, up to now all of our overtures to send unarmed identification teams into Communist areas have been rebuffed. The North Vietnamese, in particular, have consistently refused to grant access to their areas. They have also for the past few months totally boycotted the Four Party Military Commission in Saigon, which now has as its sole purpose the resolution of the question of prisoners and missing in action.

Despite these obstacles, you may be certain we will continue to pursue every possible means to achieve an accounting of our missing men. We express our views clearly and strongly to the other side at every opportunity, and we shall continue to do so.

You may be assured that your suggestions are certainly appreciated and will receive most careful consideration by the President and his foreign policy advisors.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

MAX L. FRIEDERSDORF,  
Deputy Assistant to the President.

Mr. Speaker, it is going to take the best efforts of all of us in the Congress, and a concerted effort by nations throughout the world, to insist upon full compliance by the North Vietnamese of the Paris Peace Agreement in fulfilling these humanitarian objectives of conducting a full scale search for our missing.

I urge my colleagues to join together in this important endeavor.

We can do no less for those who gave so much.

### SECRETARY KISSINGER SPEAKS ON THE ENERGY CRISIS

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, it has been almost 13 months since the energy

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shortage gripped this country. Today, we seem to have adequate supplies, although at higher prices, but for the entire Western World the crisis remains serious and threatening.

The present energy predicament of the United States, what we are trying to do internationally and domestically to deal with this problem and where we must go from here are the subjects of an important speech delivered by Secretary of State Kissinger in Chicago on November 14, 1974.

Although Secretary Kissinger believes the problems created by the energy crisis are grave, he believes they are solvable. One major theme of this speech is that international collaboration is essential to meet the crisis and assure adequate supplies of energy at reasonable prices for all.

On one level, Secretary Kissinger says that collaboration "among the industrial nations of North America, Western Europe, and Japan is an inescapable necessity." And even after such collaboration is achieved, Secretary Kissinger concludes, "in the last analysis, there will be no solution without a dialog with the producers carried on in a spirit of reconciliation and compromise."

I commend Secretary Kissinger's useful remarks on what we are doing to deal with the energy crisis and wish to bring his remarks to the attention of my colleagues.

Secretary Kissinger's speech follows:

#### ENERGY CRISIS: STRATEGY FOR COOPERATIVE ACTION

Address by Henry A. Kissinger, Chicago, Ill.

##### THE PROBLEM

A generation ago the Western world faced an historic crisis—the breakdown of international order in the wake of world war. Threatened by economic chaos and political upheaval, the nations of the West built a system of security relations and cooperative institutions that have nourished our safety, our prosperity, and our freedom ever since. A moment of grave crisis was transformed into an act of lasting creativity.

We face another such moment today. The stakes are as high as they were 25 years ago. The challenge to our courage, our vision, and our will is as profound. And our opportunity is as great.

What will be our response?

I speak, of course, of the energy crisis. Tonight I want to discuss how the administration views this problem, what we have been doing about it, and where we must now go. I will stress two themes that this government has emphasized for a year and a half:

First, the problem is grave but it is solvable.

Second, international collaboration, particularly among the industrial nations of North America, Western Europe, and Japan is an inescapable necessity.

The economic facts are stark. By 1973, worldwide industrial expansion was outstripping energy supply; the threat of shortages was already real. Then, without warning, we were faced first with a political embargo, followed quickly by massive increases in the price of oil. In the course of a single year the price of the world's most strategic commodity was raised 400 percent. The impact has been drastic and global:

The industrial nations now face a collective payments deficit of \$40 billion, the largest in history, and beyond the experience or capacity of our financial institutions. We suffer simultaneously a slowdown of produc-

tion and a speedup of an inflation that was already straining the ability of governments to control.

The nations of the developing world face a collective yearly deficit of \$20 billion, over half of which is due to increases in oil prices. The rise in energy costs in fact roughly equals the total flow of external aid. In other words, the new oil bill threatens hopes for progress and advancement and renders problematical the ability to finance even basic human needs such as food.

The oil producers now enjoy a surplus of \$60 billion, far beyond their payments or development needs and manifestly more than they can invest. Enormous unabsorbed surplus revenues now jeopardize the very functioning of the international monetary system.

Yet this is only the first year of inflated oil prices. The full brunt of the petrodollar flood is yet to come. If current economic trends continue, we face further and mounting worldwide shortages, unemployment, poverty, and hunger. No nation, East or West, North or South, consumer or producer, will be spared the consequences.

An economic crisis of such magnitude would inevitably produce dangerous political consequences. Mounting inflation and recession—brought on by remote decisions over which consumers have no influence—will fuel the frustration of all whose hopes for economic progress are suddenly and cruelly rebuffed. This is fertile ground for social conflict and political turmoil. Moderate governments and moderate solutions will be under severe attack. Democratic societies could become vulnerable to extremist pressures from right or left to a degree not experienced since the twenties and thirties. The great achievements of this generation in preserving our institutions and constructing an international order will be imperiled.

The destinies of consumers and producers are joined in the same global economic system, on which the progress of both depends. If either attempts to wield economic power aggressively, both run grave risks. Political cooperation, the prerequisite of a thriving international economy, is shattered. New tensions will engulf the world just when the antagonisms of two decades of the cold war have begun to diminish.

The potentially most serious international consequences could occur in relations between North America, Europe, and Japan. If the energy crisis is permitted to continue unchecked, some countries will be tempted to secure unilateral benefit through separate arrangements with producers at the expense of the collaboration that offers the only hope for survival over the long term. Such unilateral arrangements are guaranteed to enshrine inflated prices, dilute the bargaining power of the consumers, and perpetuate the economic burden for all. The political consequences of disarray would be pervasive. Traditional patterns of policy may be abandoned because of dependence on a strategic commodity. Even the hopeful process of easing tensions with our adversaries could suffer because it has always presupposed the political unity of the Atlantic nations and Japan.

#### THE NEED FOR CONSUMER COOPERATION

This need not be our fate. On the contrary, the energy crisis should summon once again the cooperative effort which sustained the policies of North America, Western Europe, and Japan for a quarter century. The Atlantic nations and Japan have the ability, if we have the will, not only to master the energy crisis but to shape from it a new era of creativity and common progress.

In fact we have no other alternative.

The energy crisis is not a problem of transitional adjustment. Our financial institutions and mechanisms of cooperation were



never designed to handle so abrupt and artificially sustained a price rise of so essential a commodity with such massive economic and political ramifications. We face a long-term drain which challenges us to common action or dooms us to perpetual crisis.

The problem will not go away by permitting inflation to proceed to redress the balance between oil producers and producers of other goods. Inflation is the most grotesque kind of adjustment, in which all elements in the domestic structure are upset in an attempt to balance one—the oil bill. In any event, the producers could and would respond by raising prices, thereby accelerating all the political and social dangers I have described.

Nor can consumers finance their oil bill by going into debt to the producers without making their domestic structure hostage to the decisions of others. Already, producers have the power to cause major financial upheavals simply by shifting investment funds from one country to another or even from one institution to another. The political implications are ominous and unpredictable. Those who wield financial power would sooner or later seek to dictate the political terms of the new relationships.

Finally, price reductions will not be brought about by consumer/producer dialogue alone. The price of oil will come down only when objective conditions for a reduction are created and not before. Today the producers are able to manipulate prices at will and with apparent impunity. They are not persuaded by our protestations of damage to our societies and economies, because we have taken scant action to defend them ourselves. They are not moved by our alarms about the health of the Western world which never included and sometimes exploited them. And, even if the producers learn eventually that their long-term interest requires a cooperative adjustment of the price structure, it would be foolhardy to count on it or passively wait for it.

We agree that a consumer/producer dialogue is essential. But it must be accompanied by the elaboration of greater consumer solidarity. The heart of our approach must be collaboration among the consuming nations. No one else will do the job for us.

#### A STRATEGY FOR CONSUMER COOPERATION

Consumer cooperation has been the central element of U.S. policy for the past year and a half.

In April 1973 the United States warned that energy was becoming a problem of unprecedented proportions and that collaboration among the nations of the West and Japan was essential. In December of the same year, we proposed a program of collective action. This led to the Washington Energy Conference in February 1974, at which the major consumers established new machinery for consultation, with a mandate to create, as soon as possible, institutions for the pooling of effort, risk, and technology.

In April 1974 and then again this fall before the U.N. General Assembly, President Ford and I reiterated the American philosophy that global cooperation offered the only long-term solution and that our efforts with fellow consumers were designed to pave the way for constructive dialogue with the producers. In September 1974 we convened a meeting of the Foreign and Finance Ministers of the United Kingdom, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, and the United States to consider further measures of consumer cooperation. And last month President Ford announced a long-term national policy of conservation and development to reinforce our international efforts to meet the energy challenge.

In our view, a concerted consumer strategy has two basic elements:

First, we must create the objective conditions necessary to bring about lower oil prices. Since the industrialized nations are the principal consumers, their actions can have a decisive impact. Determined national action, reinforced by collective efforts, can transform the market by reducing our consumption of oil and accelerating development of new sources of energy. Over time this will create a powerful pressure on prices.

Second, in the interim we must protect the vitality of our economies. Effective action on conservation will require months; development of alternative sources will take years. In the meantime, we will face two great dangers. One is the threat of a new embargo. The other is that our financial system may be unable to manage chronic deficits and to recycle the huge flows of oil dollars that producers will invest each year in our economies. A financial collapse—or the threat of it—somewhere in the system could result in restrictive monetary, fiscal, and trade measures and a downward spiral of income and jobs.

The consumers have taken two major steps to safeguard themselves against these dangers by collaborative action.

One of the results of the Washington Energy Conference was a new permanent institution for consumer energy cooperation—the International Energy Agency [IEA]. This agency will oversee a comprehensive common effort—in conservation, cooperative research and development, broad new action in nuclear enrichment, investment in new energy supplies, and the elaboration of consumer positions for the consumer/producer dialogue.

Equally significant is the unprecedented agreement to share oil supplies among principal consumers in the event of another crisis. The International Energy Program that grew out of the Washington Energy Conference and that we shall formally adopt next week is an historic step toward consumer solidarity. It provides a detailed blueprint for common action should either a general or selective embargo occur. It is a defensive arrangement, not a challenge to producers. But producing countries must know that it expresses the determination of the consumers to shape their own future and not to remain vulnerable to outside pressures.

The International Energy Agency and the International Energy Program are the first fruits of our efforts. But they are only foundations. We must now bring our blueprint to life.

#### THE FIVE ACTION AREAS

To carry through the overall design, the consuming countries must act in five inter-related areas.

First, we must accelerate our national programs of energy conservation, and we must coordinate them to insure their effectiveness.

Second, we must press on with the development of new supplies of oil and alternative sources of energy.

Third, we must strengthen economic security—to protect against oil emergencies and to safeguard the international financial system.

Fourth, we must assist the poor nations whose hopes and efforts for progress have been cruelly blunted by the oil price rises of the past year.

Fifth, on the basis of consumer solidarity we should enter a dialogue with the producers to establish a fair and durable long-term relationship.

Let me deal with each of these points in turn.

#### CONSERVATION

Conservation and the development of new sources of energy are basic to the solution:

The industrialized countries as a whole now import nearly two-thirds of their oil and over one-third of their total energy. Over the next decade we must conserve enough oil and develop sufficient alternative supplies to reduce these imports to no more than one-fifth of the total energy consumption. This requires that the industrialized countries manage the growth of their economies without increasing the volume of their oil imports.

The effect of this reduced dependence will be crucial. If it succeeds, the demand of the industrialized countries for imported oil will remain static, while new sources of energy will become available both inside and outside of OPEC [Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries]. OPEC may attempt to offset efforts to strengthen conservation and develop alternative sources by deeper and deeper cuts in production, reducing the income of producers who seek greater revenues for their development. The majority of producers will then see their interest in expanding supply and seeking a new equilibrium between supply and demand at a fair price.

Limiting oil imports into industrial countries to a roughly constant figure is an extremely demanding goal requiring discipline for conservation and investment for the development of new energy sources. The United States, which now imports a third of its oil and a sixth of its total energy, will have to become largely self-sufficient. Specifically we shall set as a target that we reduce our imports over the next decade from 7 million barrels a day to no more than 1 million barrels or less than 2 percent of our total energy consumption.

Conservation is, of course, the most immediate road to relief. President Ford has stated that the United States will reduce oil imports by 1 million barrels per day by the end of 1975—a 15 percent reduction.

But one country's reduction in consumption can be negated if other major consumers do not follow suit. Fortunately, other nations have begun conservation programs of their own. What is needed now is to relate these programs to common goals and an overall design. Therefore, the United States proposes an international agreement to set consumption goals. The United States is prepared to join an international conservation agreement that would lead to systematic and long-term savings on an equitable basis.

As part of such a program, we propose that by the end of 1975 the industrialized countries reduce their consumption of oil by 3 million barrels a day over what it would be otherwise—a reduction of approximately 10 percent of the total imports of the group. This reduction can be carried out without prejudice to economic growth and jobs by cutting back on wasteful and inefficient uses of energy both in personal consumption and in industry. The United States is prepared to assume a fair share of the total reduction.

The principal consumer nations should meet each year to determine appropriate annual targets.

#### ALTERNATIVE ENERGY SOURCES

Conservation measures will be effective to the extent that they are part of a dynamic program for the development of alternative energy sources. All countries must make a major shift toward nuclear power, coal, gas, and other sources. If we are to assure substantial amounts of new energy in the 1980's we must start now. If the industrialized nations take the steps which are within their power, they will be able to transform energy shortages into energy surpluses by the 1980's.

Project Independence is the American contribution to this effort. It represents the investment of hundreds of billions of dollars, public and private—dwarfing our moon-landing program and the Manhattan Project,

two previous examples of American technology mobilized for a great goal. Project Independence demonstrates that the United States will never permit itself to be held hostage to a strategic commodity.

Project Independence will be complemented by an active policy of supporting cooperative projects with other consumers. The International Energy Agency to be established next week is well designed to launch and coordinate such programs. Plans are already drawn up for joint projects in coal technology and solar energy. The United States is prepared to expand these collective activities substantially to include such fields as uranium enrichment.

The area of controlled thermonuclear fusion is particularly promising for joint ventures for it would make available abundant energy from virtually inexhaustible resources. The United States is prepared to join with other IEA members in a broad program of joint planning, exchange of scientific personnel, shared use of national facilities, and the development of joint facilities to accelerate the advent of fusion power.

Finally, we shall recommend to the IEA that it create a common fund to finance or guarantee investment in promising energy projects, in participating countries and in those ready to cooperate with the IEA on a long-term basis.

#### FINANCIAL SOLIDARITY

The most serious immediate problem facing the consuming countries is the economic and financial strain resulting from high oil prices. Producer revenues will inevitably be reinvested in the industrialized world; there is no other outlet. But they will not necessarily flow back to the countries whose balance-of-payments problems are most acute. Thus many countries will remain unable to finance their deficits and all will be vulnerable to massive sudden withdrawals.

The industrialized nations, acting together, can correct this imbalance and reduce their vulnerability. Just as producers are free to choose where they place their funds, so the consumers must be free to redistribute these funds to meet their own needs and those of the developing countries.

Private financial institutions are already deeply involved in this process. To buttress their efforts, central banks are assuring that necessary support is available to the private institutions—particularly since so much of the oil money has been invested in relatively short-term obligations. Private institutions should not bear all the risks indefinitely, however. We cannot afford to test the limits of their capacity.

Therefore, the governments of Western Europe, North America, and Japan should move now to put in place a system of mutual support that will augment and buttress private channels whenever necessary. The United States proposes that a common loan and guarantee facility be created to provide for redistributing up to \$25 billion in 1975, and as much again the next year if necessary. The facility will not be a new aid institution to be funded by additional taxes. It will be a mechanism for recycling, at commercial interest rates, funds flowing back to the industrial world from the oil producers. Support from the facility would not be automatic, but contingent on full resort to private financing and on reasonable self-help measures. No country should expect financial assistance that is not moving effectively to lessen its dependence on imported oil.

Such a facility will help assure the stability of the entire financial system and the creditworthiness of participating governments; in the long run it would reduce the

need for official financing. If implemented rapidly it would:

Protect financial institutions from the excessive risks posed by an enormous volume of funds beyond their control or capacity;

Insure that no nation is forced to pursue disruptive and restrictive policies for lack of adequate financing;

Assure that no consuming country will be compelled to accept financing on intolerable political or economic terms; and

Enable each participating country to demonstrate to people that efforts and sacrifices are being shared equitably—that the national survival is buttressed by consumer solidarity.

We have already begun discussion of this proposal; it was a principal focus of the meeting of the Finance and Foreign Ministers of the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States, Japan, the United Kingdom, and France in September in Washington.

#### THE DEVELOPING WORLD

The strategy I have outlined here is also essential to ease the serious plight of many developing countries. All consuming nations are in need of relief from excessive oil prices, but the developing world cannot wait for the process to unfold. For them, the oil crisis has already produced an emergency. The oil bill has wiped out the external assistance of the poorer developing countries, halted agricultural and industrial development, and inflated the prices for their most fundamental needs, including food. Unlike the industrial nations, developing countries do not have many options of self-help; their margin for reducing energy consumption is limited; they have little capacity to develop alternative sources.

For both moral and practical reasons, we cannot permit hopes for development to die, or cut ourselves off from the political and economic needs of so great a part of mankind. At the very least, the industrial nations must maintain the present level of their aid to the developing world and take special account of its needs in the multilateral trade negotiations.

We also look for ways to help in the critical area of food. At the World Food Conference I outlined a strategy for meeting the food and agricultural needs of the least developed countries. The United States is uniquely equipped to make a contribution in this field and will make a contribution worthy of its special strength.

A major responsibility must rest with those oil producers whose actions aggravated the problems of the developing countries and who because of their new-found wealth now have greatly increased resources for assistance.

But even after all presently available resources have been drawn upon, an unfinanced payment of deficit of between \$1 and \$2 billion will remain for the 25 or 30 countries most seriously affected by high oil prices. It could grow in 1976.

We need new international mechanisms to meet this deficit. One possibility would be to supplement regular International Monetary Fund (IMF) facilities by the creation of a separate trust fund managed by the IMF to lend at interest rates recipient countries could afford. Funds would be provided by national contributions from interested countries, including especially oil producers. The IMF itself could contribute the profits from IMF gold sales undertaken for this purpose. We urge the Interim Committee of the IMF and the joint IMF/IBRD Development Committee to examine this proposal on an urgent basis.

#### RELATIONS WITH PRODUCERS

When the consumers have taken some collective steps toward a durable solution—that is, measures to further conservation and the development of new supplies—and for our in-

term protection through emergency planning and financial solidarity, the conditions for a constructive dialogue with producers will have been created.

We do not see consumer cooperation as antagonistic to consumer/producer cooperation. Rather, we view it as a necessary prerequisite to a constructive dialogue as do many of the producers themselves who have urged the consumers to curb inflation, conserve energy, and preserve international financial stability.

A dialogue that is not carefully prepared will compound the problems which it is supposed to solve. Until the consumers develop a coherent approach to their own problems, discussions with the producers will only repeat in a multilateral forum the many bilateral exchanges which are already taking place. When consumer solidarity has been developed and there are realistic prospects for significant progress, the United States is prepared to participate in a consumer/producer meeting.

The main subject of such a dialogue must inevitably be price. Clearly the stability of the system on which the economic health of even the producers depends requires a price reduction. But an equitable solution must also take account of the producers' need for long-term income security and economic growth. This we are prepared to discuss sympathetically.

In the meantime the producers must recognize that further increases in the prices while this dialogue is being prepared, and when the system has not even absorbed the previous price rises, would be disruptive and dangerous.

On this basis—consumer solidarity in conservation, the development of alternative supplies and financial security, producer policies of restraint and responsibility, and a mutual recognition of interdependence and a long-term common interest—there can be justifiable hope that a consumer/producer dialogue will bring an end to the crisis that has shaken the world to its economic foundations.

#### THE NEXT STEP

It is now a year and a month since the oil crisis began. We have made a good beginning, but the major test is still ahead.

The United States in the immediate future intends to make further proposals to implement the program I have outlined.

Next week, we will propose to the new IEA a specific program for cooperative action in conservation, the development of new supplies, nuclear enrichment, and the preparation of consumer positions for the eventual producer/consumer dialogue.

Simultaneously, Secretary Simon will spell out our ideas for financial solidarity in detail, and our representative at the Group of Ten will present them to his colleagues.

We will, as well, ask the Chairman of the Interim Committee of the IMF as well as the new joint IMF/IBRD Development Committee to consider an urgent program for concessional assistance to the poorest countries.

Yesterday, Secretary Morton announced an accelerated program for domestic oil exploration and exploitation.

President Ford will submit a detailed and comprehensive energy program to the new Congress.

#### CONCLUSION

Let there be no doubt, the energy problem is solvable. It will overwhelm us only if we retreat from its reality. But there can be no solution without the collective efforts of the nations of North America, Western Europe, and Japan—the very nations whose cooperation over the course of more than two decades has brought prosperity and peace to the postwar world. Nor in the last analysis can there be a solution without a dia-

logue with the producers carried on in a spirit of reconciliation and compromise.

A great responsibility rests upon America, for without our dedication and leadership no progress is possible. This Nation, for many years, has carried the major responsibility for maintaining the peace, feeding the hungry, sustaining international economic growth, and inspiring those who would be free. We did not seek this heavy burden, and we have often been tempted to put it down. But we have never done so, and we cannot afford to do so now—or the generations that follow us will pay the price for our self-indulgence.

For more than a decade America has been torn by war, social and generational turbulence, and constitutional crisis. Yet the most striking lesson from these events is our fundamental stability and strength. During our upheavals, we still managed to ease tensions around the globe. Our people and our institutions have come through our domestic travails with extraordinary resiliency. And now, once again, our leadership in technology, agriculture, industry, and communications has become vital to the world's recovery.

Woodrow Wilson once remarked that "wrapped up with the liberty of the world is the continuous perfection of that liberty by the concerted powers of all civilized peoples." That, in the last analysis, is what the energy crisis is all about. For it is our liberty that in the end is at stake and it is only through the concerted action of the industrial democracies that it will be maintained.

The dangers that Woodrow Wilson and his generation faced were, by today's standards relatively simple and straightforward. The dangers we face now are more subtle and more profound. The context in which we act is more complex than even the period following the Second World War. Then we drew inspiration from stewardship, now we must find it in partnership. Then we and our allies were brought together by an external threat, now we must find it in or devotion to the political and economic institutions of free peoples working together for a common goal. Our challenge is to maintain the cooperative spirit among like-minded nations that has served us so well for a generation and to prove, as Woodrow Wilson said in another time and place, that "the highest and best form of efficiency is the spontaneous cooperation of a free people."

#### WHY THE UNITED STATES SHOULD RETURN TO THE GOLD STANDARD

HON. STEVEN D. SYMMS

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. Speaker, I commend the following article by Senator BARRY GOLDWATER to my colleagues. It is from the November 23, 1974 issue of Human Events.

Mr. GOLDWATER, as usual, is correct—it is too bad that it is only in our hearts and not our actions that we know he is right.

The article follows:

WHY THE UNITED STATES SHOULD RETURN TO THE GOLD STANDARD

(By BARRY M. GOLDWATER)

Our nation is passing through one of the most serious peacetime crises in its history.

It is a monetary crisis popularly known as inflation. Throughout the course of history many countries have experienced serious inflation, sometimes with disastrous results as in the cases of France and Germany, leading to the loss of precious freedoms and to dictatorships. I don't wish to see that happen here.

Both President Nixon and President Ford have made important public addresses in recent weeks emphasizing the importance of curing the dollar's inflationary disease but one word, which has great bearing on the necessary remedy, was missing in both speeches. It is the word gold. This is not surprising, for our beloved nation has been brainwashed for 40 years, as in Great Britain, with Keynesianism which dismisses gold as a "barbarous" metal and endorses the use of political power to achieve "full employment" as a monetary guide.

Ever since the Administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who embraced the economic views of John Maynard Keynes, the intellectual theorists, dreamers and other Keynesian disciples, have had great influence in policy making in our government. They have penetrated deeply into politics.

I have here a list of 70 distinguished economists, including a Nobel Prize winner, who bent every effort to elect Sen. McGovern, the Democratic candidate for the presidency in 1972. The list includes former members of presidential economic councils. They all advocate more government control in the true spirit of Keynesianism.

Their candidate was overwhelmingly defeated in the election, but the episode distresses me for the restoration of confidence in our dollar and again making it a store of value, as William McChesney Martin urged a few years ago, cuts across party lines:

"How did we get into the current monetary mess? It began 40 years ago when two Cornell professors persuaded FDR to raise the price of gold as a cure for a raging business depression. This action required confiscating the gold holdings of the people, so they would not profit from an increased price of gold, and devaluing the dollar."

Far more serious was the destruction of the sanctity of contracts which used the gold clause for the protection of the contracting parties.

When the grave moral issue involved in that momentous step reached the Supreme Court, a 5-to-4 decision upheld the government's stand, but the minority termed the devaluation "counterfeiting" and stated: "Loss of reputation for honorable dealing will bring us unending humiliation; the impending legal and moral chaos is appalling." How prophetic! The chaos is here with a vengeance.

The current helplessness of the people to understand the complexity of money is not relieved by the practice of some intellectuals to clutter their economic papers with mathematical formulas giving the impression of erudition and scientific finality. If you don't believe it, examine the report on inflation prepared for the use of the Joint Economic Committee in 1972. Incidentally, the cure suggested was more government control.

This reminds me of the observation of the late Canadian economist with a sense of humor, Stephen Leacock of McGill University, who remarked:

"... Most of all, if we can't understand it let's see that outsiders don't. Let's dress up economics in esoteric language, give it a jargon of its own, and break away from the plain terms like labor and profit and money and poverty. Let's talk of 'categories' and 'increments' and 'margins' and 'series.' Let's call our appetite for breakfast our consumer's marginal demand. That will fool them.

And if I buy one cigar but won't buy two, call that my sub-marginal saturation point for nicotine."

It is not necessary to be an economist to understand a monetary fundamental principle today. It is the simple issue: which is better, a Federal Reserve note redeemable in gold at will, or the kind of paper money in use currently, a greenback, which is not redeemable? The quality of our money is just as essential as the quantity printed.

It is almost unbelievable that it has taken 40 years to return the traditional right of Americans to own gold bullion without fear of criminal penalty. Where have the liberty loving Americans been during the interval? No wonder the remedial congressional act has been strongly resisted by Keynesians, for it marks the first step toward the restoration of the gold standard, unpalatable as that may be to them. It impairs their political influence and power.

The struggle for a sound dollar has advanced. Contracts may again use the gold clause as protection against further devaluation of the dollar. Fundamentally there is no escape from gold.

If we are to continue to print irredeemable greenback dollars, the door is open wide for the international speculator in currencies. This can lead to disaster. Observe the recent failure of the Franklin National Bank in the United States and the failure of the Herrstatt Bank in Germany resulting from foreign exchange speculation. Are more on the horizon? I hope not, as the Federal Reserve has limited rescue power.

And yet, if political decisions are to govern the destiny of the dollar, the temptation to speculate becomes attractive given inside or outside information of government plans. Self-preservation may also play a role. Government pronouncements may not be reliable.

Note, for example, the statement of former Secretary of the Treasury John Connally, in Munich, Germany, as recently as May 1971. He said that "We are not going to devalue. We are not going to change the price of gold. We are controlling our inflation." Three months later the gold window was closed! Moreover, the dollar was devalued not only once but twice, later on.

Is that the kind of a monetary system best for Americans based upon political announcements warranting not only skepticism but also some move for self-protection? Of course not, but that is why I am reconciled to more monetary trouble until the dollar once again is redeemable in gold.

It may take a long time as it did after the Civil War, but that national experience has a lesson for us today. It shows that when the Civil War greenbacks became convertible into gold until the beginning of World War I, which ruined the gold standard, the price level showed no inflation and was remarkably steady.

It is unquestioned evidence confirming the conclusion of the late great international monetary expert, Ludwig von Mises, that:

"The eminence of the gold standard consists of the fact that it makes the determination of the monetary unit's purchasing power independent of the measures of governments. It wrests from the hands of the economic Tsars their most redoubtable instrument. It makes it impossible for them to inflate. That is why the gold standard is furiously attacked by all those who expect they will benefit by bounties from the seemingly inexhaustible government purse."

Incidentally, when 1879 rolled around the citizens returned gold to the banks; they did not withdraw it to cash their greenbacks!

But let's face it, the forces against a return to the gold standard are dishearteningly powerful.

Consider the position of many respected business and banking leaders who, in the Committee for Economic Development's report on strengthening the world monetary system, advocate the international adoption of greenbacks known as special drawing rights and ultimately doing away with gold absolutely as a monetary reserve. The store of value quality in money is to be destroyed. How typically Keynesian.

It will be interesting to observe how many Middle Eastern petroleum-producing countries accept special drawing rights in place of dollars, or gold. As one distinguished French economist, Rene Berger, has stated, special drawing rights are an insult to intelligence.

The entire world is witnessing an amazing spectacle, Great Britain, the cradle of Keynesianism, appealing to Iran for financial assistance to ease its monetary predicament. This is ample evidence to convince me that the Keynesian road is not one for our nation to travel.

Oddly enough, John Maynard Keynes was a strong advocate of the gold standard back in 1922. But the attraction of political power to achieve economic ends during a serious depression evidently overrode his scruples.

The late great economist and teacher, Wilhelm Roepke, has wisely noted that John Maynard Keynes, like Karl Marx, will go down as a great intellectual ruiner in history. Roepke's observation about the gold standard in his classic text, *The Economics of a Free Society* is worth repeating here.

"The most finely spun theories on the stupidity of the gold standard, all the clever satires on mankind's frenetic digging for the yellow metal, and all the ingenious schemes for creating a goldless money will never change the truly remarkable fact that for thousands of years men have continued to regard gold as the commodity of highest and surest worth and as the most secure anchor of wealth."

Strong as our dollar continues to be and vast as the resources of our country, nevertheless, Europe and the Middle East will have a lot to say about the kind of money acceptable internationally and without question. And let us not forget the growing trade with the Socialist nations. Recently the president of the Bank of Hungary called for an international currency based upon gold. This is not surprising as trade between any nations, whether free enterprise or Socialist, depends, in the last analysis, upon mutual trust and confidence. Gold supplies that ingredient.

For guidance in the current monetary crisis we would be wise to ponder the words of a great humanitarian President of the United States, who never took a cent of salary for his services to the nation. Listen to these words from a much maligned servant of the people—indeed the whole world—Herbert Hoover.

"Currency convertible into gold of the legal specifications is a vital protection against economic manipulation by the government. As long as currencies are convertible, governments cannot easily tamper with the price of goods, and therefore the wage standards of the country.

"They cannot easily confiscate the savings of the people by manipulation of inflation and deflation. They cannot easily enter into currency expansion for government expenditures. Once free of convertible standards, the executives of every 'managed-currency' country had gone on a spree of government spending, and the people thereby lost control of the public purse—their first defense against tyranny.

"With 'managed currency,' international exchange rates come under the control of the government. The consequence is currency

war, as their manipulators in the end invariably seek to shift international prices to the supposed advantage of their own country. Uncertainty of value robs people of their power to test values and lessens their initiative. Depriving the people of confidence in their currency plants a fear in their hearts which causes them to hesitate in pursuing productive enterprises and renders them dependent upon the government.

"A convertible currency is the first economic bulwark of free men. Not only is this a question of economic freedom, but more deeply it is a question of morals. The moral issue lies in the sacredness of government assurances, promises and guarantees.

"Civilization moves forward on promises that are kept. It goes backward with every broken promise."

### THE BROWNING OF AMERICA?

#### HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, I attach herewith a very perceptive editorial from the Jewish Advocate of November 21, 1974. This editorial entitled "The Browning of America?" notes that a "strong Commander-in-Chief would, of course, have quickly retired the General."

I commend this editorial to my colleagues in the Congress:

[From the Jewish Advocate, Nov. 21, 1974]

#### THE BROWNING OF AMERICA?

The stereotype anti-Semitic remarks of General George S. Brown, chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, which became known last week could only come as a shock to the naive. Bigotry and racism are of course, well established in this country. This is particularly true of the high regular officer classes of the military services where the break-down in such long held attitudes had been slower prior to the last twenty years than in the general society, as indicated by the frequent failure of able Jewish candidates to reach high, deserved ranks and the almost utter exclusion of Blacks. To the credit of the military, in the last two decades this caste system has been rapidly breaking down, stimulated particularly by the enforced end of racism, but old opinions apparently like old soldiers do not die, but merely fade away.

A strong Commander-in-Chief would, of course, have quickly retired the General. If bias and hatred thrive in so many hearts and minds, it is not so much for what he said, but it is because of the danger for America in that one in General Brown's position could hold and express such faulty and absurd views. This country cannot afford and does not deserve ignorance in any post of leadership, much less that which responds to the button on the President's black box. The Brown rantings about Jewish influence in banks and public media and Israel's power in Congress, cannot be explained away by tiredness when he was called upon to answer questions at the Duke University Law Forum nor pique that large amounts of arms and equipment from U.S. forces have been hurriedly transferred to the Middle East. This top General should know as a matter of fact, whether morning alert or evening tired, that Jewish influence in major finance or widespread newspapers is

minimal and that the reason Israel is getting arms is that it is the U.S. frontline against the Soviet Union in stabilizing the Middle East and retaining energy resources. It is frightening to know that the country's defenses rely so strongly on one in whom emotionalism may at times so overtake rationality.

As we near the common holiday of Thanksgiving, it may be valuable to recall that the strength of the U.S. is that "to bigotry" there has been given "no sanction" and "to persecution no assistance." And the greatness in this land where sadly people still hate irrationally is that this evil remains always opposed and fairness retains an equal striving in the race with discrimination. While this may be considered a minimal and even meager accomplishment, it is still only realized on a large national scale here. To give any credence or comfort to the Brown view, which his retention in power has done, places this hard-won accomplishment in greater jeopardy from other sources.

### JOE BOLAND: A BUSY MAN WHO GETS THINGS DONE

#### HON. JAMES V. STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 26, 1974

Mr. JAMES V. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pleasure that I announce that on December 1, Joe Boland of Cleveland, Ohio, will be honored as the Man of the Year by the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of Cleveland. Joe's record of community leadership serves as a model for all of our citizens, and this honor is thus very well deserved. I would now like to insert into the RECORD a biography of Joe, which fully lists all of his fine achievements:

#### BIOGRAPHY OF JOE BOLAND

It was more than coincidence that Joe Boland, truly an American and the most lovable of all Irishmen first set foot on American soil on George Washington's birthday, Feb. 22, 1948. A founding member of the American Irish Metropolitan Society, he is responsible for upgrading the moral character as well as the political and civil lot of the American Irish in the Cleveland area, using as a basis of incentive, the founding and establishing of a Pioneer Center in the Parish of St. Francis on Superior Avenue, since ravished by fire, as early as 1951.

Joe modestly speaks of this as being his first love, the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association, an organization of nearly 1,000 members who make a solemn promise to Almighty God to abstain from intoxicating drinks for life, in a prayerful effort to bring about the conversion of excessive drinkers to a state of respectful sobriety. In this endeavor he arranges year after year to raise many thousands of needed dollars to maintain a "half-way" house known as the Matt Talbot Inn under the personal direction of Father Berard, Chaplain at the Cuyahoga County Jail.

As an officer member of the Holy Name Society and as an usher of St. Ignatius Church and many other parishes, Joe's services are very much in demand by the Clergy and indeed the Hierarchy, as a promoter and fund raiser for more than a few parishes and their projects, and the recipients of his successful efforts know, they have in him a

promoter, a salesman par excellence, and in fact, a man who is the very soul of generosity.

In his early years here, Joe worked as a carpenter for various contracting firms, amongst whom are the Austin Company, Shaw-Comber Companies and a few others. He still retains, with pride, his membership in the AFL-CIO, Local 11 Union, whose card, together with those of the Civil Service Employee's Association, Twenty-first Ward Democratic Club, the United Ireland Society, the Cleveland Gaelic Society, the Gaelic League of Cleveland, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the United Irish Societies and a host of Mission Organizations, various FRESH communities and football clubs—all have a definite swelling effect upon his wallet, and in this he contributes in a more than ordinary way towards a more healthy economy. In June of 1967 Joe Boland retired from his House Repair and Carpentry service to join the City of Cleveland government. In addition, Joe has put his considerable politi-

cal talents to work in behalf of many candidates for office in the Cleveland area. He has been instrumental in producing a number of campaign victories.

Joe believes that one of his better accomplishments was manifested in his arranging to welcome to the United States of America his dear mother, Bridget Boland, more affectionately known to her many hundreds of friends as just "Mom" and this, in the first years of her being here. Before many years, "Mom Boland" was to earn many honors of her own endearing herself to ever so many people and organizations by her constant willingness to give, of her time and efforts, in the service of those less fortunate than she, giving living witness of her having hereditarily bestowed the sterling qualities so evident in her fine sons and daughters and especially in her son Joe.

Without hesitation in his service to others, Joe's next undertaking was to invite his brothers to join him in Cleveland. Joe helped finance his brother Augustine's education

through college where he earned a degree in engineering and is presently employed in the Cuyahoga County Engineering Department in charge of Bridge, Design and Structure. Equally enviable positions are held by four other brothers, John, James, Jim and Brendan.

In spite of his many activities, Joe Boland still finds time to devote to sports and hobbies, chief among which is the promotion and fostering of Irish step dancing in traditional style and dress; and this, in conjunction with programing of radio station WKEN and other ethnic minded radio stations; all of which brings to mind the old adage. . . . "If you want something done—give it to a busy man." However, Joe is never too busy to indulge in his favorite pastime or hobby if the situation should arise, that of helping a friend to repair any part of his home, from sidewalk to garage, or even to drive to Cincinnati and return the same day, if his doing this, can be of assistance to you or to another.

## SENATE—Monday, December 2, 1974

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian and was called to order by Hon. J. BENNETT JOHNSTON, JR., a Senator from the State of Louisiana.

### PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O God our Father, we thank Thee for the greatness and goodness of this land and its people.

We thank Thee, O God, for stormy days as well as sunny days, for dark days and light days, for days of despair and days of hope, for days of failure and days of success, for plodding days and weary days, for days of pain as well as joy. We thank Thee for the mosaic of days which form the pattern of our pilgrim years.

Help us now to walk and work with faith in Thy care and guidance.

Prepare us in the depth of our spirits for whatsoever may come. May there be no crisis of character, no energy shortage in mind and heart; but, putting our trust in Thee, may we "serve the Lord with gladness—for the Lord is good; His mercy is everlasting; and His truth endureth to all generations." Amen.

### APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. EASTLAND).

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,  
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,  
Washington, D.C., December 2, 1974.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate on official duties, I appoint Hon. J. BENNETT JOHNSTON, JR., a Senator from the State of Louisiana, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

JAMES O. EASTLAND,  
President pro tempore.

Mr. JOHNSTON thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

### THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, November 26, 1974, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### WAIVER OF CALL OF THE CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the call of the legislative calendar, under rule VIII, be dispensed with.

The ACTING 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 ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### REHABILITATION ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1974—INDEFINITELY POSTPONED

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Calendar No. 1230, S. 4194, be indefinitely postponed.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### ASSIGNMENT OF SENATORS' SUITES

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I have received a letter from the chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration, Senator HOWARD W. CANNON, in which he asks for a speedup in the process of assignment of Senators' suites and urges that Senators decide as quickly as possible whether they want to move when their name is reached. Senator CANNON says:

It is imperative that your decision be made within twenty-four hours after you receive such notice.

Senators are now being instructed by the staff of the Committee on Rules and Administration to contact the senior Senator immediately and commence now the process of working down the roster.

In his communication, Senator CANNON says:

In the event you do not notify the committee within twenty-four hours after you receive notice of suites available, it will be assumed that you do not desire to make a change and the staff will then proceed to contact the next Senator on the roster.

I fully and wholeheartedly agree with the decision of the chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration. I ask unanimous consent that this letter be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered. (See exhibit 1.)

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I hope that it will not be until April, May, or June before the last Senator is assigned a suite in the Senate office buildings. It is outrageous when they have to wait that long. I expect that all Senators will cooperate with Chairman CANNON, to the end that his proposal will be agreed to and adhered to.

### EXHIBIT 1

U.S. SENATE,  
Washington, D.C., December 2, 1974.  
Hon. MIKE MANSFIELD,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MIKE: The eleven new Senators are about to be assigned temporary suites effective January 3, 1975, and will have to work under crowded conditions until their names are reached on the Senate roster after the eighty-nine incumbent Senators have decided whether they wish to move into the vacant suites.

In an earnest effort to speed up the process of assignment of Senators' suites, I am writing to urge you to decide as quickly as possible whether you want to move when your name is reached. It is imperative that your decision be made within twenty-four hours after you receive such notice.