

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

SENATOR JACKSON BLAMES BIG OIL COMPANIES FOR ENERGY CRISIS AT PROTEST RALLY IN FAYETTEVILLE, TENN.

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 19, 1974

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, Senator HENRY JACKSON, Democrat of Washington, was the principal speaker at a rally attended by some 2,000 persons in Fayetteville, Tenn., held last Friday to protest the energy crisis.

As Representative for the Fourth Congressional District of Tennessee in the Congress, I was pleased to introduce Senator JACKSON who made an excellent speech and was sharply critical of the big oil companies for their role in the energy crisis.

I was pleased in my introduction to point out that Senator JACKSON is the recognized authority on energy matters in the Congress and is in addition "1 of the 10 most respected men in America today," according to a recent poll.

Senator JACKSON discussed a \$20 billion energy research bill which he is sponsoring and which is designed to score scientific breakthroughs in the development of alternative sources of energy as a direct means of assuring American independence in fuel supply and remove dependence on foreign imports.

Senator JACKSON also called for a rollback of the price of crude oil and for a more stringent regulation of the oil industry.

In my brief remarks, I pointed out:

There are a lot of facts about big oil company operations that need to be made known. Indeed there appears to be more than one cover-up in Washington.

Because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this most important matter, I place in the RECORD articles from the Nashville Banner and Tennessean concerning this rally.

The articles follow:

JACKSON BLAMES MAJOR OIL FIRMS FOR SHORTAGE

(By Grady Gallant)

FAYETTEVILLE.—At a rip-roaring rally here over the nation's growing energy crisis, Sen. Henry (Scoop) Jackson, D-Wash., predicted "a very serious second quarter" of fuel shortages and blamed major oil producers for the situation in which the nation finds itself.

More than 1,500 persons packed Lincoln County Central High School auditorium to hear Jackson, a possible presidential candidate in 1976.

Congressman Joe Evins, D-Tenn., called him "one of the 10 most respected men in America today," and the stage was filled with political figures from Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky and Mississippi.

"The facts are—and there is no dispute about this—the oil industry has brought about a situation in which the United States has become dependent for one-third of its

petroleum from abroad. That's where all the trouble starts," Jackson said.

The mass meeting was sponsored by the citizens' Energy Committee. Joe Sir, Fayetteville businessman and chairman of the committee, was master of ceremonies.

Distinguished guests included Sen. John Sparkman D-Ala.; Congressman Bob Jones, D-Ala.; Congressman Frank Stubblefield, D-Ky.; Aubrey J. Wagner, TVA board chairman and John McBride, TVA board member; Lt. Gov. John Wilder of Tennessee and Tennessee House Speaker Ned McWherter.

Had the oil companies developed resources in the United States instead of the Middle East and some of the other places, "we wouldn't be in the fix we are today," Jackson said.

"I don't see the Arab countries even if the dispute is settled tomorrow increasing their production. They have learned something. They've learned to operate a cartel. They've reduced production in Saudi Arabia from eight million barrels a day to six million barrels a day—and they are making four times as much money," he said.

Jackson said he had sponsored a \$20 billion research bill "like the Manhattan Project of World War II" which passed the Senate 82 to 0 and "will be passed by the House shortly." This bill directs intensive research into development of new fuel sources.

"We must go down that route as readily as we can, including the development of our great coal resources. And in Alaska alone we've got 100 billion barrels of oil," Jackson said.

"I will be introducing in a few days a bill that will require a federal charter for the international oil companies," the Senator said. "They've been running their own foreign policy, even cutting off supplies to our Sixth Fleet during an alert."

"I can't think of anything more disloyal than that kind of conduct. That's why we need a federal representative on these boards to see to it that American policy is carried out. I do think we need some regulation. We need to put some of them on a leash."

"I believe in the private enterprise system, but I believe we have to break up some of this kind of operation in which the prices have got out of control," he said.

ROLLBACK

Next Tuesday, Jackson said that among other things the Senate will be voting on rolling back the price from \$10.35 a barrel to \$5.25 a barrel.

"Just a few weeks ago, oil was selling at \$3.90 a barrel," he said.

Investigators have been in the Tennessee Valley from the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigation, Jackson said, and they found price gouging on propane.

"We found a family on social security of \$160 a month."

"Their propane bill during the winter of \$30 a month has gone to \$100 a month. Think of it. And we are on the trail of speculators that have made over \$1 million in 24 hours speculating in propane."

Jackson said he wants to help the consumer by rolling prices back. When this is done, he said, "you roll profits back."

"And you also help to save our free enterprise system. I prefer regulation (to nationalization of the oil industry) because I believe that this is the best course to follow to step up production and to step up competition."

ON PLATFORM

A number of members of the Tennessee General Assembly were on the platform with Jackson. Sen. Ed Blank, D-Columbia, and Sen. Jim Roberson, D-Nashville, were there

along with Sen. Reagor Motlow, D-Lynchburg.

Also introduced were Rep. Ed Murray, Jr., D-Jackson; Rep. W. R. (Spot) Lowe, D-Lewisburg; Sen. Bill Peeler, D-Waverly; Rep. Stanley Rogers, D-Manchester; Sen. Ernest Crouch, D-McMinnville; Sen. Douglas Henry, D-Nashville; Rep. C. E. DePriest, D-Pulaski; Rep. Mike Murphy, D-Nashville; former Congressman Ray Blanton, D-Tenn.; Bob Clement, Tennessee Public Service Commissioner; and others.

Congressman Richard Fulton, D-Tenn., wired regrets that he could not be present due to earlier commitments.

JACKSON SAYS HE'D WELCOME WALLACE AID (By Jim O'Hara)

HUNTSVILLE.—Gov. George Wallace "is eminently qualified to be vice president or president of the U.S. . . . and I would welcome him on a ticket," Sen. Henry Jackson said here yesterday.

Jackson was asked if he would accept the Alabama governor as a presidential running mate during a press conference at the airport here while en route to Fayetteville, Tenn., for an address last night on the energy crisis.

"I think he is qualified and I would welcome him on a ticket," said the Washington state senator, thought to be a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1976. "I've said that all along."

At Fayetteville, Jackson called for a rollback of propane gas price hikes, charging that some dealers and major oil companies have gouged Southern rural families during the energy crisis.

The senator told a mass meeting of Tennessee Valley citizens at Lincoln County Central High School that recent federal regulations to control the price of propane are inadequate and have come too late.

In an earlier interview, Jackson said the only way to "beat the excess price and profit problem is by a rollback." He said emergency legislation to be considered by Congress this week includes provision for rollback of petroleum product prices.

"The facts of the energy crisis are that we do not have the facts," Jackson said at a Fayetteville press conference yesterday afternoon. "The emergency energy legislation which rolls back prices also arms the federal government with subpoena power to go out and get information from the oil companies." He said the government has previously had to depend on Senate committees to put witnesses under oath.

Speaking to an overflow crowd of 1,600 at the Lincoln County school, Jackson said, "The major oil enterprises have been unable to register large price hikes in more visible petroleum products such as gasoline and fuel oil. The government and the public have been watching too closely."

"But with propane gas, the profits could go up, and nobody did anything to stop them. The very people who are least able to fight back became the victims of the fast-talking brokers and the big oil companies as the price of propane was allowed to go up by as much as 400%," the senator said.

"Because they were to a large extent poor and rural and Southern, the families who rely on propane to heat their homes were left at the mercy of the marketplace."

Jackson was introduced last night by Rep. Joe L. Evins of Smithville.

"There are a lot of facts that need to be known and indeed it appears to me that there is more than one cover-up in Washington," Evins said.

The 4th District congressman charged that

the major oil companies are becoming "energy conglomerates" and said they need "to be looked at in the light of antitrust laws."

He also called for the elimination of windfall profits and said "exorbitant" overseas tax credits for oil companies should be eliminated.

Other area congressmen present were Reps. Bob Jones of Alabama and Frank Stubblefield of Kentucky and Sen. John Sparkman of Alabama. Telegrams of support were received from Rep. Richard Fulton of Tennessee and Ala. Gov. George Wallace.

The meeting at which Jackson spoke was sponsored by the Citizens Energy Committee, an ad hoc group which represents residents of Kentucky, Tennessee and Alabama concerned with the energy crisis.

Joe Sir of Fayetteville, chairman of the Tennessee branch of the committee, said the group invited Jackson because the Senator's subcommittee on investigation has disclosed many "facts" about the energy crisis.

Jackson said investigators for his subcommittee who have been in the Tennessee Valley in recent weeks have discovered that propane gas price hikes have resulted from "manipulations and wheeling and dealing."

The investigators discovered one instance in which three brokers traded 14 million gallons of propane in a 24-hour period for a profit of \$1.3 million, he said.

Jackson also cited propane price increases by major oil companies over the past year ranging from 354% to 406%. He said these figures are "shocking when you consider the incomes and the lives of families which use propane."

He said one Tennessee man and his wife live on a fixed income of \$165 a month and that their normal heating bill of \$30 to \$40 per month has increased to \$100 a month this winter.

"We thought the people simply wanted to know what is really happening with the energy crisis," Sir said. "Government agencies which are responsible for energy policies don't have the facts and the oil industry has been recalcitrant in leveling with the people and with the government."

After Jackson's speech, the ad hoc committee offered a resolution to the crowd, packed into the school's auditorium, asking for a "vote of affirmation."

The resolution urged the committee to meet with members of Congress and representatives of government agencies to:

Investigate TVA rate hikes allegedly caused by the monopolistic control of coal supplies by "a few giant energy conglomerates."

Create "a yardstick for gas and oil production, giving consideration to a TVA type agency which would establish costs by exploration and production on public lands."

Stop "giveaways" of nuclear production processes, developed at public cost and now being sought by private syndicates.

File antitrust suits "where evidence appears of monopolistic practices."

The Citizens Energy Committee was formed in December by members of the Elk River and Upper Duck River development associations. The original committee then asked representatives of government and power distributor associations throughout the Tennessee Valley to join.

THE DICKEY-LINCOLN DAM: LOBBIED TO DEATH

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 19, 1974

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, New England consumers have absorbed staggering rises in their electricity bills

in the past several years. Yet since 1963, the New England States have had a means, sanctioned by the U.S. Department of the Interior, of substantially lowering the cost of their electricity—construction of the Dickey-Lincoln hydro-electric power project in Maine.

Why have we been prevented from going ahead with construction? A story by Mr. Stan Wallerstein, published recently in the Boston Globe, documents the effort mounted by the area's privately owned utilities to lobby the project to death. The energy crisis compound's New England's critical need for Dickey-Lincoln, and in the interest of providing information on the forces threatening renewal of the project, I include Mr. Wallerstein's article below:

**DICKEY-LINCOLN DAM, LOBBIED TO DEATH,
LOOKS GREAT IN 1974**

(By Stan Wallerstein)

Over the years, New Englanders have paid more for their electricity than residents of any other region of the country. In the last two years, numerous rate increases forced our bills still higher, and now, because of the fuel adjustment clause, they are increasing every single month.

Some of the reasons for the high rates are both obvious and valid—rising fuel costs, labor costs, and the cost of money. But one important reason why our bills are so high hasn't received the attention it deserves—that over the past ten years, New England's privately-owned utility companies, acting together, have worked to prevent low cost power projects from being built in the region.

They have fought on many fronts: against the municipal utilities in Massachusetts, against the importation of low-cost power from Canada and from New York, against the Maine Public Power Authority. But perhaps the clearest case of the utility company effort to keep power costs up in New England involves the Dickey-Lincoln hydro-electric project in Maine.

MUCH CHEAPER POWER

If the dam had been built, it would today be supplying New England with 1 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity annually—electricity not dependent on Arab oil, high-sulphur coal, or nuclear reactors.

Because its fuel supply would have been both unlimited and free, Dickey-Lincoln's power would have cost about 4 cent per kilowatt hour instead of the 1.7 cents per kilowatt hour for the private plants built to take Dickey's place. How the private utilities managed to kill this money-saving, job-creating project through a lobbying effort of over \$500,000, of which you and I picked up the entire tab, is the subject of this article.

Since 1919, engineers have been interested in the possibility of harnessing the tides of Passamaquoddy Bay in Maine for power production. Numerous studies were undertaken, but each time the Passamaquoddy project was written off as economically unfeasible. However, in 1963, the Interior Department reported to President Kennedy that the project might be feasible on the St. John's River (Dickey-Lincoln). President Kennedy ordered further study.

Shortly after the Interior report to Kennedy was made public, the presidents of the 16 largest private utilities in New England held a meeting and formed the New England Electric Utilities President's Conference. The stated objectives of the organization included "finding and implementing the most effective means to defeat the Passamaquoddy-St. John's project," and "developing a regional climate of public opinion which would prevent any expansion of gov-

ernment-owned or tax subsidized electricity within New England," and instead, "permit the gradual elimination of government power operations presently existing in the area."

On July 9, 1965, the Interior Department recommended construction of the Dickey-Lincoln dam. Three days later, the Senate Public Works Committee approved the project's inclusion in the Omnibus Rivers and Harbors bill, which passed the Senate on a voice vote on July 27.

LOBBYING CAMPAIGN

Having failed to stop Dickey in the Senate, the utilities began an intensive lobbying campaign to kill the bill on the floor of the House, enlisting the support of utility companies throughout the country. An amendment to kill the project failed on a 100-100 vote, but an amendment to require a re-study of the project passed by 134-132.

It is a testament to the political power of the utilities that, although the project would have meant over \$200 million in Federal funds for New England, would have lowered the cost of electricity throughout the region, and would have created thousands of construction jobs in economically depressed Maine, only four of the region's Congressmen—Macdonald, Stafford, Tupper, and Hathaway—supported the project.

Congressman Tupper remarked after the vote: "There was Boston Edison up in the galleries, ready to put on the pressure. There were more lobbyists on the Hill against Dickey than there were Congressmen."

Although the House had rejected the project, the Conference Committee, appointed to resolve the differences between the House and Senate versions of the bill, decided to keep the project in the bill. Because the conference report, which contained pork barrel projects throughout the country, could only be voted up or down without further amendment, Dickey-Lincoln was finally approved by the Congress on Oct. 20.

The private utilities had failed in their effort to prevent the dam from being authorized, but the Corps of Engineers would still need yearly appropriations of funds to actually construct the project.

The Electric Coordinating Council of New England (the lobbying arm of the private utilities) set up a special unit to draft a battleplan for the appropriations fight. The plan was entitled, "A Report for Action on the Dickey-Lincoln Project" and outlined the utilities strategy for killing the dam. Included for the following actions:

Continuing and personal contact with each member of the New England Congressional delegation, the Army Corps of Engineers, and the Bureau of the Budget. Receptions and dinners would be given on a regular basis and a "tote board" would be maintained to record assignments and progress.

Development of a media program backed by personal visits to newspapers, radio, and television stations by local utility officials. The program would "contain persistent reference to the publicly stated goal of a 40 percent reduction in electric rates by 1980."

Development of contacts with unions, suppliers, industrial allies. Among the companies mentioned were Westinghouse, GE, Allis Chalmers, US Steel, and Bethlehem Steel.

In addition, an advertising program, speakers bureau, and the solicitation and writing of "nonpartisan" articles were also proposed in the report.

COUNTER-PLANT DRIVE

As a political lobbying strategy, the Call for Action is hardly unique, except for the fact that the cost of the program (\$567,057.97) was entirely paid for the utilities' customers. (The Federal Power Commission does not permit lobbying and public relations expenses to be included in the rate base, but the utilities classified their Dickey-Lincoln expenditures as "miscellaneous general expenses" which could be passed on to customers).

But, like the major oil companies who have deliberately shut-in their wells to drive the price of petroleum up, the utilities did not restrict their campaign against public power only to public efforts.

On Dec. 22, 1965, a meeting of utility executives was held in Boston. It was chaired by William Dunham, president of the Central Maine Power Company. He proposed to the group that they publicly announce plans to construct a large, jointly owned nuclear power plant somewhere in Maine.

The announcement of the plant would have to be made before January 7, 1966, because the "incorporation schedule objective is to announce the new company and its plan of operation as much in advance as possible before the special session of the Maine legislature is convened on Jan. 17. (The special session had been called to consider the creation of a Maine Power Authority, similar to the one recently voted down in Maine after a massive advertising campaign by the state's private utilities).

According to a memorandum prepared by one of the participants at the meeting: "Dunham believes—and several of those present agreed—that a large low-cost power plant by the private companies must be announced at once, or else the Maine Power Authority will be approved.

Dunham suggested that the publicly announced price for electricity from Maine Yankee would be .45c per kilowatt-hour. (The actual actual cost of Maine Yankee power is 1.7c per kwh, almost 400 percent higher). At the close of the meeting, Dunham asked for commitments from the other utilities to participate in the project, though even the site for the plant hadn't yet been determined.

However, all the utilities except Boston Edison agreed to participate. Among the reasons why Boston Edison didn't participate were the following: "Its investment in Maine Yankee couldn't be included in the rate base"; "There wasn't any important public relations value to Boston Edison with its own customers"; and Maine Yankee would not lower the cost of power to its customers."

On Dec. 31, representatives of Eastern Utilities Associates and the New England Gas and Electric Association visited Boston Edison to persuade the company to change its position. According to a Boston Edison interoffice memo, both representatives "stated that their basic motivation for participation in Maine Yankee is, in effect, 'self-serving publicity' for investor owned utility industry. They both feel that the public power thrust is in Maine and must be met in Maine, and in particular, they consider Dickey-Lincoln the chief threat."

To its credit, Boston Edison did not reverse its position.

Not content with the announcement of just one power plant to combat Dickey-Lincoln, the Electric Coordinating Council three weeks later announced plans for the "Big 11 Power Loop, a \$1.5 billion regionally planned construction program the utilities claimed would "lower the cost of power in New England by 40 percent by 1980.

The council lost no time in informing every member of Congress about the project and in approving a six-month, \$360,000 advertising budget to publicize the program. Only in 1968 did the House Appropriations Committee discover that:

"Although representatives of the Council advised that they have planned to meet the problems of supplying the power needs of New England on a central coordinated basis, they have not produced any document supporting this central planning with the exception of an advertisement that appeared in the public press in January 1966."

Meanwhile on Capitol Hill, the Senate passed a \$1.2 million appropriation for the

Corps of Engineers work on the project, while the House approved only \$800,000. A compromise appropriation of \$800,000 was finally approved, with a proviso to the funds added by Cong. Boland calling for an independent investigation of Dickey-Lincoln by the House Appropriations Committee staff.

That study was completed on June 5, 1967. The Appropriations Committee staff concluded that Dickey-Lincoln was needed to help meet New England's need for electricity, and that Dickey-Lincoln could provide that power at less cost than any other alternative, including those submitted by the private utilities. It also found that the project would return about \$1.80 in power revenues and other benefits to the Federal government for each \$1 invested in construction costs.

The staff study was a setback to the utility interests. Congressman Boland, who had previously opposed Dickey, was now advocating construction of the dam. But the utilities found a way to undercut the Appropriations Committee study with the other members of the House.

On July 7, 1967, Connecticut Congressman Robert Gialmo, a member of the Appropriations Committee, sent a "Dear Colleague" letter to every member of the House.

Attached to the letter was a document entitled: House Appropriations Committee Reveals Dickey-Lincoln Project Economically Inefficient, Economically Unfeasible. What followed was a collection of what we now call "misstatements"—distorted and incorrect facts about the project. To the casual reader, it appeared that the report was actually written by the Appropriation Committee staff. Only if one persevered to the end of the long and complex document, did one find that the report was actually prepared by the Northeast Utilities Company of Connecticut.

The document, together with still another intensive lobbying effort, had its effect. On July 25, 1967, Congressman Gialmo introduced an amendment to the appropriations bill deleting Dickey-Lincoln. It passed the House. And once again, the Senate and the Conference Committee restored funds for the dam.

However, this time, the House refused to compromise and voted down the conference report by a 236-162 margin. On Nov. 7, the Senate voted to restore the funds again, but two days later, the House rejected the project by a vote of 263-118.

Dickey-Lincoln was dead.

It is now 1974. The cost of power in New England has not fallen 40 percent, it has risen out of sight. Our nuclear power plants have not lived up to expectations. Vermont Yankee has been shut down because of safety problems, and, when operating, sells its power at a cost 800 percent higher than Dickey-Lincoln would have.

The output of the Pilgrim Station nuclear power plant has been severely limited by the Atomic Energy Commission. New England's oil burning plants are now being converted to coal and our environmental laws are being changed to permit this dirty fuel to be burned.

Clearly, Dickey-Lincoln with its free, unlimited fuel is a project whose time has come. If it had been built on schedule it would be operating today. If Congress appropriates funds for it this year, it can be ready in the 1980's when New England's electricity consumption will be close to double what it is today.

Right now, the chances for getting the necessary money to start the project look good. The Energy Emergency act, now before the Congress, contains a provision requiring the President to develop all existing hydroelectric sites in the country.

The latest Corps of Engineers study shows that, with the cost of fossil fuel skyrocketing, Dickey-Lincoln is a better project today

(returning \$2 for every \$1 invested) than it was 10 years ago. And as strong a private power advocate as John Nassikas, chairman of the Federal Power Commission, recently gave his support to the project.

But in no sense is it certain that Dickey-Lincoln will get funded this year. For a variety of reasons and the sincere belief of many Congressmen that the utilities did have the best interest of the region at heart, the utilities were able to convince the majority of New England's Congressional delegation to unite solidly to prevent a \$200 million public works project from being built in their own region.

Whether in 1974 that situation can be reversed—whether New England's Congressmen will unite to fight for a project vital to the region's economic health—will depend on whether members of Congress realize that by having accepted without serious question over the past 10 years the statements and positions of the nation's utility oil and gas corporations, we have contributed to the energy crisis we now find ourselves in.

LAST VOTE TAKEN ON DICKEY DAM

The Dickey-Lincoln dam was on the verge of victory seven years ago—until it was shot down in the House. The measure would have provided funds for the go-ahead and had already been passed by the Senate.

Every year since that time, Dickey-Lincoln has been on the books for some stage of action, except for last year when it was totally submerged.

The crucial House vote, on Nov. 9, 1967, that marked the high point was: 236 no, 162 yes. Here is how the New England members of the House at that time voted:

FOR

Maine—Kyros (D), Hathaway (D).
Massachusetts—Boland (D), Macdonald (D).
Rhode Island—St. Germain (D), Tiernan (D).
Vermont—Stafford (R).

AGAINST

Massachusetts—Conte (R), Philbin (D), Donohue (D), Morse (R), Bates (R), Heckler (R), Burke (D), Keith (R).
Connecticut—Daddario (D), Gialmo (D), Irwin (D), Monagan (D), Meskill (R).
New Hampshire—Wyman (R), Cleveland (R).

ABSENT

O'Neill (D-Mass.) and St. Onge (D-Conn.).

VETERANS EDUCATION AND JOB OPPORTUNITIES

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 19, 1974

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I am taking the liberty of placing in the Record an analysis of the President's message on Veterans benefits which was prepared by the National League of Cities. In light of today's vote on veterans legislation which, although inadequate for today's needs, far exceeds the recommendations of the White House, I feel that the following study might be of interest to my colleagues:

VETERANS EDUCATION AND JOB OPPORTUNITIES

Out of a \$13.6 billion overall Veterans' Administration Budget for FY 75, \$2.8 billion is budgeted for the GI Bill program and will be spent primarily in the nation's cities, much of it at community colleges. The al-

most \$3.3 billion in FY 74 spending for the GI Bill, including a \$750 million supplemental, would drop to \$2.6 billion in FY 75, because fewer veterans are expected to use the program. However, with the President's proposed 8 percent increase, costing \$200 or more million, in across-the-board GI Bill benefits, this figure will be almost \$2.9 billion. An 8 percent increase in benefits would give each single veteran \$237 per month for education and living expenses for a maximum of 36 months.

The Veterans' Cost of Instruction Program under HEW's Higher Education Act, which has greatly increased the participation rate in the GI Bill program in many cities and provided enrollment, counseling, and remedial course assistance to thousands of veterans, was included by Congress in the Labor-HEW appropriation a \$23.7 million for FY 74, its second year. No funds were requested for this program by the President in FY 75, nor were any requested in FY 74. No special energy crisis work program funding was requested for FY 75 which might benefit veterans laid off during the energy crisis due to a lack of seniority.

COMMENT

The President's budget provides only an 8 percent increase or \$17 per month more to GI Bill users, making the basic benefit \$237 a month, which is less than the cost-of-living increase (the cost-of-living is up 12.8 percentage points since the last GI Bill increase), and recommends no restructuring to remove geographical disparities.

Much controversy has surrounded the adequacy of GI Bill benefits. The Congress ordered the Veterans' Administration in 1972 to do an independent study comparing benefits available under all three GI Bills. The Educational Testing Service, which did the study for the V.A., concluded in its September 1973 report that today's benefits, when adjusted for the cost of living, provide less assistance toward the purchase of a post-secondary education than did the World War II GI Bill. The Veterans' Administration disagreed with the study, claiming that the average veteran attending the average public school has parity. Hearings held by the League and Conference Special Veterans' Opportunity Committee resulted in a final report supporting the ETS conclusions. The hearings were chaired by Congressman Silvio Conte and Mayors Gibson, Perk, and Uhlman.

The House Veterans' Affairs Subcommittee on Education and Training on February 5 passed a 13.6 percent increase in across-the-board GI Bill benefits. This bill would cost \$300 million more than the administration proposal, suggesting that the education budget may be understated. In the Senate, 34 members have co-sponsored a bill which also increases the GI Bill across-the-board benefits by 13.6 percent and provides a tuition equalizer provision with payments covering tuition costs between \$419 and \$1,000. Such legislation appears necessary and would correct the fact that geographical disparities often prevent equal education opportunity for equal military service. It would add \$200 million for the FY 75 Budget.

The failure to request funds for the Veterans' Cost of Instruction provision is another example of the income strategy, funding the consumer, not the institution. Tuition fails to cover actual costs of education at colleges and junior colleges. Few colleges set up special veterans' offices to cope with their problems before these funds were available; it is unlikely that they will continue them without federal funding.

Unemployment figures for veterans aged 20-24 rose in January 1974 to 10.6 percent, compared with a 7.2 percent rate for non-veterans of the same age. Veterans may be hard hit by the energy crisis if unemployment rises due to their lack of seniority.

In calendar years 1970-73, the number of Vietnam-era veterans in the labor market

rose from 3 million to 6.5 million men. These men have relied heavily on Emergency Employment Act jobs. The lower levels of EEA spending for FY 75 than in earlier years will also hit the veteran, particularly if the previous trend of energy crisis layoffs continues.

REFORM OF CAMPAIGN FINANCING

HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 19, 1974

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I am for campaign spending reform and I have introduced legislation myself to reform the way we finance campaigns. But those who think we should adopt the simplistic and downright dangerous Senate proposal now resting in the Senate Rules Committee ought to read David Broder's column from Sunday's paper which I am inserting below:

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 17, 1974]

A NEW LOOK AT ELECTION FINANCING

(By David S. Broder)

The December filibuster conducted by Sen. James Allen (D-Ala.) and his allies against quick passage of the bill for public financing of federal election campaigns has served the classic purpose of the filibuster—to slow down action and permit a second look at an issue.

The measure had whipped through the Senate the first time with barely a day's debate, as an amendment to the debt ceiling bill. The House had balked at accepting such a major piece of legislation as a rider to another bill. And Allen's filibuster caused the Senate sponsors to accept a compromise under which public financing would be given separate consideration, in both houses, early in 1974.

The time for that consideration is now at hand, and if ever there were legislation that needs careful examination, the public financing bill is it.

The public and political reaction to Watergate has created what Rep. John B. Anderson (R-Ill.) rightly calls "an unprecedented opportunity to fashion a campaign financing system that can serve this nation well for decades to come."

But, as Anderson went on to say in the next sentence of a recent speech, "if we proceed with too much haste or without rigorous conceptual and empirical analysis of the problems to be corrected, that tremendous opportunity may be tragically frittered away."

"I think we would be well served to proceed with utmost caution and restraint" Anderson said, "yet already we can detect the warning signs that public finance is being treated as an all-embracing panacea rather than a solution for an important but limited set of problems . . ."

Lest Anderson be thought an opponent of reform, trying to place roadblocks in the path of legislation, let it be noted that he and Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.) are co-sponsors of a major public financing proposal which has been backed by more than 160 other members of the House.

What he understands is that adoption of a system of taxpayer-financed campaigns will alter the whole structure of American politics—the terms of competition within and between the parties, the relationships between candidates and the parties and between candidates and the public. Unless attention is paid to what Anderson calls the "total system impact" of campaign spending reform, the results are likely to be opposite what the reformers intend.

Regrettably, the Senate has little of that kind of analysis available to it as it prepares for the debate. The four days of subcommittee hearings on the bill last September and the brief floor debate included a great deal of rhetoric about the "evils" of private financing, but not much that is thoughtful on the effects of a switchover to partial or complete tax-financed campaigns.

The task the Senate faces is made difficult not only by the skimpiness of the hearings but by the fact that the Rules Committee has chosen to package, in a single bill, proposals to limit private contributions, to control campaign spending, and to finance—in varying ways—the primary and general election campaigns for President, senator and representative.

Unless the result is to be disastrous, floor debate and amendments will have to clarify the quite different problems in each of the areas the bill tackles—and the remedies appropriate to each.

For example, in House races the main problem to be solved is achieving adequate financing and rough parity of funds for challengers. But the problem of adequacy and parity is not a serious problem at all where major party presidential candidates are concerned.

Thus, a scheme that provides—as the Senate bill does—for full Treasury funding of all federal office general election campaigns may well have the effect of discouraging one of the most widely used and valuable forms of citizen participation in politics—the small gift to a favorite presidential candidate.

At the same time, full federal financing of House races, if passed at all, is likely to be at so low a dollar level as to leave undisturbed—or even to increase—the present incumbents' advantage, which is the main problem to be solved.

That is why it is terribly important for the Senate to take time to analyze, not just the imperfections of the present system, but the effects of any new system of campaign finance.

Depending on how the bill is finally structured, it can serve to centralize or disperse power within the federalized political system we now have; to strengthen or weaken the two-party system; to improve or diminish Congress's leverage with future Presidents to reduce or increase the present public cynicism about politics.

What it cannot do is simply "prevent future Watergates" and leave everything else unchanged. This is a fundamental alteration in our politics that is being proposed—as fundamental as the introduction of the direct primary or the promulgation of one man-one vote decisions. It needs to be debated in those terms.

THE 1973 VOTING RECORD OF CONGRESSMAN ROY

HON. WILLIAM R. ROY

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 19, 1974

Mr. ROY. Mr. Speaker, I think it is important that constituents be aware of the actions taken by their elected officials. It is for this reason that I send periodic newsletters to my constituents. Space limitations of a newsletter, however, prevent me from informing my constituents of my vote on every matter which is considered by the Congress. It is for this reason that I have compiled the list of the votes taken during the 1st session of the 93d Congress and have indicated how I voted on each of these. My voting record appears below:

VOTING RECORD—WILLIAM R. ROY, 93D CONG., 1ST SESS.

Rollcall No.	1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Rollcall No.	1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote
1	Jan. 3	Call of the House.	Present.	44	Mar. 13	H.R. 71: On an amendment to the Older Americans Act which sought to substitute the text of H.R. 4318 (defeated 168-229).	Absent.
2	do	Election of Speaker (Albert 236—Ford 188).	Absent.	45	do	H.R. 71 (S. 50): On passage of the Older Americans Act (passed 329-69).	Absent.
3	do	H. Res. 6: On ordering the previous question on the resolution adopting the rules of the House of Representatives for the 93d Congress (passed 208-206).	Yes.	46	Mar. 14	Quorum call.	Absent.
4	Jan. 15	Quorum call.	Present.	47	do	Quorum call.	Present.
5	Jan. 23	do	Present.	48	do	S. 583: On passage of the bill promoting the separation of constitutional powers by securing to the Congress additional time in which to consider the rules of evidence for U.S. courts and magistrates, the amendments to the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure and the amendments to the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure which the Supreme Court on Nov. 20, 1972, ordered the Chief Justice to transmit to the Congress (passed 399-1).	Yes.
6	Jan. 29	do	Present.	49	Mar. 15	Quorum call.	Present.
7	Jan. 31	do	Present.	50	do	H.R. 2246: On passage of the bill amending the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 to extend the authorizations for a 1-yr period (passed 278-108).	Yes.
8	do	H. Res. 176: On ordering the previous question on the "rule" under which to consider the resolution creating a select committee to study the operation and implementation of the rules of the House of Representatives (passed 205-167).	Yes.	51	Mar. 20	Quorum call.	Present.
9	do	H. Res. 176: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider the resolution creating a select committee to study the operation and implementation of the rules of the House of Representatives (passed 238-135).	Yes.	52	do	H. Res. 285: On passage of the resolution authorizing funds for the Committee on Public Works (passed 372-9).	Yes.
10	do	H. Res. 132: On adoption of the resolution creating a select committee to study the operation and implementation of the rules of the House of Representatives (passed 282-91).	Yes.	53	Mar. 21	Quorum call.	Present.
11	Feb. 5	H.J. Res. 123 (S.J. Res. 42): On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the joint resolution establishing the Commission on Highway Beautification (passed 283-40).	Absent.	54	do	H.R. 5446: On passage of the bill to extend the Solid Waste Disposal Act for 1 yr (passed 392-2).	Yes.
12	Feb. 6	Quorum call.	Absent.	55	Mar. 22	Quorum call.	Present.
13	Feb. 7	do	Present.	56	do	H. Res. 308: On passage of the resolution providing funds for House Committee on Internal Security (passed 289-101).	Yes.
14	do	H. Res. 188: On ordering the previous question on the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 2107, the Rural Environmental Assistance Program (passed 237-150).	Yes.	57	do	H.R. 5445: On passage of the bill to extend the Clean Air Act for 1 yr (passed 387-1).	Yes.
15	do	H.R. 2107: On an amendment to the Rural Environmental Assistance Program which sought to reduce funds in the bill by \$85,000,000 (defeated 176-217).	No.	58	Mar. 27	Quorum call.	Present.
16	do	H.R. 2107: On an amendment to the Rural Environmental Assistance Program which sought to restrict REAP payments to farmers with an average annual net income during the preceding 3 years of \$10,000 or less (defeated 132-260).	No.	59	Mar. 28	do	Present.
17	do	H.R. 2107: On final passage of the Rural Environmental Assistance Program (passed 251-142).	Yes.	60	Mar. 29	do	Present.
18	Feb. 20	Quorum call.	Absent.	61	do	H.R. 5293: On a motion to recommit the Peace Corps Authorization bill to the Committee on Foreign Affairs with instructions to report it back forthwith containing an amendment that would limit authorization to 1 yr and reduce funds by \$17,000,000 (defeated 132-238).	No.
19	do	H.R. 3634: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill amending the joint resolution establishing the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission (passed 286-72).	Absent.	62	do	H.R. 5293: On passage of the bill authorizing continuing appropriations for the Peace Corps (passed 299-72).	Yes.
20	Feb. 21	H.J. Res. 345: On passage of the resolution making further continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1973 (passed 311-73).	Yes.	63	Apr. 2	H.R. 3153: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to amend the Social Security Act to make certain technical and conforming changes (passed 340-1).	Absent.
21	Feb. 22	H.R. 1975: On an amendment to the Emergency Loan Program which allows eligible applicants in natural disaster areas designated by the Secretary of Agriculture to apply for one percent disaster loan: 18 days after the effective date of this act (passed 196-160).	Yes.	64	do	H. Res. 330: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the resolution regarding U.S. ocean policy at the Law of the Sea Conference (passed 303-52).	Absent.
22	do	H.R. 1975: On passage of the Emergency Loan Program under the Consolidated Farm and Rural Development Act (passed 269-95).	Yes.	65	Apr. 3	Quorum call.	Present.
23	Feb. 27	Quorum call.	Present.	66	do	do	Present.
24	do	H.R. 3577: On passage of the Interest Equalization Tax Extension Act of 1973 (passed 358-23).	Yes.	67	do	do	Present.
25	Feb. 28	Quorum call.	Present.	68	do	do	Present.
26	do	H. Res. 256: On passage of the resolution creating a select committee to investigate all aspects of crime affecting the United States (passed 317-75).	Yes.	69	Apr. 4	do	Present.
27	do	H. Res. 18: On ordering the previous question on the resolution authorizing the Committee on Banking and Currency to conduct investigations and studies of all matters within its jurisdiction (passed 204-191).	Yes.	70	do	H.R. 3577: To approve the conference report on the bill to provide an extension of the interest equalization tax (passed 396-18).	Yes.
28	do	H. Res. 257: On passage of the resolution authorizing the Committee on the District of Columbia to conduct studies and investigations (defeated 153-234).	No.	71	do	H. Res. 337: On ordering the previous question on the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 5683 the bill amending the Rural Electrification Act of 1936 (passed 244-170).	Yes.
29	Mar. 1	Quorum call.	Present.	72	do	Quorum call.	Present.
30	do	H.R. 3298: On passage of the bill to restore the rural water and sewer grant program under the Consolidated Farm and Rural Development Act (passed 297-54).	Yes.	73	do	do	Present.
31	Mar. 5	Quorum call.	Present.	74	do	H.R. 5683: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Rural Electrification Act of 1936 which sought to insert the text of H.R. 5536 (defeated 162-244).	No.
32	do	H.R. 4278: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill assuring that Federal financial assistance to the child nutrition programs be maintained at the level budgeted for fiscal year 1973 (passed 352-7).	Yes.	75	do	H.R. 5683: On passage of the bill to amend the Rural Electrification Act of 1936 to establish a Rural Electrification and Telephone Revolving Fund (passed 317-92).	Yes.
33	do	H.J. Res. 393: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the joint resolution extending the authorization of the National Commission on the Financing of Postsecondary Education (passed 332-29).	Yes.	76	Apr. 5	Quorum call.	Present.
34	Mar. 6	Quorum call.	Present.	77	do	H. Res. 340: On passage of the resolution authorizing additional investigative authority to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs (passed 281-70).	Yes.
35	Mar. 7	do	Present.	78	Apr. 9	Quorum call.	Absent.
36	do	H. Res. 272: On ordering the previous question on the resolution under which to consider H. Res. 259 to amend the rules of the House of Representatives to strengthen the requirement that committee proceedings be held in open session (passed 197-196).	Yes.	79	do	H.R. 4586: On passage of the bill incorporating in the District of Columbia the National Inconvenienced Sportsmen's Association (passed 328-0).	Absent.
7	do	H. Res. 259: On an amendment to the resolution to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives which authorizes departmental representatives to attend closed committee meetings if authorized by that committee (passed 201-198).	No.	80	do	H.R. 342: On passage of the bill authorizing the District of Columbia to enter into the Interstate Agreement on Qualification of Educational Personnel (passed 331-1).	Absent.
8	do	H. Res. 259: On passage of the resolution amending the Rules of the House of Representatives to strengthen the requirement that committee proceedings be held in open session (passed 371-27).	Yes.	81	Apr. 10	Quorum call.	Present.
39	Mar. 8	Quorum call.	Present.	82	do	H.R. 3298: To override the President's veto of the bill to restore the rural water and sewer grant program under the Consolidated Farm and Rural Development Act (defeated 225-179; a 2/3 vote being necessary).	Yes.
40	do	do	Present.	83	do	H. Res. 348: On passage of the resolution providing a rule for the consideration of H.J. Res. 205 to create an Atlantic Union delegation (defeated 197-210).	No.
41	do	H.R. 17: On an amendment to the Vocational Rehabilitation Act which sought to authorize \$600 million for fiscal year 1973, \$630,000,000 for fiscal year 1974, and \$650,000,000 for fiscal year 1975 for the continuation of programs authorized under the Vocational Rehabilitation Act (defeated 165-213).	No.	84	Apr. 11	H. Res. 349: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 3180, the bill clarifying the proper use of the franking privilege by Members of Congress (passed 371-14).	Yes.
42	do	H.R. 17: On passage of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (passed 318-57).	Yes.	85	do	H.R. 3180: On passage of the bill clarifying the proper use of the franking privilege by Members of Congress (passed 354-49).	Yes.
43	Mar. 13	Quorum call.	Absent.	86	Apr. 12	H.J. Res. 496: On passage of the joint resolution making supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1973 for the Civil Aeronautics Board and the Veterans' Administration (passed 367-0).	Yes.
				87	Apr. 16	Quorum call.	Present.
				88	do	H. Res. 357: On ordering the previous question on the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 6168, the bill to amend and extend the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970 (defeated 147-258).	No.
				89	do	Quorum call.	Present.
				90	do	H.R. 6168: On an amendment to a substitute amendment to the bill to amend and extend the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970 which sought to impose a ceiling on prices at levels no higher than those on Apr. 16, 1973, except agricultural prices at the farm level (defeated 139-263).	No.

Rollcall No.	1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Rollcall No.	1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote
91	Apr. 16	H.R. 6168: On an amendment to a substitute amendment to the bill to amend and extend the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970 which requires that hearings be held before an agency reduces wages or salaries and that a statement of explanation shall be written to the parties involved within 30 days (passed 271-132).	Yes.	123	May 7	Quorum call	Absent.
92	do	H.R. 6168: On a substitute amendment to a substitute amendment to the bill to amend and extend the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970 which sought to extend the act for 60 days and direct the President to develop a program to stabilize interest rates, rents, prices, and wages and transmit the program to Congress by May 15, 1973 (defeated 151-253).	No.	124	do	H.R. 4967: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill authorizing appropriations for the Indian Claims Commission for fiscal year 1974 (passed 336-8).	Absent.
93	do	H.R. 6168: On an amendment to a substitute amendment to the bill to amend and extend the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970 which sought to authorize and direct the President to stabilize rents at levels prevailing on Jan. 10, 1973 (defeated 173-225).	Yes.	125	do	H.R. 6574: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill encouraging persons to join and remain in the Reserves and National Guard by providing full-time coverage under Servicemen's Group Life Insurance for such members and certain members of the Retired Reserve (passed 342-1).	Absent.
94	do	H.R. 6168: On an amendment to a substitute amendment to the bill to amend and extend the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970 which sought to authorize the President to stabilize rents at levels prevailing on Jan. 10, 1973, and allow for a 2.5-percent increase annually (defeated 147-250).	No.	126	do	H.R. 2828: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill establishing a National Cemetery System within the Veterans' Administration (passed 340-1).	Absent.
95	do	H.R. 6168: On an amendment to a substitute amendment to the bill to amend and extend the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970 which sought to impose a ceiling on all food prices at levels no higher than those prevailing on Mar. 16, 1973, and to stabilize rents at levels prevailing on Jan. 10, 1973 (defeated 101-303).	No.	127	do	H.R. 29: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill providing for payments by the Postal Service to the Civil Service Retirement Fund for increases in the unfunded liability of the fund due to increases in benefits for Postal Service employees (passed 344-0).	Absent.
96	do	H.R. 6168: On a motion to recommit the bill to amend and extend the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970 to the Committee on Banking and Currency (defeated 164-243).	No.	128	May 8	H.R. 5452: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill extending and making technical corrections to the National Sea Grant College and Program Act of 1966 (passed 368-9).	Yes.
97	do	H.R. 6168: On passage of the bill to amend and extend the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970 (passed 293-114).	Yes.	129	do	H.R. 5451: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the Oil Pollution Act Amendments of 1973 (passed 370-1).	Yes.
98	Apr. 17	Quorum call	Absent.	130	May 9	Quorum call	Present.
99	do	do	Present.	131	do	H.R. 7445: On passage of the bill to amend the Renegotiation Act of 1951 to extend the act for 2 years (passed 388-0).	Yes.
100	do	H.R. 6691: On an amendment to the 1974 Legislative Appropriation Bill which sought to strike out \$58,000,000 for the extension of the west front of the Capitol (defeated 189-195).	No.	132	do	H.R. 6370: On an amendment to the bill to extend certain laws relating to the payment of interest on time and savings deposits which sought to delete language that prohibits Negotiable Order of Withdrawal savings accounts (defeated 98-264).	No.
101	Apr. 18	Quorum call	Present.	133	do	H.R. 6370: On passage of the bill to extend certain laws relating to the payment of interest on time and savings deposits (passed 376-4).	Yes.
102	do	H.R. 6691: On a motion to recommit the 1974 Legislative Appropriation Bill to the Committee on Appropriations with instructions to report it back to the House deleting \$58,000,000 for the extension of the west front of the Capitol (defeated 185-215).	No.	134	May 10	S. 394: To approve the conference report on the bill to amend the Rural Electrification Act of 1936 (passed 363-25).	Yes.
103	do	Quorum call	Present.	135	do	H. Res. 389: On ordering the previous question on the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 7447, the bill making supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1973 (defeated 184-222).	No.
104	do	H. Res. 360: On ordering the previous question on the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 4204, Emergency Employment Act Amendments of 1973 (defeated 193-209).	Yes.	136	do	H.R. 7447: On an amendment to the bill making supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1973 while in the Committee of the Whole that deletes language which would authorize the transfer of \$430,000,000 by the Department of Defense (passed 213-183).	Yes.
105	do	H. Res. 360: On ordering the previous question on the amendment to the resolution under which to consider H.R. 4204, Emergency Employment Act Amendments of 1973, which sought to substitute the text of H.R. 6710 for the committee bill, H.R. 4204 (defeated 157-245).	No.	137	do	H.R. 7447: On an amendment to the bill making supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1973 that sought to postpone the provisions of the amendment which prohibits the use of funds to finance combat activities in Cambodia (defeated 180-219).	No.
106	do	Quorum call	Present.	138	do	H.R. 7447: On an amendment to the bill making supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1973 that prohibits the use of funds by the Department of Defense to finance combat activities in Cambodia by U.S. forces (passed 224-172).	Yes.
107	do	H. Res. 360: On a motion to table the motion to reconsider the "rule" providing for the consideration of H.R. 4204, Emergency Employment Act Amendments of 1973 (passed 183-173).	No.	139	do	H.R. 7447: On an amendment to the bill making supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1973 that increases the funding for category B impacted aid school assistance from 54 percent to 68 percent (passed 211-178).	Yes.
108	do	S. 50: On concurring to the Senate amendment to the amendment of the House to the bill to strengthen and improve the Older Americans Act of 1965 (passed 348-0).	Yes.	140	do	H.R. 7447: On an amendment to the bill making supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1973 that deletes language which would authorize the transfer of \$430,000,000 by the Department of Defense: similar to rollcall 136 in Committee (passed 194-187).	Yes.
109	Apr. 19	Quorum call	Present.	141	do	H.R. 7447: On passage of the bill making supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1973 (passed 284-96).	Yes.
110	do	S. 502: On an amendment to the Federal Aid Highway Act which sought to permit local officials in urban areas to use \$700,000,000 from the Highway Trust Fund for nonhighway transit needs (defeated 190-215).	Yes.	142	May 15	Quorum call	Present.
111	do	S. 502: On an amendment to the Federal Aid Highway Act which deletes language which earmarks funds for cities with a population of more than 400,000 from the urban system funds (passed 292-93).	Yes.	143	do	H.R. 6768: On an amendment to the bill to provide for participation by the United States in the United Nations environmental program which sought to reduce funds from \$40,000,000, available until expended, to \$2,500,000, available for fiscal year 1974 only (defeated 164-216).	No.
112	Apr. 30	Quorum call	Absent.	144	do	H.R. 6768: On an amendment to the bill to provide for participation by the United States in the United Nations environmental program while in the Committee of the Whole to reduce funds from \$40,000,000, available until expended, to \$5,000,000, available for fiscal year 1974 only (passed 200-184).	No.
113	do	do	Present.	145	do	H.R. 6768: On an amendment to the bill to provide for participation by the United States in the United Nations environmental program which sought to reduce funds from \$40,000,000, available until expended, to \$5,000,000, available for fiscal year 1974 only, similar to roll call 144 in committee (defeated 152-198).	No.
114	do	S. 398: To approve the conference report on the bill to extend and amend the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970 (passed 267-115).	No.	146	do	H.R. 6768: On passage of the bill to provide for participation by the United States in the United Nations environmental program (passed 266-123).	Yes.
115	May 1	H. Res. 351: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 3932, the bill requiring confirmation of the Director and Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget (passed 318-56).	Absent.	147	May 16	Quorum call	Absent.
116	do	H.R. 3932: On an amendment in the nature of a substitute to the bill requiring confirmation of the Director and Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget which sought to exempt the current Director and Deputy Director of OMB but require confirmation of all future nominees for those posts (defeated 130-263).	No.	148	do	H.R. 5777: On passage of the bill to protect hobbyists against the reproduction or manufacture of certain imitation hobby items and to provide additional protection for American hobbyists (passed 382-7).	Absent.
117	do	H.R. 3932: On passage of the bill requiring confirmation of the Director and Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget (passed 229-171).	Yes.	149	May 21	H.J. Res. 512: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the joint resolution extending the authority of the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development with respect to the insurance of loans and mortgages and extending authorization under laws relating to housing and urban development (passed 357-1).	Yes.
118	May 2	H. Res. 370: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 6388, the bill to amend the Airport and Airway Development Act of 1970 to increase the U.S. share of allowable project costs under such act and to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to prohibit certain State taxation of persons in air commerce (passed 385-2).	Absent.	150	do	H.R. 6330: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill amending section 8 of the Public Buildings Act of 1959 relating to the District of Columbia (passed 270-98).	No.
119	do	H.R. 6388: On passage of the bill amending the Airport and Airway Development Act of 1970 to increase the U.S. share of allowable project costs under such act and to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to prohibit certain State taxation of persons in air commerce (passed 386-16).	Absent.	151	May 22	Quorum call	Present.
120	May 3	Quorum call	Present.	152	do	H.R. 6717: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to amend section 210 of the Flood Control Act of 1968 (passed 307-90).	Yes.
121	do	H.R. 982: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act which sought to strike out the 3-step civil and criminal penalty procedure for imposing sanctions on employers who knowingly employ aliens in the United States (defeated 96-266).	No.	153	do	H.R. 7200: On a motion to recommit the bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 and the Railroad Retirement Tax Act and the Interstate Commerce Act to the	No.
122	do	H.R. 982: On passage of the bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act (passed 297-63).	Absent.				

Footnotes at end of table.

VOTING RECORD—WILLIAM R. ROY, 93D CONG., 1ST SESS.—Continued

Rollcall No.	1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Rollcall No.	1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote
154	May 22	Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce (defeated 10-39).		185	June 6	H.R. 7935: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum wage rates under that act and to expand the coverage of that act which sought to strike out extended coverage for Federal employees (defeated 167-249).	No.
155	May 23	H.R. 7200: On passage of the bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 and the Railroad Retirement Tax Act and the Interstate Commerce Act (passed 387-5).	Yes.	186	do	H.R. 7935: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum wage rates under that act and to expand the coverage of that act which sought to strike out extended coverage for local and state governmental employees (defeated 182-233).	No.
156	do	Quorum call.	Present.	187	do	H.R. 7935: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum wage rates under that act and to expand the coverage of that act which deletes the section on seasonal industry employees (passed 251-163).	No.
157	do	S. 518: To override the President's veto of the bill providing that appointments to the offices of Director and Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget shall be subject to confirmation by the Senate (defeated 236-178; a 2/3 vote being necessary).	Yes.	188	do	H.R. 7935: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum wage rates under that act and to expand the coverage of that act which sought to establish a subminimum wage rate for workers under the age of 18 or full-time students at 80 percent of the applicable minimum wage of \$1.60 per hour (\$1.30 per hour for agricultural employees) whichever is higher (defeated 199-215).	No.
158	do	Quorum call.	Present.	189	do	H.R. 7935: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum wage rates under that act which freezes the minimum wage rate in the Camp Zone at its present level (passed 213-203).	No.
159	do	H.R. 7528: On an amendment to the bill to authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration which sought to prohibit the use of funds for tracking and data acquisition in South Africa (defeated 104-294).	No.	190	do	H.R. 7935: On passage of the bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum wage rates under that act and to expand the coverage of that act (passed 287-130).	Yes.
160	May 29	H.R. 7528: On passage of the bill to authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, construction of facilities, and research and program management (passed 322-73).	No.	191	do	Quorum call.	Absent.
161	do	H. Res. 408: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 6912, the bill to amend the Par Value Modification Act (passed 299-9).	Absent.	192	do	On a motion to adjourn (defeated 9-143).	Absent.
162	do	H.R. 6912: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Par Value Modification Act which sought to permit private purchase, sale, and ownership of gold after Dec. 31, 1973 (defeated 162-162).	Absent.	193	June 7	Quorum call.	Present.
163	do	H.R. 6912: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Par Value Modification Act which sought to strike out language that provides for Presidential determination and approval of private gold ownership (defeated 100-218).	Absent.	194	do	H. Res. 382: On passage of the resolution disapproving Reorganization Plan No. 2 (defeated 130-281).	No.
164	May 30	H.R. 6912: On passage of the bill to amend the Par Value Modification Act (passed 281-63).	Absent.	195	do	H.R. 7645: On passage of the bill authorizing appropriations for the Department of State (passed 331-57).	Yes.
165	do	Quorum call.	Absent.	196	do	H.R. 7446: On passage of the bill to establish the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration (passed 344-14).	Yes.
166	do	H.R. 5857: On passage of the bill to amend the National Visitors Center Facilities Act of 1968 (passed 288-75).	Absent.	197	June 8	H.R. 2246: To approve the conference report on the bill to amend the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 to extend the authorizations for a 1-yr. period (passed 276-2).	Absent.
167	do	H.R. 5858: On passage of the bill authorizing further appropriations to the Secretary of the Interior for services necessary to the nonperforming arts functions of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts (passed 260-100).	Absent.	198	do	H. Res. 426: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 7670, to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1974 for certain maritime programs of the Department of Commerce (passed 274-0).	Absent.
168	May 31	Quorum call.	Present.	199	do	H.R. 7670: On passage of the bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1974 for certain maritime programs of the Department of Commerce (passed 266-10).	Absent.
169	do	H.R. 7806: On passage of the bill extending through fiscal year 1974 certain expiring appropriations authorizations in the Public Health Service Act, the Community Mental Health Centers Act, and the Developmental Disabilities Services and Facilities Construction Act (passed 372-1).	Yes.	200	June 11	Quorum call.	Absent.
170	do	H.R. 7724: On an amendment to the National Biomedical Research Fellowship, Traineeship, and Training Act of 1973 which prohibits live fetus research (passed 354-9).	Absent.	201	do	do	Absent.
171	do	H.R. 7724: On passage of the National Biomedical Research Fellowship, Traineeship, and Training Act of 1973 (passed 361-5).	Absent.	202	do	On a motion to dispense with calendar Wednesday business of June 13 (defeated 221-119; a 2/3 vote being necessary).	Absent.
172	do	H.R. 6458: On passage of the bill authorizing assistance for planning, development and initial operation, research, and training projects for systems for the effective provision of health care services under emergency conditions (passed 261-96).	Yes.	203	do	H.R. 4083: On passage of the bill to improve the laws relating to the regulation of insurance in the District of Columbia (passed 330-0).	Absent.
173	June 4	Quorum call.	Absent.	204	do	H.R. 6713: On passage of the bill amending the District of Columbia Election Act regarding the times for filing certain petitions, regulating the primary elections for delegate from the District of Columbia (passed 330-12).	Absent.
174	do	H. Res. 398: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the resolution providing for the promotions to positions of a supervisory capacity on the U.S. Capitol Police force authorized by duty under the House of Representatives and to reduce by 15 positions the total number of positions on such force under the House (passed 299-0).	Absent.	205	do	H.R. 8250: On passage of the bill to authorize certain programs and activities of the Government of the District of Columbia (passed 268-84).	Absent.
175	June 5	Quorum call.	Absent.	206	do	H.R. 4771: On passage of the bill to regulate the maximum rents to be charged by landlords in the District of Columbia (passed 210-144).	Absent.
176	do	H.R. 8070: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill authorizing grants for vocational rehabilitation services (passed 384-13).	Absent.	207	June 12	H.R. 5293: To approve the conference report on the bill authorizing additional appropriations for the Peace Corps (passed 329-64).	Yes.
177	do	Quorum call.	Absent.	208	do	H. Res. 423: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 77, to permit employee contributions to jointly administered trust funds established by labor organizations to defray costs of legal services (passed 307-91).	Yes.
178	June 6	do	Present.	209	do	H.R. 77: On an amendment to a committee amendment to the bill to permit employee contributions to jointly administered trust funds established by labor organizations to defray costs of legal services which allows employees to select any attorney of their choice rather than the choice of their union (passed 279-126).	Yes.
179	do	H.R. 7935: On an amendment to a substitute amendment to the bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum wage rates under that act and to expand the coverage of that act which sought to increase the minimum wage rate for agricultural employees equal to that of industrial employees (defeated 186-232).	No.	210	do	H.R. 77: On an amendment to an amendment to the bill to permit employee contributions to jointly administered trust funds established by labor organizations to defray costs of legal services which sought to strike out language that specifies as an unfair labor practice the unilateral modification or termination of the legal services trust fund agreement, or failure or refusal to bargain in good faith in the next subsequent contract negotiation between the same parties (defeated 111-293).	No.
180	do	H.R. 7935: On an amendment in the nature of a substitute to the bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum wage rates under the act and to expand the coverage of that act which sought to substitute the provisions of H.R. 8304 (defeated 199-218).	No.	211	do	H.R. 77: On an amendment to the bill to permit employee contributions to jointly administered trust funds established by labor organizations to defray costs of legal services which sought to specify legal service trust funds as a "permissive" subject of collective bargaining and refusal to bargain in good faith would not constitute an unfair labor practice (defeated 177-223).	No.
181	do	H.R. 7935: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum wage rates under the act and to expand the coverage of that act which sought to set the minimum wage rate for employees covered before 1966 at \$1.90 per hour for the 1st year, \$2.10 for the 2d year, and \$2.20 per hour thereafter (defeated 193-225).	No.	212	do	H.R. 77: On passage of the bill to permit employee contributions to jointly administered trust funds established by labor organizations to defray costs of legal services (passed 257-149).	Yes.
182	do	H.R. 7935: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum wage rates under that act which sought to set the minimum wage rate for employees covered before 1966 at \$2.10 per hour for the year beginning July 1, 1974, and to \$2.20 per hour after June 30, 1975 (defeated 189-224).	No.	213	June 13	Quorum call.	Present.
183	do	H.R. 7935: On the amendment in the nature of a substitute to an amendment to the bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum wage rates under that act and to expand the coverage of that act which sought to set the minimum wage rate for agricultural workers at \$1.50 per hour for fiscal year 1974, \$1.70 per hour for fiscal year 1975, and \$1.85 per hour thereafter (defeated 195-228).	No.	214	do	H. Res. 437: On ordering the previous question on the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 8410, the bill to continue the existing temporary increase in the public debt limit through Nov. 30, 1973 (defeated 21-395).	No.
184	do	H.R. 7935: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum wage rates under that act and to expand the coverage of that act which sought to increase the minimum wage rate for agricultural employees equal to that of industrial employees (defeated 102-313).	No.				

Footnote at end of table.

Rollcall No.	1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Rollcall No.	1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote
215	June 13	H. Res. 437: On ordering the previous question on the amendment to the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 8410, the bill to continue the existing temporary increase in the public debt limit through Nov. 30, 1973 (passed 254-160).	No.	247	do	H.R. 8760: On an amendment to the bill making appropriations for the Department of Transportation and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, which sought to add \$3,000,000 for research and development under the urban mass transportation program for alleviating the transportation problems of handicapped persons (defeated 204-213).	Yes.
216	do	H. Res. 437: On an amendment in the nature of a substitute to the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 8410, the bill to continue the existing temporary increase in the public debt limit through Nov. 30, 1973, which struck out language in the rule that made it in order to consider the text of H.R. 3932, to provide that appointments to the Office of Director and Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget shall be subject to confirmation by the Senate (passed 248-163).	Yes.	248	do	H.R. 8760: On an amendment to the bill making appropriations for the Department of Transportation and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, which sought to add \$9,700,000 for research and demonstration for a personal rapid transit system (defeated 137-277).	No.
217	do	H. Res. 437: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider the bill to continue the existing temporary increase in the public debt limit through Nov. 30, 1973 (passed 271-141).	Yes.	249	do	H.R. 8760: On a substitute amendment to the bill making appropriations for the Department of Transportation and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, which sought to eliminate all funding for research, development, and demonstrations for the urban mass transportation program (defeated 17-392).	No.
218	do	Quorum call	Present.	250	do	H.R. 8760: On passage of the bill making appropriations for the Department of Transportation and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974 (passed 414-2).	Yes.
219	do	H.R. 8410: On passage of the bill to continue the existing temporary increase in the public debt limit through Nov. 30, 1973 (passed 261-152).	No.	251	do	H. Res. 435: On adoption of the resolution providing for the consideration of and 2 hours of general debate on H.R. 7824, to establish a Legal Services Corporation (passed 358-34).	Yes.
220	June 14	Quorum call	Present.	252	June 21	Quorum call	Present.
221	do	do	Present.	253	do	do	Present.
222	do	H.R. 3926: On an amendment to the bill to extend the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act which sought to cut funding to \$61,000,000, a reduction of \$64,000,000 (defeated 141-248).	No.	254	do	H.R. 7824: On an amendment to the bill to establish a Legal Services Corporation which prohibits the corporation from undertaking, by grant or contract, activities in backup research centers (passed 245-166).	Yes.
223	do	H.R. 3926: On an amendment to the bill to extend the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act which sought to delete the authorization for funding in fiscal years 1975 and 1976 (defeated 146-235).	No.	255	do	H.R. 7824: On an amendment to the bill to establish a Legal Services Corporation which sought to insert language allowing persons to bring suit against the corporation and reimbursing costs and fees to plaintiffs who win such court actions (defeated 159-237).	No.
224	do	H.R. 3926: On passage of the bill to extend the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act (passed 309-63).	Yes.	256	do	H.R. 7824: On an amendment to the bill to establish a Legal Services Corporation which includes administrative advocacy in the bill's prohibition against legislative advocacy (passed 200-181).	No.
225	do	Quorum call	Present.	257	do	H.R. 7824: On an amendment to the bill to establish a Legal Services Corporation which prohibits full-time attorneys of the corporation from engaging in political activities (passed 207-171).	No.
226	June 15	do	Present.	258	do	H.R. 7824: On an amendment to the bill to establish a Legal Services Corporation which prohibits legal services with respect to any proceeding or litigation relating to the desegregation of schools (passed 221-150).	Yes.
227	do	do	Present.	259	do	H.R. 7824: On an amendment to the bill to establish a Legal Services Corporation which strikes language authorizing activities of backup research centers (passed 233-139).	Yes.
228	do	H.R. 8619: On an amendment to the bill making appropriations for agriculture-environmental and consumer protection programs for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, which forbids funds for payment of salaries for "Cotton, Inc." (passed 234-125).	No.	260	do	H.R. 7824: On a motion that the Committee of the Whole "do no rise" and report the bill back to the House with recommendation that the enacting clause be stricken out (defeated 91-283).	No.
229	do	H.R. 8619: On a substitute amendment to an amendment to the bill making appropriations for agriculture-environmental and consumer protection programs for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, which forbids funds for salaries of personnel who formulate or carry out programs of which the price support limit exceeds \$20,000 per crop (other than sugar and wool) or a program which sanctions the sale or lease of cotton acreage allotments (passed 195-157).	No.	261	do	H.R. 7824: On a substitute amendment to the bill to establish a Legal Services Corporation which prohibits legal assistance in litigation to compel nontherapeutic abortions contrary to religious beliefs (passed 316-53).	Yes.
230	do	H.R. 8619: On passage of the bill making appropriations for agriculture-environmental and consumer protection programs for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974 (passed 304-3).	Yes.	262	do	H.R. 7824: On an amendment to the bill to establish a Legal Services Corporation which prohibits legal assistance in litigation regarding abortion (as amended by the previous substitute amendment) (passed 301-68).	Yes.
231	June 18	Quorum call	Present.	263	do	H.R. 7824: On passage of the bill to establish a Legal Services Corporation (passed 276-95).	Yes.
232	do	do	Present.	264	June 22	Quorum call	Present.
233	do	H.R. 8658: On passage of the bill making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974 (passed 321-64).	Yes.	265	do	H.R. 8510: On an amendment to the bill authorizing appropriations for activities of the National Science Foundation which sought to strike the proportional obligation requirement and insert language re-establishing the budget transfer authority under which the NSF has operated in prior years (defeated 109-238).	No.
234	do	Quorum call	Present.	266	do	H.R. 8510: On an amendment to the bill authorizing appropriations for activities of the National Science Foundation which prohibits funds for research on human living fetuses (passed 288-73).	Yes.
235	do	H.R. 8152: On an amendment to the bill to improve law enforcement and criminal justice which would make optional rather than mandatory the stipulation that State planning agencies and regional planning units shall include representatives of citizen, professional, and community organizations (passed 227-162).	No.	267	do	H.R. 8510: On passage of the bill authorizing appropriations for activities of the National Science Foundation (passed 364-6).	Yes.
236	do	H.R. 8152: On an amendment to the bill to improve law enforcement and criminal justice which adds language stating that nothing in the bill shall be construed to require the adoption by a grantee of a quota system or other program to achieve racial balance or to deny or discontinue a grant because of the refusal of a grantee to adopt such a quota system (passed 231-161).	Yes.	268	do	Quorum call	Present.
237	do	H.R. 8152: On passage of the bill to improve law enforcement and criminal justice (passed 391-0).	Yes.	269	do	H.R. 8825: On an amendment to the bill making appropriations for the Department of Housing and Urban Development; for space, science, and veterans for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, which sought to raise by \$75,000,000 the appropriation for community comprehensive planning grants (defeated 168-184).	Yes.
238	June 19	H.R. 689: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to prohibit persons attempting to collect their own debts from misusing names to convey the false impression that any agency of the Federal Government is involved in such collection (passed 399-0).	Yes.	270	do	H.R. 8825: On an amendment to the bill making appropriations for the Department of Housing and Urban Development; for space, science, and veterans for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, which sought to raise by \$400,000,000 the appropriation for urban renewal programs (defeated 106-241).	No.
239	do	H.R. 6129: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill providing for the continuance of civil government for the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands (passed 387-14).	Yes.	271	do	H.R. 8825: On passage of the bill making appropriations for the Department of Housing and Urban Development; for space, science, and veterans for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974 (passed 316-21).	Yes.
240	do	H.R. 7127: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill establishing a program for the preservation of additional historical properties throughout the Nation (passed 385-16).	Yes.	272	June 25	Quorum call	Present.
241	do	H. Res. 434: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 5464, the bill to authorize appropriations for the saline water program for fiscal year 1974 (passed 389-4).	Yes.	273	do	H.R. 7447: On a motion to recede from its disagreement to Senate amendment No. 83 to the bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, which prohibits use of funds to support directly or indirectly combat activities in Cambodia or Laos (passed 235-172).	Yes.
242	do	H.R. 5464: On an amendment to the bill to authorize appropriations for the saline water program for fiscal year 1974 which raises the funds authorized from \$2,500,000 to \$9,100,000 (passed 281-125).	Yes.				
243	do	H.R. 5464: On passage of the bill to authorize appropriations for the saline water program for fiscal year 1974 (passed 399-4).	Yes.				
244	do	H.R. 5094: On passage of the bill to provide for the reclassification of positions of deputy U.S. marshal (passed 319-84).	Yes.				
245	June 20	Quorum call	Present.				
246	do	H.R. 8760: On an amendment to the bill making appropriations for the Department of Transportation and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, which sought to cut \$1,600,000 for moorings for the Coast Guard cutter Mackinaw at Cheboygan, Mich. (defeated 107-309).	No.				

VOTING RECORD—WILLIAM R. ROY, 93D CONG., 1ST SESS.—Continued

Rollcall No.	1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote
274	June 25	H.R. 7447: On a preferential motion that the House concur in Senate amendment No. 83 with an amendment to the bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, which sought to prohibit use of funds to support directly or indirectly combat activities in Cambodia or Laos after Sept. 1, 1973 (defeated 204-204).	No.
275	do	H. Res. 454: On adoption of the resolution authorizing the Speaker to entertain motions to suspend the rules during the week of June 25, 1973 (passed 276-129).	Yes.
276	do	Quorum call.	Present.
277	do	H.R. 8657: On an amendment to the bill to authorize appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission which sought to permit States to set standards for radiation emissions stricter than those established by the AEC (defeated 136-206).	Yes.
278	do	H.R. 8662: On passage of the bill authorizing appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission (passed 398-4).	Yes.
279	do	Quorum call.	Present.
280	do	do	Present.
281	June 26	do	Present.
282	do	H. J. Res. 636: On passage of the motion limiting debate to 20 min. on the amendment and all amendments thereto to the bill making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1974 (passed 275-136).	Yes.
283	do	H. J. Res. 636: On an amendment to the substitute amendment to the bill making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1974 which eliminates the 60-day grace period and prohibits all funds appropriated by the resolution and all funds previously appropriated from being used for combat activities in Cambodia or Laos (passed 218-194).	Yes.
284	do	H. J. Res. 636: On a substitute amendment as amended by the previous roll call No. 283 to the bill making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1974 which allowed a 60-day grace period after which no funds appropriated under the resolution could be used for combat activities in Cambodia or Laos (passed 232-181).	Yes.
285	do	H. J. Res. 636: On an amendment as amended by the previous roll call No. 284 to the bill making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1974 which prohibited the use of funds to support military activities by U.S. forces in, over, or off the shores of North and South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos without the consent of Congress (passed 240-172).	Yes.
286	do	H. J. Res. 636: On passage of the joint resolution making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1974 (passed 325-86).	Yes.
287	do	H. Res. 455: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 8877, the bill making appropriations for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974 (passed 395-3).	Yes.
288	do	Quorum call.	Present.
289	do	do	Present.
290	do	H.R. 8877: On an amendment to an amendment to the bill making appropriations for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, which sought to reduce the funds for the Office of Economic Opportunity by \$100,000,000 (defeated 110-288).	No.
291	do	H.R. 8877: On an amendment to the bill making appropriations for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, which sought to reduce by \$632,000,000 the appropriation for HEW and for the Office of Economic Opportunity (defeated 186-213).	No.
292	do	H.R. 8877: On an amendment to the bill making appropriations for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, which sought to add \$15,000,000 for bilingual education programs (defeated 161-244).	Yes.
293	do	H.R. 8877: On an amendment to the bill making appropriations for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, which sought to restrict grants to local education agencies for each State to a minimum of 90 percent of the amounts made available in fiscal year 1972 (defeated 190-218).	No.
294	do	H.R. 8877: On a motion to recommit the bill making appropriations for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, to the Committee on Appropriations with instructions to report it back forthwith with an amendment that sought to delete \$632,000,000 from the bill (defeated 186-219).	No.
295	do	H.R. 8877: On passage of the bill making appropriations for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974 (passed 347-58).	Yes.
296	June 27	Quorum call.	Present.
297	do	H.R. 8215: On the committee amendments to the bill to provide for the suspension of duty on certain copy ng shoe lathes until the close of June 30 1976 (passed 403-0).	Yes.
298	do	H.R. 4200: On passage of the bill to amend section 122 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (passed 402-0).	Yes.
299	do	H. Res. 470: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 8917, the bill making appropriations for the Department of the Interior and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974 (passed 401-12).	Yes.
300	do	H.R. 7447: To override the President's veto of the bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973 (defeated 241-173; a 2/3 vote being necessary).	Yes.
301	do	Quorum call.	Present.
302	do	do	Present.
303	do	do	Present.
304	do	H.R. 8917: On passage of the bill making appropriations for the Department of the Interior and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974 (passed 405-4).	Yes.
305	June 28	Quorum call.	Present.
306	do	H.R. 8537: On a motion to instruct the conferees to insist on the House disagreement to the bill of the Senate amendment to the bill making permanent certain provisions of the Dependents Assistance Act of 1950 (passed 238-175).	Yes.

Footnotes at end of table.

Rollcall No.	1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote
307	June 28	Quorum call.	Present.
308	do	H.R. 8947: On an amendment to the bill making appropriations for public works-AEC for fiscal year 1974 which sought to reduce the operating expenses for the AEC by \$3,800,000 (defeated 108-303).	No.
309	do	H.R. 8947: On an amendment to the bill making appropriations for public works-AEC for fiscal year 1974 which adds \$4,700,000 for geothermal research by the AEC (passed 206-205).	Yes.
310	do	H.R. 8947: On passage of the bill making appropriations for Public Works-AEC for fiscal year 1974 (passed 384-26).	Yes.
311	do	H.R. 8548: On passage of the bill to amend the International Economic Policy Act of 1972 to change the membership of the Council on International Economic Policy (passed 322-62).	Yes.
312	June 29	Quorum call.	Present.
313	do	H.R. 9055: On an amendment to an amendment to the bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, which sought to extend the ban on combat activities to cover hostilities in any sovereign state (defeated 57-346).	No.
314	do	H.R. 9055: On an amendment to the bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, which sought to provide for an immediate and complete cutoff of funds for combat activities in Cambodia and Laos (defeated 169-236).	Yes.
315	do	H.R. 9055: On passage of the bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973 (passed 278-124).	Yes.
316	do	Quorum call.	Present.
317	do	H.R. 8916: On an amendment to the bill making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, and the Judiciary, and related agencies for the 1974 fiscal year which adds \$2,100,000 for salaries for additional probation officers and increases by \$709,000 funds for travel by the Judiciary (passed 220-164).	Yes.
318	do	H.R. 8916: On passage of the bill making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, and the Judiciary, and related agencies for the 1974 fiscal year (passed 370-11).	Yes.
319	do	H.R. 8410: On a motion to recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate to the bill to continue the existing temporary increase in the public debt limit through Nov. 30, 1973 (defeated 185-190).	Yes.
320	June 30	Quorum call.	Present.
321	do	H.R. 8410: On a motion to recede and concur to the Senate amendment to the bill to continue the existing temporary increase in the public debt limit through Nov. 30, 1973 (passed 294-54).	Yes.
322	do	H. J. Res. 636: On adoption of the conference report on the bill making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1974 (passed 266-75).	Absent.
323	do	H.R. 7445: On a motion to recede and concur with the amendment in Senate amendment No. 2 to the bill to amend the Renegotiation Act of 1951 to extend the act for 1 yr (passed 327-9).	Absent.
324	July 10	Quorum call.	Present.
325	do	H.R. 8860: On an amendment to the bill to extend and amend the Agricultural Act of 1970 for the purpose of assuring consumers of plentiful supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices which reduced the subsidy per crop for farmers from a \$37,500 limit to \$20,000 (passed 313-89).	Yes.
326	do	H.R. 8860: On an amendment to the bill to extend and amend the Agricultural Act of 1970 for the purpose of assuring consumers of plentiful supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices which reduced the subsidy limitation to \$20,000 per farmer and prohibits farmers from leasing or selling part of their cotton allotments (passed 246-163).	No.
327	do	H.R. 8860: On an amendment to the bill to extend and amend the Agricultural Act of 1970 for the purpose of assuring consumers of plentiful supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices which sought to prohibit the use of any Commodity Credit Corporation funds to finance any future wheat sales to Russia or China (defeated 139-264).	No.
328	July 11	Quorum call.	Present.
329	do	H.R. 8860: On an amendment to the bill to extend and amend the Agricultural Act of 1970 for the purpose of assuring consumers of plentiful supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices which ends the \$10,000,000 annual authorization for cotton promotion and research by Cotton, Inc. (passed 241-162).	No.
330	do	H.R. 8860: On an amendment to the bill to extend and amend the Agricultural Act of 1970 for the purpose of assuring consumers of plentiful supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices which sought to remove the escalator clause providing for an annual adjustment of target prices (defeated 174-239).	No.
331	do	H.R. 8860: On an amendment to the bill to extend and amend the Agricultural Act of 1970 for the purpose of assuring consumers of plentiful supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices which sought to add language allowing the Secretary of Agriculture to extend loan provisions to non-cooperators under the wheat, feed grains, and cotton programs (defeated 160-247).	Yes.
332	do	H.R. 8860: On an amendment to the bill to extend and amend the Agricultural Act of 1970 for the purpose of assuring consumers of plentiful supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices which sought to restore the farm program to a market-oriented system by providing a 3-year phaseout of income payments and by shifting the set-aside program to a crop-land basis (defeated 186-220).	No.
333	July 12	Quorum call.	Present.
334	do	H.R. 8860: On a motion that the Committee of the Whole "do now rise" while considering the bill to extend and amend the Agricultural Act of 1970 for the purpose of assuring consumers of plentiful supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices (passed 325-67).	No.
335	do	H.R. 8860: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Small Business Act which sought to strike the disaster loans provisions from the bill (defeated 167-245).	No.

Rollcall No.	1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Rollcall No.	1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote
336	July 12	H.R. 2990: On passage of the bill to provide for annual authorization of appropriations to the U.S. Postal Service (passed 328-65).	Yes.	359	July 19	H.R. 8860: On an amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute to the bill extending and amending the Agricultural Act of 1970 for the purpose of assuring consumers of plentiful supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices which reinstates a cotton program in the bill but eliminates funds for Cotton, Inc. (passed 250-165).	Yes.
337	July 16	Quorum call.	Absent.	360	do	H.R. 8860: On a motion that the Committee of the Whole "do now rise" and report the bill back to the House with the recommendation that the enacting clause be stricken (defeated 73-338).	No.
338	do	H.R. 8860: On an amendment to the bill to extend and amend the Agricultural Act of 1970 for the purpose of assuring consumers of plentiful supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices which strikes the cotton program provisions from the bill (passed 207-190).	Yes.	361	do	H.R. 8860: On an amendment to the motion to recommit the bill extending and amending the Agricultural Act of 1970 for the purpose of assuring consumers of plentiful supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices which strikes the "escalator clause" for cotton (passed 248-165).	Yes.
339	do	Quorum call.	Present.	362	do	H.R. 8860: On a motion (as amended by roll call No. 361) to recommit the bill extending and amending the Agricultural Act of 1970 for the purpose of assuring consumers of plentiful supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices to the Committee on Agriculture with instructions to report it back to the House with the "escalator clause" provisions stricken (defeated 182-225).	No.
340	do	H.R. 8860: On an amendment to the bill to extend and amend the Agricultural Act of 1970 for the purpose of assuring consumers of plentiful supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices which strikes from the bill the section transferring from the Labor Department to the Department of Agriculture the authority to establish regulations to protect field workers from exposure to dangerous pesticides (passed 221-177).	No.	363	do	H.R. 8860: On passage of the bill extending and amending the Agricultural Act of 1970 for the purpose of assuring consumers of plentiful supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices (passed 226-182).	Yes.
341	July 17	Quorum call.	Present.	364	July 20	Quorum call.	Present.
342	do	S. 504: On adoption of the conference report on the bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide assistance and encouragement for the development of comprehensive area emergency medical services systems (passed 306-111).	Yes.	365	do	H.R. 8538: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to extend certain authorizations for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting which sought to withhold grants for construction unless the recipient was found to be in compliance with all laws prohibiting discrimination in employment practices (defeated 189-190).	Yes.
343	do	H.R. 8078: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to include inspectors of the Immigration and Naturalization Service or the Bureau of Customs within the provisions of section 8336(c) of title 5, United States Code, relating to retirement of certain employees engaged in hazardous occupations (passed 236-123).	Yes.	366	do	H.R. 8538: On passage of the bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to extend certain authorizations for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (passed 363-14).	Yes.
344	do	H.R. 8949: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code relating to basic provisions of the loan guaranty program for veterans (passed 412-3).	Yes.	367	July 23	H. Res. 493: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 5356, the bill, to regulate interstate commerce to protect health and the environment from hazardous chemical substances (passed 351-4).	Yes.
345	do	H.R. 9048: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to provide improved medical care to veterans (passed 421-0).	Yes.	368	do	H.R. 5356: On an amendment to the bill regulating interstate commerce to protect health and the environment from hazardous chemical substances while in the Committee of the Whole which directs the Administrator to use the Water Pollution Control Act, Clean Air Act, or another act under his jurisdiction, where appropriate, to regulate chemical substances (passed 193-192).	Yes.
346	do	S. 2120: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to amend the Federal Railroad Safety Act of 1970 and other related acts to authorize additional appropriations (passed 409-7).	Yes.	369	do	H.R. 5356: On an amendment to the bill regulating interstate commerce to protect health and the environment from hazardous chemical substances which sought to specify that no rule shall be promulgated until a hearing is conducted, with full opportunity for cross-examination (defeated 159-236).	No.
347	do	S. 1752: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill prescribing the objectives and functions of the National Commission on Productivity and Work Quality (defeated 174-237).	No.	370	do	H.R. 5356: On an amendment to the bill regulating interstate commerce to protect health and the environment from hazardous chemical substances which sought to direct the Administrator to use the Water Pollution Control Act, Clean Air Act, or another act under his jurisdiction, where appropriate, to regulate chemical substances similar to rollcall 368 in committee (defeated 189-202).	Yes.
348	July 18	Quorum call.	Present.	371	do	H.R. 5356: On passage of the bill regulating interstate commerce to protect health and the environment from hazardous chemical substances (passed 324-73).	Yes.
349	do	H. J. Res. 542: On an amendment in the nature of a substitute to the joint resolution concerning the war powers of the Congress and the President which sought to require Congress to specifically approve or disapprove by bill or resolution the commitment of forces by the President in the absence of a declaration of war within 90 days of such Executive action (defeated 166-250).	No.	372	do	Quorum call.	Present.
350	do	H. J. Res. 542: On an amendment in the nature of a substitute to the joint resolution concerning the war powers of the Congress and the President which sought to prohibit the President from committing troops unless Congress declared war or authorized such commitment, or if the President found such action within his constitutional authority (defeated 153-262).	No.	373	do	H. Res. 495: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 8929, the Educational and Cultural Postal Amendments of 1973 (defeated 180-202).	Yes.
351	do	H. J. Res. 542: On an amendment to the joint resolution concerning the war powers of the Congress and the President which sought to require Congress to specifically approve or disapprove the commitment of troops within 120 days by a declaration of war or by passage of a resolution (defeated 200-211).	Yes.	374	July 24	S. 1888: On ordering the previous question on the motion instructing House conferees to insist on language in the House amendment which prohibits the sale of agricultural commodities to North Vietnam to the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of 1973 (passed 244-155).	Absent.
352	do	H. J. Res. 542: On passage of the joint resolution concerning the war powers of the Congress and the President (passed 244-170).	Yes.	375	do	S. 1888: On a motion to instruct House conferees to insist on language in the House amendment which prohibits the sale of agricultural commodities to North Vietnam to the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of 1973 (passed 371-35).	Absent.
353	July 19	Quorum call.	Present.	376	do	Quorum call.	Present.
354	do	H.R. 8860: On an amendment to an amendment to the bill extending and amending the Agricultural Act of 1970 for the purpose of assuring consumers of plentiful supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices which deletes language making recipients of supplemental security income eligible for food stamps and the food distribution program (passed 238-173).	Yes.	377	do	H.R. 8480: On an amendment to the Impoundment Control and 1974 Expenditure Ceiling bill which sought to empower the Comptroller General to exempt those impoundments he determines to be in accordance with the Anti-Deficiency Act (defeated 180-229).	No.
355	do	H.R. 8860: On an amendment to an amendment to the bill extending and amending the Agricultural Act of 1970 for the purpose of assuring consumers of plentiful supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices which prohibits strikers from receiving food stamps unless they were previously eligible (passed 213-203).	No.	378	do	H.R. 8480: On an amendment to the Impoundment Control and 1974 Expenditure Ceiling bill which sought to require both Houses of Congress to disapprove impoundments by concurrent resolution (defeated 205-206).	No.
356	do	H.R. 8860: On an amendment to the food stamp provisions of the bill extending and amending the Agricultural Act of 1970 for the purpose of assuring consumers of plentiful supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices which removes the requirement of a prior certification of eligibility, restores the eligibility of students for stamps, and permits the use of food stamps to purchase imported foods (passed 210-207).	No.	379	July 25	Quorum call.	Present.
357	do	H.R. 8860: On an amendment to the bill extending and amending the Agricultural Act of 1970 for the purpose of assuring consumers of plentiful supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices which sought to add language prohibiting Government subsidies to a producer of agricultural commodities for any crop planted or harvested during a labor dispute involving the producer or his employees (defeated 85-326).	No.	380	do	S. 1423: On adoption of the conference report on the bill to permit employer contributions to jointly administered trust funds established by labor organizations to defray costs of legal services (passed 256-155).	Yes.
358	do	H.R. 8860: On an amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute to the bill extending and amending the Agricultural Act of 1970 for the purpose of assuring consumers of plentiful supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices which adds language prohibiting strikers from receiving food stamps unless they were previously eligible (passed 208-207).	No.	381	do	Quorum call.	Present.
				382	do	H.R. 8480: On an amendment to the Impoundment Control and 1974 Expenditure Ceiling bill which sought to provide for a halt of impoundment after 60 days unless the impoundment is ratified by Congress by passage of a concurrent resolution (defeated 96-318).	No.
				383	do	H.R. 8480: On an amendment to an amendment to the Impoundment Control and 1974 Expenditure Ceiling bill which sought to reduce the spending ceiling by \$7,100,000,000 (defeated 156-252).	Yes.
				384	do	H.R. 8480: On an amendment to the Impoundment Control and 1974 Expenditure Ceiling bill which sought to reduce the spending ceiling by \$3,800,000,000 (defeated 205-206).	No.

VOTING RECORD—WILLIAM R. ROY, 93D CONG., 1ST SESS.—Continued

Rollcall No. 1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Rollcall No. 1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote
385	July 25... H.R. 8480: On a motion to recommit the Impoundment Control and 1974 Expenditure Ceiling bill to the Committee on Rules with instructions that it be reported back forthwith containing an amendment that would require both Houses of Congress to disapprove impoundments by concurrent resolution (defeated 208-212).	No.	416	Aug. 1... H.R. 9590: On an amendment to the bill making appropriations for the Treasury Department, the U.S. Postal Service, the Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies for fiscal year 1974 which sought to reduce the appropriation for salaries and expenses of the Office of Telecommunications Policy by \$518,000, a 25-percent reduction (defeated 190-217).	Yes.
386	do... H.R. 8480: On passage of the Impoundment Control and 1974 Expenditure Ceiling bill (passed 254-164).	Yes.	417	Aug. 2... Quorum call.	Present.
387	July 26... Quorum call.	Present.	418	do... H. Res. 515: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 9130, the bill to amend section 28 of the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920 and to authorize a trans-Alaska oil and gas pipeline (passed 401-11).	Yes.
388	do... do.	Present.	419	do... H.R. 9130: On an amendment to the bill to amend section 28 of the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920 and to authorize a trans-Alaska oil and gas pipeline which sought to make the Mineral Leasing Act on rights-of-way inapplicable to national parks and refuges unless it is in the public interest and the proposed right-of-way meets environmental protection tests (defeated 160-261).	Yes.
389	do... do.	Present.	420	do... H.R. 9130: On an amendment to the bill to amend section 28 of the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920 and to authorize a trans-Alaska oil and gas pipeline which sought to delete language which removes from judicial review under NEPA the grant of authorizations necessary for the construction of the pipeline and expedite the proceedings in any U.S. Federal court with respect to the provision of NEPA and the proposed pipeline (defeated 198-221).	Yes.
390	do... do.	Present.	421	do... H.R. 9130: On an amendment to the bill to amend section 28 of the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920 and to authorize a trans-Alaska oil and gas pipeline which sought to assure all regions of the United States equitable allocations of crude oil (defeated 179-233).	Yes.
391	do... H.R. 9360: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 which sought to reduce funds authorized for population planning and health by \$75,000,000 (defeated 131-271).	No.	422	do... H.R. 9130: On an amendment to the bill to amend section 28 of the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920 and to authorize a trans-Alaska oil and gas pipeline which requires all articles, materials, and supplies for the pipeline to be manufactured in the United States after Aug. 2, 1973 (passed 334-65).	Yes.
392	do... H.R. 9360: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 which sought to strike the section of the bill authorizing \$93,000,000 for selected development problems (defeated 203-204).	Yes.	423	do... H.R. 9130: On an amendment to the bill to amend section 28 of the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920 and to authorize a trans-Alaska oil and gas pipeline which sought to direct the Secretary of the Interior to grant rights-of-way and permits as are necessary for the construction of the pipeline (defeated 177-228).	Yes.
393	do... H.R. 9360: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 which sought to strike language authorizing \$60,000,000 for assistance to selected countries and organizations (defeated 173-232).	No.	424	do... H.R. 9130: On passage of the bill to amend section 28 of the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920 and to authorize a trans-Alaska oil and gas pipeline (passed 356-60).	Yes.
394	do... Quorum call.	Present.	425	Aug. 3... S. 1636: On adoption of the conference report on the bill to amend the International Economic Policy Act of 1972 (passed 335-71).	Yes.
395	do... H.R. 9360: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 which adds language prohibiting foreign assistance to any nation which seizes U.S. property unless the President determines that effective compensation will be made (passed 278-102).	Yes.	426	do... H. Res. 518: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider S. 1264, the bill to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Treasury to make grants to Eisenhower College in Seneca Falls, N.Y., out of proceeds from the sale of silver dollar coins bearing the likeness of the late President of the United States Dwight David Eisenhower (defeated 183-230).	Yes.
396	do... H.R. 9360: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 which strikes out the section which sought to establish the U.S. export development credit fund (passed 240-137).	Yes.	427	do... S. 502: On adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize appropriations for the construction of certain highways in accordance with title 23 of the United States Code (passed 382-34).	Yes.
397	do... H.R. 9360: On a motion to recommit the bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to the Committee on Foreign Affairs with instructions to report the bill back to the House with amendments reducing the total authorization by \$68,000,000 (passed 232-139).	Yes.	428	do... H.R. 7935: On adoption of the conference report on the bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum wage rates under that act to expand the coverage of that act (passed 253-152).	Yes.
398	do... H.R. 9360: On passage of the bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (passed 188-183).	No.	429	do... S. 1888: On ordering the previous question on the motion to concur with amendment to the amendment of the Senate to the House amendment to the bill to extend and amend the Agricultural Act of 1970 for the purpose of assuring consumers of plentiful supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices (passed 349-54).	Yes.
399	July 30... H.R. 8947: On adoption of the conference report on the bill making appropriations for public works for fiscal year 1974 (passed 373-9).	Yes.	430	do... S. 1888: On a motion to concur with amendment to the amendment of the Senate to the House amendment to the bill to extend and amend the Agricultural Act of 1970 for the purpose of assuring consumers of plentiful supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices (passed 252-151).	Yes.
400	do... H. Res. 512: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider S. 1889, the bill to amend section 225 of the Federal Salary Act of 1967 with respect to certain executive, legislative and judicial salaries (defeated 156-237).	No.	431	do... H.R. 8558: On adoption of the conference report on the bill making appropriations for the Government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974 (passed 342-47).	Yes.
401	do... S. Con. Res. 42: On adoption of the resolution providing for a conditional adjournment of the two Houses from Aug. 3 until Sept. 5, 1973 (passed 370-22).	Yes.	432	do... H.R. 8769: On adoption of the conference report on the bill making appropriations for the Department of Transportation and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974 (passed 359-5).	Yes.
402	do... H.R. 9474: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to increase the monthly rates of disability and death pensions, and dependency and indemnity compensation (passed 385-0).	Yes.	433	Sept. 5... Quorum call.	Present.
403	do... Quorum call.	Present.	434	do... H.J. Res. 512: On a motion to recommit the conference report on the resolution to extend through June 30, 1974, the various insuring authorities of the Federal Housing Administration to the committee of conference (passed 202-172).	No.
404	do... do.	Present.	435	do... H.R. 8920: On passage of the bill to amend the Lead Based Paint Poisoning Prevention Act (passed 368-11).	Yes.
405	do... H.R. 9286: On an amendment to the military procurement authorization bill for fiscal year 1974 which sought to strike \$657,000,000 for the CVN-70 nuclear aircraft carrier (defeated 88-323).	No.	436	do... H.R. 8449: On passage of the bill to expand the national flood insurance program by substantially increasing limits of coverage and total amount of insurance authorized to be outstanding and by requiring known flood-prone communities to participate in the program (passed 359-21).	Yes.
406	do... H.R. 9286: On an amendment to the military procurement authorization bill for fiscal year 1974 which sought to delete \$473,500,000 for research and development of the B-1 bomber (defeated 96-313).	No.	437	Sept. 6... H.R. 6912: On adoption of the conference report on the bill to amend the Par Value Modification Act (passed 322-59).	Yes.
407	do... H.R. 9286: On an amendment to the military procurement authorization bill for fiscal year 1974 which sought to add language setting a deadline of June 30, 1974, for maintaining U.S. forces in any nation for defense if that nation pays a smaller portion of its gross national product for its defense than does the United States (defeated 130-282).	Yes.	438	do... H.R. 8351: On passage of the bill to provide financial assistance to the National Railroad Corporation (passed 357-37).	Yes.
408	do... H.R. 9286: On an amendment to the military procurement authorization bill for fiscal year 1974 which sought to reduce the total of U.S. troops overseas by 322,000 and to place a ceiling of 300,000 on the number of troops to be assigned overseas after fiscal year 1974 (defeated 67-339).	No.	439	do... H. Res. 484: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 8547, the bill to amend the Export Administration Act of 1969 (passed 304-84).	Yes.
409	do... H.R. 9286: On an amendment in the nature of a substitute to an amendment to the military procurement authorization bill for fiscal year 1974 which requires a report to the House by Apr. 1, 1974, from the Committee on Armed Services on the advisability of maintaining the present U.S. military commitment in Europe in view of the current European economic and military situation (passed 242-163).	No.	440	do... H.R. 8547: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Export Administration Act of 1969 which sought to require the Secretary of Commerce to report to the Speaker of the House and the President pro tempore of the Senate any decision he makes on prohibition or curtailment of commodities exported and permit either House of Congress to disapprove such decision by simple resolution (defeated 154-211).	Yes.
410	do... H.R. 9286: On an amendment to the military procurement authorization bill for fiscal year 1974 which reduces the funds authorized by \$950,000,000 by setting a ceiling equal to the fiscal year 1973 level plus a 4.5 inflation increase (passed 242-163).	Yes.			
411	do... H.R. 9286: On passage of the military procurement authorization bill for fiscal year 1974 (passed 367-37).	Yes.			
412	Aug. 1... H.R. 8825: On adoption of the conference report on the bill making appropriations for the Department of Housing and Urban Development; for space, science, veterans, and certain other independent executive agencies, boards, commissions, and corporations for fiscal year 1974 (passed 401-9).	Yes.			
413	do... H.R. 8825: On a motion that the House insist on its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 44 to the bill making appropriations for the Department of Housing and Urban Development; for space, science, veterans, and certain other independent executive agencies, boards, commissions, and corporations for fiscal year 1974 (passed 222-189).	No.			
414	do... Quorum call.	Present.			
415	do... H.R. 9590: On an amendment to the bill making appropriations for the Treasury Department, the U.S. Postal Service, the Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies for fiscal year 1974 which sought to reduce funds for salaries and expenses of the Office of Management and Budget by \$800,000, a 5-percent reduction (defeated 199-209).	Yes.			

Rollcall No. 1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Rollcall No. 1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote
441.....	Sept. 6... H.R. 8547: On passage of the bill to amend the Export Administration Act of 1969 to protect the domestic economy from the excessive drain of scarce materials and commodities and to reduce the serious inflationary impact of abnormal foreign demand (passed 220-133).	No.	468.....	Sept. 19... H. Res. 546: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 9256, the bill to increase the contribution of the Government to the costs of health benefits for Federal employees (passed 311-81).	Absent.
442.....	Sept. 10... H. Res. 536: On passage of the resolution directing the Speaker of the House of Representatives to certify a certain report on G. Gordon Liddy by the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives to the U.S. Attorney for the District of Columbia (passed 334-11).	Yes.	469.....	Sept. 20... Quorum call.	Absent.
443.....	do..... H.R. 7482: On passage of the bill amending the Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act of 1965 amended by the Public Health Cigarette Smoking Act of 1969 to define the term "little cigar" (passed 287-63).	Yes.	470.....	do..... H.R. 8917: On adoption of the conference report on the bill making appropriations for the Department of Interior and related agencies for fiscal year 1974 (passed 386-14).	Absent.
444.....	Sept. 11... Quorum call.	Present.	471.....	do..... H.R. 8917: On a motion that the House recede and concur with amendment to Senate amendment No. 40 on the bill making appropriations for the Department of Interior and related agencies for fiscal year 1974 (passed 326-73).	Absent.
445.....	do..... H.R. 7645: On a motion to reject sec. 13 of the conference report on the bill to authorize appropriation for the Department of State which sought to halt funds for foreign affairs agencies which do not comply within 35 days with any request for information by the House Foreign Affairs Committee or the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (passed 213-185).	No.	472.....	do..... H.R. 9281: On a motion to recommit the bill regarding the retirement of certain law enforcement and fire fighter personnel to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service with instructions to report it back forthwith containing several amendments (defeated 116-282).	Absent.
446.....	do..... H.R. 2096: On passage of the bill to prohibit the imposition by the States of discriminatory burdens upon interstate commerce in wine (passed 248-152).	Yes.	473.....	do..... H.R. 9281: On passage of the bill regarding the retirement of certain law enforcement and firefighter personnel (passed 299-93).	Absent.
447.....	do..... H. Res. 511: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider S. 1697, the bill to require the President to furnish pre-disaster assistance in order to avert or lessen the effects of a major disaster in the counties of Alameda and Contra Costa, Calif. (defeated 163-233).	Yes.	474.....	do..... H.R. 9256: On the passage of the bill to increase the contributions of the Government to the costs of health benefits for Federal employees (passed 217-155).	Absent.
448.....	Sept. 12... Quorum call.	Present.	475.....	Sept. 25... H.R. 8619: On adoption of the conference report on the bill making appropriations for agriculture, environmental, and consumer protection programs for fiscal year 1974. (passed 348-24).	Yes.
449.....	do..... S. 504: To override the President's veto of the bill amending the Public Health Service Act to authorize assistance for planning, development and initial operation, research, and training projects for systems for the effective provisions of health care services under emergency conditions (defeated 273-144; a 3/4 vote being necessary).	Yes.	476.....	do..... H.J. Res. 727: On a substitute amendment for an amendment to the bill making further continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1974 which provided for 1973 funding levels for local school districts on a per pupil basis (defeated 184-198).	No.
450.....	do..... H.R. 7974: On passage of the bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide assistance and encouragement for the establishment and expansion of health maintenance organizations (passed 369-40).	Yes.	477.....	do..... H.J. Res. 727: On an amendment to the bill making further continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1974 which is designed to insure 85 percent of the funds authorized for local school districts (passed 286-94).	No.
451.....	do..... H.R. 8789: On passage of the bill to provide a new coinage design and date emblematic of the bicentennial of the American Revolution for dollars, half-dollars, and quarters (passed 396-4).	Yes.	478.....	do..... H.J. Res. 727: On an amendment to the bill making further continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1974 which prohibits funds for the Cost of Living Council to formulate or carry out a program which discriminates among petroleum marketers in the method of establishing prices for petroleum products (passed 371-7).	Yes.
452.....	Sept. 13... H.R. 8619: On a motion to instruct the conferees to insist on House language to the bill making appropriations for agriculture, environmental and consumer protection programs for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, which limits the Federal farm subsidy to \$20,000 per farm and bars payment for cotton acreage allotments after Dec. 31, 1973 (passed 231-160).	Yes.	479.....	do..... H.J. Res. 727: On passage of the joint resolution making further continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1974 (passed 368-7).	Yes.
453.....	do..... H.R. 6576: On passage of the bill authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to engage in feasibility investigation of certain potential water resource development (passed 321-74).	Yes.	480.....	Sept. 26... Quorum call.	Present.
454.....	do..... Quorum call.	Present.	481.....	do..... H.R. 981: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act which sought to provide a maximum allocation of 35,000 visas each for Canada and Mexico and 20,000 for other foreign states (defeated 174-203).	Yes.
455.....	do..... H.R. 9639: On an amendment to the bill to amend the National School Lunch and Child Nutrition Act for the purpose of providing additional Federal financial assistance to the school lunch and school breakfast programs which sought to delete a section of the bill which raises the reimbursements by the Federal Government for school lunches from 8 cents per lunch to 10 cents per lunch (defeated 127-272).	No.	482.....	do..... H.R. 981: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act which sought to add language providing for a 5-year aggregate limit on the extension of 1-year visas for H-2 migrant workers and specifying employment contract requirements and working conditions (defeated 70-310).	No.
456.....	do..... H.R. 9639: On passage of the bill to amend the National School Lunch and Child Nutrition Act for the purpose of providing additional Federal financial assistance to the school lunch and school breakfast programs (passed 389-4).	Yes.	483.....	do..... H.R. 981: On passage of the bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act (passed 336-30).	Yes.
457.....	do..... H.R. 9553: On passage of the bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 with regard to the broadcasting of certain professional sports clubs' games (passed 336-37).	Yes.	484.....	Oct. 1... Quorum call.	Present.
458.....	Sept. 17... H.R. 7265: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to provide for the operation of programs by the ACTION Agency, to establish certain new such programs (passed 339-14).	Yes.	485.....	do..... H.R. 9029: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to provide for the distribution of funds appropriated in satisfaction of certain judgments of the Indian Claims Commission and the Court of Claims (passed 331-33).	Yes.
459.....	Sept. 18... H.R. 8070: On adoption of the conference reports on the bill to authorize grants for vocational rehabilitation services (passed 400-0).	Yes.	486.....	do..... S. 2419: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to correct typographical and clerical errors in Public Law 93-36 (passed 330-28).	Yes.
460.....	do..... H.R. 7730: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to purchase property located within the San Carlos mineral strip (defeated 236-164).	Yes.	487.....	do..... H.R. 10397: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to extend the authorization of appropriations for the Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-Speaking People (defeated 241-130; a 3/4 vote being necessary).	Yes.
461.....	do..... H.R. 37: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to provide for the conservation, protection, and propagation of species or subspecies of fish and wildlife that are threatened with extinction or likely within the foreseeable future to become threatened with extinction (passed 390-12).	Yes.	488.....	Oct. 2... S. 795: On adoption of the conference report on the bill to amend the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965 (passed 294-106).	Yes.
462.....	do..... Quorum call.	Present.	489.....	do..... S. 1914: On passage of the bill to provide for the establishment of the Board for International Broadcasting, to authorize the continuation of assistance to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty (passed 313-90).	No.
463.....	do..... H. Res. 420: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the resolution to establish as part of the congressional internship program an internship program for secondary school teachers of government or social studies in honor of President Lyndon Baines Johnson (passed 345-64).	Yes.	490.....	Oct. 3... Quorum call.	Present.
464.....	Sept. 19... Quorum call.	Absent.	491.....	do..... H. Res. 372: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 6452, a bill to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 (passed 282-131).	Absent.
465.....	do..... H.R. 7935: To override the President's veto of the bill amending the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum wage rates under that act and to expand the coverage of that act (defeated 259-164, a 3/4 vote being necessary).	Absent.	492.....	do..... Quorum call.	Present.
466.....	do..... H.R. 9715: On an amendment to the bill authorizing appropriations for the United States Information Agency which is designed to withhold funds from the Agency should the Agency not furnish any information that congressional committees may request (passed 240-178).	Absent.	493.....	do..... H.R. 6452: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 while in the Committee of the Whole, to strike a section which provides for Federal grants for operation expenses of mass transportation systems (passed 206-205).	Yes.
467.....	do..... H.R. 9715: On passage of the bill authorizing appropriations for the U. S. Information Agency (passed 305-108).	Absent.	494.....	do..... H.R. 6452: On a preferential motion to the bill to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 which sought to strike the enacting clause (defeated 143-268).	No.
			495.....	do..... H.R. 6452: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 which sought to strike a section which provides for Federal grants for operating expenses of urban mass transportation, similar to rollcall No. 493 in committee (defeated 205-210).	Yes.
			496.....	do..... H.R. 6452: On passage of the bill to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 (passed 219-195).	Yes.
			497.....	do..... H.R. 10088: On passage of the bill to establish the Big Cypress National Preserve in the State of Florida (passed 376-2).	Yes.
			498.....	Oct. 4... Quorum call.	Present.
			499.....	do..... H.J. Res. 748: On an amendment to the committee amendment to the joint resolution making an appropriation for special payments to international financial institutions for the fiscal year 1974 which sought to reduce the appropriation from \$2,200,000,000 to \$477,000,000 (defeated 129-237).	Yes.

VOTING RECORD—WILLIAM R. ROY, 93D CONG., 1ST SESS.—Continued

Rollcall No. 1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Rollcall No. 1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote
500	Oct. 4 H.J. Res. 748: On passage of the joint resolution making an appropriation for special payments to international financial institutions for the fiscal year 1974 (passed 274-80).	Yes.	534	do H.R. 9681: On a motion to the bill to authorize and require the President of the United States to allocate crude oil and refined petroleum products to deal with existing or imminent shortages which sought to limit time for debate on pending amendments to 15 minutes (defeated 161-124).	Yes.
501	Oct. 9 Quorum call.	Present.	535	Oct. 17 Quorum call.	Present.
502	do H. Res. 581: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 9682, the District of Columbia Self-Government and Governmental Reorganization Act (passed 346-50).	Yes.	536	do H. Res. 601: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider the conference report on H.R. 9286, the Military Procurement Authorization for fiscal year 1974 (defeated 193-216).	No.
503	Oct. 10 Quorum call.	Present.	537	do H.R. 9681: On an amendment to the bill to authorize and require the President of the United States to allocate crude oil and refined petroleum products to deal with existing or imminent shortages, which sought to transfer the monitoring of allocation programs from the Federal Trade Commission to the General Accounting Office (defeated 152-256).	No.
504	do	Present.	538	do H.R. 9681: On passage of the bill to authorize and require the President of the United States to allocate crude oil and refined petroleum products to deal with existing or imminent shortages (passed 337-72).	Yes.
505	do H.R. 9682: On an amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute to the District of Columbia Self-Government and Governmental Reorganization Act which retains the Presidential appointment of judges to the District of Columbia Court of Appeals and the District of Columbia Superior Court (passed 228-186).	Yes.	539	do S. 2016: On adoption of the conference report on the bill to provide financial assistance to the National Railroad Passenger Corporation (passed 346-51).	Yes.
506	do H.R. 9682: On an amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute to the District of Columbia Self-Government and Governmental Reorganization Act which sought to authorize a right for the Congress or the President to veto any legislation by the City Council (defeated 138-273).	No.	540	Oct. 18 Quorum call.	Present.
507	do H.R. 9682: On an amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute to the District of Columbia Self-Government and Governmental Reorganization Act which establishes a Federal enclave (passed 209-202).	No.	541	do H.R. 10397: On passage of the bill to extend the authorization of appropriations for the Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-Speaking People (passed 273-97).	Yes.
508	do H.R. 9682: On an amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute to the District of Columbia Self-Government and Governmental Reorganization Act which sought to create a 3-man police commission to submit 3 nominees from which the President would appoint one as the chief of police (defeated 132-272).	No.	542	do H.R. 9639: On a motion to concur to the Senate amendment to the House amendment to the Senate amendment No. 5 to the bill to amend the National School Lunch and Child Nutrition Acts for the purpose of providing additional Federal financial assistance to the school lunch and school breakfast programs (defeated 145-218).	No.
509	do Quorum call.	Present.	543	Oct. 23 Quorum call.	Absent.
510	do H.R. 9682: On an amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute to the District of Columbia Self-Government and Governmental Reorganization Act which sought to exclude Maryland and Virginia from the planning for Federal establishment by the National Capitol Planning Commission (defeated 130-278).	No.	544	do H.R. 10586: On passage of the bill to authorize the use of health maintenance organizations in providing health care, as an alternative to CHAMPUS (passed 345-41).	Yes.
511	do H.R. 9682: On a substitute amendment for the amendment in the nature of a substitute to the District of Columbia Self-Government and Governmental Reorganization Act which contains the provisions of H.R. 10692 (defeated 144-273).	No.	545	Oct. 24 Quorum call.	Present.
512	do H.R. 9682: On passage of the District of Columbia Self-Government and Governmental Reorganization Act (passed 343-74).	Yes.	546	do	Present.
513	Oct. 11 Quorum call.	Present.	547	do H. Res. 600: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 3927, the bill to extend the Environmental Education Act for 3 years (passed 369-15).	Yes.
514	do	Present.	548	do Quorum call.	Present.
515	do H.J. Res. 727: On a motion to recommit the conference report on the resolution making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1974 to the committee of conference (defeated 162-225).	No.	549	do H.R. 3927: On an amendment to the bill to extend the Environmental Education Act for 3 years which sought to limit the bill to a 1-year authorization (defeated 140-252).	No.
516	do H.J. Res. 727: On adoption of the conference report on the resolution making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1974 (passed 309-99).	Yes.	550	do H.R. 3927: On passage of the bill to extend the Environmental Education Act for 3 years (passed 335-60).	Yes.
517	do Quorum call.	Present.	551	Oct. 25 H. Res. 655: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 10956, the Emergency Medical Services Systems Act of 1973 (passed 380-2).	Yes.
518	do H.R. 1814: On passage of the bill to authorize certain construction at military installations (passed 359-28).	Yes.	552	do H.R. 10956: On passage of the Emergency Medical Services Systems Act of 1973 (passed 364-18).	Yes.
519	Oct. 12 Quorum call.	Present.	553	Oct. 30 H. Res. 656: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 9456, the bill to extend the Drug Abuse Education Act of 1970 for 3 years (passed 376-4).	Absent.
520	do H.J. Res. 542: On adoption of the conference report on the resolution concerning the war powers of Congress and the President (passed 238-123).	Yes.	554	do H.R. 9456: On passage of the bill to extend the Drug Abuse Educational Act of 1970 for 3 years (passed 372-13).	Yes.
521	do H.R. 10203: On passage of the bill authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation and flood control (passed 337-14).	Yes.	555	Oct. 31 Quorum call.	Present.
522	do Quorum call.	Present.	556	do H.R. 9286: On a motion to the conference report on the military procurement authorization bill for fiscal year 1974 which sought to delete sec. 817 (defeated 103-290).	No.
523	Oct. 15 do	Present.	557	Nov. 6 Quorum call.	Present.
524	do	Present.	558	do H.J. Res. 735: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to receive for instruction at the U.S. Naval Academy two citizens and subjects of the Empire of Iran (Passed 343-38).	Yes.
525	do S. 907: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to authorize the appropriation of \$150,000 to assist in financing the arctic winter games to be held in the State of Alaska in 1974 (passed 306-54).	Yes.	559	do H.R. 5874: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to establish a Federal Financing Bank (passed 349-25).	Yes.
526	do H.R. 8346: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to amend the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1970 to provide a more effective approach to the problem of developing and maintaining a rational relationship between building codes and related regulatory requirements and building technology in the United States (defeated 108-258).	No.	560	do H.R. 8219: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to authorize the President to extend certain privileges and immunities to the Organization of African Unity (passed 340-39).	Yes.
527	Oct. 16 Quorum call.	Present.	561	do H.R. 10937: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to extend the life of the June 5, 1972 grand jury of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia (passed 378-1).	Yes.
528	do H.R. 9590: On adoption of the conference report on the bill making appropriations for the Treasury Department, the U.S. Postal Service, the Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies for fiscal 1974 (passed 403-10).	Yes.	562	Nov. 7 Quorum call.	Present.
529	do H.R. 9590: On a motion to recede and concur in Senate amendment No. 14 to the bill making appropriations for the Treasury Department, the U.S. Postal Service, the Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies for fiscal 1974 (passed 253-153).	No.	563	do H.J. Res. 542: To override the President's veto of the bill concerning the war powers of Congress and the President (passed 284-135).	Yes.
530	do H.R. 9590: On a motion to recede and concur in Senate amendment No. 15 to the bill making appropriations for the Treasury Department, the U.S. Postal Service, the Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies for fiscal 1974 (passed 302-107).	No.	564	do H. Res. 687: On ordering the previous question on the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 11104, the bill to provide for a temporary increase of \$13,000,000,000 in the public debt limit and to extend the period to which this temporary limit applies to June 30, 1974 (passed 274-135).	Yes.
531	do H.R. 6691: On adoption of the conference report on the bill making appropriations for the legislative branch for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974 (passed 400-11).	Yes.	565	do Quorum call.	Present.
532	do H.R. 10717: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to repeal the act terminating Federal supervision over the property and members of the Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin as a federally recognized sovereign Indian tribe (passed 404-3).	Yes.	566	do H.R. 11104: On an amendment to the bill to provide for a temporary increase of \$13,000,000,000 in the public debt limit and to extend the period to which this temporary limit applies to June 30, 1974, which reduces the increase in the debt limit by \$2,300,000,000 (passed 263-147).	Yes.
533	do H.R. 9681: On an amendment to the bill to authorize and require the President of the United States to allocate crude oil and refined petroleum products to deal with existing or imminent shortages which sought to add language providing that an allocation of crude oil should not apply to producers unless the President finds that it is necessary to carry out the purposes of the bill (defeated 136-245).	No.	567	do H.R. 11104: On passage of the bill to provide for a temporary increase of \$13,000,000,000 in the public debt limit and to extend the period to which this temporary limit applies to June 30, 1974 (passed 253-153).	No.
			568	do H. Res. 688: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 9142, the Regional Rail Reorganization Act of 1973 (passed 393-2).	Yes.
			569	do Quorum call.	Present.
			570	do H.R. 9142: On an amendment to the Regional Rail Reorganization Act of 1973 which sought to add language providing that no payments be made to any protected employee for longer than 6 years beyond the acquisition of the railroad by the Corporation (defeated 148-245).	No.

Rollcall No. 1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Rollcall No. 1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote
571..... Nov. 7.....	H.R. 9142: On an amendment to the Regional Rail Reorganization Act of 1973 which sought to limit the payment of the monthly displacement allowance for employees who are transferred to another railroad to 6 years (defeated 187-198).	No.	603..... Nov. 29.....	H. Res. 721: On adoption of the resolution disagreeing to the Senate amendments to H.R. 11104, the bill to provide for a temporary increase of \$10,700,000,000 in the public debt limit and to extend the period to which this temporary limit applies to June 30, 1974 (passed 347-54).	No.
572..... do.....	H.R. 9142: On passage of the Regional Rail Reorganization Act of 1973 (passed 306-82).	Yes.	604..... do.....	Quorum call.	Present.
573..... Nov. 12.....	Quorum call.	Present.	605..... do.....	H.R. 11575: On an amendment to the bill making appropriations for the Department of Defense for fiscal 1974 which sought to restore \$1,250,000 for race relations training in the Army, Navy, and Air Force (defeated 178-226).	Yes.
574..... do.....	S. 1081: On a motion to recommit the conference report on the bill to authorize a trans-Alaska oil pipeline to the committee on conference with instruction to the managers on the part of the House to insist on disagreement to title III (subpena and injunctive relief) and to sections 601 (confirmation of the Director of the Energy Policy Office) and 602 (confirmation of the head of the Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration) of the Senate bill (defeated 162-213).	No.	606..... Nov. 30.....	Quorum call.	Present.
575..... do.....	S. 1081: On adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize a trans-Alaska oil pipeline (passed 361-14).	Yes.	607..... do.....	H.R. 11575: On an amendment to the bill making appropriations for the Department of Defense of fiscal 1974 which sought to strike language providing that not more than \$851,672,000 be available for repair, alteration, and overhaul of vessels in Navy shipyards (defeated 170-203).	Yes.
576..... Nov. 13.....	Quorum call.	Present.	608..... do.....	H.R. 11575: On an amendment to the bill making appropriations for the Department of Defense for fiscal 1974 which sought to require funding of the \$3,500,000,000 of the total appropriation from backlog "pipeline" funds left over from prior years (defeated 118-250).	Yes.
577..... do.....	H.R. 8916: On adoption of the conference report on the bill making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies for fiscal year 1974 (passed 394-11).	Yes.	609..... do.....	H.R. 11575: On an amendment to the bill making appropriations for the Department of Defense for fiscal 1974 which sought to reduce the end strength troop level by 22,000 (defeated 160-210).	Yes.
578..... do.....	H. Con. Res. 378: On adoption of the resolution providing for an adjournment of the House from Thursday, Nov. 15 to Monday, Nov. 26 (passed 215-190).	No.	610..... do.....	H.R. 11575: On passage of the bill making appropriations for the Department of Defense for fiscal 1974 (passed 336-23).	Yes.
579..... do.....	H.R. 8877: On a motion to recommit the conference report on the bill making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies for fiscal year 1974 to the committee of conference (passed 272-139).	No.	611..... do.....	Quorum call.	Present.
580..... do.....	Quorum call.	Present.	612..... do.....	H.R. 11576: On an amendment to the bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, which sought to raise by \$35,000,000 the funds appropriated for grant programs for State social rehabilitation services, thereby restoring the appropriation to the level of \$650,000,000 provided in the authorization (defeated 160-164).	Yes.
581..... do.....	S. 1570: On adoption of the conference report on the Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act of 1973 (passed 348-46).	Yes.	613..... do.....	H.R. 11576: On passage of the bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974 (passed 295-8).	Yes.
582..... Nov. 14.....	H. Res. 128: On adoption of the resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to actions which should be taken by Members of the House upon being convicted of certain crimes (passed 388-18).	Yes.	614..... Dec. 3.....	Quorum call.	Present.
583..... do.....	Quorum call.	Present.	615..... do.....	S. 1191: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to provide financial assistance for a demonstration program for the prevention, identification, and treatment of child abuse and neglect, and to establish a National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect (passed 354-36).	Yes.
584..... do.....	H.R. 11459: On passage of the bill making appropriations for military construction for the Department of Defense for fiscal year 1974 (passed 366-29).	Yes.	616..... do.....	H.R. 11710: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to insure that the compensation and other emoluments attached to the Office of Attorney General are those which were in effect on Jan. 1, 1969, to amend title 39, United States Code, and to clarify the proper use of the franking privilege by Members of Congress (passed 261-129).	No.
585..... do.....	Quorum call.	Present.	617..... do.....	H.R. 9437: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to amend the International Travel Act of 1961 to authorize appropriations for the fiscal year 1974-76 (passed 272-120).	No.
586..... Nov. 15.....	Quorum call.	Present.	618..... Dec. 4.....	Quorum call.	Present.
587..... do.....	H. Res. 702: On ordering the previous question on the committee amendment to the resolution providing funds for the Committee on the Judiciary (passed 230-182).	Yes.	619..... do.....	H. Res. 725: On adoption of the rule waiving all points of order against the conference report on S. 1443, the bill to authorize the furnishing of defense articles and services to foreign countries and international organizations (passed 265-137).	No.
588..... do.....	H. Res. 702: On ordering the previous question on the resolution providing funds for the Committee on the Judiciary (passed 233-186).	Yes.	620..... do.....	S. 1443: On adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize the furnishing of defense articles and services to foreign countries and international organizations (passed 210-193).	No.
589..... do.....	H. Res. 702: On a motion to recommit the resolution providing funds for the Committee on the Judiciary to the Committee on House Administration with instructions to report the resolution back forthwith with an amendment which sought to earmark $\frac{1}{2}$ of the funds to the minority and prohibit the use of any funds until the Committee on the Judiciary defines the nature and scope of the studies and investigations (defeated 190-227).	No.	621..... do.....	H. Con. Res. 173: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass the concurrent resolution relating to the U.S. fishing industry (passed 405-0).	Yes.
590..... do.....	H. Res. 702: On adoption of the resolution providing funds for the Committee on the Judiciary (passed 367-51).	Yes.	622..... Dec. 5.....	H.R. 8877: On adoption of the conference report on the bill making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education and Welfare and related agencies for fiscal year 1974 (passed 371-33).	Yes.
591..... do.....	H.R. 11333: On an amendment to the bill to provide a 7-percent increase in social security benefits beginning with March 1974, and an additional 4-percent increase beginning with June 1974, and to provide increases in supplemental security income benefits which deletes language which sought to allow States to raise supplemental security income benefits by amounts provided in the bill to qualify for their "hold harmless" protection (passed 246-163).	Yes.	623..... do.....	H.R. 8877: On a motion to recede and concur with amendments in Senate amendment No. 1 on the conference report on the bill making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education and Welfare and related agencies for fiscal year 1974 (passed 263-140).	Yes.
592..... do.....	H.R. 11333: On passage of the bill to provide a 7-percent increase in social security benefits beginning with March 1974 and an additional 4-percent increase beginning with June 1974, and to provide increases in supplemental security income benefits (passed 391-20).	Yes.	624..... do.....	H.R. 7130: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives and the Senate to improve Congressional control over budgetary outlay and receipt totals and to provide for a Legislative Budget Director and staff which sought to prohibit consideration of authorizing legislation after July in lieu of Mar. 31 of each year (defeated 106-300).	No.
593..... Nov. 26.....	Quorum call.	Present.	625..... do.....	H.R. 7130: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives and the Senate to improve Congressional control over budgetary outlay and receipt totals and to provide for a Legislative Budget Director and staff which sought to require the pilot-testing of all Federal programs prior to the implementation unless the committee report on such legislation indicates why this is unnecessary (defeated 185-218).	No.
594..... do.....	H.R. 11238: On passage of the bill to provide for an improved system of adoption of children in the District of Columbia (passed 350-0).	Yes.	626..... do.....	H.R. 7130: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives and the Senate to improve Congressional control over budgetary outlay and receipt totals and to provide for a Legislative Budget Director and staff which sought to provide for a maximum limitation on authorizations for appropriations to 3 yr except those funded through user taxes (defeated 192-217).	Yes.
595..... Nov. 27.....	H.R. 7446: On adoption of the conference report on the bill to establish the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration (passed 357-34).	Yes.	627..... do.....	H.R. 7130: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives and the Senate to improve Congressional control over budgetary outlay and receipt totals and to provide for a Legislative Budget Director and staff which sought to require all appropriations bills be sent to the President at the same time with no exceptions (defeated 117-389).	No.
596..... do.....	H. Res. 718: On adoption of the "rules" under which to consider H.R. 11324, a bill to provide for daylight saving time on a year-round basis for a 2-year trial period (passed 349-40).	Yes.	628..... do.....	H.R. 7130: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives and the Senate to improve Congressional control over budgetary outlay and receipt totals and to provide for a Legislative Budget Director and staff which sought to delete the title on impoundment control (defeated 108-295).	No.
597..... do.....	H.R. 11324: On passage of the bill to provide for daylight saving time on a year-round basis for a 2-year trial period (passed 311-88).	No.			
598..... Nov. 28.....	H. Res. 719: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 11010, the bill to assure opportunities and training to unemployed and underemployed persons (passed 376-7).	Yes.			
599..... do.....	H.R. 11010: On an amendment to the bill to assure opportunities and training to unemployed and underemployed persons which reduces the population requirement for receiving assistance from manpower programs from 100,000 to 50,000 (passed 248-149).	Yes.			
600..... do.....	H.R. 11010: On an amendment as amended by the substitute amendment to the bill to assure opportunities for employment and training to unemployed and underemployed persons which adds language which permits areas where the units of local government have an aggregate population of 50,000 or more to qualify for financial assistance (passed 200-140).	Yes.			
601..... do.....	H.R. 11010: On an amendment to the bill to assure opportunities and training to unemployed and underemployed persons which sought to raise from \$500,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000 the funds appropriated for 1975 to be reserved for public employment programs under title II (defeated 107-292).	No.			
602..... do.....	H.R. 11010: On passage of the bill to assure opportunities and training to unemployed and underemployed persons (passed 369-51).	Yes.			

VOTING RECORD—WILLIAM R. ROY, 93D CONG., 1ST SESS.—Continued

Rollcall No. 1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Rollcall No. 1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote
629..... Dec. 5	H.R. 7130: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives and the Senate to improve Congressional control over budgetary outlay and receipt totals and to provide for a Legislative Budget Director and staff which sought to require both Houses of Congress to take action before a Presidential impoundment is disapproved and to allow selective disapproval of impoundments by Congress (defeated 186-221).	No.	661..... Dec. 13	H.R. 11450: On an amendment to the bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met, which removes coal from the "windfall profits" section of the bill (passed 256-155).	Yes.
630..... do	H.R. 7130: On an amendment to the bill to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives and the Senate to improve Congressional control over budgetary outlay and receipt totals and to provide for a Legislative Budget Director and staff which sought to make title II (impoundment control) effective on Oct. 1, 1975 (defeated 185-221).	No.	662..... do	H.R. 11450: On an amendment to the bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met, which bans the allocation of petroleum for busing of public school students to schools further than the school nearest their home (passed 221-192).	Yes.
631..... do	H.R. 7130: On passage of the bill to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives and the Senate to improve Congressional control over budgetary outlay and receipt totals and to provide for a Legislative Budget Director and staff (passed 396-23).	Yes.	663..... do	H.R. 11450: On a motion to limit debate (failed 58-351).	No.
632..... Dec. 6	Quorum call.	Present.	664..... do	H.R. 11450: On an amendment to the bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met, which sought to redefine "windfall profits" (failed 189-213).	No.
633..... do	H. Res. 738: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H. Res. 735, the resolution confirming the nomination of Gerald R. Ford of the State of Michigan to be Vice President of the United States (passed 389-15).	Yes.	665..... Dec. 13	H.R. 11450: On an amendment to the bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met, which relaxes emission control standards under the bill (passed 199-180).	Yes.
634..... do	H. Res. 735: On adoption of the resolution confirming the nomination of Gerald R. Ford of the State of Michigan to be Vice President of the United States (passed 387-35).	Yes.	666..... Dec. 14	Quorum call.	Present.
635..... Dec. 7	H.R. 11459: On adoption of the conference report on the bill to make appropriations for military construction for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974 (passed 329-40).	Yes.	667..... do	H.R. 11450: On an amendment to the bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met, which sought to strike sec. 114, the antitrust exemptions on retail business voluntary agreements (failed 170-223).	No.
636..... do	H. Res. 673: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 9107, a bill to provide increases in certain annuities payable under chapter 83 of title 5, U.S.C. (passed 295-70).	Yes.	668..... do	H.R. 11450: On an amendment to the bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met, which sought to delay by three years the effective date for emission controls (failed 180-210).	Yes.
637..... do	H.R. 9107: On passage of a bill to provide increases in certain annuities payable under chapter 83 of title 5, U.S.C. (passed 270-95).	Yes.	669..... do	H.R. 11450: On an amendment to the bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met, which sought to remove from energy controls school busing that was voluntarily entered into by a school board or appropriate school authority (failed 185-202).	No.
638..... Dec. 10	Quorum call.	Present.	670..... do	H.R. 11450: On a motion to limit debate (passed 197-196).	No.
639..... do	H. Res. 657: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 10710, a bill to promote the development of an open, nondiscriminatory, and fair world economic system and to stimulate the economic growth of the United States (passed 230-147).	No.	671..... do	H.R. 11450: On a motion to strike the enacting clause (failed 58-335).	No.
640..... do	Quorum call.	Present.	672..... do	H.R. 11450: On an amendment to the bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met, which limits the number of fuel inefficient vehicles used by the Federal Government (passed 299-89).	Yes.
641..... do	do	Present.	673..... do	H.R. 11450: On an amendment to the bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met, which sought to exempt producers of less than 25,000 barrels of oil per day from the restrictions on "windfall profits" (failed 189-194).	No.
642..... Dec. 11	do	Present.	674..... do	H.R. 11450: On an amendment to the bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met, which requires that the energy conservation plans submitted under the bill include proposals for Federal aid to stimulate mass transit use and subsidize low fares (passed 197-184).	No.
643..... do	H.R. 10710: On an amendment to the bill to promote the development of an open, nondiscriminatory, and fair world economic system and to stimulate the economic growth of the United States which denies loans, credits, and guarantees to nonmarket countries denying freedom of emigration (passed 319-80).	Yes.	675..... do	H.R. 11450: On a motion that the Committee rise (failed 104-280).	No.
644..... do	H.R. 10710: On an amendment to the bill to promote the development of an open, nondiscriminatory, and fair world economic system and to stimulate the economic growth of the United States which sought to strike title IV (failed 106-298).	No.	676..... do	H.R. 11450: On an amendment to the bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met, which directs the President to make grants to States to provide unemployment benefits to workers displaced as a result of the act (passed 311-73).	Yes.
645..... do	H.R. 10710: On passage of a bill to promote the development of an open, nondiscriminatory, and fair world economic system, and to stimulate the economic growth of the United States (passed 272-140).	Yes.	677..... do	H.R. 11450: On an amendment to the bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met, which prevents discrimination against businesses which operate at hours other than 9 to 5, Monday through Friday (passed 301-60).	Yes.
646..... do	H.R. 11088: On an amendment to the bill to provide emergency security assistance authorizations for Israel and Cambodia which sought to support the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 (failed 82-334).	No.	678..... do	H.R. 11450: On an amendment to the bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met, which includes marine activities within the category of agriculture (passed 332-19).	Yes.
647..... do	H.R. 11088: On passage of a bill to provide emergency security assistance authorizations for Israel and Cambodia (passed 364-52).	No.	679..... do	H.R. 11450: On an amendment to the bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met, which authorizes the Energy Administrator to restrict exports of coal, petroleum products, or petrochemical feedstocks if these exports would contribute to unemployment in the United States (passed 327-27).	Yes.
648..... do	Quorum call.	Present.	680..... do	H.R. 11450: On an amendment to the bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met, which seeks to protect the naval petroleum reserves and other reserves under the jurisdiction of the Defense Department from the crude oil production requirements imposed on oilfields on Federal lands (failed 174-202).	No.
649..... do	do	Present.	681..... do	H.R. 11450: On an amendment to the bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met, which sought to exempt certain oil producers from the "windfall profits" provisions (failed 140-226).	Yes.
650..... do	H.R. 11771: On an amendment to the bill making appropriations for Foreign Assistance and related programs for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974 which sought to delete funds for and prohibit aid to Chile (failed 102-304).	Yes.	682..... do	H.R. 11450: On an amendment to the bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met, which directs the Interstate Commerce Commission to eliminate discrimination against the shipment of recycled materials (passed 349-8).	Yes.
651..... do	H.R. 11771: On an amendment to the bill making appropriations for Foreign Assistance and related programs for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974 which sought a \$100 million reduction in emergency military assistance funds for Cambodia (failed 147-256).	Yes.			
652..... do	H.R. 11771: On an amendment to the bill making appropriations for Foreign Assistance and related programs for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974 which sought to deny Export-Import Bank credits to nonmarket economy countries (failed 134-266).	Yes.			
653..... do	H.R. 11771: On passage of a bill making appropriations for Foreign Assistance and related programs for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974 (passed 219-180).	No.			
654..... Dec. 12	Quorum call.	Present.			
655..... do	do	Present.			
656..... do	H. Res. 744: On adoption of the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 11450, a bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met (passed 272-129).	No.			
657..... do	Quorum call.	Present.			
658..... do	H.R. 11450: On an amendment to the bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met which sought to strike the provision requiring that the President submit all energy conservation plans to Congress for appropriate action, and instead permit either House of Congress to veto any plan, provided that the disapproval come within 15 days (failed 152-256).	No.			
659..... do	H.R. 11450: On an amendment to the bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met which strengthens and clarifies antitrust provisions of the bill (passed 286-112).	Yes.			
660..... Dec. 13	Quorum call.	Present.			

Rollcall No. 1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Rollcall No. 1973	Measure, question, and result	Vote
683.....	Dec. 14. H.R. 11450: On a motion that the Committee rise (failed 86-290).	No.	707.....	Dec. 19. H.R. 11510: On passage of the bill to reorganize and consolidate certain functions of the Federal Government in the new Energy Research and Development Administration and in a Nuclear Energy Commission in order to promote more efficient management of such functions (passed 355-25).	Yes.
684.....	do. H.R. 11450: On an amendment to the bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met, which sought to prohibit the export of crude oil, residual fuel oil, and refined petroleum products unless approved by the President (defeated 152-205).	No.	708.....	Dec. 20. Quorum call.	Present.
685.....	do. H.R. 11450: On an amendment to the bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met, which sought to delay by 2 years the effective date for emission controls (failed 170-205).	No.	709.....	do. S. 1559: On a motion to recommit the conference report on the act to provide financial assistance to enable State and local governments to assume responsibilities for job training and community services (failed 53-264).	Yes.
686.....	do. H.R. 11450: On an amendment to the bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met, which prohibits the exportation of petroleum products for use in military operations in South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos (passed 201-172).	Yes.	710.....	do. S. 1559: On adoption of the conference report on an act to provide financial assistance to enable State and local governments to assume responsibilities for job training and community services (passed 330-33).	Yes.
687.....	do. H.R. 11450: On an amendment to the bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met, which sought to prohibit the exportation of petroleum products for use in military operations in South Israel (failed 50-320).	Yes.	711.....	do. H.R. 11575: On a motion to recommit the conference report on a bill making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974 (failed 88-280).	Yes.
688.....	do. H.R. 11450: On a motion to recommit the bill (failed 173-205).	Yes.	712.....	do. H.R. 11575: On adoption of the conference report on a bill making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974 (passed 336-32).	Yes.
689.....	do. H.R. 11450: On passage of a bill to direct the President to take action to assure, through energy conservation, rationing, and other means, that the essential energy needs of the United States are met (passed 265-112).	No.	713.....	Dec. 20. H.R. 11171: On adoption of the Conference Report on the bill making appropriations for foreign assistance and related programs for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974 (passed 216-149).	No.
690.....	Dec. 17. Quorum call.	Present.	714.....	do. S. 1983: On adoption of the Conference Report on an act to provide for the conservation, protection, and propagation of species or subspecies of fish and wildlife that are threatened with extinction or likely within the foreseeable future to become threatened with extinction (passed 355-4).	Yes.
691.....	do. do.	Present.	715.....	do. H. Res. 754: On a motion to suspend the rules and agree to a resolution to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 6186) to amend the District of Columbia Revenue Act of 1947 regarding taxability of dividends received by a corporation from insurance companies, banks, and other savings institutions, with Senate amendments thereto, and agree to the Senate amendments numbered 1 and 2 and agree to Senate amendment number 3 with an amendment (passed 319-26).	Yes.
692.....	do. S. 1435: On a motion to recommit the Conference Report on an Act to provide an elected Mayor and City Council for the District of Columbia (failed 80-259).	No.	16.....	do. H.R. 9142: On adoption of the Conference Report on a bill to restore, support, and maintain modern, efficient rail service in the northeast region of the United States, to designate a system of essential rail lines in the northeast region, to provide financial assistance to rail carriers in the northeast region, to improve competitive equity among surface transportation modes, to improve the process of Government regulation (passed 284-59).	Yes.
693.....	do. S. 1435: On adoption of the Conference Report on an Act to provide an elected Mayor and City Council for the District of Columbia (passed 272-74).	Yes.	717.....	do. H.R. 11576: On adoption of the Conference Report on a bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974 (passed 329-10).	Yes.
694.....	Dec. 17. S.J. Res. 180: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass a joint resolution relative to the convening of the 2d sess. of the 93d Cong. (passed 263-91).	Yes.	718.....	do. Quorum call.	Present.
695.....	do. S. 2482: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass an act to amend the Small Business Act, as amended (passed 339-21).	Yes.	719.....	do. H.R. 11333: On concurring in the Senate amendment to the bill to provide a 7 percent increase in social security benefits beginning with March 1974, and an additional 4 percent increase beginning with June 1974, and to provide increases in supplemental security income benefits (passed 301-13).	Yes.
696.....	Dec. 18. Quorum call.	Present.	720.....	Dec. 21. H. Res. 759: On a motion for a second to the resolution to take from the Speaker's table the Senate bill S. 921, to amend the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, with a Senate amendment (S. 2589) to the House amendment thereto, and agree to the Senate amendment to the House amendment with an amendment (H.R. 12128—energy bill with windfall profits provision) (passed 148-113).	Yes.
697.....	do. H.R. 9256: On adoption of the conference report on the bill to increase the contribution of the Federal Government to the cost of health benefits for Federal employees (passed 307-82).	Yes.	721.....	do. H. Res. 759: On a motion to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution to take from the Speaker's table the Senate bill S. 921, to amend the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, with a Senate amendment (S. 2589) to the House amendment thereto, and agree to the Senate amendment to the House amendment with an amendment (H.R. 12128—energy bill with windfall profits provision) (failed 169-95).	Yes.
698.....	do. H. Res. 746: On agreeing to the resolution to authorize the Speaker to entertain motions to suspend the rules on Wednesday, Dec. 19, 1973, and for the balance of the week (passed 284-101).	Yes.	722.....	do. H. Res. 759: On a motion to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution to take from the Speaker's table the Senate bill S. 921, to amend the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, with a Senate amendment (S. 2589) to the House amendment thereto, and agree to the Senate amendment to the House amendment with an amendment (H.R. 12128—energy bill with windfall profits provision deleted) (failed 22-240).	No.
699.....	do. S. 2166: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass an act to authorize the disposal of opium from the national stockpile, as amended (passed 270-122).	No.	723.....	do. H. Res. 761: On a motion to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution to take from the Speaker's table the Senate bill S. 921, to amend the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, with a Senate amendment (S. 2589) to the House amendment thereto, and agree to the Senate amendment to the House amendment with an amendment (H.R. 12129—energy bill with windfall profits provision) (failed 22-240).	No.
700.....	do. S. 2316: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass an act to authorize the disposal of copper from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile, as amended (passed 315-73).	No.	724.....	do. H. Con. Res. 411: On agreeing to the concurrent resolution providing for the adjournment sine die of the 1st Session of the 93d Congress (failed 74-171).	No.
701.....	do. H.R. 11714: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass a bill to provide for the development of improved design, lighting, insulation, and architectural standards to promote efficient use in residential, commercial, and industrial buildings, as amended (passed 230-160).	Yes.	725.....	Dec. 22. On a motion to adjourn (failed 39-160).	No.
702.....	do. H.R. 11763: On a motion to suspend the rules and pass a bill to amend the National Visitor Center Facilities Act of 1968, as amended, to facilitate the construction of an intercity bus terminal (passed 356-18).	Yes.	726.....	do. Quorum call.	Present.
703.....	Dec. 19. Quorum call.	Present.			
704.....	do. H.R. 11576: On a motion to recommit with instructions the conference report on the bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974 (passed 216-180).	No.			
705.....	do. Quorum call.	Present.			
706.....	do. H.R. 11510: On an amendment to the bill to reorganize and consolidate certain functions of the Federal Government in the new Energy Research and Development Administration and in a Nuclear Energy Commission in order to promote more efficient management of such functions, which sought to add one additional administrator designated for energy conservation (failed 112-271).	Yes.			

HCIS ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1973

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 19, 1974

Mr. ASHBROOK, Mr. Speaker, the distinguished chairman of the House Committee on Internal Security, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. ICHORD) has

CXX—229—Part 3

filed the committee's 1973 annual report with the House of Representatives. A copy of this report will be available to each Member in the next few days. As the ranking minority member of that committee, I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the gentleman from Missouri for the fairness that he has shown to the minority of the committee. Our committee is one of the few in the House that has an augmented minority staff in addition to the three re-

quired by law. As the result, the minority members and staff have been afforded the opportunity to significantly participate in the work of the committee. The 1973 annual report indicates in detail the extent of minority participation in committee activities.

During the committee's extensive hearings into subversive activities aimed at prison disturbances minority members participated in the questioning of witnesses, one of whom was secured by

the minority staff. A valuable report on the Workers World Party, a violence-oriented Communist group active in prison disturbances, was also prepared by the minority staff. A minority investigator testified about the Communist Party's new front National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression and its plans for future prison disturbances.

The committee held hearings on theory and practice of communism. Minority participation included the development of evidence concerning the Communist Party, U.S.A., as a defender of Soviet antisemitism; Communist attempts to repenetrate the trade union movement; Red China's role in the narcotics traffic; and the defeat of the Communists in Chile. The minority has made a particular contribution in studying the role of the Trotskyite Communists in the international terrorist movement.

The committee accomplished a wide spectrum of substantial projects during the past year despite a reduced appropriation which forced a cut in personnel. We are already well into a more ambitious program for this year. Our work is proof of the Bolling committee's error in recommending the abolition of the committee and the transfer of its functions to a Judiciary Subcommittee. No subcommittee, however well-intentioned, could carry on the extensive and important work that has been done by this committee. The Judiciary Committee particularly is so overworked that it has been unable to fully accomplish the work assigned to it by this Congress when the Select Committee on Crime's jurisdiction was transferred to Judiciary. The Subcommittee on Crime has had one 3-day legislative hearing and no investigative hearings according to their staff.

The suggestion of the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. ICHORD) that the Crime Committee functions be turned over to the Internal Security Committee is a welcome one. As the distinguished gentleman from Florida (Mr. PEPPER) is a member of the Internal Security Committee he could continue the important work that he started as chairman of the Select Committee on Crime by chairing a permanent subcommittee of the Committee on Internal Security.

I urge my colleagues of this legislative body to support the full appropriation request of the chairman of the Committee on Internal Security and to defeat the Bolling committee's proposal to destroy the Committee on Internal Security.

POW WIVES NEED VIETNAM VETERANS AND DEPENDENTS PSYCHOLOGICAL READJUSTMENT ASSISTANCE ACT

HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 19, 1974

Ms. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post has just reported the results of a study conducted by Drs. Richard C. Hall and William C. Simmons on the

psychological disturbances suffered by Vietnam POW wives. The doctors discovered guilt feelings among the wives about their own ambivalent feelings concerning their husbands' return.

Hall and Simmons said:

Any expression of negative feeling toward their husbands was treated by families, neighbors and the military community as signs of unfaithfulness or cruelty.

They said the suppressed anger and resultant guilt were channeled into various medical complaints that increased their sense of inadequacy and hopelessness.

In view of the results of this study, I urge those of my colleagues who have not yet joined in cosponsoring the Vietnam Veterans and Dependents Psychological Readjustment Assistance Act to do so now. The act directs the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to initiate and carry out a special psychiatric, psychological, and counseling program for veterans of the Vietnam era, especially former prisoners of war, and their dependents who are experiencing psychological problems as the result of the military service performed by such veterans. We, as a Nation, cannot afford to delay aid to those who so selflessly sacrificed years of their lives to the service of their country.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I am inserting the Washington Post article, "POW Wives Shown in Severe Stress," and my bill, H.R. 10882 in the RECORD:

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 17, 1974]

POW WIVES SHOWN IN SEVERE STRESS

(By Al Rossiter, Jr.)

A study of 11 prisoner of war wives who sought psychiatric help showed they felt ostracized by both the military and civilian communities.

Drs. Richard C. W. Hall and William C. Simmons said their research indicated that the POW family was often in need of psychiatric help but that it was only reluctantly offered by their physician and seemed to have a significant stigma attached to it.

The two psychiatrists, then attached to a naval hospital and writing in a recent issue of the Archives of General Psychiatry, said the 11 women studied experienced increasing psychic disturbances as the Vietnam war began to wind down.

Their major concern, the report said, was their ambivalence concerning their husband's return and the subsequent guilt that this feeling caused. Their conflicts were highlighted by their inability to express, even to one another, the anger they felt.

"Any expression of negative feeling toward their husbands was treated by families, neighbors and the military community as signs of unfaithfulness or cruelty," Hall and Simmons said. They said the suppressed anger and resultant guilt were channeled into various medical complaints that increased their sense of inadequacy and hopelessness.

The report said a wife's opposing feelings about her husband were compounded by the uncertainty of what he would be like when he returned home. She wondered if he would still find her desirable and she him, would he support the major decisions she had made in his absence, and should she have gotten a divorce?

All of the POW wives studied faced severe problems of sexual role adjustment, Hall and Simmons said. They said the women were not viewed as individuals but as stereotypes.

"The military community was most likely to regard them as vamps," the report said.

"Fellow military wives viewed them with suspicion and in many cases overt distrust. All of the wives in this study reported that after an initial period of 'social mourning,' which lasted about six months, they were politely dropped from the military's informal social rolls.

"They differed from the war widow since male companions could not be invited to parties as their dates. Men who chatted with them in more than a cursory manner were considered by the rest of the group to be out of line. Other wives considered them 'on the prowl.'"

"The civilian community tended to regard the POW wife as an asexual superwoman, virtuous to a fault, honest, trustworthy, frigid, and unaffected by loneliness in the case of honor. This image persisted, however, only so long as the POW wife refused all male acquaintanceship."

Hall and Simmons said the wives sought treatment as a group and set strong taboos against members seeking individual treatment. One group sought help when one wife attempted suicide and the other sought treatment when one woman was hospitalized when she no longer was able to cope with her problems.

H.R. 10882

A bill to amend chapter 17 of title 38, United States Code, to direct the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to initiate and carry out a special psychiatric, psychological, and counseling program for veterans of the Vietnam era, especially former prisoners of war, and their dependents who are experiencing psychological problems as the result of the military service performed by such veterans

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Vietnam Era Veterans and Dependents Psychological Readjustment Assistance Act of 1973".

SEC. 2. Chapter 17 of title 38, United States Code, is amended by adding after section 620 a new section as follows:

"§ 620A. SPECIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL READJUSTMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.

"(a) As used in this section—

"(1) The term 'veteran' means any person who served in the active military, naval, or air service during the Vietnam era, regardless of the nature of his discharge, and who is in need of the services provided for under this section because of the performance of such service or because of a service-connected disability.

"(2) The term 'dependent' means—

"(A) the spouse or child of a veteran;

"(B) the spouse or child of a veteran who died while in service or who died as the result of a service-connected disability;

"(C) the spouse or child of a member of the armed forces in a missing status (as defined in section 551(2) of title 37); or

"(D) any member of the immediate family of a veteran or dependent (including a legal guardian), or, in the case of a veteran or dependent who has no immediate family (or legal guardian), the person in whose household the veteran or dependent certifies his intention to live, if the Administrator determines that providing services under this section to such member is necessary or appropriate to the successful treatment and rehabilitation of the veteran or dependent.

"(b) The Administrator shall initiate and carry out a special program for the treatment and rehabilitation of veterans, especially former prisoners of war, and their dependents who are experiencing psychological problems as the result of the active military, naval, or air service performed by the veteran. Such program shall include, but shall not be limited to, such psychiatric, psychological, and counseling services (in addition

to those services otherwise authorized by this chapter) as may be necessary or appropriate for the successful treatment and rehabilitation of the veteran or dependent.

"(c) In carrying out the special program provided for in subsection (b) of this section, the Administrator shall, under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, contract for psychiatric, psychological, and counseling services from public or private sources whenever the Administrator determines that—

"(1) such services are necessary or appropriate to the successful treatment and rehabilitation of the veteran or dependent and such services are unavailable or inadequate in Veterans' Administration facilities;

"(2) an undue hardship would be placed upon the veteran or dependent because of the distance the veteran or dependent would have to travel in order to obtain such services at a Veterans' Administration facility;

"(3) the hours at which such services are available at a Veterans' Administration facility are incompatible with the time available to the veteran or the dependent and would result in a financial or other hardship on the veteran or dependent to receive such services at the Veterans' Administration facility; or

"(4) such services provided outside Veterans' Administration facilities would, for any reason, be more beneficial to the treatment and rehabilitation of the veteran or dependent.

"(d) The participation of any veteran or dependent in the program provided for under this section shall be wholly voluntary and shall not be a prerequisite to eligibility for or receipt of any other service or assistance from, or participation in, any other program under this title."

Sec. 3. The table of sections at the beginning of chapter 17 of title 38, United States Code, is amended by adding immediately below

"620. Transfers for nursing home care." the following:

"620A. Special psychological readjustment assistance program."

Sec. 4. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the amendments made by section 2 of this Act.

PROSPECTS BRIGHT FOR SOLAR ENERGY

HON. ROBERT MCCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 19, 1974

Mr. MCCLORY. Mr. Speaker, the need for this country to develop new sources of energy is becoming more apparent every day. The United States must be energy self-sufficient if we are to maintain our society and culture as we know it today. If we become energy dependent on other nations, we will be susceptible to energy blackmail and economic warfare. Actions of this sort are not impossible, witness the tremendous rise in the price of oil by the Arab Nations and Iran which will cause many energy dependent nations to have a serious trade imbalance.

Mr. Speaker, after some research, it is obvious that we need a form of energy that is clean, healthful, and reasonably inexpensive. Of the various sources that we are now exploring for possible development, the one that offers the most promise to this Nation and the world is that derived from the Sun—solar energy.

Mr. Speaker, in the recent edition of the Illinois Institute of Technology's journal, *Technology and Human Affairs*, volume 5, No. 3, there is an interesting article by Alexander Goldsmith, who is a senior engineer at IIT Research Institute, entitled, "Prospects for Using Solar Energy," which is very informative and worthwhile reading about the utilization of solar energy.

The article follows:

PROSPECTS FOR USING SOLAR ENERGY

(By Alexander Goldsmith)

THE NATURE OF SOLAR ENERGY

Solar energy, or energy from the sun, reaches the earth in the form of radiation whose intensity is nonuniformly distributed over a range of wavelengths. About 40 per cent of the radiation is in the wavelength band between 0.4 and 0.7 microns, which is the spectrum of visible light, and nearly all the radiation is at wavelengths below 4 microns. The radiant energy can be absorbed, reflected, or transmitted through certain transparent materials, and otherwise behaves like visible light and follows the laws of optics.

It is the nature of radiant energy that its spectral distribution depends on the temperature of the radiating source. The sun radiates essentially as a source at 6000° K, having a maximum spectral intensity at a wavelength of about 0.5 microns (in the visible range). A thermal collector, on the other hand, operating at a temperature of boiling water, for example, would have a maximum spectral intensity at a wavelength of about 10 microns. This difference makes possible the so-called "greenhouse effect" which depends on the selective transmissivity of certain glasses and permits heat entrapment. That is, the glass is transparent to the short-wave radiation from the sun, allowing its entry into an enclosure. However, the same glass is opaque to the longer-wave radiation originating within the enclosure and does not allow its exit. Additional entrapment can be gained by using special coatings on absorbing surfaces within a solar collector. These coatings have a high absorptance for solar radiation and a low emittance for radiation from a relatively low-temperature source. They therefore serve to increase heat absorption.

Outside the earth's atmosphere, a surface perpendicular to the sun's rays would receive about 430 Btus per hour per square foot of area.¹ In passing through the atmosphere, part of this energy is lost by scattering and is absorbed by gases such as water vapor, carbon dioxide, and ozone. At the earth's surface, the maximum energy received is about 290 Btus per hour per square foot in a clear atmosphere, and about 200 in an industrial atmosphere such as New York city (2). Considerably lesser amounts are received at other orientations and under less ideal weather conditions.

Some observers think that if the effort and funds devoted to solar energy development had been comparable to the amounts directed to the development and utilization of fossil fuels, our economy in the 1970s would be based to a great extent on the use of solar energy. Were that so, current environmental protection problems would be considerably less, and the vast reserves of fossil fuels could be utilized for purposes other than combustion.

However, the course of history has run differently and the planned, controlled utilization of solar energy today is minimal and of practically no worldwide significance. Only the recent recognition of an impending shortage of petroleum fuels has stirred interest in other possible energy sources, including solar energy.

Footnotes at end of article.

In an era of increasing energy consumption, rising petroleum prices, and air pollution problems, the use of solar energy as a partial replacement for burning fossil fuels offers some imposing advantages: Solar energy is abundant and inexhaustible; it is free; it produces no form of environmental pollution. The problem at present is to make the use of solar energy economically competitive with other energy sources.

Although the advantages have caused a few people in the technical community to give considerable thought to the economic and other problems of solar energy utilization, the actual effort and funds expended until now toward solving them have been rather insignificant. Various schemes for solar energy utilization have been suggested; some were never carried beyond the description of a concept, and others were carried to the point of constructing a working model. None, however, reached the stage of large-scale commercial utilization, with the possible exception of flat solar collectors for hot water heating in certain parts of the world.

The schemes that have been suggested range from the growing of algae or the increased photosynthetic production of plant material for fuel, to the generation of power by thermal engines operating in tropical seas on temperature differences between water at the surface and at great depths. Other approaches showing greater promise of more immediate success include the direct conversion of sunlight to electricity by photovoltaic devices, and means for utilizing the sun's thermal energy directly for heating and cooling of buildings, or for generating electricity by conventional thermal engines.

SOLAR ENERGY'S LIMITATIONS

Solar radiation is the most abundant form of energy available to mankind. It has been estimated that the energy arriving on one-half per cent of the land area of the United States is more than the total energy needs of the country projected to the year 2000.² In spite of this abundance, the difficulties involved in utilizing solar energy are formidable and include both inherent and technical limitations. Among the inherent limitations are:

1) The availability of solar energy depends greatly on geography, and it is most abundant in regions far removed from the major centers of energy consumption. On a worldwide basis, sunshine is most prevalent in the tropical regions, which are the least developed technically. Furthermore, between the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, 90 per cent of the earth's surface is water. Within the United States, much sunshine and otherwise unproductive land is most available in the Southwest, while the greatest energy needs are in the Northeast. 2) The supply of solar energy varies not only with the diurnal cycle, but is also subject to local weather conditions and to major variations with the seasons. 3) The radiant energy reaching the earth is variable, diffuse, and of relatively low intensity. During certain times of the year, depending on location, up to 40 per cent of the total energy is in the form of diffuse sky radiation which cannot be focused. The angle of the incident radiation varies continuously during the day.

The technical problems involved in utilizing solar energy for power generation pertain primarily to the low conversion efficiency and the lack of large-scale economical energy storage devices, be they thermal, electric, or other types.

PHOTOVOLTAIC CONVERSION

The bulk of the research and development effort on solar energy to date has been devoted to photovoltaic conversion devices as part of the national space program. The success of this program is at least partially attributable to the effective use of solar-cell

power generators, used on 90 per cent of un-manned space vehicles.⁴

Silicon solar cells have conversion efficiencies of 10 to 12 per cent, but are relatively expensive, costing approximately \$4 for a 1x1½ inch cell (5). Cadmium sulfide cells have efficiencies of only 4 to 5 per cent, but their cost is 1/30th that of silicon cells per unit area. The emphasis in the space program has been on the silicon cells primarily because of their lower weight. Oriented space solar arrays cost as much as \$2 million per kilowatt, but this cost is not indicative of practical applications. It has been estimated that terrestrial applications can be made for about \$15,000 per kilowatt or less, but even this cost is high in comparison with conventional power generating plants, as shown by the following table indicating 20-year costs of installation, maintenance, and fuel for large power stations.⁵

Type:	Cost per kilowatt
Hydroelectric -----	\$170-590
Gas-fired -----	463
Oil-fired -----	516
Coal-fired -----	534
Nuclear-fired -----	653

It is apparent that the estimated cost of a solar power plant, even without considering problems of energy storage for lengthy periods of time, is more than an order of magnitude greater than that of plants using fossil fuels or nuclear fission. In fact, however, there is no good basis for estimating costs because everything to date was space-directed, and there are vast differences between various economic forecasts.

Eventually, as more efficient and low-cost photovoltaic cells are developed, their utilization will be possible in one of three ways: Rooftop array, solar farm, satellite station.⁶

A rooftop array would consist of a number of photovoltaic panels located atop residential or commercial buildings. Such panels would require backup either in the form of a conventional energy source, or as an electric energy storage system in the form of batteries. A solar farm, on the other hand, would involve a large area of solar-cell arrays whose total generating capacity would be comparable to a central power station. In this case, the location could be selected for better performance, and energy storage could be a pumped-water system. Such a system involves using surplus electrical energy during periods of ample sunshine to pump water to a large elevated reservoir. The potential energy of the water can then be used as needed by running the water through a turbine located at the lower elevation.

A more exotic proposed system involves orbiting a large-scale array of solar cells outside the earth's atmosphere in order to avoid problems with diurnal and seasonal changes and the attenuation caused by the atmosphere and weather. A typical scheme⁷ visualizes a 10,000 megawatt station (enough for New York City and vicinity) that would consist of the following components: The solar collector would be a 5-x-5-mile satellite, together with the means for converting solar energy to microwave energy, and for transmitting the latter to earth. A 6-x-6-mile receiving antenna would be required on earth to absorb the microwave energy and reconvert it into a usable form. Clearly, a scheme like this is far from implementation in the near future.

HEAT ENGINES AND DIRECT APPLICATIONS

Solar energy reaching the earth may also be collected as thermal energy and utilized either for power generation by conventional heat engines, or for direct utilization as heat. The use of solar collectors to generate power by heat engines has not found widespread application. Flat-plate solar collectors that

can be made at reasonable cost are not suitable for use with heat engines because to date it has been impossible to produce a collector that can heat a working fluid to high temperatures. Consequently, conversion efficiencies are low because of fundamental thermodynamic limitations.

TABLE 1.—SOLAR HEATING COST COMPARISON (REFERENCE 7)

Climate classification	Cost of heat (dollar per 10 ⁶ Btu)		
	Solar heat	Electricity	Gas-oil (average)
Santa Maria: Mediterranean or dry summer, subtropical.....	1.10-1.59	4.36	1.52
Albuquerque: Tropical and subtropical stepe.....	1.60-2.62	4.62	1.48
Phoenix: Tropical and subtropical desert.....	2.05-3.09	4.25	1.20
Omaha: Humid continental, warm summer.....	2.45-2.98	3.24	1.18
Boston: Humid continental, cool summer.....	2.50-3.02	5.25	1.75
Charleston: Humid subtropical.....	2.55-3.56	4.22	1.26
Seattle/Tacoma: Marine west coast.....	2.60-3.32	2.31	1.92
Miami: Tropical savannah.....	4.05-4.64	4.90	2.27

¹ Assumes auxiliary heat from other sources used as necessary to optimize solar design. Range is based on \$2 to \$4 per square foot collector cost.

² Tybout and Lof actually used Blue Hill Observatory solar data rather than Boston. Located at an altitude of 1,500 feet, the Blue Hill Observatory receives 23.5 percent more solar energy than Boston, enough to make a solar collector there perform about 35 percent better.

A heat engine is a device for converting thermal energy (heat) into mechanical energy as represented by a turning shaft that can drive an electric generator or do other useful work. A working fluid in an engine—usually steam or gas—is heated in one part of the cycle against a piston in a cylinder or against blades in a turbine to turn a shaft. The overall efficiency of such an engine is the mechanical energy output divided by the thermal energy input. This efficiency has a theoretical maximum, known as Carnot cycle efficiency, which depends on the extreme temperatures of the working fluid in the cycle. Since the lower temperature is usually that of our environment (the air around us or a body of water) and is therefore essentially fixed, the efficiency is largely governed by the high temperature in the cycle.

In order to achieve higher temperatures and more reasonable thermodynamic efficiencies, it is necessary to concentrate solar energy by focusing devices. A focusing device may take the form of a parabolic cylinder which would focus the incident energy upon a straight line that could be a pipe, or it could be a paraboloid of revolution, in which case the focus would be a point. These devices are expensive and are only partially effective since they cannot focus diffuse sky radiation. They are further complicated mechanically by the need to keep them oriented towards the sun.

A more attainable application of solar energy in the near future consists of its use directly as heat in instances where a heat source at moderate temperatures can be utilized. This includes applications such as water heating, heating and cooling of buildings (space conditioning), and refrigeration by the absorption process, in terms of total energy consumption in these categories, residential and commercial space heating represents by far the greatest single item. For this application, fixed flat-plate solar collectors are adequate.

There has been considerable interest in using solar energy for space heating for many years, and a number of demonstration buildings have been built at MIT, in Denver, in the Washington, D.C. area, and in Australia. The reason that the use of solar energy for space heating has not found wide application is economic; it is governed by the rela-

tively low cost of fossil fuels, and the lack of good and low-cost energy storage devices.

ENERGY STORAGE

Because of the variable and unpredictable nature of solar radiation, energy storage is an essential part of any system used for space conditioning. Since a number of days may elapse without sunshine, a system dependent solely on solar energy would require a heat storage capacity, and a collector of sufficient size to carry a current load plus the additional capacity to fill the heat storage unit. This would require a large capital investment that would go unused much of the time and yield no benefit. The alternative is to provide a conventional fuel-burning back-up system. "When the sun doesn't come out, fuel is burned."⁷ The conclusion has been reached that the size of a heat storage unit for residential heating should be enough to carry the system overnight. This conclusion would change only if solar collectors and heat storage devices were so cheap that infrequent use would justify the capital investment, or if the investment could be justified by the conservation of natural resources (a large increase in the cost of fuel), or by pollution reduction.

An economic study of solar heating over the world was carried out by R. A. Tybout and G.O.G. Lof.⁸ They compared the estimated cost of solar heat with gas and oil heat, and with electricity, for a house located in each of eight types of climate. Their comparison was based on the following assumptions:

- (1) Heating load: 25,000 Btu per degree day.
- (2) Cost of roof collector: \$2 to \$4 per square foot.
- (3) Other capital costs: \$375 + \$1 per square feet of collector.
- (4) Amortization: 20 years at 6 per cent interest.

The results of their study are summarized in Table 1. The table shows that partial solar heating compares favorably with electric heat, and that the gap between the cost of solar heating and gas or oil is not so great that the economic advantage could not shift to solar heating in the near future.

WHAT IS REQUIRED

Although the solar energy reaching the earth is more than sufficient to supply all human needs in the foreseeable future, the cost of collection, storage, transmission, and conversion prevent its widespread use at the present time. To make solar energy more competitive with other sources of energy, the following major research and development efforts will be required:

- (1) Increase efficiency of photovoltaic solar arrays.
- (2) Reduce cost of producing solar arrays by three to four orders of magnitude.
- (3) Develop more effective means for transmitting electric energy over long distances.
- (4) Develop improved long-lasting materials and coatings with selective absorptance and emittance characteristics.
- (5) Develop economical materials for latent heat storage.
- (6) Develop economical batteries or other methods for storage of electric energy.
- (7) Develop large satellite solar energy collection devices.
- (8) Develop energy converters for transforming solar energy to a type that can be transmitted from space (microwave, laser beam, or other).
- (9) Develop low cost automatic heliostats (devices for tracing the sun).
- (10) Develop photochemical reactions to produce usable chemical compounds as a possible solution to problems of energy storage.
- (11) Develop low-cost and reliable solar concentrators.

With the exception of solar energy conversion devices pertaining to the space program,

Footnotes at end of article.

research and development efforts on solar energy utilization have not received much support from governmental agencies. What is needed, according to one advocate of solar energy is "... an Office of Solar Energy Research like the Office of Coal Research, or better yet, a Solar Energy Commission like the Atomic Energy Commission."

A Solar Energy Panel was organized jointly last year by the National Science Foundation and NASA to assess the potential of solar energy as a national energy resource, and the state of the technology in the various solar energy application areas. In its report,⁹ the Panel expresses confidence that solar energy can be developed to meet sizable portions of the nation's future energy needs. It predicts that with a substantial development program, solar energy could economically provide the following fractions of our energy needs by the year 2020:

Building heating and cooling, 35 percent.
Gaseous fuel supply, 30 percent.
Liquid fuel supply, 10 percent.
Electric energy requirements, 20 percent.

There are no inherent technical barriers to the utilization of solar energy. Whether or not the above predictions will be realized will depend on the availability of support for the required development programs, and on the future economic merits and environmental benefits of using solar energy in favor of other candidate energy sources.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Yellott, John L., "Solar Energy Progress," *Mechanical Engineering*, July 1970, pp. 28-34.

² ASHRAE Guide and Data Book, American Society of Heating, Refrigerating, and Air-conditioning Engineers, 1965, p. 497.

³ Hammond, Allen L., "Solar Energy: The Largest Resource," *Science*, Vol. 177, September 22, 1972, p. 1088.

⁴ Cherry, W. R., "The Generation of Pollution-Free Electrical Power from Solar Energy," ASME Publ. 71-WA/Sol. 2.

⁵ Walters, Samuel, "Power in the Year 2001," *Mechanical Engineering*, November 1971, p. 33.

⁶ Berman, P. A., "Photovoltaic Solar Array Technology Required for Three Wide-Scale Generating Systems for Terrestrial Applications: Rooftop, Solar Farm, and Satellite," NASA Technical Report 32-1573, Jet Propulsion Lab., California Institute of Technology, October 15, 1972.

⁷ Energy Research Needs, A Report to the National Science Foundation by Resources for the Future, Inc., in cooperation with MIT Environmental Laboratory Chap. VIII, Residential Utilization Technology Contract NSF-C644, October 1971.

⁸ Gaucher, Leon P., "The Solar Era-A Preview," ASME Publ. 71-WA/Sol-7.

⁹ NSF/NASA Solar Energy Panel, *An Assessment of Solar Energy as a National Energy Resource*, Department of Mechanical Engineering, University of Maryland, December 1972.

VETERANS' RIGHTS

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 19, 1974

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, as a Congressman with a large number of veterans in my constituency, and as chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, with a constituency of nearly three-fourths of a million black Vietnam era veterans, I am deeply concerned about the nature of H.R. 12628, veterans education and rehabilitation amendments, which is unsatisfactory in many respects. I am

equally concerned about its relationship to administration policies.

The administration's budgetary plans for the veterans of our Nation, for the disabled and Vietnam era veterans in particular, highlight the moral crisis which exists within the Veterans' Administration and within the executive branch of our Government. It is a sad state of affairs when the recently delivered Presidential message on veterans proposes a series of actions which are in diametric conflict with the stated policies of every national veterans organization, including the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Disabled American Veterans, Jewish War Veterans, and many others.

The administration's veterans policies are not only out of tune with the policies of these old, established groups, they are also out of tune with the policies of the Vietnam veterans who have testified before Congress, and such Vietnam veterans groups as the National Association of Concerned Veterans and the National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights.

The President's policies are out of touch with the realities, with the needs, with the carefully formulated positions of organizations concerned with veterans, and with such independent organizations as the National League of Cities and the American Association of Junior and Community Colleges, and with the Princeton Educational Testing Service's study on benefit levels and services.

The recently called for 8-percent increase by the President in the GI bill was actually a statement in opposition to virtually all groups that have articulated a public policy on the Vietnam era veteran. It was also a statement in opposition to the veterans educational amendments which we have before us today. Above all, however, it was in opposition to commonsense.

It is evident that the House Veterans' Affairs Committee members have been told—in so many words—to press for the minimum increase in benefits and services, from the meager legislation which has been reported out of committee. I have tens of thousands of veterans in my district and am, therefore, unable to oppose this legislation, although I do not believe it has gone far enough in meeting the needs of today's veterans. I feel sure that are many other Members who are in the same position as I am. Therefore, I feel obliged to inquire as to whether the Subcommittee on Education and Readjustment of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee plans to hold additional hearings on the question of educational costs this year as we have been led to believe. The legislation passed by the House of Representatives today is obviously inadequate in this area.

Further, I would like to suggest that the House instruct the Veterans' Affairs Committee to work closely with the committee from the other body, and in those instances where the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee's bill exceeds the recommendations of our own bill, to accede to the Senate committees recommendations. I am making this suggestion in view of the possible outcome and devel-

opments on the Senate side, the possible change in attitude by this administration toward veterans, and the outcome of additional hearings on the House side, which hardly will encompass recommendations that provide less benefits and services than those which were approved today.

As the legislation stands today, it is inadequate and does not address itself to the economic issues and problems facing the majority of Vietnam era veterans who seek to enter an institution of higher education.

AN ALTERNATIVE TO WAREHOUSING THE DISABLED

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 19, 1974

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, I recently had an opportunity to visit and inspect personally, the Redwoods United Workshop in Eureka, Calif., under the able direction of Mr. Leon Berliner.

Through a matching Federal-local financing arrangement, the Redwoods United Workshop was founded in 1971 to provide the facilities and an opportunity for disabled adults to develop basic skills, benefit from the dignity of earning an income, and enjoy a more productive and rewarding life—rather than just letting life pass them by in idleness, boredom, and something less than the dignity due them.

I was so impressed with what I saw at the workshop, Mr. Speaker, that I asked the executive director to furnish me a copy of the history and accomplishments of the Redwoods United Workshop in order that I might share this success story with all interested Members of Congress.

Therefore, I am submitting a copy of Mr. Berliner's report for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this time:

THE HISTORY AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF REDWOODS UNITED WORKSHOP

(A brief history of Redwoods United Workshop; how it came into being and its accomplishments to date.)

1968 TO SEPTEMBER 1971

A group of Humboldt County citizens, aware and frustrated at the lack of vocational alternatives for disabled adults, joined forces and formed an organization called "The Open Door Training Center". They met frequently, they drew attention to community needs through small fund raising campaigns and ultimately set up a Steering Committee chaired by Mr. Raymond Schneider, our County Counsel, to bring about a multi-disability facility.

Paralleling these developments, a small group of individuals had established a tiny workshop for mentally retarded adults called "Sequoia Crafts". This facility was sparsely funded and very primitive, it served 28 individuals.

The Steering Committee recommended to the community that all efforts on behalf of the disabled be merged into one purposeful organization. A Board of Directors of 15 individuals was established on a provisional basis and in June of 1971, a separate name was created for this joint community venture: Redwoods United Workshop, Inc.

The California Department of Rehabilitation was approached for an initiation grant. Four lay individuals, Mr. Walter Noah, Mr. Ray McDonnell, Mr. Fred Stockbridge and Mr. Jon Jappert spent a considerable portion of their summer drawing up a grant proposal for \$108,000 in federal funds which would necessitate \$27,000 in community matching. The Board proceeded with a series of fund raisers.

In September of 1971, they had raised \$10,000, hired an Executive Director, Mr. Leon Berliner, who had had 15 years of experience in this field and a Masters Degree in Rehabilitation; and he hired a secretary. Redwoods United Workshop would be on its way two months hence.

SEPTEMBER 1971 TO NOVEMBER 1971

Three major goals faced the Director during this period:

1. Secure a site for the Workshop.
2. Secure the grant.
3. Find \$27,000 to match the grant.

The Manila School had been idled, unoccupied, vandalized and weather worn for three and a half years. It was built on a school bond in the 50's, a balance of \$388,000 remained to be paid. Redwoods United Workshop obtained the building for \$1,032.00 per month in rent.

The Greater Eureka Development Corporation put up collateral based on 43 Humboldt citizens' personal guarantees to secure a loan for \$27,000 to match the grant. The grant was approved as of September 1, 1971.

On October 1, 1971, we moved into the Manila School. The Director had been operating out of a room at the Eureka Inn, rent donated.

The first weekend in October, 50 National Guardsmen spent two days painting the entire building, donating their labor and time. The paint was donated by the school district.

On November 1, 1971, 12 disabled adults started and thus, opened Redwoods United Workshop.

NOVEMBER 1, 1971 TO JANUARY 1972

We started manufacturing Redwood products. We purchased a van to transport people, a truck to pick up materials and deliver finished good, 17 radial arm saws, a planer, a band saw and drill press.

We built a motel which would house individuals who could not commute to and from the Workshop and thus, giving us an opportunity to train motel maids.

A warehouse was built under the grant.

We started a kitchen program to prepare generous hot lunches at 80¢ per meal and thus, could train bus boys, bus girls, kitchen helpers, dishwashers, and salad makers.

We started a janitorial training program for our office.

We used the office as an opportunity to train clerical workers and payroll clerks.

Our grant was renewed for the second year. This time, however, we were to receive only \$42,000.

Basically we operated three programs:

1. A transitional workshop for mildly disabled individuals who had the potential, after evaluation and a period of work adjustment, to engage in competitive employment.

2. A long-term Work Activity Center for disabled individuals who would need sheltered employment as their only vocational alternative.

3. A regular work program was designed for individuals unable to obtain employment, yet capable of performing at competitive levels. These people were guaranteed at least a minimum wage.

JANUARY 1972 TO PRESENT

January of 1972, Redwoods United Workshop took another step. We started our Homemaker Program under contract with the Humboldt County Department of Welfare. We trained 19 women, 18 of whom were Welfare recipients. They participated in a 120

hour curriculum to prepare them for Homemaker activities. They were then employed by Redwoods United Workshop to go into the homes of elderly people, blind people, or totally disabled people and help them with basic household duties, such as: House cleaning, meal preparation, shopping, budgeting, personal care, etc. By providing these services, these people could remain in the community without need of institutionalization. This program is unique in the nation for a workshop.

Our grant was renewed for \$32,000.

The following are some of our accomplishments to date:

1. The budget for Redwoods United Workshop's fiscal year (July 1, 1973 through June 30, 1974) is \$505,000.

2. Client and Homemaker payroll is approximately \$12,000 a month. Staff payroll is \$9,000 a month.

3. In calendar year 1973, more than 160 disabled people were served.

4. We have a staff of 15 people, six of these started as clients and are, therefore, disabled themselves.

5. Redwoods United Workshop employees will pay close to \$50,000 in income taxes this year.

6. Ninety-four people, who have come to Redwoods United Workshop as clients, most of whom were on Welfare, left Redwoods United Workshop for industrial placements. If 80 of these were on Welfare and if the average Welfare grant were \$2,600 per year, this would constitute a savings of \$234,000 each year. These people are now tax payers. If they pay an average of \$800 a year each, this will add \$64,000 more per year to our tax-rolls. Adding the Welfare savings to the taxes, paid, this would constitute a yearly return to the tax payer of over \$328,000. Shall we estimate savings for 10 years? This alone documents why rehabilitation is still the best investment in our society.

7. Over \$100,000 each year is spent in the purchase of materials, supplies, and tools in the local community to permit us to operate. Our local vendors benefit from the wages earned as well. We are a new business in Humboldt County, selling our goods mostly outside of Humboldt County (over \$170,000 last year) and spending our dollars in Humboldt County. The economy of Humboldt County is depressed. Our contribution to this economy cannot, therefore, be minimized.

We must provide an opportunity to disabled adults to benefit from the dignity of earning an income and to pursue productive activities during their days rather than aimlessly letting life pass them in idleness and boredom.

Facilities for the disabled present a two edged sword for society, monetary savings and humane consideration, each edge is honey coated.

Sincerely yours,

LEON BERLINER,
Executive Director.

GOVERNMENT REGULATORY POLICIES HAVE PRODUCED SHORTAGES AND DRIVEN UP PRICES

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 19, 1974

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, the most effective way of improving quickly our Nation's economic health is to return to the use of the law of supply and demand.

Government control and regulation can never be an efficient substitute for the

interplay between producers and consumers. The past 2 years have proved this. Shortages have been produced and prices driven upward by Government control and regulation.

Shortages are best solved by programs which foster production, not by those which discourage it—freezes, rollbacks, controls, and regulations. And, when goods are in available and sufficient supply, the prices drop automatically. That is one of the most admirable characteristics of a market economy.

An outstanding article appeared in the newspapers over the past weekend, an analysis of "scarcity economics" and how the Federal Government's interventionist policies have "substituted deliberately contrived scarcities for the planned abundance which is well within our resources."

The article by Dr. Leon H. Keyserling, former Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, details, example-by-example, the severe shortages which have been caused as a direct result of Government policy: Energy, transportation, foodstuffs, housing, even national defense.

How have these policies hurt our Nation?

Since 1953, Dr. Keyserling concludes—We have had four recessions and are now entering our fifth:

We have had a national production level almost \$1,800,000,000,000—that is \$1.8 trillion—short of reasonably full production;

We have forfeited, at all levels of government, enough tax revenues to have financed about \$451 billion in additional public outlays for priority needs; and

We have suffered more than 48 million man-years of unemployment or job scarcity.

If we do not change our policies and reorient this Nation toward the economic prosperity which arises naturally from the market system, Dr. Keyserling predicts that we are likely, between 1973 and 1980 to forfeit an additional almost \$1.7 trillion of gross national product, about \$239 billion of public revenues and services, and about 16.5 million man-years of employment.

I do not agree 100 percent with Dr. Keyserling in all the remedial measures he proposes in this article; I think the gravity of the proposals warrant more thorough study than I have yet been able to give them since their publication. But his premises are certainly accurate and his conclusions worthy of the utmost consideration. Listen to what he has to say, as I read this important article into the Record:

AN ANALYSIS OF SCARCITY ECONOMICS AND ITS RESULTS

(By Leon H. Keyserling)

The current "energy crisis" should not distract us from immediate attention to many fundamental troubles of very long duration. For 20 years or longer, shortage situations have arisen and grown throughout our economic and related social performance because we have substituted deliberately contrived scarcities for the planned abundance which is well within our resources. We now need a veritable revolution in economic thought and action.

Shortages in many types of energy have gained momentum over the years, as regula-

tory policies have held expansion far below long-range needs. And national policies, e.g., scarce (tight) money and exorbitant interest rates, have stopped the utilities from enough expansion of product, plant and service.

Regulatory policy has encouraged railroads to elect to carry mainly what they deemed the more profitable traffic, and to neglect the mass passenger transportation which could ameliorate so many of our other problems. And if we today had adequate rail service, the shift of traffic to the rails could immensely reduce the "energy crisis."

Under the contrived scarcity farm policy, farm acreage and farmers have been reduced excessively. For two decades, our total farm output has been consistently inadequate to provide a nutritious diet for all American families, and to export the food required for a war against starvation and underdevelopment in various countries. Farm families by the millions have been driven into urban areas where they have constituted one-third to one-half of total excessive unemployment, with consequent impact upon unmanageable welfare costs.

Despite the promise of the Housing Act of 1949 of "a decent home for every American family" within a decade, today from one-fifth to one-fourth of our people—depending upon the criteria applied—live in unsatisfactory housing. Inadequate home construction long has been the largest single factor in the scarcity of total output and employment. The two most important housing impediments have been scarce money and fantastic interest rates, and the scarcity approach to federal public investment in the great domestic priorities.

We also may be threatened by a scarcity of investment in national defense, promoted by focus upon what a scarcity overall economy "can afford," instead of upon what a fully used economy could allocate to various purposes.

The policies conducive to these sector scarcities have been nurtured in the environment of a scarcity approach to overall economic performance. And by interaction, the overall and the sector scarcities have aggravated one another.

In the overall, we have since early 1953 experienced four successive and rather consistent cycles of inadequate upturn failing to reach reasonably full resource use, stagnation and then recession; we are now in the second stage of a fifth cycle. The resultant scarcities: From the start of 1953 through third-quarter 1973, total national production (measured in 1970 dollars) was almost \$1.8 trillion short of reasonably full or "maximum" production.

Consequently, we have forfeited, at all levels of government, enough tax revenues to have financed about \$451 billion of additional public outlays to overcome the dangerously scarce servicing of our great domestic priorities. And we have suffered more than 48 million man-years of true-level unemployment or job scarcity, in excess of the level consistent with "maximum" employment. This true level includes officially reported full-time unemployment in the form of those not "participating" in the civilian labor force (and therefore not officially counted as unemployed) because of scarcity of job opportunity.

Projecting the national policies now in being, we are likely during 1973-1980 to forfeit an additional almost \$1.7 trillion of gross national product, about \$239 billion of public revenues and services, and about 16.5 million man-years of excessive true level unemployment.

These scarcity ravages have sprung mainly from one core error: repeatedly, national policy has sought to check each upturn before restoration of reasonably full economic activity, thus turning the economy toward stagnation and then recession—all in the name of restraining inflation. But the em-

pirical evidence, 1953 to date, is overwhelming to the effect that more idleness of plant and manpower generates more rather than less inflation.

Even during periods when national policy is seeking to avert downturn and accelerate real growth—as today—prevalent policies are colored by a pronounced scarcity bias. Despite some undulations downward the monetary policy remains far too tight and interest rates far too high.

The orgy of tax reductions, for a decade or longer, have helped the monetary policy to distribute income regressively, which is inimical to optimum growth, priorities and social justice; we have leaned toward bonanzas for the select few, and scarcity for the many. Progressive tax changes are urgently needed. The President's 1975 budget is close to neutral in its economic effects; it should be highly stimulative. The administration is protesting that we may not have an absolute recession in 1974, but it is resigned to its own stagnation forecast instead of trying to prevent its actualization by proper policies. Such policies could do much, despite the energy outlook.

Apart from the changes implied just above, what else is required? Instead of excessive emphasis upon mere forecasts and supine resignation to the evils they foretell, the policy makers should focus upon affirmative goals and the means to their attainment, consistent with the promptest feasible restoration of "maximum" economic activity and appropriate attention to priority needs. Instead of improvising disconnected programs to "defend" us against undesirable developments after they occur, we need to take the offensive with long-range and consistent undertakings. We need long-range pro-prosperity, not short-range antirecession, programs. We need probundance, not anti-shortage, programs.

We need to re-examine the true causes and consequences of inflation, lest we continue in the long run to get more instead of less inflation, and endure so many other evils besides. And instead of conjuring up an antithesis between full employment and price stability, and between optimum economic growth on the one hand and priority servicing and social justice on the other, we need to learn from much experience that fulfillment of these five objectives is one inseparable task.

We need, in short, more long-range planning under freedom, steering between the Scylla of aimlessness in a "free market" and the Charybdis of excessively centralized fiat. The work of the Council of Economic Advisers and the economic reports of the President in recent years—due to narrowness of coverage and not just errors in analysis—have almost reduced the Employment Act of 1946 to a state of desuetude.

Under a national purposes budget, long-range quantitative goals should be set for "maximum" employment, production and purchasing power, and for the broad relationships among components of outlays and incomes comparable with these goals. This budget should include also perspective goals in such vital areas as energy, transport, housing, food supply, education, health and some others. Then, and only then, could all relevant policies and programs—public and private—be united harmoniously toward achievement of these goals, and corrected from year to year under a balanced model of our needs and capabilities.

This new approach does not, per se, predetermine the respective responsibilities of various levels of government and of the private sector. But it would bring one increasing purpose into our nationwide efforts, promote compatible public and private actions by enlarging public understanding and substitute the inspirational force of what we can achieve for the dead hand of what we should not even try to do.

Mr. Speaker, I will continue my efforts to repeal phase IV, the regulatory scheme which has had a near disastrous effect on our economy. My vote last spring against the continuation of these controls has turned out to be one of my most important votes, as I believe the American people will hold strictly accountable those in the administration and the Congress who gave us these controls and the resultant beef freeze, food and fuel shortages, and who gave us only political answers to our economic problems.

Only a consistent, sound fiscal and monetary policy can return our economy to a position in which stable growth and stable prices are the rule rather than the exception.

To this direction, I am committed.

PERSPECTIVE ON THE ENERGY SHORTAGE: THE LAST LEGACY OF VIETNAM

HON. RONALD V. DELLUMS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 19, 1974

Mr. DELLUMS. Mr. Speaker, in this brief overview of this important conference, I would like to divide my remarks into three areas:

First. Parameters of the energy shortage;

Second. Conflicts raised by the shortages; and

Third. The last legacy of Vietnam. I would like to begin by sketching what I see are some of the key parameters within which this conference will operate over the next 3 days:

First. In absolute terms, there is no real current shortage of energy. Instead, I see that there is a definite shortage of available energy at prices which consumers are accustomed to paying. If prices were high enough—and discounting all other related factors—there would be no current shortage;

Second. Current energy delivery systems are the catalyst of our current economic system;

Third. Bad as things may seem to be here in the United States, this Nation is probably much better off in every possible way than most other industrialized countries, and certainly we are not hit as severely and drastically as virtually every lesser developed economy;

Fourth. Overreaction to the current shortage could have extreme and long-term disastrous effects;

Fifth. Government policies have probably contributed more to the current shortages than any other set of factors. Yet it is consumers who are being asked—and required—to assume most of the adjustments;

Sixth. If we indeed are moving into an economic downturn, that situation is only aggravated by the energy shortage—and was not caused by it;

Seventh. Existing environmental control legislation did not cause the energy shortage; and

Eighth. Finally, the point I will develop more fully later, the current energy

shortage is the last major economic legacy of the overall distortions brought about by 10 years of direct U.S. adventurism in Southeast Asia, and that current American support of repressive regimes in Saigon, Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand is diverting and paying for as much as 65,000 barrels a day.

Given those parameters, many of which will be discussed and analyzed in upcoming panels and presentations, I see that the energy shortage has created a series of critical conflicts which must be resolved in both short- and long-range terms. Here is what I see as top-most of those conflicts:

First. How are we to balance inconveniences brought about by the shortages against realities of absolute survival for both families and nations? How do we measure the discomfort caused by longer waiting lines, marginally lower temperatures and speed limits and curtailment of some activities against the real dangers that families may starve or die if they are cut off from energy?

Second. Can we afford to sacrifice the environmental control advances we have just started? In my view, important environmental legislation such as the Clean Air Act, is not cosmetic; these laws were passed to save lives and to insure future health and safety. Easing them now would only mean that whatever we have gained might be completely lost, and that future costs of just getting back to where we are today would be huge and the problems difficult.

Third. How do we deal with the economic trade offs between jobs and inflation. Must we abandon existing concepts and goals of a full employment economy?

Fourth. How do we measure growth as compared to real development? Is more for more's sake a true objective, or should we be talking about redistribution of wealth, income, and power within current limits and levels?

Fifth. How should the share of adjustment be allocated? If past Government policies have led to overconsumption of certain energy forms by all sectors—consumers, industry, and Government—why should the readjustment process aim to burden consumers more than either industry or Government?

Sixth. Are we to allow the greatest thrust for monopolistic control of our economy—and society—to go unchallenged, and, if not, what must be done to stimulate real competition? The petroleum industry conceivably could—and probably would like to dominate all energy sources and delivery systems. For example, we have found that the oil industry already controls the rate of energy research and keeps for itself most of the critical information needed by Government and consumers about energy supplies, technology, and costs. It is fairly apparent that current Government policies favor maintaining the current system, and that there has been a large lack of effective application of existing laws to control monopoly and monopolistic behavior; and

Seventh. Finally, we have the conflicts raised by Government policies and programs themselves. What should concern us very much is the fact that the

Nixon administration is now asking for major new powers giving the executive branch vast discretionary controls—and generally taking power away from the legislative branch—a move which would reverse many recent trends.

For example, the administration's energy bill called for a complete turnaround in constitutional roles, with Congress giving broad powers to the executive with the legislature retaining only a veto power over presidential actions. In addition, the Nixon approach would:

Create a Federal "energy police" with the power to delve into many personal activities;

Establish a Federal bureaucracy with the authority to determine priorities in the allocation of scarce fuels and to decide whether individual use of energy is essential or nonessential in their terms;

Limit or ban Sunday travel, thereby interfering with the free exercise of religion and the individual right to choose whether to use limited fuels for travel to church or work or for recreational purposes;

Issue orders and regulations, directly or indirectly through an administrative agency, which become effective immediately without any requirement for public hearings until afterwards. Enforcement of such orders against uninformed, or inadequately informed, individuals or businesses constitutes a dire violation of due process;

Restrict the energy use of the communications media, thereby endangering first amendment rights; and

Delegate authority to States which in turn could set up their own enforcing authorities and bureaucracies within these same Federal guidelines.

Those are some of the policies proposed to solve the energy shortage. Let's look now at what past government policies and programs have given us.

First. Start with price policies.

Government price controls held prices at artificial levels which then led to:

Subsidized consumption of the price controlled fuel versus other energy sources;

Subsidized investment of resources into developing the cheaper fuel rather than alternative sources; and

Overconsumption within an economy where the price is artificially maintained at the expense of other nations where there are no such controls.

Two examples are important testimony to the pitfalls of Government price controls. The first is that of cheap gasoline which meant more cars, more pollution, more suburban land development and sprawl and less mass transit. The second is that of wellhead controls on natural gas prices, controls which affected only interstate sales and shipment, but did not apply to intrastate conditions. The result was a massive shift by industries to States where they could get all they wanted at nonregulated prices, thus lowering the supply of natural gas for interstate customers—most of whom turned out to be consumers. Another result was that cheap natural gas was used in activities made economical only by the artificial price, instead of more logical alternative fuels.

Second. A second area was that of the Government imposed import quotas on petroleum, quotas which did not benefit consumers, but instead maintained markets and prices for the oil industry. And there is ample indication that the import quota levels were decided by political factors and favoritism, not by any rational economic decisionmaking.

Third. Next is the big area of the Government's tax preferences granted the oil and energy industry.

Because it is one thing to complain about high windfall profits and another thing to realize that current tax favoritism allows the oil industry to get away without paying any fair tax share:

Five oil companies with net income in 1970 of \$3.4 billion paid an average income tax rate that year of 2.5 percent.

Nineteen oil companies with total net 1970 income of \$11.4 billion paid an average rate of 6 percent.

The highest rate paid that year for those companies was 32 percent; the lowest rate was 1.2 percent.

Fourth. Consider next the Government trust funds—the most obvious being the highway trust fund—which are used to build specified projects—such as more and more highways—without any rational land-use energy transportation planning or priorities.

Fifth. Finally, in this abbreviated list of Government policies which have directly contributed to the energy shortage is the area of distorted regulatory actions. Like so many other areas, the agencies established to regulate the energy industry have become the clients of the industry, to the absolute detriment of consumers.

So far, I have discussed some of the parameters upon which this conference is based and some of the conflicts raised by the shortage. Now, I would like to concentrate on an area that I believe has not received much attention to date, but is of critical importance.

That topic is the relation between Indochina and the energy shortage.

According to a new study by the Indochina Resource Center, at the height of American involvement in Vietnam, the Defense Department's share of total national consumption of oil fuels doubled to the point where the military was consuming 8 percent of all oil in the United States.

Last year when the United States was bombing Cambodia, experts estimated that 3 million gallons a day were being used by the bombing operations.

As it is, the United States is today sending 65,000 barrels a day to support current military operations in Southeast Asia. Air Force bases in Thailand consume approximately 26,000 barrels a day; the 140 aircraft stationed on two of the 7th Fleet's aircraft carriers off the coasts of Indochina use approximately 13,000 barrels a day; the 7th Fleet's own naval operations consume another 26,000 barrels a day. And these figures do not include the amount of fuel used just to transport the other fuel to Indochina.

That figure of 65,000 barrels a day for Indochina is interesting, since the new Federal allocation of fuel to truckers in settlement of their slowdown equals 76,-

000 barrels a day. Or, as the Indochina Resource Center study notes:

If the Defense Department were to curtail its fuel shipments to Southeast Asia and instead allocate that fuel to this country's over the road truckers, no fuel would have to be diverted from other sectors of the economy to satisfy the truckers demands for 100% fuel allocation.

Here is another perspective on that 65,000-barrel-a-day amount. According to best estimates, civilian fuel consumption in Southeast Asia ranges at around 35,000 barrels a day, while military operations utilize around 84,000 barrels a day. And that military level will jump drastically if South Vietnam undertakes any major new offensive; according to the South Vietnamese Embassy's Vietnam bulletin, during the spring 1972 offensive South Vietnam's Armed Forces used three times the amount they are now consuming.

And perhaps, because of the energy shortage, there just may be a marginally better chance for real peace in Southeast Asia. Given the already tight constraints on domestic fuel use and the realization that most of the fuel needed by the existing regimes in Saigon, Cambodia, and Laos would be diverted from U.S. supplies, I question whether the American public would allow Nixon and Kissinger to make such a move—because if you think there is a shortage now, just imagine what would happen if the flow of fuel to Indochina were increased by a factor of 10.

I do think that as long as the prevailing philosophy in the Defense Department and State Department remains that the United States should both police the world and make it over in America's image that we always will be faced with critical resource shortages here at home.

For—like it or not—the energy shortage is not unique, nor is it isolated from other related shortages of these critical resources. The period of this Nation's unlimited affluence is over—there is no such thing as a free lunch. And we must be prepared to question many of our traditional—and sacrosanct—habits and philosophies.

We are slowing moving away from two decades of foreign policy which have bankrupted this Nation—and the world—in both humanitarian and economic terms. Our imperial adventurism has cost not only millions of lives, but also the widening of the gap between haves and have-nots.

Our own economy which has been beset by an unprecedented trend of both soaring inflation and unemployment now is slowing down altogether. The myth of the wartime boom should be exposed as nonsense by these trends.

But, finally, behind all these trends and statistics, there still lurks the grim reality that today our Government still funds repressive and authoritarian petty dictators like Thieu, that our tax dollars are still being used to prop up a regime which imprisons and tortures hundreds of thousands of political prisoners, that our Government still clings to conventional wisdoms about the future of Southeast Asia and the third world, that

we still are responsible for continuing this tragic, illegal, immoral, and insane adventurism throughout Indochina.

So, to paraphrase a recent saying, "two decades of Vietnam are enough," and as we sit here dealing with the energy shortage, we must not forget how much that shortage is a legacy of Vietnam and that we cannot solve the one problem without dealing with the other.

U.S. EXECUTIVES HOST SOVIET OFFICIALS TO PROMOTE TRADE

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 19, 1974

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, according to a February 16 article in the New York Times, a number of American business executives, including the chairman of General Motors, intend to bring Soviet trade officials to their local communities this month to seek grassroots support for increased trade with the Soviet Union. This plan, devised by the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Trade and Economic Council, is purportedly designed "to combat a growing anti-Soviet mood in the country that threatens to block further expansion of Soviet-American trade."

Is it any wonder that there is a growing anti-Soviet mood in the United States? The Soviet Union's treatment and exile of novelist Alexander Solzhenitsyn is just the latest of the outrages perpetrated by the Kremlin on its own people. Americans abhor the repressive tactics of the Soviet regime and increasingly are questioning whether the United States should trade with a nation which cannot tolerate the intellectual independence of one man.

Following is the complete text of the article from the New York Times:

[From the New York Times, Feb. 16, 1974]

U.S. COMMUNITIES TO MEET RUSSIANS

(By Bernard Gwertzman)

WASHINGTON, February 15.—About a dozen business executives, including the chairman of General Motors, intend to bring Soviet trade officials to their local communities this month to seek grassroots support for broadened commerce with the Soviet Union.

The "person to person" plan, devised by the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Trade and Economic Council, represents another effort by American business leaders—backed by the Nixon Administration—to combat a growing anti-Soviet mood in the country that threatens to block further expansion of Soviet-American trade.

PLANNED SOME TIME AGO

"We want local communities to meet the Russians and to realize that trade is not an esoteric issue—that jobs are at stake and the resources we need to fuel our plants," said Harold B. Scott, president of the American side of the council, in a telephone interview today.

The trip to this country by the Soviet officials, led by Nikolai S. Patolichev, the Foreign Trade Minister, was planned well before the Soviet Union's arrest and expulsion of Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn this week, trade council and Administration officials said.

But they acknowledged privately that the Solzhenitsyn case would probably cast a shadow over the visits of the Russians to

American cities. Questions are sure to be raised about the propriety of doing business with a state that treats its most notable living novelist in such fashion, they said.

A hint of this view was provided today by Senator Henry M. Jackson, Democrat of Washington, who strongly attacked the Administration for not decisively criticizing the Russians about the Solzhenitsyn case.

JACKSON LEADS FIGHT

Mr. Jackson has led the fight on Capitol Hill to block liberalized trade with the Russians until Moscow allows unrestricted emigration of its citizens. The so-called Jackson Amendment has the support of majorities in both houses of Congress. It would bar the granting of normal tariff status to the Soviet Union and deprive the Russians of United States Government-backed credits.

Secretary of State Kissinger, in a news conference on Wednesday, said the United States always supported freedom of thought and that efforts to improve relations with Moscow did not reflect approval of the Soviet system.

But he said, explaining the reluctance of Washington to debate with Moscow on the Solzhenitsyn case and similar ones:

"The necessity of détente is produced by the unacceptability of general nuclear war under present conditions. The accumulation of nuclear arms has to be constrained, if mankind is not to destroy itself."

Accusing Mr. Kissinger of "waffling" on the Solzhenitsyn affair, Mr. Jackson said:

"The Administration has posed a false choice between avoiding nuclear war and keeping faith with traditional values of human decency and individual liberty."

"It is false and misleading to suggest that the pursuit of peace requires official indifference to the fate of those brave men and women who are struggling to resist tyranny."

"It is high time for the Administration to indicate that the pace of the developing détente, and the inevitable accommodation on our part that this will require, must be conditioned on reciprocal accommodation by the Soviet Union."

DAMAGE SEEN CURTAILED

Several State Department officials, asked their view of the Solzhenitsyn case, seemed to agree that by expelling rather than imprisoning the novelist, the Soviet authorities limited the extent of the damage to the policy of improving relations.

"You could probably argue that because of Détente, the Kremlin has to treat Solzhenitsyn more carefully than if this was the old cold-war days," one Soviet specialist said.

Mr. Kissinger still plans to visit Moscow late next month to discuss arrangements for Mr. Nixon's planned trip to the Soviet Union in June, State Department officials said.

The 20-man delegation headed by Mr. Patolichev will arrive in New York on Feb. 24 and go directly to Washington for a meeting of the Soviet-American trade council on Feb. 26 . . . the first formal meeting of the group that was set up after last June's visit to the United States by Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet Communist party leader.

Mr. Patolichev shares the honorary chairmanship of the council with Treasury Secretary George P. Shultz. The working chairmen are David M. Kendall, chairman of PepsiCo, and Vladimir S. Alkhimov, Deputy Foreign Trade Minister.

President Nixon is expected to meet with Mr. Patolichev Feb. 26 and reaffirm the Administration's determination to fulfill its commitment to secure liberalized trade treatment from Congress.

After the meeting, each of the American members of the Council—there will be about 20 on each side—plans to bring a Soviet official back to his local community.

Most of the Russians will stay in local hotels, a council official said.

U.S. EXPORTS MORE

While in the community, the Soviet official will not only visit the host's company, but is also expected to meet civic and business leaders and acquaint Americans with the possible advantages that increased Soviet-American trade might have on the community's economy, Mr. Scott said.

"We expect the Soviets will talk about the problems of getting Soviet-American trade in balance," Mr. Scott said. At present, excluding the heavy grain sales of 1972-73, Soviet-American trade is running about \$600 million a year, with the United States exporting about three times as much as it is importing.

Moreover, the Russians have proposed joint ventures to exploit natural gas and other materials in Siberia. But that project has been held up over uncertainty with long-range American energy policy and the problem of guaranteeing sufficient American credits to pay for the sale of American equipment.

Under the council's tentative plans, Mr. Patolichev will accompany Richard C. Gerstenberg, the General Motors chairman, to Detroit. Other pairs are these:

A. W. Clausen, president, Bank of America, San Francisco, with Yuri A. Ivanov, chairman, Foreign Trade Bank.

Edgar F. Kaiser, chairman, Kaiser Industries, Oakland, Calif., with Nikolai N. Inozemtsev, deputy chairman, State Planning Committee.

C. Peter McCollough, chairman, Xerox, Rochester, N.Y., with Vladimir A. Salimovsky, head of the Soviet Patent Trading Organization.

C. William Verity Jr., chairman, Armco Steel Corporation, Middletown, Ohio, with Nikolai P. Maksimov, president, Soviet Metal-lurgical Import Agency.

Dr. Armand Hammer, chairman, Occidental Corp., Los Angeles, with Nikolai G. Isipov, Deputy Foreign Trade Minister.

David Rockefeller, chairman of Chase Manhattan, Benjamin F. Crane, a New York attorney, and Howard L. Clark, chairman of American Express Co., will give a lunch in New York in honor of Mr. Alkhimov and some others to introduce them to many New York businessmen.

WOMEN CAN NOW BE CHECKED FOR GENETIC DISEASE

HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 19, 1974

Ms. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an unusually interesting and informative article on a most unpleasant subject, that of genetic diseases. But the article is not one of despair, Mr. Speaker, for it describes a procedure that can detect such diseases before birth.

The article, by Dr. Amital Etzioni in the November 1973 edition of *Psychology Today*, describes a new procedure called amniocentesis in which fluid samples from the womb can be withdrawn and analyzed to determine if the fetus has one of many genetic diseases.

Amniocentesis does have its mental and physical risks, however, and they are described explicitly.

Dr. Etzioni also conducts a discussion on the reasons many obstetricians will not inform their patients amniocentesis exists.

Perhaps most importantly, however, the article examines basic questions in-

volving the fundamental right to control one's own body. Dr. Etzioni postulates that this right is so elusive in America because it is no longer a personal question but inextricably bound to our total "legal, economic, political, institutional continuum."

Mr. Speaker, I hope my colleagues and all Americans of both sexes find these topics of use, topics which the author whose writing follows calls "public aspects of our personal lives."

The article follows:

DOCTORS KNOW MORE THAN THEY'RE TELLING YOU ABOUT GENETIC DEFECTS

(By Amital Etzioni)

If a raving maniac struck your child on the head with an iron bar, causing mental retardation, reduction of life expectancy to seven years, and institutionalization, the act would be considered a horrendous crime. The perpetrator would be instantly incarcerated.

When a physician refrains from telling a woman that her next child may be a mongoloid and that the tragic birth can be avoided, and then she bears a retarded child who dies young, nobody makes a fuss. As a matter of fact, many hundreds of thousands of women are not told. Three out of every hundred children born has a genetic defect, two more have a hidden genetic malformation that will affect them later in life (causing such illnesses as spinal cerebellar degeneration, which is a hereditary disorder of the central nervous system, appearing in the mid-20s, of Huntington's chorea, which causes a deterioration of the brain, usually between ages 30 and 60). However, a rapidly increasing number of these illnesses can now be avoided.

Until the early '60s, each child conceived represented a gamble. Researchers and doctors could tell pregnant women that the older they were, the likelier they were to have children afflicted by any one of a large set of crippling or even fatal, genetically caused diseases. Doctors could even give prospective parents fairly precise probability estimates. Yet, every woman who wanted a child had to take her chances, because statistical projections, of course, tell you nothing about the outcome of individual events. Thus, if you are told there is a 25 percent probability that your next child will be a mongoloid, you still don't know what your next child would be. Nor do you know whether out of three or five children all or none would be mongoloids, or whether your present pregnancy is any different from what future ones will be. Such a formulation provides a rather poor guide to action: it leaves parents only two drastic choices: the gamble that the next child will be all right, or the decision to have none.

A SIMPLE TEST

While many prospective mothers are still left with only these two choices, the situation need no longer be so drastic. A relatively simple test called amniocentesis can tell, with a very high degree of accuracy, whether or not the specific fetus a woman is carrying is deformed. Now even a woman with a high predisposition to mongolism can have healthy children.

The test is done by inserting a hollow needle into the sac in which the fetus floats. The doctor withdraws some of the fluid and sends it to a laboratory. Here, fetal cells found in the fluid are grown in a culture and subsequently studied to determine whether they carry any one of 40 or more (the number is rapidly rising) genetic abnormalities. If the test is negative, the parents can be quite sure the child to be born will not suffer from these diseases. If it is positive, prospective parents usually choose abortion, soon to be followed, in most cases, by another pregnancy. Other, later embryos can also be tested. In this way, a couple can be, in effect,

secure of a child free from mongolism and other diseases like Turner's syndrome (which entails severe sexual abnormalities). Tay-Sachs disease, or galactosemia. Tay-Sachs occurs almost exclusively in Jewish families of Eastern European descent; infants become blind, deaf and mentally retarded, with death usually following in the second or third year. Galactosemia, a metabolic disorder, can mean cataracts, cirrhosis of the liver, or mental retardation.

THE DOCTORS DECIDE

Many doctors I have interviewed are not familiar with amniocentesis; many more reply that they would not inform a pregnant woman about the availability of amniocentesis, or would do so only if the woman was over 40 years old, an age at which the risk of having a genetically deformed child sharply rises. (The risk of mongolism is one in 3,000 for women under 30; one in 600 for those aged 30 to 34; one in 280 for those 35 to 39; one in 80 for ages 40 to 44; and one in 40 for ages 44 and up, according to Virginia Apgar, clinical professor of Pediatrics at Cornell University Medical College.)

DOCTORS' CATCH NUMBER ONE: "THE RISK IS TOO HIGH FOR YOU"

Unlike new drugs, new medical procedures are not reviewed by any public authority or agency to determine their safety. Hence, each doctor must personally decide about amniocentesis, and there is strong disagreement about how dangerous it is. One doctor flatly stated: "It [amniocentesis] is safe"; he uses it freely. Another said it should be required of all pregnant women. But most doctors oppose the test because they think it entails risks that are "too high." What are those risks? How high is high? And, how does one determine which risks are "too high"?

The test presents a variety of risks, which differ in severity and frequency and are harder to total up than, say, the risk of being mugged or being involved in a traffic accident.

The list of risks runs as follows:

Between one and two percent of the women tested will have a spontaneous abortion after the test is made. (Some of these abortions might have occurred anyway, since most tests have been done for older women who have a higher rate of spontaneous abortion.)

Three percent of the women tested suffer an infection as the result of the procedure, but most infections respond to antibiotics.

In eight to 10 percent of the women, the test will cause some bleeding because the needle has punctured the placenta; in some cases there will be a puncture of the bladder; in some, of the intestines. All but the last, which seems very rare, usually have no serious consequences. Also, in those few cases, where both the mother's blood vessels and those of the fetus are punctured, and the mother is Rh negative, and the fetus Rh positive a reaction will tend to result that may adversely affect future pregnancies.

There is no record of fatality of an expectant mother.

In very rare cases—there are only two or so on record—the needle punctures the fetus and harms it; in one case, an eye was lost.

(Had we studied amniocentesis instead of, say, defoliants for the war in Vietnam, we would know much more about the exact degree of risk; after all, the procedure has been used to collect genetic information for over 10 years.)

WE MUST JUDGE NOW

We must judge the acceptability of these risks now, and decide whose values will be used in such judgments.

For example, a one-percent to two-percent danger that the fetus will be lost because of a test aimed at securing a normal child will seem, and in this sense will be, extremely high to a 40-year old woman who is desperate to have a child and who is quite willing to accept a deformed one rather than risk not being able to conceive again.

I cannot see what moral or other basis doctors use to disallow the prospective parents to render their own judgment. . . . I quarrel with those who do not give their patients the information that they do have a choice, and, if a woman wants the test, provide the necessary referrals if they themselves cannot or will not administer the procedure.

DOCTORS' CATCH NUMBER TWO: "THE DECISION IS TOO MUCH FOR YOU TO HANDLE."

Several of the doctors interviewed, and several who have written about the test, state that if a woman came to them to ask about amniocentesis, or was seriously worried about the abnormality of her fetus, perhaps because of a family history of genetic illness, then, oh yes, they would tell. But they would not suggest to a woman who did not fear genetic malformation the possibility that her child might be severely deformed. "Not on your life," my own doctor told me. They say, this would cause her anxiety, even if the test was negative. . . . This anxiety, they say, would harm both the woman and her fetus.

Of course, the test is worse than useless if it cannot be followed up by an abortion, but the country has already allowed abortion for other purposes, despite the possibility of these psychological problems; it can hardly reject it for this purpose.

Could a few therapeutic discussions or group sessions for women who face the same problem reduce the anxiety to quite tolerable levels? "That is not our business," a conservative doctor exclaimed. We had better make it ours.

DOCTORS' CATCH NUMBER THREE: "GENETIC INTERVENTIONS WILL DEBASE THE RACE"

Some of the many doctors opposed to the test echoed an objection that several distinguished scientists have stated: What about the welfare of the race? They fear that new medical developments, interfering with natural-selection processes, will lead to an ever weaker, less fit, race.

On the face of it, these arguments would lead one to favor massive use of amniocentesis to try to correct for all of these faults by "weeding out" weak genes. However, other scientists have pointed out that biological traits that are highly undesirable in the present condition might be essential for survival if our environment were to change. Thus, sickle cell anemia, a terrible illness which plagues many black Americans, might be eliminated one day, only for us to find out that it is a useful combatant to malaria. It would serve us all well following a breakdown in civilization, say after a nuclear war, or—if we are sent to serve in Vietnam. Similarly, diabetes has been characterized as a "thrifty" genotype, useful when food supplies are very limited and "deleterious only in the context of the grossly excessive and unbalanced diets which characterize our civilization."

If you tell a woman not to use amniocentesis because the race might suffer, you are either grossly misjudging the scope of the damage or implying a superiority of the society's needs over those of individuals.

DOCTORS' CATCH NUMBER FOUR: "DOWN THE SLIPPERY SLOPE"

"One thing leads to another; you're better off not touching the stuff, because while some of it may seem quite OK, soon you slip into even further out and more dangerous usages," some doctors say. The argument is familiar: it has been advanced to tell marijuana smokers they will end up shooting heroin, to tell girls that premarital sex will lead to promiscuity, and, now, to tell prospective parents that while amniocentesis might be quite fine for detection of mongolism, it opens a whole Pandora's box of genetic tricks.

Indeed, the answer is far from obvious. Mongolism is usually such a severe affliction that the decision of what to do about it is relatively straightforward. But the rapidly rising number of other genetic abnormalities, which can be detected by amniocentesis and by other means, offers no such clear indications.

Thus some genetic abnormalities generate only relatively mild disorders such as PKU and diabetes, which can be treated by strict diets or drugs. If the fetus is diagnosed as having these disorders, should the couple abort it, betting on a normal fetus next time, or should they allow it to be born and lead a less than normal life?

Moreover, amniocentesis can be used to discover not only disorders but also to discover undesirable biological attributes, for example, so called "criminal genes." There is accumulating evidence that people born with XYY genes, one out of every 1,000 male births, may have a predisposition toward criminal insanity.

Should the parents be spared the information? And who shall decide whether they should be spared or not? Does each doctor decide? The state health authorities? An AMA—or APA—Committee?

CHOOSING A CHILD'S SEX

The test also reveals quite easily whether the fetus is male or female. Most doctors, including those who are quite willing to recommend amniocentesis for health reasons, adamantly oppose people taking the risk for such a "whimsical, arbitrary" reason as learning the sex of their child. "If they are that desperate to have a boy (or a girl), let them adopt one!" exclaimed one doctor. But a survey commissioned by WNBC-TV in May 1972, revealed that . . . one out of four Americans seems to feel rather strongly that they would rather have a child of his "own."

And many have strong feelings about the desired sex of their child. Can we tell them: "No, you're not allowed"? Is it OK for medical societies, in effect, to pressure their members to refuse intervention for these non-therapeutic, eugenic purposes, by defining such utilization as "unsound practice"? . . . And, if use of the procedure for this purpose is prohibited, will other interventions, to get a taller child (relatively easy) or one with a higher IQ (maybe impossible) also be outlawed? If so, by whom? If not, who shall decide?

There are alternatives, amniocentesis is not the only way of intervening to affect the genetic composition of the future person. People can affect the heredity of their offspring by having their genes tested in high school, and then avoiding what might be a genetically unsound marriage. For example, a match between a man and woman who each carry the sickle cell trait produces a one in four chance that their children will have sickle cell anemia.

Again, people may wish to complete their families while they are young, because the incident of genetic illness rises with the age of the mother. Should people to whom less risky procedures like these are available be steered away from amniocentesis?

A QUESTION OF AUTHORITY

All of these "catches" raise—directly or indirectly—a question of authority. Who speaks for society? Who decides what people are told or not told? What steps are recommended? What interventions are to be discouraged?

Most doctors argue that all these decisions are best left in their hands. . . . At least the doctors say, if they go as far as to bring the patient into their decision, doctors should retain the right to render the "ultimate decision."

I say that the roles should be reversed: the doctor should advise the patient; the patient should make the ultimate decision. If people are allowed to have abortions that do entail a risk without accounting to anybody, I fail to see why amniocentesis is any different—unless of course future studies show a much higher ratio of serious consequences than now is known.

WHO IS THE AUTHORIZING PARENT?

So far it is quite simple. It's not the doctor's values but those of the people whose lives are affected that should prevail. But there are some additional complexities. First, who should be the authorizing "parent"? The prospective mother? She and her spouse? Should not a woman have the final say over her body? Should one risk the well-being of a fetus without consulting the husband-father? It is too easy to say that both man and woman should decide, because a couple may not agree between themselves. Should a doctor refrain from action unless both parents agree? . . .

If one endorses a basically libertarian view, as I do, that an informed adult should make up her or his own mind as long as there is no clear and present aggregate danger to society (and ultimately to the individual) from these decisions, there still remains the question of whether the test should be promoted (or even required) because of potential societal good. Take mongolism, which costs us 1.7 billion a year. Many people who have mongoloid children don't raise them; they abandon them to public institutions where they decay and die. One can quickly reject the idea of requiring the test, because of the horror of forcing women to be tested and perhaps undergoing abortion. But why not at least promote the test? Why shouldn't public-health departments advertise: If you check your fetus, you'll get a normal child, and we will all share the billion saved?

The answer to all the varied and complex questions raised by the introduction of amniocentesis, which is just one tool of genetic engineering and forerunner of many to come, is to be found, in part, in a new institution, and, in part, in new politics.

A COUNCIL OF SAGES

If we are not to repeat the mistakes of industrialization, when new technologies forced their way into society and made it adapt to their needs, we must review, examine, screen and guide the new biological techniques. To scrutinize these new techniques, we require, first of all, the modern equivalent of a tribal council of wise people to reflect on these matters and pronounce their recommendations. They may, for instance, urge the public-health departments actively to promote the use of amniocentesis to combat mongolism; suggest that doctors consult both spouses, not just the wife, when amniocentesis is indicated; ask for greater tolerance for its use for sex choice, and so

on. The council's advice should not replace or consider individual choices but further seek to inform the individual. Thus, the ultimate decision would continue to rest with each person. But she (and her husband, if any) will be made aware of the opportunities, risks, catches and considerations pointed up in the careful deliberations of a wise body.

This modern equivalent of the tribal council will have to include not just scientists but also humanists, the theologians, and social scientists. Such a wide representation will help to assure that the whole person, not just specific individual needs, will be taken into account.

INFORMING THE PUBLIC

The deliberations should be public, so that—like Congressional hearings on other topics—they will generate a wide-spread public debate on the issues involved. Without it, the recommendations to emerge from the deliberations will probably not be supported by the public, and the development of new mores will not take place. . . . New definitions must be evolved to deal with such questions as when life actually begins (e.g., to allow for amniocentesis and abortion after four and a half months of pregnancy, which many people still emotionally oppose) and when it ends.

Senator Walter Mondale has suggested that such an authoritative body be set up as a Congressional Commission. The Senate, at one point, unanimously endorsed the idea, but the House did not act, and the Commission is now in limbo, it should not be.

All suggestions are important, but they leave one with the feeling that the problem would not be adequately handled. What is missing?

PERSONAL LIBERTIES AND CIVIC INTERSECTIONS

On the face of it, the libertarian answer may seem to provide a sufficient response. "Let each person make up her or his mind; let society—through a council of wise persons—inform the public and alert it to the issues involved, so decisions will be educated. There is no place for Government control in these matters."

On second thought, the issue becomes more of a political concern, because our personal decisions are not made in a social-political vacuum. Thus, we may be all in favor of amniocentesis, but in many parts of the country, it is still difficult even to get an abortion, especially in a public hospital. We might favor waiting longer to "pull the plug" on a terminally ill patient, but the soaring cost of hospitalization may make such delays a luxury only the affluent can afford. We may favor sex choice, but if the AMA labels this (or any other such practice) "unsound," doctors may then very well lack protection in case of malpractice suits and therefore refuse to render the service. And so on.

In short, what we can do as citizens in regard to our bodies, is, unfortunately, not just a personal question between us and our families, us and our physicians. The whole legal, economic, political, institutional continuum has to be dealt with. And whether we like it or not, the road to personal liberties passes through many civic intersections; we must participate in shaping the conditions of our lives so that we will be able to be masters of our own bodies. Only when we devote more attention, time and energy to study and to act on these public aspects of our personal lives, will the political force necessary to countervail the technocrats, bureaucrats, and the research-über-Alles cult, be formed.

As war is too important to be left to the generals, our bodies are too vital to be left to genetic engineers and doctors.

A CRISIS OF FOLLOWERSHIP

HON. ROBERT P. HANRAHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 19, 1974

Mr. HANRAHAN. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, February 12, 1974, the Washington Post carried an interesting and thought-provoking article by Joseph Kraft. I would like to submit that column for publication in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues who may have missed it:

A CRISIS OF FOLLOWERSHIP

(By Joseph Kraft)

("President Nixon has been crippled by Watergate. But the country has not, as all presidential polls show, gone over to the Democrats.")

The leading countries of the advanced world, gathered here for the Washington energy conference, present a sad and puzzling spectacle. Their governments are growing weaker without their oppositions gaining strength.

In the absence of leadership, historic national diseases, born of the uncurbed afflictions of the violent past, are approaching fever pitch again. There is a crisis of followership.

Great Britain presents the classic example. Galloping inflation precipitated a clash between the Conservative government of Prime Minister Edward Heath and the coal miners. Mr. Heath, having zigged and zagged on inflation over the past year, was too weak to compromise gracefully. When the miners stuck fast, Mr. Heath, sensing a chance to score points off the divided Labor party, called a snap election.

Given Labor's weakness, the Tories are expected to win. But a pyrrhic victory at best. For as the electoral campaign starts, there is a surge of the British disease—class struggle, which has returned after a remission of some 40 years.

In France, the illness of President Georges Pompidou has precipitated a struggle for the succession. But the governing parties are split between the claims of a faithful Gaullist, former Premier Jacques Chaban-Delmas, and a more orthodox conservative, Finance Minister Valerie Giscard d'Estaing. The opposition is divided between the Communists and the Socialists led by Francois Mitterand.

The upshot has been a spread of the French rash—the conceit (embodied in Louis XIV, the two Napoleons and General de Gaulle) that the world can only be at peace when France is running things. Messrs. Pompidou and Mitterand have dates with the Russians coming up. Foreign Minister Michel Jobert, after cutting a number of bilateral deals with Arab oil producers, arrives in Washington asserting that France is only "restoring, as often as we can, conditions which foster world equilibrium with progress of peoples and for peace."

In West Germany, Chancellor Willy Brandt has only just turned back a push against his leadership from within his own Social Democratic party. The Socialist insurgents could afford the challenge because the opposition Christian Democrats are in total disarray.

But the in-fighting has been accompanied by a marked German reluctance to cooperate with France in money matters, with Britain in support of its depressed regions, and with the U.S. in paying troops costs. The German affliction—the no-foreigners-are-going-to-take-advantage-of-us feeling—is having a reutrn engagement.

In Japan, Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka has been buffeted by both inflation and the energy crisis. Though without serious challenge from the Socialist opposition, he has

had to appoint his chief rival within the ruling Liberal Democratic party, Takeo Fukuda, to the key post of finance minister.

While sorting out internal disputes, the Japanese have found themselves increasingly pulled apart by contacts with rival outsiders—the U.S. and Russia and China and Formosa and Southeast Asia and the Near East and Europe. The Japanese disease—mordant introspection about Japan's role in the world—has made a comeback. When a leading European asked a Japanese professor about what role Tokyo would play in the future, he was told: "No role."

In the United States, President Nixon has been crippled by Watergate. But the country has not, as all presidential polls show, gone over to the Democrats.

Instead, the country—truck drivers and all—is blaming its troubles on a conspiracy among people in authority, whether in government, business or abroad. The American rash—the know-nothing, levelling instinct known by its carrier as populism—is back in vogue.

Just why the atmosphere of politics throughout the advanced industrial world has soured is not clear to me. Perhaps the fault lies in the corrosive effects of inflation which is universal. Since the U.S. plays such a central role, it may be that troubles in Washington have had a ripple effect. Perhaps the ending of the cold war confrontation is responsible. Or perhaps all the conditions are at work.

In any event, it is not surprising that the international energy conference is only yielding modest results. The conditions are not ripe for large achievements by cooperation between this country and its friends and allies in any field. Great expectations are bound to be disappointed, and the best we can hope for is a long, slow uphill battle to achieve understanding in the face of what has now become a system of family squabbles.

ARTHUR BOSWORTH MCGINLEY

HON. ELLA T. GRASSO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 19, 1974

Mrs. GRASSO. Mr. Speaker, I was saddened to learn of the death today of my very dear friend, the eminently distinguished dean of Connecticut's sports writers: Arthur Bosworth McGinley.

A newspaper journalist for 68 years and sports editor of the Hartford Times for over half a century, Art McGinley has made a deep and enduring contribution to the profession he loved and the people he served.

His long career began in 1905 when, at the age of 15, he started working as a part-time reporter for his father's newspaper the New London Day. His friendship with the distinguished playwright Eugene O'Neill has been a source of insight and information for theater scholars, and a delight to every theater buff.

Art joined the Hartford Times in 1920. In his years on the Times sports staff he developed friendships with professional athletes including Babe Ruth, Ty Cobb, and Mickey Mantle. He began in the 1940's to write two columns: One for the sports page and another called Good Afternoon on the people he knew and met. For 25 years he contributed each column six times a week. People in the

greater Hartford area came to look to both columns as continuing sources of entertainment, insight, and cogent comment.

Over the years, Art attended literally thousands of banquets and sports dinners where he was in demand as a toastmaster and headtable wit. His attendance at dinners in Windsor Locks my hometown, was always a special pleasure. Art would delight his audiences with humorous and moving accounts of his many and varied adventures: He was always kind, warm, and friendly.

Art retired from the Times as sport editor emeritus last January 8. In characteristic fashion his comment on his retirement was "It's about time." Truly, he was a man of irrepressible wit and deep personal warmth and friendship.

One of Art McGinley's favorite expressions—a lyric he used often—went something like this:

For, when the one great Scorer comes
To write against your name.
He writes not that you won or lost
But how you played the game.

Art McGinley played the game of life like a champion. He will be sorely missed by all of us who knew him and cherished his friendship.

IF A JUDGE CAN, SHOULD NOT A POLICEMAN BE ENTITLED?

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 19, 1974

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, we are all aware of the rampant inflation which besets the Nation. One of the primary reasons for this study increase in the rate of our inflation has been the inconsistency of the Cost of Living Council in implementing its 5.5 percent wage guideline. Because the Council has failed to adhere to its guideline, several unions across the country have not received the benefits afforded to their fellow workers, who have had their contracts sanctioned by the Cost of Living Council with an increase greater than 5.5 percent. The uneven hand of the Council has failed to consider the regional effects of our high cost of living, making this 5.5 percent guideline even more inadequate.

The Nassau County Patrolman's Benevolent Association recently reached a contractual agreement with the County of Nassau, providing a 7.5 percent increase in salary for the members of the association. The high cost of food, in rents, and in fuels within the New York metropolitan area requires that wage settlements within the region take into account this higher than average rate of inflation. To meet the financial needs of our police is just as important as fulfilling the needs of the rest of the working population. Just today, I received a letter from Federal district judges in New York also requesting support for a slated increase of 7.5 percent in pay. Are we to deny many of the Nation's finest jur-

ists a well deserved increase in compensation? If judges are entitled to receive a 7.5-percent increase in pay, do not the police officers of Nassau County who serve on the front lines in the prevention of crime and the enforcement of laws subject to the same benefits? Certainly in light of the ravages of inflation in New York, the Cost of Living Council should strongly review its ill-considered decision.

THE SOLAR HEATING AND COOLING DEMONSTRATION ACT

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 19, 1974

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I regret that I was away from Washington and missed the vote on the Solar Heating and Cooling Demonstration Act, H.R. 11864, last week. As a cosponsor of this legislation and one vitally interested in the development and use of alternative energy sources to solve both our energy and environmental needs, I want to make clear that, had I been able to be on the floor, I certainly would have supported this important bill. I hope that it will be only the beginning of a great deal of constructive and creative use of the abundant clean power of the Sun.

I would also at this time like to have entered into the RECORD a copy of an article that appeared in the Sunday home section of the Los Angeles Times on December 30, 1973. Although, the article is short, it provides a very clear and specific description of one kind of solar house particularly suited to climates like that in southern California. The article follows:

THE SIMPLEST KIND OF SOLAR HOUSE

(By Dan MacMasters)

Before we talk about this most prophetic solar house, let us keep these four points in mind.

1. Our Southern California climate is the most nearly ideal in the United States, free of most extremes.
2. If we have a crisis, it is one resulting from lack of fuel, or power, but not of basic energy, sunshine.
3. We don't have to keep our houses at exactly 75 degrees the year around to be comfortable.
4. Simplest solutions are sometimes hardest to accept.

The house described here is the concept of a spare, intense chemist named Harold R. Hay, who says it could reduce the need for electricity by 60 percent in an all-electric home. He expects it to meet all its cooling needs in the Atascadero area and about 90 percent of the heating needs. Such a house in Los Angeles might meet all heating needs during moderate winters.

Hay has been knocking on academic and industrial doors for years with his ideas, but it took the fuel crisis to make people listen. The tangible result is this three-bedroom house constructed of concrete block. It looks conventional, if not inspired, and it will be lived in for a year by Mr. and Mrs. Roger Neudeck and their three small children.

The basic idea of a solar house is to collect heat when the sun shines and store it for use when needed. In Hay's Atascadero house, large water bags 10-inches thick cover the

roof and absorb heat on sunny days. (These bags, of plastic, are a spin-off of the water-bed. The latter proved that you could bag up a lot of water and keep it in the house for several years with no risk of flooding.) The heat from the bags is gradually released over a period of as much as two days. Normally it would be absorbed during the day, released that night, absorbed again the next day, and so on. To control the release and direct it downward, there are panels on the rooftop that can be slid over the water bags. These panels are insulated, of course, as are the walls and floors of the house. Doors and windows are double-glazed for insulation, too. The house is thus an insulated box, except for the portion under the water bags.

But there's more. Hay also cools the house during the hot months by reversing his device, using the night sky as a heat sink. As the drawings show, in the summer the panels would cover the water bags by day, so that the bags would absorb heat from within the house while the sun's heat would be reflected. Then at night, the panels would be slid back and the heat in them released to the cool night sky. The insulating panels thus act as a thermal valve. (Hay calls his Los Angeles-based firm, Sky-Therm.) This dual capacity of heating and cooling is rarely encountered in solar heating systems. Such a house in the Los Angeles area could probably maintain a temperature in the low 80s during the hottest spell, eliminating the need for air conditioning.

The fewer the moving parts in any device the better. Here only the panels move, and this can be done by hand if the power fails. Normally they will be moved by electric motors, and ideally they would be activated by a combination of three thermometers—in the house, the water bag and the outside air—for maximum efficiency.

Another plus for Hay's concept is that this looks like any other flat-topped house. It can't have walls of glass, obviously, but the interior can be quite conventional. It thus should be easy for builder and buyer to accept. Many solar houses have their heat collectors—great areas of black—on a south wall, and they look unusual, if not unsightly. But then, that's what we said about TV antennas at first.

The house was personally financed by Hay and is being studied under a grant from HUD to the California State Polytechnic University at San Luis Obispo. The design was by Environmental Planning Consultants and the study is being directed by Prof. Philip Niles of the department of environmental engineering at Cal Poly. Atascadero was chosen as the site because the temperature there ranges between 10 and 110 degrees in the course of a year, and there can be a 30-degree differential in one day. The south wall is of block construction, and its heat-storing capacity is also being studied. East and west walls are external plywood over studs. On the north side are the carport, utility room and patio, and over them the insulating panels on the roof are slid and stacked to expose the water bags.

How has it worked so far? It's too soon to tell. Two omissions have affected performance. A plastic film was supposed to have been installed a few inches above the water bags to create a greenhouse effect, trapping heat that otherwise would be lost from the bags by convection. Also an area around the edge of the panels was not weather-stripped and insulated. The film and weather-stripping have since been installed, but not before the indoor temperature steadily declined to the mid-50s at the time of writing. It is also expected that installing of automatic controls, coupled to a sensing device, will increase efficiency perceptibly. But a full-scale test of the heating ability will probably have to wait until another winter. One thing is clear—there are no abrupt changes, no wild swings in temperature within the house, no

matter what happens outside. The greatest daily inside change was three degrees. What happened was that each day the temperature dropped another fraction of a degree, and there was no recovery.

The occupants have a personal concern for environmental matters that enable them to take most deficiencies in stride. "When the thermometer dropped below 65 we put on a sweater," says Roger Neudeck. "But we also found that you can be comfortable at a lower temperature in this house because it's an even temperature. There are no cold walls or drafts." As with all radiant heating there is no air movement, but he says they have not missed that.

People listen now when Harold Hay talks about "solararchitecture," as he calls it. He's been traveling constantly about the country with his here-and-now proposals. There's nothing of the visionary or mystic about him. He cites facts. Our houses in this area receive each day on their rooftops twice the energy each family needs. If we can use that sunshine for heating water—as in Japan, Australia and Israel—we'll save 15 percent of our gas or electric bill. If we also use the rooftop for heating and cooling, we could save up to 60 percent more.

This is not only a cost saving, not only a relief from the uncertainty of power blackouts. It also frees gas and electricity for essential uses in industry and public services. At the present time, about 25 percent of all electricity in the United States is consumed in the home. Reducing that figure to 10 percent or less would be a substantial savings in the power-hungry days ahead.

But what about solar cells and the generation of electricity on the housetop? At present, such cells are extremely expensive in terms of what you get from them. It will be some years, if ever, before they are widely used. What about the highrise apartment building? If it is properly oriented, heat collectors can be put in a south wall. And if properly insulated, it should stay cool in summer in our climate.

So you see why we call this house in Atascadero prophetic. And you can also see that we are now on the threshold of one of the great changes in architecture, and a good change. Away from the anonymous, international box and back to a responsive, responsible local architecture. By the end of this century when we look back at the house of the 1950s in which we grew up, it will seem as naive as the log cabin.

STREAKING WOLFPACK VOTED NO. 1 IN AP POLL

HON. IKE F. ANDREWS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. ANDREWS of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, basketball fans in North Carolina and along the eastern seaboard have been well aware of the prowess of the North Carolina State Wolfpack for some time.

Many of us have long considered them No. 1, and, with the publication of the latest Associated Press poll, this fine team coached by Norman Sloan is No. 1 in the Nation.

For far too long, the top spot has been held by a certain team on the west coast. Now this top ranking is held by North Carolina State University in Raleigh and in the Fourth Congressional District I am privileged to represent.

Members of the Nation's top-ranked include: Tommy Burleson, Michael Buurma, Bruce Dayhuff, Kenneth Gehring, Greg Hawkins, Craig Kuszmaul, William Lake, Mark Moeller, Steve Nuce, Timothy Stoddard, Jerry Hunt, Dwight Johnson, Morris Rivers, Philip Spence, Steve Smith, David Thompson, and Monty Towe.

Coach Norm Sloan is assisted by Edward Biedenbach, Arthur Musselman, and Sam Esposito.

It is with a great deal of pleasure to salute the North Carolina State Wolfpack on this achievement and to insert in the Record at this point yesterday's news story, "Streaking Wolfpack Voted No. 1 in AP Poll," from the News & Observer, and the editorial, "We're No. 1," from the Raleigh Times:

STREAKING WOLFPACK VOTED NO. 1 IN AP POLL
(By Bob Cullen)

"Where we really want to be Number One is in the ACC tournament and the NCAA tournament in March."

But for now, N.C. State basketball coach Norm Sloan is "pleased and proud" that his team is at the top in this week's Associated Press poll.

The Wolfpack, with 20-1 record on the season, edged Notre Dame for the top spot by 16 points after UCLA, the perennial poll leader, dropped two games over the weekend.

N.C. State had been rated second in most of the weekly polls since last season. The team was ineligible for tournament play last year because of a recruiting violation.

Sloan thinks the sportswriters who picked his club made the right decision.

"We're a vastly improved ball club over December (when State lost by 18 to UCLA in St. Louis)," he said.

"The two new starters on the team have come a long way. Morris Rivers (a junior college transfer at guard) is playing beautifully now, and Tim Stoddard at the big forward position is getting over a slow start.

"Defensively, we're coming together much better, particularly on our press. We've beaten two of the top five teams (Maryland and North Carolina) on their home court. We beat Purdue, which was leading the Big Ten, on their court."

Sloan stopped practice briefly to tell his players about the poll. They smiled a bit and posed for a picture. "We had it all the way," grinned Steve Nuce, a reserve center who was back to practice drills.

"It's not that we're not enthused," said 7-foot-4 center Tommy Burleson. "It's just that we have a lot of other things on our minds."

Those other things include four more Atlantic Coast Conference games, including one with sixth-ranked North Carolina next week.

Then it's the Atlantic Coast Conference tournament, in Greensboro, where the Wolfpack will have to prove all over again that it deserves the league's berth in the NCAA tournament.

North Carolina State, runnerup to UCLA in last week's balloting, received 30 first-place ballots and 1,034 points in Monday's voting by a nationwide panel of sportswriters and broadcasters. Notre Dame, No. 3 last week, tallied 22 first-place votes and 1,018 points for second place.

UCLA, 18-3, garnered only three of the top votes and 842 points after losing 61-57 to Oregon State and then dropping a 56-51 decision to Oregon.

Vanderbilt, which raised its record to 20-1 by beating Louisiana State 91-88 and Georgia 83-78, collected the only other first-place

vote and 698 points, good for fourth place. Maryland, 17-4, helped by a 91-80 victory over No. 6 North Carolina, climbed into fifth place with 635 points while the Tar Heels slipped from fourth last week to sixth with 602 points.

AP CAGE POLL

1. North Carolina State	30	20-1	1,034
2. Notre Dame	22	20-1	1,018
3. UCLA	3	18-3	842
4. Vanderbilt	1	20-1	698
5. Maryland		17-4	635
6. N. Carolina		18-3	602
7. Pittsburgh		21-1	493
8. Alabama		12-3	383
9. Marquette		19-3	379
10. Indiana		16-3	296

WE'RE NO. 1

We're number one!

N.C. State's basketball team has scrambled to the top of Mt. Everest. The Pack has reached the pinnacle in the polls.

It is a rewarding moment, not just for the State fans, but for the entire University. It calls public attention to N.C. State University in a manner and with more effectiveness than has State's fine school of architecture and its excellent schools of the sciences.

State has been number one on many previous unheralded occasions. For example, it was N.C. State that came up with the cure for black shank, the tobacco disease that several decades ago laid waste the state's foremost crop and left thousands of penniless farmers in its wake. But it's not a thing remembered by rank and file.

Being number one in basketball is new and exciting to the University. Congratulations are in order.

But the players, coaches and fans should keep in mind that fame is fleeting.

One stumble and the crown is dashed to pieces. A Notre Dame, a Carolina or a Maryland is waiting to be crowned.

And there's always the ACC tournament, after that the regionals and then the NCAA finals. And there's always UCLA—despite three losses.

But today State fans, and these of other North Carolina schools, too, can savor the sweetness of the moment: "We're number one!"

LOYALTY TO PURPOSE

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, it has been a year since the first of more than 500 prisoners of war were released by the North Vietnamese. For some, it has been a difficult year, but overall most adjusted surprisingly well to the cultural shock.

One who has done so is Col. John Damesi, a constituent of mine from Blackwood, N.J. A man who became a nationally known figure overnight when his "prisonmade" flag flew over the podium at the White House dinner. A man who served 6 years in a Vietnamese prison. A man who escaped twice. A man who fought personal battles with his captors. But above all else, John Damesi is a military man, a career soldier who has returned to the military because he has "loyalty to purpose," and "loyalty to country."

John Damesi, one would suppose, would have ample reason to be bitter, ample reason to "chuck" the military

uniform he so proudly wore. After all, he served his country with honor for 18 years and who could slight him for saying "I have had it."

Dramesi is not that kind of a guy, however. He values the military and its standards. If it had not been for that unwavering allegiance, that deep belief that what he was doing was right, he may never have survived his ordeal.

He is committed to freedom. But he is worried. Worried about complacency which seems to be running through the jugular vein of this country. A distinct feeling that we might not be willing to pick up the gauntlet again. Of particular concern to him is that the United States is becoming a second-rate military power and some are willing to accept this.

John Dramesi has fought and suffered for his country and he is willing to do it again. For 6 long years he was without his freedom. How many of us could cope with that?

Mr. Speaker, and my colleagues, I am proud to know Col. John Dramesi, an American soldier dedicated to country before self so that each one of us might live in freedom.

A RETREAT FOR RARE ANIMALS

HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post had an excellent editorial in its February 20, 1974, edition regarding the need for additional "survival centers."

As what we like to call civilization continues to encroach upon the habitats of many endangered species, many of these species will become extinct, and their few survivors will be found only in zoos. We have the responsibility to see that zoos become more than "a few feet of concrete and steel," and that animals are given the space they need in order to live and breed.

My bill, H.R. 12047, would provide funds for the proper development of zoos and aquariums into appropriate homes for these creatures, many of whom will no longer be able to exist elsewhere. In addition, section 4(d) contains a provision for the financial assistance to zoos planning "survival centers" such as the one the National Zoological Park plans to establish.

Let me take this opportunity to congratulate Dr. Reed on this major step forward, as well as to urge my colleagues to assist me in effecting the passage of H.R. 12047.

The Post editorial follows:

A RETREAT FOR RARE ANIMALS

"It's breed or go out of business," said Dr. Theodore Reed, the director of the National Zoological Park, the other day, announcing the establishment of a breeding farm at the old Army Remount Station at Front Royal, Va. Many animals, Dr. Reed explained, insist on privacy to raise a family. Others need the choice and social interaction found only in the herd before they will mate. Neither condition exists in our crowded city zoos. Animal

collections are, therefore, largely maintained by catching more animals in the wild. "We can't continue this," said Dr. Reed. "Most rare species are now protected by law. Unless we breed them in captivity, zoos won't have them. And captive breeding can be important to the survival of some species."

As Bernard Fensterwald, counsel to the Committee for Humane Legislation wrote on this page Feb. 7, a growing number of people want zoos phased out by attrition. "As animals in existing zoos die off, they should not be replaced," wrote Fensterwald. "Has man become so avaricious that he cannot spare endangered species more than a few feet of concrete and steel in which to 'survive'?" he asks.

It is our view that zoos should not be restocked at the risk of further endangering already endangered species. But we do not welcome the day when zoos are replaced by nature films on the life of animals in their natural habitats. So we applaud the initiative of the Smithsonian and its zoo in establishing the breeding farm. Among the first species to roam the farm's 4,000 acres will be Pere David's deer, a species that has long been extinct in the wild and survives only in captivity. Other zoos, incidentally, are invited to join in cooperative programs to send their rare animals to the Front Royal retreat.

CAPTIVE NATIONS

Hon. Yvonne Brathwaite Burke

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mrs. BURKE of California. Mr. Speaker, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have existed as distinct communities for hundreds of years. During the First World War, patriots in the three Baltic States seized the opportunity presented by the conflict between Germany and Russia, the disintegration of the czarist Russian Empire, and the general chaos to reassert national independence. Lithuania officially declared its independence on February 16, 1918. Although the Russian Army attempted to destroy Lithuania, occupying approximately four-fifths of it in 1919, the small armies of the three states succeeded in clearing the Baltic lands by the end of 1919. The next year, in 1920, the three Baltic States entered into peace treaties with Soviet Russia. In these treaties the independence and Estonia was recognized by the Russian sovereignty of Lithuania, Latvia, and Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. The latter "voluntarily and forever" renounced all sovereign rights over the people and territory of the Baltic States.

However, during the Second World War, the Republic of Lithuania became a victim of aggressions by Russia and Germany. As a result of secret agreements between those two powers, Lithuania was invaded and occupied by the Soviet Union Armed Forces on June 15, 1940.

The United States has never recognized the incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union. We have watched the admirable progress of the Lithuanians in self-government with deep and sympathetic interest. The people of the United States are opposed to any form of intervention on the part of one state in the domestic concerns of any

other sovereign state. We are also opposed to any system which seeks to abolish the distinctive characteristics of nation, creed, and individuality.

The captive peoples should know that they are not forgotten, and that the people of the United States are not reconciled to their fate. We share a strong conviction that the people of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia are entitled to governments of their own choosing, and are looking forward to a day in the near future when the Baltic countries will again experience national independence.

ENERGY CRISIS

HON. CHARLES W. SANDMAN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. SANDMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert in the RECORD at this time a copy of my February 1974 newsletter to my constituents:

CONGRESSMAN SANDMAN'S FEBRUARY 1974 NEWSLETTER

DEAR CONSTITUENTS: For the past month, your Congressman has been occupied almost around-the-clock on problems and possible solutions to the very serious energy crisis, particularly the severe gasoline shortages in our area.

In my effort to get straight answers and prompt action to end this problem, I have met with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger on the complex global energy picture, with Energy Chief William Simon and many of his subordinates on the details of the fuel allocation, with Governor Byrne on the State's responsibility in this crisis, and with hundreds of my fuel supplying and consuming constituents in the Second District.

My mail is almost exclusively related to the energy crisis with communications about impeachment and other Congressional activities taking a back seat to this overriding public concern on energy matters.

First, though, I am just as suspicious as everybody else that greed and political motives by a handful of powerful people is involved somehow in our present sad energy situation, there is no doubt that energy shortages exist and that it will be some time before things get back to normal, whatever that is.

ARAB OIL EMBARGO

There is also no question that the Arab oil embargo has aggravated our energy shortage problems. I am fortunate to have had the opportunity to confer once again with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger on Thursday, February 14th, which was the morning after he completed the historic meeting of the fourteen leading oil consuming nations of the world here in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Kissinger was very much to the point. He restated our national position that we cannot, should not and will not submit to international blackmail, which is precisely what the Arabs are now attempting with the oil embargo.

I strongly support this foreign policy. We must never alter our foreign policy just because some nation threatens to or actually does cut off the supply of a raw material or product that we need. To do so would open the door to a logrolling contest around the world that would destroy America's peace-keeping influence and our economic integrity.

In the present oil shortage, it would be so easy for us to get all the oil we need: all

America would have to do is abandon Israel and submit to this blackmail. I give President Nixon and Secretary Kissinger high marks for resisting that temptation for short range gains such as full gas tanks at the expense of peace and America's influence in the world.

THE LONG RANGE PICTURE

First, the United States has embarked on a program to make ourselves self-sufficient in terms of our energy needs by 1980. I think we can do it and I am supporting all reasonable steps in that direction consistent with environmental protection and safety.

Secondly, I believe that the Arab oil embargo will soon come to an end for two very compelling reasons: (1) the Middle East conflict, which was the political reason for the embargo, is coming to a peaceful settlement through negotiations conducted by Secretary Kissinger; and (2) the economic reasons for the embargo are vanishing as the United States reduces our dependence on foreign oil, as we develop our own sources of energy and as we substitute and sacrifice to meet this crisis.

The impact of the Arab oil embargo has been minor here in the United States compared to the catastrophic effects it is having on the economies and lifestyles of the people of Japan and Western Europe. For example, Secretary Kissinger noted that whereas Japan enjoyed an \$8 billion favorable balance of trade last year, Japan faces a \$25 billion or worse deficit this year, which is a terrible blow to their economy. Our European friends are in no better position.

SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Finally, with respect to the gasoline shortages we have been experiencing in the Second Congressional District, we can look forward to increased allocations to our gas stations, both through appeals I and others have made to Simon's Energy Office and to the Governor, who controls the allocation of three percent of the available gasoline for use in areas that experience emergencies.

The American public has been cooperative. I am especially pleased with my own constituents, who have cut their gasoline use by at least 15 percent and their use of other fuels by nearly that amount. Speed limits are being adhered to, conservation methods are being accepted and people have put up with the ever-rising prices of gasoline and other petroleum products.

As your Congressman, I have taken action on many fronts. To report all the details would take dozens of these WASHINGTON REVIEW newsletters. To mention but a few, I have repeated my call for an investigation of the major oil companies, their sources, pricing procedures and profits. I have introduced legislation to create a Congressional agency designed to constantly monitor our natural resources so that we will never again be caught by a surprise shortage or resource crisis. I am supporting the development of domestic sources of energy so we can reach the goal of self-sufficiency in 1980. And I am continuing my long-standing pressure on Detroit to produce more efficient automobile engines that guzzle less fuel. I am drafting legislation in that direction if they fail to comply voluntarily. Also, I oppose Sunday closings of gas stations in our resort area and am appealing for a change in that policy.

CRITICISM AT CONGRESS

The area that is open to the most criticism in my judgment is the Congress itself. Inept leadership on the part of the Democrat majority in both houses has provided no leadership and very little help in finding solutions to the tremendous problems caused by the energy crisis.

The House passed the important energy bill before Christmas of last year, but the U.S. Senate was unable to act at all until it finally passed its version on February 19th, a

full two months later. The Senators are paralyzed in their own self-serving dialogue that leaves very little room for accomplishment.

You have a right to know that the House of Representatives has also accomplished next to nothing so far this year. We have had one long recess after another because nothing has been voted out of Committee of enough substance to require floor action.

It is time that the media devoted more attention to the failings of the Majority (Democrat) leadership of both Houses of Congress. The people are entitled to better representation in the legislative branch of government.

Sincerely,

CHARLES W. SANDMAN, JR.,

Your Congressman.

MEMBERS INTRODUCE THE CONSUMER ENERGY ACT

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced the Consumer Energy Act on behalf of myself and 13 other Members of Congress. The following Members are cosponsoring the Consumer Energy Act: Mr. DINGELL, Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania, Mr. ADAMS, Mr. ECKHARDT, Mr. PO-DELL, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Mr. CARNEY of Ohio, Mrs. SULLIVAN, Mr. REUSS, Mr. ASHLEY, Mr. CORMAN, Mr. HARRINGTON, and Ms. AEZUG.

We will be seeking the support of additional Members who are concerned with the impact of the energy shortage on the consumer in the days ahead.

The Consumer Energy Act is an affirmative congressional program. It is an alternative to the existing administration policy of inaction, contradictory statements, and policies primarily reflecting the interests of the major oil producers and not the American people.

Once again the administration has asked almost nothing from the giant oil companies and almost everything from the consumer.

The purpose of the Consumer Energy Act is to provide a consumer energy program that is comprehensive, practical, and fair to both the public and the oil industry. It is designed to distribute more fairly the burdens of the energy shortage, provide essential information on energy costs and supplies to the public, infuse new vitality and competition into the oil industry, and increase energy supplies to the consumer at reasonable prices.

The following is a summary of the background and major provisions of the Consumer Energy Act:

BACKGROUND

Serious questions have been raised concerning the nature and extent of the energy shortages facing the Nation. Statistics are not reliable, and the Government is solely dependent upon data which the oil industry releases. Consumers are faced with shortages or unavailability of energy supplies and soaring energy prices. Consumers have been asked to restrict their driving, to slow down when they do drive, to turn down their thermostats, and increasing numbers are losing their

jobs. At the same time, rising prices have increased petroleum company revenues by almost \$25 billion on an annual basis. Such large amounts cannot be spent on new exploration and development, and it has been estimated that about \$13 billion of the major oil companies' \$25 billion in additional revenues will generate windfall profits.

Such a policy of excessive price increases can have a dramatic impact on the economy in 1974. It is likely that the rate of inflation will be accelerated. The level of unemployment will be higher. There will be shortages resulting in dislocation to many industries. Press reports indicate that the median forecast of some 20 different economic forecasting groups, including the Council of Economic Advisers, predicts an inflation rate next year of 5.9 percent. The estimates of next year's unemployment level range from about 6 to 9 percent. The Consumer Price Index advanced about 9 percent in 1973, the highest rise in more than 22 years. Many of these economic forecasts do not reflect the increases in petroleum prices which have already occurred which are likely to accentuate the Nation's economic ills. Rising energy prices are causing consumer discontent, as most vividly illustrated by the shootings, beatings, and other violence which has flared along the Nation's major highways as independent truck owners protested the rising price of diesel fuel. These independent owners have caused a nationwide strike that may temporarily disrupt shipments of steel and other vital materials as well as threatening some cities with food shortages.

As spring approaches and the demand for gasoline and other fuels increases, the lines at gasoline stations are likely to get longer while tempers become shorter.

Increasingly, critics are suggesting drastic solutions to the Nation's energy shortages: nationalization, complete break-up of the major oil companies, or total regulation and domination of the industry by the Government.

The Consumer Energy Act rejects this approach. Its focus is on revitalization of the free enterprise system and encouragement of competition while providing the minimum amount of regulation that is needed to protect the consumer from those sectors of the industry that are not workably competitive, or in which market forces are inoperative. The goal of the Consumer Energy Act of 1974 is to make the free enterprise system work.

THE CONSUMER ENERGY ACT IN BRIEF

The principal thrust of the Consumer Energy Act is to create incentives toward a gradual and orderly restructuring of the natural gas and oil industry by enlarging the market share and influence of the independent producer. Currently, there are more than 10,000 oil and gas producers in the United States. Approximately 90 percent of the Nation's production, however, is controlled by a dozen natural gas and oil companies. Because of increasing concentration, the ranks of the independent oilman have, until recently, been dwindling rapidly. In 1954, there were about 40,000 oil producers in the United States. Today, there are less than one-quarter that number. These independent producers are often small entrepreneurs who are willing to risk their fortunes on the discovery of oil. Although they do 80 to 90 percent of the wildcatting in the Nation, many of them cannot afford to engage in expensive production drilling, and as a result, most of the oil and gas production in the United States today is not done by the independents, the risk-takers, but by the major oil companies. As the cost of drilling increases, as seismic and geological techniques become more sophisticated, as new discoveries are made in more remote areas or far-offshore, as lease bonuses increase and as construction costs soar, the independent oilman is becoming an endangered species.

The proposed bill is intended to reverse this trend.

It provides special incentives to independents—price deregulation, access to Federal lands, access to oil pipelines, protection for both independent and franchised dealers. It is hoped that with these incentives the market share of the independent sector of the oil industry will increase from the current 10 to 40 percent in a decade. Independents will then be a viable competitive force in the marketplace; at that time it may be appropriate to review the need for price controls on major producers.

The Consumer Energy Act of 1974 also proposes new incentives for the major oil companies. The premise of the bill is that the free market is the best allocator of scarce resources, but for the free market system to work properly, multinational oil companies must be structured competitively. Mounting evidence suggests that the discipline of the marketplace is not operating to establish reasonable oil prices for products sold by major petroleum companies. Instead of market forces, the world oil price is determined by an oil-producing cartel. Oil that is selling on the world market for \$11.60 costs but \$0.15 to produce in the Middle East. World oil prices and, consequently, domestic oil prices have soared not because of the operation of the free market but because of the monopoly power of a few Middle Eastern nations.

Since the discipline of the free market is not functioning effectively with respect to the major oil companies, the consumer is faced with two choices: (1) tolerate the distortions and misallocations resulting from oligopolistic or monopolistic supply and pricing patterns, or (2) endure the difficulties associated with regulation and effective control. The Consumer Energy Act proposes, for the major companies, a firm, fair, streamlined, and workable system of price controls and incentives to encourage maximum efficient levels of production of oil and gas at reasonable prices. This goal would be achieved by a reformed system of Federal Power Commission oversight and the establishment of a Federal Oil and Gas Corporation as a supplier of last resort.

SYNOPSIS OF THE CONSUMER ENERGY ACT OF 1974

Title I—Natural gas and oil regulatory reform

Because natural gas and oil are generally produced by the same companies, often from the same wells, and because both fuels are generally end-use substitutes for each other, the bill proposes to treat both fuels uniformly for purposes of well-head price regulation. For the largest multinational companies, the ones that remain subject to FPC controls, these controls would apply to the well-head prices of both natural gas and oil.

The bill proposes to deregulate small producers. Small producers would be any producer of natural gas or oil solely engaged in the business of exploration, development, and production of natural gas or oil in the United States, as well as any one of the following sectors of the oil industry: transportation, refining, or marketing. Such producers are relatively competitively structured. They do not administer prices. Any increase in price to them can be reasonably expected to result in larger supplies of needed energy sources for the United States.

In order for price controls to operate fairly and effectively, all producers in the same class should be subject to a fair system of regulation. The Consumer Energy Act proposes that the largest companies subject to regulation should be subject to controls both in the interstate and intrastate markets. This approach, however, does not interfere with traditional State jurisdiction over intrastate producers. The bill proposes that

the Federal Power Commission would not exercise such jurisdiction if the producing State regulatory commission meets certain minimum standards to insure adequate attention to the interests of the Nation as a whole.

One of the valid objections raised by the industry to current Federal Power Commission practices is the enormous regulatory lag associated with the establishment of well-head prices. The bill proposes to simplify this process by providing an annual review of rates on a national basis with regional adjustments, effective Congressional oversight, and restriction on judicial review. The national area rate would be established at a rate justified by the costs of exploration, development, operation, or maintenance, including a fair rate of return. It further provides the FPC with authority during shortages to equitably allocate petroleum supplies among all customers and regions of the Nation.

In order to assure the independence of the Federal Power Commission, this section would require the Commission to concurrently submit its budget estimates and legislative recommendations to Congress and the Executive Branch. It would permit the Commission to undertake civil actions in its own name and through its own attorneys. To provide continued Congressional oversight, no authorization shall be for more than 3 years.

It is proposed here that the Commission undertake an evaluation of proved and potential reserves of natural gas and oil in the United States and to undertake an updating of such an evaluation each year. The Federal Trade Commission in consultation with the Federal Power Commission is also authorized to collect the information needed to carry out the purposes of this Act.

Title II—Emergency interim relief for consumers of oil

This title would impose a temporary interim price rollback for all domestically produced crude oil prices to December 1, 1973, price levels. Price increases since that time would also be rolled back, except for actual nonpetroleum cost increases, such as gasoline station overhead that have occurred since then. It is designed to supplement the rollback under the Energy Emergency Act of 1973 (now in conference), to reduce the windfall profits earned by petroleum companies last year, and to slow the runaway inflation fueled primarily by skyrocketing energy prices.

Title III—Federal Oil and Gas Corporation

Title III would establish a Federal Oil and Gas Corporation to explore, develop, and produce natural gas and oil from publicly owned lands. The Corporation is intended to satisfy national energy needs, stimulate competition in the petroleum business, and provide the public with knowledge of the actual cost of producing oil and gas so that public policy can be geared to the Nation's interests. It would give the Nation a yardstick against which to judge the performance and pricing of the private oil companies. It could provide a means for effective exploration of Federal lands, the establishment of strategic reserves, and provide the Nation with a supplier of last resort. It is not the purpose of this title to provide a forerunner for nationalizing the American petroleum industry. Its purpose is to develop public resources while preserving the free enterprise system in the oil and gas industry. It would provide a spur, a yardstick, an incentive for competition. The Federal Oil and Gas Corporation proposal is modeled after the highly successful record and structure of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Title IV—Equal treatment for small producers of oil and gas

Title IV requires that petroleum pipelines, which are the highways of the oil industry, be

open to all who wish to ship their products. Currently, these pipelines are owned by a few of the largest major oil companies. Yet, they are the lifeline upon which independent producers, refiners, and marketers depend. The title would perfect the Interstate Commerce Commission's authority to assure that oil pipelines are common carriers in fact as well as in name. It provides that petroleum pipeline owners establish service and storage facilities for independent producers and refiners who meet reasonable minimum requirements. If the Interstate Commerce Commission does not substantially respond to complaints of unfair treatment, then the Federal Power Commission is given authority over oil pipelines to assure that appropriate action is taken.

The title also proposes the establishment of a new system of bidding for drilling rights on Federal land under which at least 50 percent of the lease sales would be made on the basis of royalty rather than bonus bidding. The present bonus bidding system for rights to develop off-shore lands requires an enormous initial capital outlay on the part of the successful bidder. The effect of this system is to exclude small and independent oil companies from the opportunity to develop natural gas and oil on public lands, except in joint ventures with major corporations. By moving toward a royalty system of bidding on an experimental basis, such entry barriers could be reduced and the small independent bidder would have a better chance of gaining access to the offshore properties which contain a large percentage of the Nation's future oil and gas supplies. The royalty bidding experiment would be combined with a system of performance requirements and royalty adjustments to assure the maximum efficient level of production over the life of the reservoir and the maximum return to the U.S. Treasury.

Title V—Fair treatment for retailers of petroleum products

Shortages of fuel have fallen unevenly among the Nation's gasoline retailers, striking particularly hard at independent retail outlets which provide significant price competition in petroleum marketing. More than 3,000 independent dealers were forced to close their doors last year. In addition, branded dealers are often faced with a severe bargaining disadvantage when dealing with major oil companies. Therefore, this title would protect all gasoline dealers from arbitrary termination of their leases or franchises, and assure that, in the event of shortages, supplies would be allocated fairly to all classes of retailers.

Title VI—Termination of wasteful rate structures

When it appeared that the Nation's supplies of oil and gas were abundant, the Federal Power Commission provided leadership for the establishment of natural gas rate structures that now encourage waste. As consumption increases, the unit price typically declines. This title proposes to revise priorities by shifting in a gradual and orderly fashion toward rate structures that encourage conservation rather than waste.

SUMMARY

The intent of the Consumer Energy Act of 1974 is to promote competition and revitalize the free enterprise system by providing special incentives to independent producers, and by regulating those sectors of the industry where market forces in the past have proven to be inadequate. In this way, the proposed bill would increase supplies of natural gas and oil while assuring that such supplies will be provided at reasonable prices to the consumer and without an excessive inflationary impact on the Nation's fragile economy.

TRIBUTE TO COUNCILMAN
RAY GUILLEN

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, on February 24, the friends and associates of Councilman Ray Guillen, of Paramount, Calif., will honor him for his outstanding service in behalf of his community.

The 10th child of Guadalupe and Cruz Guillen, Ray was born in Paramount in 1938. He attended the local schools—Los Cerritos School, Lincoln Elementary, Clearwater Junior High, and then Paramount High School. After graduation in 1953, Ray attended Compton Junior College and received his bachelor of science degree in business administration from Woodbury College in Los Angeles.

After college, Councilman Guillen was employed by North American Rockwell for 8 years, where he was recognized with the "outstanding contributor" award for the role he played during the Apollo Space program.

An active participant and leader in the area, he was a moving force in the creation of the Mexican-American Scholarship Association, which has helped 80 youths attend college over its 18-year history. In addition, Ray Guillen, as a member of the Paramount Parks and Recreation Commission, successfully guided proposals to create three new parks in the Paramount area.

In 1968, Mr. Guillen was appointed to the Board of Directors of the Southeast Neighborhood Legal Services—the first lay person to serve in such a capacity. He is also a charter member of the Paramount Boys Club and serves as a director of that organization.

A businessman with his own accounting and tax service firm located in Paramount, Ray was first elected to the city council in 1970—the first Mexican-American elected to such a position in Paramount—and was selected vice mayor for the 1971-72 term. As a member of the city council, he has continued his innovative programs designed to improve the quality of life for the residents of Paramount. Specifically, Councilman Guillen is responsible for the inauguration of the highly successful "16th of September" committee that conducts the annual parade and fiesta which has been the highlight of the social year in Paramount. He has worked for the creation of a permanent home for the Boys Club of Paramount and he was successful in bringing the Paramount health clinic to the area in order to serve the underprivileged children.

In addition, Councilman Guillen has worked to create a minipark on San Vincente Street, an area of high residential density, but moderate income.

Mr. Speaker, Councilman Ray Guillen is a dedicated servant of the people of Paramount and is the kind of person to whom all of us are indebted. Councilman Guillen's faithful service and his

devoted compassion for his fellow man have earned him the respect and admiration of all who have come to know him.

I am pleased and honored to call him my friend and I am happy to join with the people of Paramount in saluting Councilman Ray Guillen for his many contributions to our community, to our society, and to our Nation.

H. W. "PAT" KELLY

HON. WILLIAM M. KETCHUM

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. KETCHUM. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a great American, H. W. "Pat" Kelly. Rarely has a man been so deserving of praise as Pat Kelly.

As a teacher, businessman, legislator, and civic leader, Pat Kelly has brought to his community a tireless energy and unflagging desire to help his fellow man. In the span of his 72 years, Pat has crammed several lifetimes' worth of activity. One recent newspaper account estimated that if all his overlapping years of service in civic, church, and professional organizations were added together, they would total over 200 years.

Born in Jackson, Amador County in 1902, Pat attended Santa Clara High School, and received both a bachelor's and master's degree from Stanford University. To this day, he remains one of Stanford's most loyal sons, and active brothers. Upon completion of his A.B. degree in 1924, Pat began a teaching career marked by his lifelong devotion to young people. He taught at Pacific Grove High School, Menlo Junior College, and Visalia High School before taking on administrative tasks in the Kern County Union High School District, including a term as principal of Shafter High School.

In 1945, Pat began a new and successful career in real estate and insurance, from which he recently retired. But a list of the civic activities in which he participated comprises a career in itself. His record of community service includes the presidency of the Shafter Rotary Club, a term as district governor, and now a position on the legislative council of Rotary International; a director of the Bakersfield Savings and Loan for 12 years; Eastern Star patron; president of Kern County Shrine Club; president for 1 year and 8 years as secretary of the Shafter Chamber of Commerce. He is a past exalted ruler of the Visalia Elks Lodge.

Perhaps the activity closest to his heart has been his 60 years in Boy Scouts. Pat became a Scout in 1914, and has served the organization ever since. Scouting appreciation of him was shown when he received the Silver Beaver Award.

Always active in the affairs of the Republican party, Pat was elected to the California Assembly in 1950. During his 8 years of service in the legislature, he was an active leader among his col-

leagues, serving as vice chairman of the Agriculture Committee; chairman of the Committee on Manufacturing, Oil, and Mining; and a member of the Social Welfare, Finance, and Insurance, and Fish and Game Committees among others. Pat Kelly continues to be an active leader of the Kern County Republican Party.

Mr. Speaker, I could continue on with a list of this remarkable man's accomplishments. He and his wife, Eleanor, have contributed far more than their share to the well-being of the world in which they have lived. I am proud to count Pat Kelly among my friends, and I know my colleagues here would join me in congratulating Pat on this day of tribute for his lifetime of unselfish public service. Of Pat Kelly it can surely be said, "Such men are rare; make much of one."

TRIBUTE TO WILLIAM VAN
DUSEN

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, on February 23 the Sherman Oaks Chamber of Commerce will honor its retiring president, William Van Dusen, with a dinner dance. It is fitting that we, too, should pay tribute to this dynamic civic leader.

A well-known figure in the San Fernando Valley, Mr. Van Dusen has been active in the Sherman Oaks Chamber of Commerce for over 20 years. From 1953 to 1970 he served on its board of directors and has served as its president since 1971.

Mr. Van Dusen has participated in Rotary Club activities for over 25 years. In 1958 he was district governor of Rotary International District 526 and as district governor compiled an outstanding record. Over the past 10 years Mr. Van Dusen has been active in Rotary work with foreign students, assisting in the important work of building people-to-people friendships and spreading good will throughout the world.

A Boy Scout leader for over 35 years, Mr. Van Dusen has twice served as district chairman of the Scouts and was a member of the National Advisory Board from 1958 to 1968.

He has been active in fund raising for the Red Cross and the United Crusade for over three decades. From 1964 to 1970 he was a member of the Los Angeles Red Cross Chapter's executive board and was a member of the United Crusade planning council from 1972 to 1974.

In 1965 the Van Nuys-Sherman Oaks-Encino Coordinating Council named him citizen of the year. From 1968 to 1973 he was chairman of the board of the University of Seven Seas Foundation. He served 1 year as an adviser to the mayor of Los Angeles and 3 years as an adviser to the attorney general of California. Mr. Van Dusen has also been active in the San Fernando Valley Business and Professional Association since 1968.

His long record of commitment to the civic progress of the San Fernando Valley makes William Van Dusen well deserving of this tribute.

**THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION
REVENUE-SHARING PROGRAM**

HON. SHIRLEY CHISHOLM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Mr. Speaker, the hoped-for financial boom that many Americans anticipated with the advent of the Nixon administration's revenue-sharing program has proven to be anything but that, especially to the Nation's minorities. Instead, money is scarcer than ever, especially in urban areas where many minority people reside, and the revenue-sharing funds that do exist have a smaller chance of finding their way to the disadvantaged and minorities than funds from the categorical grants system which the administration is seeking to replace with special revenue sharing.

When initially proposed, I advocated and actively tried to recruit support for the concept of revenue sharing. I believed that our local governing units had more pressing needs than they had money for them. I, along with many local elected officials, envisioned this to be money which would be in addition to existing categorical grant program funds. Unfortunately, the experience with revenue sharing has led me to believe that it is not the answer.

The cutbacks in Federal programs such as those in the Office of Economic Opportunity and manpower programs such as the Job Corps have forced many cities to use revenue-sharing funds just to keep these programs going. In view of the fact that these programs enjoyed economic stability under the categorical grants system and the obvious fact that this measure plugs a hole which did not exist previously this can hardly be called progress. Add to this the findings that most cities are not using their revenue-sharing funds for social service programs, and that these programs are being slashed by the Federal Government and the conclusion is that under revenue sharing, minorities actually find themselves with less than they started with under the categorical grants system. The reality of revenue sharing is, unfortunately, different from the administration's promise of what it would be.

The administration claims that these social service programs are not being slashed, but merely consolidated to cut down on the bureaucracy involved. This high sounding, economy-minded umbrella is actually an excuse for the Government to bypass the political uproar of cutting these programs outright, while killing them silently with the slow strangulation of steadily decreasing funds. Perhaps Joint Center for Political

Studies President Eddie Williams described the situation best when he accused the Government of gutting programs like those in OEO because they—

Stirred up too much citizen participation and brought too much political sophistication to those who were once only on the fringes of power.

Among the promises of the revenue-sharing program from its inception was that certain strings would be attached to the funds to prevent their being used in violation of the 1964 civil rights laws. Yet, cases of suspected discrimination are beginning to surface, such as the complaint which went to U.S. District Court just 2 weeks ago alleging that the Chicago Police Department, supported in part by revenue-sharing moneys, is guilty of racially discriminatory employment practices. Similar complaints are being aired around the Nation regularly.

Specific minority groups suffer from problems which are peculiar to them, along with the ones they share with all minorities under revenue sharing. Gary, Ind. Mayor Richard Hatcher testified before the Muskie subcommittee which investigated the impact of the "new federalism" on the jeopardy of a program which taught what he termed "survival English" to Spanish-speaking people in his city. He also testified that a program which in a 9-month span had provided adequate meals for 3,153 low-income senior citizens was in danger of being terminated.

We must also consider the implications of spending new revenue-sharing funds on such things as a lowering of property taxes. Not only are manpower programs and the like going down the drain because this new money exists, but the disadvantaged and minorities stand to benefit very little from such a move, since they characteristically are not homeowners. And cases such as this will occur, since the most powerful local interest groups are usually the landowning interests. It is these interests, we need not be reminded, which control the new revenue-sharing dollars.

It should also be noted that revenue-sharing funds are being distributed on the basis of the 1970 census. This is another case where minority groups stand to lose what little money does come down, since it has been shown that census figures for minority communities are often grossly inaccurate and incomplete.

It is apparent that the system of categorical grants which revenue sharing replaced provided better assurances of funds for the underprivileged than the present revenue-sharing programs. Under the present categorical grants system funds are targeted for specific areas and have the Federal Government behind them to make sure they arrive. Under the local control that comes with revenue sharing, groups that are better able to compete politically for the funds are more likely to get them. Minorities, who for so long have been excluded from the political process, lack the political sophistication and political clout vital to

this competition. It is the old case of "Them that has, gets." This reality, whether unconscious or not, is a case of discrimination. Former HEW Secretary Wilbur Cohen perhaps described the situation best when he stated:

We have to have federal programs with strings attached because it is the only way that the disadvantaged, the poor whites and the poor blacks will get their fair share. If there are not federally regulated programs to disburse money and instead it is handled by local city governments, then they won't get their fair share.

Unlike the federal government, city councils are controlled by the real estate and industrial development interests and they will divert the money to their ends. We have to have federal strings because there is no other political means to reconcile the interests of local real estate people with the broader national interests.

Not only are the poor faced with the problems of competing with better equipped interests when the money is distributed locally—not to mention the increased possibility of poor civil rights enforcement—but in States such as New York, California, and Illinois, which contain large urban centers with large minority populations, the State legislatures are dominated by rural interests, which will further divert the money when it comes under their control.

Last year's investigations by the Muskie committee came to just that conclusion. The National Journal reported that the committee had found that "few cities were using the—revenue sharing—money for new social services to the poor." It is plain that instances of gains in the social services area for the poor are few and far between if they exist at all, and that they are far outweighed by instances of increased hardship under revenue sharing. How can there be gain when, while discussing revenue sharing, Boston Mayor Kevin White stated:

I have less money in the short run and probably the prospect of less money in the long run.

The facts are in, and the conclusion is clear. Revenue sharing programs have worked against the people they should be helping most. The old system of categorical grants needs reform, but revenue sharing is regression. We must reinstate the funds to social service programs which have dried up, and reverse the trend started by revenue sharing, before the Nixon administration succeeds in setting back the cause of minority peoples, the economically disadvantaged, and the elderly farther than it already has.

ANTITRUST LAWS NEEDED

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing for myself, Mr. JORDAN, Mr. MEZVINSKY, and Mr. SEIBERLING new and major antitrust legislation designed

primarily to make it easier for States to use Federal antitrust laws when seeking to combat anticompetitive and monopolistic practices.

Quite recently, the Supreme Court declared in an antitrust case involving the food industry, that the—

Antitrust laws are the Magna Carta of free enterprise. They are as important to the preservation of economic freedom and our free enterprise system as the Bill of Rights is to the protection of our fundamental personal freedoms.

Nearly 50 years prior to this restatement, the Supreme Court had similarly addressed itself to the basic antitrust law, the Sherman act, and observed—

The Sherman act was intended to secure equality of opportunity and to protect the public against evils commonly incident to monopolies and those abnormal contracts and combinations which tend directly to suppress the conflict for advantage called competition—the play of contending forces ordinarily engendered by an honest desire for gain.

Skyrocketing food prices, energy crises, shortages of metal, the formation of gigantic energy conglomerates with the already too powerful large oil companies at their nucleus, all convince me that we must take action to meet the threats to the fundamental national policies that have been expressed in our antitrust laws since 1890. The competition and the public interest that these laws are designed to protect and to promote mandate that we in the Congress act swiftly and effectively to muster all forces available to hold these menacing threats in check. The wide variety and direction of anticompetitive and monopolistic threats confronting our citizens establish the need for us to tap every resource that can be used.

My legislation would draw upon the human and legal resources of the several States under Federal law to protect our jeopardized economic freedoms; to breathe new life into the equality of opportunity that the antitrust laws foster; and, to restore an honest desire for gain to the marketplaces of the Nation.

I share the same shock and dismay being experienced by all citizens over current economic events. The current congressional hearings on the oil industry establish the widespread lack of knowledge in the Government about the size and exercise of incredibly awesome private economic power. As chairman of the House Monopolies and Commercial Law Subcommittee, I am convinced that there is a continuing need for the Antitrust Division and the entire executive branch to keep themselves informed in executing the laws and national policies already statutorily expressed.

During food price investigative hearings last June, the Assistant Attorney General for Antitrust testified that since the President's institution of wage and price controls in August 1971, little had been done beyond the Division's counseling of the Price Commission and urging them not to handle matters jointly with members in the industry. It is historically demonstrable that the most

serious antitrust prosecutions in the 20th century have followed in the wake of Government controls because of private economic activity instituted during the period of Government controls. Despite this history, little had been done by the Antitrust Division.

Last June, when the Monopolies Subcommittee attempted to obtain facts about the oil industry developments from the Antitrust Division, the Division's response consisted mainly in explanations of why these facts could not be provided. In essence, the Antitrust Division asserted that it was busying itself in obtaining these facts with an overburdened staff. I have renewed my original request of 7 months ago but express no optimism. In future hearings, I intend fully to explore these shortcomings.

The national policies expressed in the antitrust laws are not new. They were formulated by the Congress 84 years ago. Public enforcers of the antitrust laws are the strategic forces designed by the Congress to enable these policies to be carried out. Posture planning for these strategic forces is both an executive and legislative responsibility that includes an examination of the constraints created by budget level, by technology, by opposing forces, and by the present posture of the strategic forces themselves.

In one sense, my legislation may prod the executive branch to beef up Federal antitrust enforcement resources in addition to providing supplementary strategic forces drawn from the several States.

The Nation has a new Attorney General. Every opportunity will be provided to obtain his support for this proposal and his assistance in achieving the best finished legislative product as soon as possible. Criminal enforcement of the antitrust laws will remain with the Federal Government but how Federal resources are deployed presently and historically against "white collar crime" and "crime in the suites" will receive meticulous scrutiny. There is yet a wider background lending urgency to and establishing a convincing need for swift action on this legislation that I am introducing.

In 1972 the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that a State could not seek damages under the antitrust laws for injury to a State's general economy without congressional action amending one of the antitrust laws, the Clayton Act. It should be noted that this Supreme Court ruling occurred in a case where a State sought to sue large oil companies for fixing prices on wholesale and retail petroleum products. Later, in 1973, another State tried to avoid this bar to recovery in an alleged food price-fixing case by trying to sue on behalf of its citizen-consumers for injuries suffered by them. The result, however, was the same as in the earlier oil case: Congressional action is the only way that States can obtain the ability to protect their own economy or citizen-consumers.

But the story does not end here. Although the foundations for my legislation are made clear, only recently, on

December 5, the Ohio attorney general proposed that all 50 States pool their legal resources in support of the Federal Trade Commission's legal action against the 8 largest oil companies filed last July through a so-called "interstate network of cooperation" intended to overcome the problem that limited legal resources of each State presents. Moreover, earlier in 1973, New York, Connecticut, and Florida, among others, started legal action against sectors of the oil industry alleging antitrust violations.

It is axiomatic that the antitrust laws protect competition and not competitors. The Supreme Court has said, however—

The test of a competitive market is not only whether small competitors flourish but also whether consumers are well served.

Small competitors are not flourishing nor are consumers being well served. This is common knowledge as a result of critical issues confronting the Nation as a whole, issues that properly demand considerable Federal resource expenditure. Conditions are worse in State and regional markets. Federal courts, Federal antitrust law, and guidance of Federal antitrust enforcers must be made more readily and more effectively available to States to protect their own economies, their small competitors; and, their consumers. This, we seek also to accomplish.

These facts evidence the desperate situations affecting States and express the States own needs eloquently. They also serve to add an urgency to my legislation that cannot be denied. Moreover, other factors that inhere and lend support to my legislation can be found in observing that although 1974 marks the 60th anniversary of the Clayton Act, only one major amendment has been enacted—and that was in 1950.

The legislation follows:

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS

It has long been the policy of the anti-monopoly and antitrust laws of the United States to afford redress to the citizens of this country who have been injured by the illegal practices those laws forbid. Too frequently, however, this antitrust remedy is illusory, and the injured consumers of the nation must suffer monopolistic wrongs for which they lack any practicable remedy. We are all familiar with the serious burdens our federal courts face today, and the consequent delays that may postpone recovery of damages for many years. We are all also familiar with the great cost of antitrust litigation against corporate defendants of great wealth, who have the resources to employ skilled counsel who place every possible obstacle in the way of recovery and thus discourage any but the most resolute claimant. Consequently, unless the amount of a claim under the anti trust laws is very substantial, the cost of recovering it is so great that the wrong will be one without any remedy.

To some extent, the class action provisions of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure permit the aggregation of claims so that the expense of litigation may be spread out over many claims, thus reducing the cost of litigating each one. But the class action remedy, as the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure now provide it, is far from adequate in the case of antitrust consumer class actions—particularly those brought by State Attorneys General. Moreover, recent court decisions on class actions developed in non-

antitrust cases have seriously limited the utility of this method of securing redress to injured consumers in antitrust suits. At the same time, these decisions have drastically limited the powers of the States to act on behalf of their citizens.

The bill I am introducing today will restore to the States the common law powers of the State Attorney General which these decisions have eroded, so that the States may assume their proper role in protecting their own citizens. The bill also provides that the federal Attorney General will assume the responsibility of protecting injured consumers, when State Attorneys General are unable to do so, themselves.

This bill adds three new sections to the treble damages provisions of the Clayton Act, now contained in sections 4, 4A, and 4B of that Act.

New section 4C of the Clayton Act authorizes the attorneys general of the various states to bring antitrust treble damage actions in each of the following circumstances:

First, the Attorney General may sue as *parens patriae*, to recover for antitrust damages sustained by the citizens of his state. Although the Attorney General had this power at common law, a recent decision of the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit holds that this common law power no longer exists. While acknowledging that the rejected efforts of the Attorney General of California may be a worthy State aim, the court pointedly observed, "It would indeed appear that the state is on the track of a suitable answer (perhaps the most suitable yet proposed) to problems bearing on antitrust deterrents and the class action as a means of consumer protection. We disclaim any intent to discourage the state in its search for a solution." Nevertheless, the court held that the present statutory mechanism under the antitrust laws and class action laws does not permit the state to bring this type of action on behalf of its citizens. In effect, if a State is to be empowered to act in the fashion here sought, that authority must come not through judicial improvisation but by legislation and rulemaking. This bill therefore legitimates the type of action brought by the Attorney General of California, but not allowed by the federal courts.

Subsection (b) of new section 4C would streamline and expedite the proof of damages in actions brought by State Attorneys General. One problem in cases of this type has been the insistence of some courts that each individual consumer claim be proved separately, on a purchase-by-purchase basis, instead of allowing total purchases by all the consumers within a state and total overcharges for all such purchases to be proved together. The result has been vastly and needlessly to multiply the expense of litigation. The proposed law would do away with this expensive and dilatory procedure. Instead, it would permit the courts to use reasonable statistical sampling methods and other equitable and expeditious methods of proving the amount of damages that are attributable to proved violations of law.

Subsection (b) would also permit the Attorney General of each State to distribute the fund of damages recovered from violators on the basis of state law. In the case of individual claims that add up to a total large amount but each one of which is extremely small, the cost of paying out the fund may be excessive. In such a case, instead, it may be more appropriate that the funds recovered from the wrongdoer be applied by the State to a legitimate public purpose related to the wrong that gave rise to antitrust recovery in the first place. In some states, for example, such antitrust recovery from unlawful overcharges on drugs is to be utilized

for state hospitals or other state medical programs. This procedure was explored, recently, in settlements of cases involving price fixing of certain drugs. This bill would permit each State to distribute or allocate recovery on a reasonable basis, subject to the requirements of procedural due process. That is, the State would be obliged to afford its citizens a reasonable opportunity to make individual claims for their share of the recovery, less litigation and administrative costs, before the state escheated the recovery or used it for some general public purpose. At least one court has already approved such a plan.

Second, the bill would also permit the Attorney General to sue on behalf of the State, to recover injuries to the general economy of the State. Although the State of Hawaii sought to recover for such damages in *Hawaii v. Standard Oil Co. of California*, 405 U.S. 251 (1972), the Ninth Circuit and then the Supreme Court refused to permit such recovery. They held that the present treble damage laws do not permit the Attorney General of the State to sue and recover for such damages. This bill would reverse that decision and permit state attorneys general to bring such suits as that attempted by the Attorney General of Hawaii.

Third, the bill would confirm the right of the State Attorneys General to bring class actions on behalf of the citizens of their states. Some courts have allowed such actions on the ground that "it is difficult to imagine a better representative of the retail consumers within a state than the state's attorney general." Coordinated *Pretrial Proceedings in Antibiotic Antitrust Actions*, 333 F.2d 278 (S.D.N.Y. 1971). Other courts, however, have refused to permit such consumer class actions to be maintained. This bill would resolve this conflict in the courts and confirm the power of the State Attorney General to bring consumer class actions on behalf of the citizens of his state.

New section 4D would make the Attorney General of the United States responsible for supplementing and assisting the activities of the State Attorneys General. First, the Attorney General is obliged to advise the States of the pendency of government antitrust damage actions which might also furnish a vehicle for recovery by States. If the State Attorney General is unable to bring a treble damage action on behalf of the citizens of his State, then the federal Attorney General is obliged to do so, if he believes that bringing the action would lead to a substantial recovery of damages for the State. In this event, the Attorney General of the United States will assume the role of *parens patriae* of those citizens who would not otherwise be represented by their state government. The Attorney General would use the same procedures as are prescribed for State Attorneys General, and he would pay the recovery obtained to the respective States, for their distribution to their citizens or for appropriate public purposes determined by such States.

In bringing actions on behalf of the citizens of various states, the Attorney General would be permitted to offset the administrative costs of litigation against any recovery. This would be done pursuant to regulations approved by the Comptroller General of the United States, in order to assure equitable and sound accounting procedures. Any amounts so deducted are to be deposited by the Attorney General in a special fund and, subject to an appropriation, for use only for activities authorized in this new legislation. The legislation in this regard seeks to prevent unfair financial burdens from being imposed on the Attorney General; to initiate a program of expanded antitrust enforcement that would pay its own way; and to provide incentives to the antitrust enforcers, both the federal and State.

Section 4E would deal with treble damage recoveries in respect to federally-funded state programs. The various State Attorneys General would be permitted to bring treble damage actions for the entire amount of overcharges or other damages that were sustained in connection with the state-operated program. However, the United States would be entitled to secure equitable reimbursement, by administrative means, so that it too would be made whole for the antitrust violation. Moreover, the Attorney General of the United States would be authorized to intervene in any such action to protect the interests of the United States from being compromised, and, in appropriate circumstances, he would be permitted to sue on behalf of any State unable or otherwise failing to bring a suit in regard to a federally-funded program adversely affected by antitrust violations.

CAN YOU BELIEVE WHEAT TO MIDEAST?

HON. WILLIAM LEHMAN

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. Speaker, as south Florida motorists wait hours for a few dollars worth of gasoline, made scarce in part by the Arab oil boycott, the United States is increasing its shipments of grain to the Arabs.

According to a recent Associated Press report, the Agriculture Department says shipments of wheat and other grain to Arab countries may total \$800 million in the year ending June 30. This is double the sales of \$413 million in 1972-73.

Our policy of rewarding those who wage economic war against our Nation and our people seems absolutely senseless.

Last December 3, I joined in sponsoring H.R. 11752, the Trade Sanctions Act, which would prohibit the shipment of goods and materials including agricultural products to those Arab nations which have restricted or stopped shipments of petroleum to the United States.

Our adversaries abroad will respect only strength. The continuation of grain sales to the Arab States participating in the oil boycott will serve only to encourage these lawless nations to act against us. That we should be increasing our grain sales to the Arabs at this time will surely result in a continuation of outrageous and irresponsible actions by the Arab oil States against the United States.

At this point in the RECORD I would like to insert an editorial from the Miami Herald which I feel clearly represents the attitude of the citizens of south Florida regarding the continuation of wheat sales to the Arab oil nations.

The editorial follows:

CAN YOU BELIEVE WHEAT TO MIDEAST?

Now, let's see:

According to the Agriculture Department, sales of U.S. wheat to the Middle East may more than double this fiscal year. And . . .

Chief importers are Egypt, Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia. All of them are members of OPEC, the international oil trust which has tripled and then some the cost of oil, when

you can get it. All but Iran are Moslem countries which have an oil boycott against the United States. But . . .

U.S. wheat supplies are being depleted steadily and the Agriculture Department has taken down the import quotas in face of the rumors, which are inaccurate, that the price of bread per pound, like the price of gas, may zoom to one dollar. So . . .

The wheat-short, importer-type United States is selling scarce wheat to the Arab countries which are blockading its motorists and industries, and the quantities will increase.

Is Washington, D.C., for real?

POLLUTION

HON. ROBERT P. HANRAHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. HANRAHAN. Mr. Speaker, in the past few years, pollution has been one of the most widely discussed topics existing. I think my colleagues might be surprised and interested to note the following article indicating this was a problem on at least one man's mind as far back as 1926, and his solution to that problem:

FOR 50 YEARS, DETROIT HAS IGNORED A SIMPLE DEVICE ENGINEER PROVED CAN HALT ALL FUMES

(By Tom Valentine)

Profit-hungry U.S. automakers still refuse to equip cars with a simple anti-pollution device offered them almost half a century ago by an inventive genius who discovered the secret of eliminating deadly exhaust emissions.

And while Detroit ignores the existence of this device, America rushes toward the day when suffocating clouds of pollution, most given off by automobiles, will choke the citizens.

The widow of inventor George Arlington Moore revealed for Tattler how her husband developed in 1926 a carburetion system and pollution control device that was inexpensive to produce, controlled exhaust emissions 100 percent and allowed better performance and improved gasoline mileage.

He offered his invention to the powerful moguls of the auto industry, but in their shortsightedness they did not listen.

"Today's pollution problems were one of the biggest sources of frustration to George," his widow, Mrs. Leota Moore of Chicago, told Tattler.

"Many times, he would watch a large jet airliner spew pollution into the air and he would shake his head in disgust and say how simple it would be to eliminate exhaust pollution if they would have only listened."

The real reasons automakers chose to ignore Moore and his ideas remain obscure. For he was certainly no crackpot gadgeteer with no credentials.

George Arlington Moore was known as the most prolific inventor of his time. He took out some 1,500 patents more than the 1,200 held by Thomas Edison.

He was considered a genius in the packaging field. Reynolds wrap, tin cans, foldover cartons and other packaging innovations all were spawned in his fertile brain.

But in the early 1920s, Moore sold his first packaging patents to Continental Can Co. and turned his inventive genius to automotive problems.

He poured more than \$400,000 of his per-

sonal fortune into the development of his carburetion ideas. And the result was the first fuel injection system as well as a carburetor system that provided total combustion.

In Moore's system, there was no pollution simply because in total combustion there are no pollutants.

The Moore Carburetion System was tested at the Mason Laboratory of Mechanical Engineering at the Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, between June and December of 1925.

Prof. E. H. Lockwood supervised the tests, which concluded that the Moore system eliminated exhaust emissions by totally burning the fuel and improved both performance and mileage.

Lockwood's report on the system read in part:

"The tests indicated two features of the Moore system of highest importance . . . The features referred to are the absence of carbon monoxide from the engine exhaust, and improved fuel economy under part throttle operation."

"The first feature is important from health considerations, since carbon monoxide in the exhaust is a recognized menace to public health."

"The second feature is important for fuel conservation in automobile engines, which operate under part throttle most of the time."

There was the proof. Moore's system solved the pollution problem by assuring total combustion.

He took his patents first to General Motors, but officials laughed at him for thinking exhaust emissions could be a health hazard.

The far-sighted inventor then tried Chrysler and was again turned away with a laugh.

He was so disgusted he did not even bother going to Ford.

Thus a carburetion system that might well have significantly reduced air pollution was effectively suppressed.

Moore invested almost \$500,000 in his patented automotive inventions only to have the short-sighted auto kingpins frustrate his efforts, and was then wiped out financially in the Depression.

Ultimately he returned to the packaging field and became a vice president with Reynolds Aluminum.

Until his death in 1968 at age 78, Moore regretted that automakers shunted aside the inventions he felt certain were the answer to controlling auto exhaust emissions.

"George always maintained that the solution to polluting emissions was simple and that most research today was going at it backwards," Mrs. Moore told Tattler. "He said working with the fuel system before it burned in the engine would work better than trying to treat emissions coming out of the engine."

Mrs. Moore insists her husband's genius was far broader than just in the packaging field.

"He could solve problems in every field of engineering," she said.

Moore always wrote his own patent applications and his drawings and prototype models were beautifully done.

"His drawings would rival Da Vinci's," Mrs. Moore said proudly, "and he was such a perfectionist he refused to apply for a patent until every idea was fully tested and proven personally."

Mrs. Moore said her husband's patents have all expired and are now public property.

"I will give the drawings and diagrams to persons or groups who will make use of them for mankind," she said.

Mrs. Moore said she mailed copies of the drawings and patent explanations to Arthur Godfrey when the famed entertainment per-

sonality was urging America to fight pollution. She also sent all the material to the U.S. Department of Transportation.

"I've heard nothing from either of them and they have not returned the materials," Mrs. Moore said.

While Moore's work is forgotten, millions of tax dollars are being poured into such unpromising projects as one at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, Calif.

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration has already sunk \$800,000 into a project that will eventually cost some \$4 million.

All they have to show for it is a cumbersome monster that needs hydrogen as well as gasoline and emits water as exhaust.

Even if the expensive system works, it will require a water tank in addition to a gasoline tank, plenty of expensive parts and more money for research.

And, all the while, the simple system George Arlington Moore put together 47 years ago is gathering dust, untried.

EXIT VISAS FOR JEWS IN RUSSIA

HON. ALPHONZO BELL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with you a letter a constituent of mine received and forwarded to me. The letter is from a Jew, presently in Russia, and it beautifully expresses the feelings that are so prominent there today. It reads as follows:

DEAR MRS. BLOOM: We have received your letter of Nov. 14, 1973, and we are very grateful to you for warmth and support. It is very pleasant for us to feel your care and solidarity which are not afraid of the tremendous distance that divides us. We assure you that your energy and our courage will not be broken by any difficulties.

We are not heroes. We are just everyday Jews. But because of the fact that we are Jews, we want to live among our people, in our country, in our dear Israel. Nothing can break us or change our wishes. We believe that our desire will soon be fulfilled. We follow all the events that are happening in the world. In spite of the fact that our sources of information are very scarce, it is still quite clear what the situation is.

We are happy that the United States does not refuse the support for Israel and does not leave it (Israel) alone. We also hope that your government will be able to create a state of Peace in the Middle East.

Our hope that Israel should live peacefully and quietly, is just as great as our desire to leave for Israel. It's very painful for us to hear about the losses that were suffered by Israel during the war, but it is even more painful because we are helpless in helping from here. All our thoughts are about Peace and about the possibility for leaving for Israel.

Our family consists of 5 people, the father Moishe, engineer (electrical engineer). Mother Nina, a teacher of physics who at the present time works as an engineer in a construction bureau of fire preventative automatic machinery; daughter Anna 15½ years old, engineer in the field of energy, or energy-producing machinery.

How do we live?

Try and picture people at the Railroad station waiting for the arrival of a train which must arrive but no one knows when

... today, tomorrow, maybe in a year. But this is the only train and one cannot be late for it. Such is our life. We're waiting our train and we believe that soon it will take us to our own Israel.

We wish your family and yourself personally good health; the fulfillment of all your wishes. Please write us, we await your letters with impatience.

Shalom.

We congratulate you and your family with the nearing Holiday of Chanukah. We hope that you will greet it well and happy.

IOSIF "JOSEPH."

I ask that we take the time to recognize the hope shared by the thousands of Russian Jews who dared to apply for exit visas to Israel and put themselves into a state of continual harassment, job loss, and possible imprisonment in concentration camps for the cause that they believe in. I cannot help but admire the courage and strength expressed by Iosif on behalf of himself and his family.

SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM

HON. JOE MOAKLEY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, today, together with my colleague from Massachusetts, Congressman JAMES A. BURKE, I introduced a bill to reduce social security payroll tax withholdings. Our bill provides for the Federal Government to participate in financing the social security program and thus make it part of the Government's general revenues.

This three-way division of the responsibility for financing the social security program between employers, employees, and Federal revenues, will help to distribute the costs of the social security program more equitably among Americans of all incomes. As it is presently organized the social security program causes undue hardship for lower- and middle-income people.

Our bill also provides for reducing the rate of payroll tax withholdings and raising the wage base subject to the payroll tax. The rate would be lowered from its present level of 5.85 to 3.5 percent and the wage base would be raised to \$25,000.

These changes should provide relief for the moderate- and low-income wage earners who feel the penalty of the payroll tax every month, but wait for many years to receive their social security benefits if they ever receive social security benefits at all.

I sincerely hope that this legislation will be considered promptly so that it can come to the floor for a vote in the very near future. This reform is imperative if the social security payroll tax is to become less of a burden for the poor and middle-income Americans whom the social security program is supposed to help.

STRONG STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, strong State and local government is the answer. This Nation is faced with recurrent crises. There is a growing inability on the part of the Federal Government to meet the complex problems of our people.

We are a vast nation of 50 States, with different geographic areas and different problems. These problems cannot all be solved in Washington.

We can turn this country around. The future of this Nation, the future of democracy and freedom as we know it, will rest largely on strong State and local government.

Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of the Congress and those serving in all levels of government—local, State, and National, and to the American people—the following article by the noted columnist David Broder:

STATES FILL LEADERSHIP VACUUM

Good news is scarce these days, and nowhere more so than in the area of government responding to the citizens' demand for straight talk and straight dealing. But two recent reports contain heartening evidence that the national picture is not as bleak as most of the news from Washington would indicate.

The contrast is most sharply drawn in the annual report of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR), issued last week. ACIR is one of the less costly and more useful operations in government—a commission of federal, state, county and local officials, with a small staff in Washington. Its job is to monitor the health of the federal system and provide prescriptions for improving it.

Over the years, ACIR has led the battle against both the centralization of power in Washington and the avoidance of responsibility by state and local governments. It has not hesitated to toss around the word "crisis" when referring to development in American government.

But its report on the events of 1973—"a year of shocking revelations . . . that left the American public reeling"—makes a point that is considerably more cheering than most of the post-Watergate commentary.

"At the federal level," ACIR concedes "direct reaction to the startling events of the year was cautious and limited—consisting more of rhetoric than action."

But, it notes, "Direct response to the crisis of confidence came first from state and local governments, demonstrating that governments closest to the people are more sensitive to the feelings at the grass roots. In the course of the year, nearly half the states passed legislation dealing with campaign funding, ethics or secrecy in government."

That this is more than the self-congratulatory rhetoric of a body dominated by state and local officials is indicated by the virtually identical findings of an earlier appraisal by Common Cause, the citizens' lobby that has worked for reform both on Capitol Hill and in the state legislatures.

Terming the efforts by "at least 25 states to reduce the influence of money and secrecy in their political processes" no less than "a grass roots political revival," Common Cause said the response contradicts the "conven-

tional wisdom which assumes that state legislatures are unresponsive, recalcitrant or reactionary, particularly when contrasted to the Congress."

What these reports suggest is that the leadership in the needed rehabilitation of public trust in government may come from the bottom up, not from the top down.

The states which ACIR and Common Cause both credit with the most dramatic reforms are not the familiar pioneers. Quite the contrary. New York is listed as one of the most retrograde in its legislative secrecy. The California legislature failed to pass a reform package forcing Common Cause to take it to referendum on the June primary ballot.

No, the signal successes came in such unexpected places as Texas and Alabama. In Texas, where estate scandals led to the defeat of the incumbent governor, lieutenant governor and House speaker in 1972, and a 50 percent turnover in the legislature, the 1973 session passed a comprehensive set of bills opening governmental meetings and records and tightening disclosure requirements on lobby spending, campaign spending and conflict of interest.

Alabama, not normally thought of as a pioneer in such matters, passed ethics and financial disclosure statutes covering all state, county and municipal officials, all state employees earning over \$12,000 a year, and all persons doing business with or lobbying the state government.

In field after field of domestic concern, ACIR reports, individual states have moved out ahead of the national government, justifying again the claim to the title of being "laboratories of democracy." Iowa and Maine have legislated public financing of state campaigns, and several other states are considering such a step.

While Congress is still struggling, after five months, to pass an "emergency" energy act, governors and mayors are devising schemes to move scarce fuel to critical projects. It was Gov. Tom McCall of Oregon, who came up with the even-odd license number gasoline sales plan that is the best alternative to the rationing system the federal government lacks the courage to implement. It was Gov. Milton Shapp of Pennsylvania who stepped in where federal bureaucrats feared to tread in the trucker strike negotiations.

The picture is similar, the ACIR reports, in land use planning, environmental action, property tax relief and a variety of other areas, where the national government response has been timid or nonexistent but the states have acted.

The contrast between the stumbling of the national government, both legislative and executive, and the improving performance of state and local governments is a largely unreported story. If it were better known, perhaps the voters would be less prone to turn automatically to the Senate for the 1976 presidential candidates.

THE 56TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LITHUANIAN REPUBLIC

HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday, February 16, was the 56th anniversary of the establishment of the Lithuanian Republic in 1918. Soon after the Republic was founded, the Bolsheviks, fresh from capturing a portion of

Russia, invaded Lithuania in order to lead it by the nose to a "Workers' Paradise." At that time they failed in their aims of imposing utopian repression on the people of Lithuania, and the Republic remained independent for another 20 years.

In 1940, the Bolsheviks, having gained strength from aid and trade with Western Europe and the United States for two decades, succeeded in overcoming the Lithuanians, and their success has remained uncorrected to this day.

In commemorating the 56th anniversary of the founding of the Lithuanian Republic, it would be inexcusable to ignore the fact that 34 years of that 56 have not been spent in freedom, but in subservience and subjugation of the most brutal sort. The only proper celebration of the event which occurred 56 years ago is a personal and public rededication to those principles upon which human freedom rests. Rhetoric will not suffice if Lithuania is ever to celebrate its independence as an independent nation.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM— PART II

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following issue of my Washington Report for February 20, 1974.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM—PART II

"The federal budget is both a statement of national objectives and a plan for achieving them." So begins the most important document President Nixon will send to the Congress this year, his budget for Fiscal Year 1975.

The budget for Fiscal Year 1975 stands in marked contrast to the budget for the current year. Last year the President defiantly talked about cutting government spending, eliminating whole programs, impounding money, and he challenged the Congress to try to stop him. This year the President was much more conciliatory, adopting a flexible stance, emphasizing contingency plans, and saying that he is prepared to spend much more if the economy sags. He suggested no expenditure ceiling for the new budget, which was a significant feature of last year's budget. This switch in tone from fiscal discipline which marked last year's budget, to fiscal flexibility, which marks this year's budget, is most striking. The reasons for it are apparent.

Last year the threat to the economy was inflation and restraint was required; this year the President must be prepared to deal with a recession as well as inflation. Last year the President had been reelected by the largest popular majority in American history and he was clearly in control; this year he presents a budget to a Congress which has the question of impeachment under consideration. The budget, which is as much a political as an economic document, represents much less of a confrontation with the Congress than last year's budget.

This year's budget is Mr. Nixon's sixth, and by putting all his budgets together, significant trends are discernible. There have

been enormous increases in income security through direct aid in cash and medical care to the elderly, the invalid, and the poor. Although the federal government's spending has jumped dramatically, the percentage of the gross national product going to the federal government has leveled off. There has been a shift in emphasis from military to domestic spending, and increased federal expenditures allocated to state and local budgets, with one federal dollar in eight now reaching state and local governments without strings through general revenue sharing.

Although the general trend in this year's budget is upward, there are a few important declines. The biggest decline is for farm subsidies, which have been cut drastically because of the increase in farm prices, and there is also a drop for subsidies to the Postal Service, as postal rates have risen. There are sharp increases for pollution control (mainly for construction of sewage treatment plants), transportation, energy research, and the White House staff, most of which, reportedly, is for the legal staff handling the complex Watergate litigation.

The President's request for military spending is the largest in history (\$85.3 billion). This \$6.3 billion increase over defense spending in the current year covers steadily climbing military pay scales and rising costs of equipment, supplies and fuel. In two areas, strategic nuclear arms and weapons research and development, the new budget calls for sizeable increases for the largest array of new weapons developed in 15 years. Eventual deployment of these weapons, which would run into billions of dollars, depends upon the progress of the arms limitation talks. No major changes are proposed in the present military force of about 2.1 million persons. Despite the huge amounts, defense spending has been a shrinking percentage of the total federal budget, from 42.5 percent in fiscal 1968, to 27.2 percent in fiscal 1975.

The President has clearly set the nation on the road to providing income security for its poorer citizens, advocating cash payments to the poor, and shifting away from providing services to the poor through government agencies. His budget is the first to propose spending over \$100 billion for income security, more than double the amount that was spent when he first took office. These programs—social security, food stamps, and veterans benefits—have expanded dramatically in recent years. The keystone to his income security approach will be his minimum income plan, one effect of which would be to replace several existing programs for the poor with direct cash assistance.

The President's budget, with only a tiny increase in spending for education, represents a retreat on education. The Atomic Energy Commission, one of the big gainers in the budget with a 36 percent increase in its budget, gets substantial additional funds for the development of new energy sources.

The budget appears to have fewer "gimmicks" in it than many previous budgets, although the President has probably sharply underestimated the size of the deficit, which he projects at \$9.4 billion, but more likely will be much larger.

THE EMPLOYEE BENEFIT SECURITY ACT OF 1974

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today, a bill entitled "The Em-

ployee Benefit Security Act of 1974" embodying substantially the same language as contained in H.R. 12781, introduced by myself last week. This bill introduced today bears the endorsement of my committee. At their instructions and pursuant to the rule granted yesterday, we intend to combine this bill with H.R. 12855, introduced yesterday by Mr. ULLMAN and Mr. SCHNEEBELI, into a single substitute for H.R. 2, as previously reported by the Committee on Education and Labor.

OUR LEADERS' DIFFICULTY IN LEADING

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, a recent article in Government Executive by C. W. Borklund outlines a basic flaw in our Government: our leaders' difficulty in leading. It seems to me that Mr. Borklund's portrayal is a fair and accurate one. He cites numerous examples where Government has failed to take the initiative on the fundamental problems facing us as a nation.

I would like to insert Mr. Borklund's editorial in the RECORD at this time for the consideration of my colleagues. The text follows:

GOVERNMENT BY CRISIS

Shivering in a fuel-less mid-winter, we are suffering once more the penalties of a basic flaw in this democratic government. Its leadership has great difficulty leading. Its machinery does not permit its leadership to conceptualize, at least not with any particular effectiveness. For the record, as a matter of policy, program, practice and legislation, it can not anticipate a problem and work around it until it belts us on the nose.

Government has a talent—of debatable sorts—for reacting to a crisis. It has first-rate ability for arguing a subject endlessly without reaching any special conclusion. It can respond with a payoff—most through further increase in taxes—to the pleas and vociferous demands for "help" from just about any minority sliver of our ethnic culture.

It can even lead us out of the wilderness, though not often with any great degree of efficiency. But its most glaring shortfall, we think, is that it can't seem to keep the Nation from stumbling into the jungle in the first place.

We don't think it's crying over split milk to complain now that this energy crisis should never have happened in the first place. The Great Teacher in the Sky is trying to tell us there is a lesson to be learned here if we care enough about our own future to listen. Otherwise, this country's democratic institutions will survive only so long as we continue to be the most affluent nation on earth. The greater the wealth, the higher the level of incompetence that a country or a business or even a person can afford.

Twenty-eight years ago, then-Navy Secretary James Forrestal warned us of the threats to world fuel supplies if a Middle East war forced people to choose up sides between Arabs and Jews. For his trouble, all he got was an indictment of being anti-semitic by columnist Drew Pearson.

Proposals from the White House on preventing the energy crisis have been fermenting on Capitol Hill for more than two years while most Congressmen concentrated on reacting to some variation of a thing called the Watergate mess. Washington Senator Henry Jackson drum-thumped for alertness and action. But not until the fuel flow dropped did his urging earn him anything more than the accusations of self-styled (and mostly uninformed) environmentalists that he harbored a callous disregard for Mother Nature's cleanliness.

Energy is not the only field where Government has fumbled.

Item: experts on international trade and the economic aspects of foreign policy say the basic merits of the Trade Reform Bill (know what that is?) are inarguable. Yet, largely through procrastination and thumb-twiddling its passage is now threatened. And the irony is a lot of the people who will vote on it have precious little notion of how non-politically important it is to this country.

Item: about five years ago a panel of experts produced a study which said, basically, the Nation's economic and environmental well-being, as well as military security, would be enhanced immensely if we poured as much effort now into developing our oceanic resources as we had a decade earlier into the Space race.

But the Space race was a reactive program. A National Oceanographic and Atmospheric activity is a conceptual idea. Thus, what has been done about the proposal since is, essentially, nothing.

Item: In April, 1970, the President's Task Force on Science Policy issued a six-section plan for using "Science and Technology (as) Tools for Progress." Said the report: "The management, strength, and proper allocation of these vital (scientific and technological) resources are political responsibilities of the highest significance."

If they are, then it follows logically that Government is politically irresponsible, because it hasn't done anything appreciably significant about science policy since 1970—except to whack down research and development expenditures.

Item: as, in part, a tool for keeping the peace, the President is trying to launch a program of trade expansion and economic interdependence with Russia, China and the other Socialist countries. But, summarized one leading industrialist recently, "The U.S. Government bureaucracy is thwarting the thrust of the President's program with the USSR and is failing to properly support his trade expansion objectives with the other Socialist countries."

Item: a joint Defense-NASA-Department of Transportation study, completed in August 1972, on "R&D Contributions to Aviation Progress" pointed out that Government R&D support is what had made the U.S. the world's leader in military and commercial aerospace technology.

But, as a result of the dramatic reduction in that support in recent years, it noted, "Design teams have been broken apart, technical expertise scattered, and the art of design has—in some cases—stagnated." And do you know there are people in high places who can't see the cause-effect relationship between that and the shortage of good schools, adequate medical care and a higher U.S. standard of living?

We could "item" you into numbness with examples of how the Federal Government (let alone state and local governments) can't seem to think and plan ahead. Maybe, if it manages it, Congress reshaping its machinery so it can budget within our income will help. Maybe, if they manage it, the Office of Management and Budget's creating a method for measuring Executive Department performance will help.

Wise and perceptive people are struggling

mightily to modernize the machinery of Government. We have got to see that they succeed. The price we're paying for what we have now is too horrendous to be borne much longer.

SECRETARY McLUCAS LOOKS AT PRESSING AIR FORCE NEEDS

HON. JAMES R. JONES

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. JONES of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, the January 1974 issue of Air Force Magazine featured an article by Senior Editor Edgar Ulsamer based upon an interview with Air Force Secretary, John L. McLucas. The article, entitled "Secretary McLucas Looks at Pressing Air Force Needs," covers a wide range of topics from personnel to R. & D., all of which matters are of vital importance to the people of this country, and of ongoing interest and responsibility for this Congress.

I was particularly encouraged by the Secretary's remarks concerning the B-1 bomber program. According to Dr. McLucas, there is now a coalescence of opinions regarding full program go-ahead. Since this assertion is made with specific reference to a recent Air Force Scientific Advisory Board review, the Secretary's views are of particular significance and weight.

With the heightened prospect of an alarmingly old and obsolescent B-52 force, there is every reason to applaud this positive development. I, therefore, commend to my colleagues the attached article, with a special call to support for the sound position taken by Secretary McLucas for a full B-1 program go-ahead:

[From Air Force magazine, January 1974]
SECRETARY McLUCAS LOOKS AT PRESSING AIR FORCE NEEDS

(By Edgar Ulsamer)

The United States "sees" almost instantly any intercontinental ballistic missile regardless of where and when it is launched and also knows where it is going. What's more, this worldwide monitoring capability has been tested over a number of years and has proved "very reliable and highly credible." This high degree of credibility, in turn, enables the National Command Authority to react rapidly and decisively on such warning information, according to Air Force Secretary John L. McLucas.

"The basic objective of our early warning satellites," which provide that information, Dr. McLucas told this reporter, "is to keep track of missile activities going on around the world; these satellites are deployed in such a way that they can see missile launches anywhere and at any time. The system reports in essentially real time any missile launches and gives an indication where the missile is going. This worldwide capability provides precise, unambiguous information about test launches or an actual attack."

Early warning satellites consist of so-called integrated satellites, meaning spacecraft using a number of different sensors that augment one another. These sensors detect and track missiles and also monitor nuclear explosions in the atmosphere and space. While it might be possible to attack these warning satellites, it would seem impossible, at least on the basis of presently available technol-

ogies, to do so with any real chance of surprise; the system would presumably detect interceptor missiles fired against it hours before the aggressor could reach the satellites' high orbital altitudes.

Almost ten years ago, Secretary McLucas told Air Force Magazine, the Air Force started the development of a nuclear-armed antisatellite system at the request of former Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara. Known as Program 437, this system was premised on Secretary McNamara's belief that the United States "needed assurance that if the Soviets or anybody else started playing around with our satellites, we should have the ability to do likewise. Of course, the subsequent prohibition against the use of nuclear weapons in space caused us to change our position on this matter."

USAF'S SPACE BUDGET: MORE THAN \$1 BILLION ANNUALLY

The Air Force, Secretary McLucas revealed, spends more than \$1 billion annually on military space programs. Control over most USAF space activities is exercised by its Satellite Control Center at Sunnyvale, Calif., an agency of AFSC's SAMSO. The Center operates ground stations scattered around the globe, which relay information to and from the individual satellites "so that we can, in effect, control a worldwide satellite network," according to Dr. McLucas. "We do have in the works a new approach, a satellite relay system that would give us the same kind of controls, but, instead of ground stations, would use space stations or satellites." The advantage of the space-based control system, the Secretary explained, is "that it gives us more communication channels to a given satellite," and, by eliminating the need for ground stations on foreign territory, the political and military vulnerabilities of the control system will be reduced significantly.

Now under development by Hughes Aircraft Co. is such a system, the Satellite Data System (SDS), part of the Air Force Communications System (AFSATCOM). SDS will eliminate some of the ground stations.

THE AIR FORCE IN SPACE

Although formerly the government's executive agency for all military space programs, the Air Force, under a 1971 Department of Defense directive, is no longer the sole service with space responsibilities. But while service responsibility for new programs is now considered on individual merit, the Air Force remains the principal designer, manager and operator of space systems. "The only decision to date—as a result of the change of 1971—that involved a service other than Air Force is the [Navy's] Fleet Satellite Communications System (FLTSATCOM). But even in this instance, DoD agreed that the Air Force should act as the Navy's subcontractor to actually contract to build and manage the system and put it into orbit. The Navy is in charge, of course, in the sense of procedural operations, but we provide the routine management function such as station keeping."

Because the Air Force has the people, know-how, and facilities, Secretary McLucas said, "it would not make sense for the Navy to duplicate all this at high cost." While any service that can convince the Department of Defense that it has a good case can be granted a given space mission, it is likely that the Air Force will continue "to perform the actual work," he suggested. This is likely to include space launches, since there are no plans to build new launch facilities.

Cooperation with the Navy on FLTSATCOM extends beyond routine management matters, Dr. McLucas pointed out. Although primarily designed to serve a large number of Navy ships and aircraft, the system will also carry Air Force transponders, which are

part of the Air Force Satellite Communications System (AFSATCOM). The Navy satellites, Dr. McLucas revealed, are to become operational in about two or three years. Four satellites will form the system and be spaced around the equator at ninety-degree intervals to provide broad coverage.

Concurrent with the Navy's initial interest in FLTSATCOM as a means of providing reliable communications with the fleet, the Air Force was probing the design of AFSATCOM to assure "worldwide control of our strategic forces," Secretary McLucas explained, adding that "by joining up with the Navy, we will be able to use these four platforms in space for our own transponders and, thereby, be able to control our strategic forces in all areas of the globe except the polar regions. These gaps, which result from the equatorial placement of FLTSATCOM, will be closed by AFSATCOM, which is to incorporate components of the Satellite Data Relay System, some of whose spacecraft are in polar orbits.

"By combining the capabilities of the two systems, the Air Force will be able to communicate with its strategic forces, be they bombers, other aircraft equipped with satellite terminals, or an airborne command post, anywhere in the world." This combined system will have the additional virtue of intrinsic redundancy. If one satellite fails, others can take its place. In the case of FLTSATCOM, for instance, only three out of the four in orbit are actually needed.

The redundancy that assures reliable operations automatically makes the two systems fairly survivable, Dr. McLucas pointed out. "The two systems can be categorized as medium-survivable. We have not gone all out and tried to do everything we can think of because that would cost too much; besides, it is more important to develop the needed communications capabilities expeditiously rather than come up with a design that will last forever," he said.

Present trends point clearly toward multiple uses of spacecraft. "I think the kind of redundancy that is gained from using piggy-back arrangements [putting different transponders and other components aboard individual satellites], and thereby making each satellite a space bus of sorts, makes good sense," Dr. McLucas said.

Secretary McLucas expressed strong support for efforts to assure the survivability of space-based military systems. "If we are going to rely on space communications, then we must insist that these systems be as reliable and survivable as possible. One side of that effort is redundancy; the other involves hardening of the satellites [against EMP—electromagnetic pulse—and other destructive radiation of nuclear explosions. Overpressure, the most lethal effect of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, is not a factor in space]. It would seem certain that over a period of time more and more hardening will be incorporated into our space systems."

The Air Force, Dr. McLucas said, is working on SURVSATCOM, the Survivable Satellite Communications Development Project—a highly survivable communications satellite that can perform vital general-war command and control functions. The project involves two satellites, LES 8 and 9, which are being developed by Lincoln Laboratory and are scheduled for launch in Fiscal Year 1975.

Military experts and the scientific community remain divided over whether the survivability of space systems is better attained through hardening or through redundancy, according to Dr. McLucas. Because hardening runs up both costs and weight, he said, "I personally tend toward redundancy, but it will take more time and research to answer this question." Dr. McLucas agreed with the majority of USAF leaders that an attack on the US military satellites is not likely; such an act, of itself, would signal, categorically,

the attacker's intent and could trigger a US response.

He nevertheless advocated "a fallback position through hardening and redundancy, especially in case of a relatively inaccurate attack. In the case of a head-on hit, of course, hardening would not help anyway."

Hardening or shielding involves a variety of techniques to contain the energies of EMP in the outer shell of a spacecraft, design of the electronics to minimize damage from what EMP reaches them, and shutdown of on-board circuitry during the split second of EMP effectiveness.

Finally, the survivability is also being enhanced through the development of advanced optical space communications systems, including lasers and other techniques that are impervious to the communications blackout that accompanies the explosion of large nuclear weapons in space.

POSITION-FIXING AND NAVIGATION SATELLITES

It is axiomatic that the efficacy of military operations depends on the accuracy with which the forces involved know where they are, where they are going, and at what rate of speed. The more mobile these forces and the greater the accuracy and range of their weapons, the more urgent becomes the need for precise position-fixing and navigation. This has been recognized by a multiservice program that probes navigation-satellite systems and associated technologies. It will culminate—between the years 1977 and 1979—in a major navigation-satellite experiment to test and demonstrate satellite-navigation technology and its potential. In mid-1974, the Air Force will launch an experimental satellite to explore the complex phenomena of signal propagation and modulation in space, in concert with a special simulation facility that was placed into operation at the White Sands missile range last year.

The potential inherent in navigation and position-fixing satellites, Dr. McLucas pointed out, "is virtually unlimited and largely untapped. We have had some important lessons from the Navy's Transit Navigation Satellite system, of course, and we have run some hardware experiments that show what could be done with a multiple satellite system in terms of distance measuring techniques—TOA [Time of Arrival] and Time Difference of Arrival."

"What's involved here is precise measurement of how long it takes signals from different satellites, whose locations are known with high precision, to reach a point whose position is to be fixed, thereby establishing its location. We have demonstrated the feasibility of these techniques with aircraft for some time now and know that it can be done with extremely high accuracy. It seems entirely reasonable to predict that it should be possible to fix the location of any point on the globe or in the air with a three-dimensional accuracy of at least 100 feet. This, by itself, offers a revolutionary potential for blind weapon delivery, standoff systems, and—to a degree—the elimination of weather and visibility as major factors in military operations."

While the feasibility of systems with these kinds of capabilities has been demonstrated convincingly, the "major remaining question is what constitutes the optimum hardware configuration," Secretary McLucas said. This boils down largely to a decision on where to put the computer, into the spacecraft or the user systems, such as aircraft.

"You could either keep the satellites very simple and have big, complicated computers in each aircraft or other users, or you could build a very sophisticated system into the satellites and put only a small electronics package into the aircraft. We in the Air Force tend in the latter direction—that is, put the complexity into the satellites. We have had a somewhat competitive atmosphere with the Navy in this regard, with the

Navy advocating one approach and the Air Force supporting another. But recently, all of us agreed on a compromise that resolved this problem, and we now have an approach that all services think is feasible. One could say that we have adopted a policy of compromise where we acknowledge that the Navy's disposition of satellites makes sense, provided they radiate Air Force-like signals. The present proposal is to place enough of this type of satellite into space to find out how the system can work best; subsequently, the idea would be to put up enough of them so that we can get worldwide coverage." This is likely to take between eight and ten years, according to Dr. McLucas.

THE AIR FORCE AND THE SPACE SHUTTLE

The Air Force is aware of the potential of manned military space missions, but knows that it costs a great deal more to operate a manned system than an unmanned one. The cancellation of the MOL program is a case in point. The Air Force considers it fortunate that "we don't have to foreclose the option of future manned space missions because of the national Space Shuttle program," a two-stage reusable space transportation system scheduled to reach operational status by the end of this decade. The system will be capable of delivering military and civilian payloads of up to 65,000 pounds into low earth orbit.

The Shuttle is, however, limited to orbital altitudes of about 200 miles. Another vehicle, usually referred to as the Space Tug, is needed to deliver payloads from the Shuttle's orbit to geosynchronous or other high-energy orbits. Present Pentagon estimates indicate that about fifty percent of all military payloads will require the higher orbits in the foreseeable future.

Secretary McLucas told Air Force Magazine that NASA—the developer of the Space Shuttle—and the Air Force have agreed in principle that the latter should pay for and develop an interim Space Tug. The initial upper stage would be a minimum cost modification of an existing expendable stage that would meet most requirements during the period when payloads are transitioning from current launch vehicles to the Shuttle. The stage will deliver payloads to high orbits, but will not be capable of retrieving payloads. The stage itself may be reusable.

This tentative agreement "has not been fully staffed throughout government, and, as a result, I don't know how far we will get with it," he said. The main reason why the Air Force supports this arrangement is that "we want to get on with a program of this type. It doesn't make sense to have the Shuttle and not be able to go the rest of the way," according to Dr. McLucas.

From the Air Force's point of view, the principal appeal of the Shuttle is that this system will make it possible to fix, refurbish, retrieve, and reuse expensive space systems operating within the Shuttle's orbital range. Obviously, extending this capability into high-altitude orbits would be equally desirable. But the high R&D investment associated with a recoverable, reusable, and possibly man-rated "upper stage" militates against such a program at this time, the Air Force Secretary said. "On a long-term basis, it can be shown that it would make economic sense to recover space systems from synchronous orbit, but I seriously doubt that this will happen any time soon."

The argument in favor of recovery of space systems, so far as the Air Force is concerned, must be tempered with a number of realistic considerations. One is that the longevity of space systems usually exceeds the original specifications with the result that, by the time many of these systems fail, their components, or even their basic concept, may be obsolete. Recovery of such older systems that have outlived their usefulness would not be economical or even desirable, Dr. McLucas pointed out.

"Simply put, the longer the life of a payload, the less productive it is to recover. Obviously, the most profitable recovery involves systems that fall as you put them up and where, by replacing a \$10 component that doesn't work, you salvage a multimillion-dollar spacecraft."

THE B-1 PROGRAM REVIEW

On July 12, 1973, Secretary McLucas reported to the Congress a slippage in the schedule of the B-1 program and, concomitantly, an increase in the R&D costs as well as a postponement of the program's key milestone—the production decision—to May 1976. Shortly thereafter, Dr. McLucas appointed, under the aegis of the Air Force's Scientific Advisory Board, a thirty-odd member review committee. Headed by Dr. Raymond L. Bisplinghoff, Deputy Director of the National Science Foundation, the Committee is currently completing its final report on the program, covering both management and technical qualities.

The Committee's basic findings, conveyed orally, contained, according to Dr. McLucas, "some good news and some bad news." In the first category, he said, was the fact that the Committee's intensive, one-month study confirmed that the B-1 "looks like a good design, in the sense of being able to execute the mission assigned to the aircraft, and that it is within the state of the art." At the same time, Dr. Bisplinghoff and his panel of experts found the program "too success-oriented," meaning that, in the Committee's view, the B-1 effort is funded and phased in an "optimistic way." It is Dr. Bisplinghoff's opinion that it would take "a great deal of luck" for things to go the way we planned. "Given the perverse nature of inanimate objects, [Dr. Bisplinghoff] felt," Secretary McLucas said, "we are bound to run into some problems."

A third feature of the B-1 program that is being questioned by Dr. Bisplinghoff's committee is "the fact that it is not easy to see how we get from the first three test aircraft to the production aircraft. In the committee's opinion, there should be an intermediate step, a preproduction stage, in order to accommodate the changes that the flight-test program demonstrates ought to be made. This would enable us to test out these changes on the preproduction aircraft, before we commit ourselves to full production," Secretary McLucas said.

The Air Force views the findings and recommendations of the Committee as "quite realistic, especially so far as the recommendation for a preproduction stage is concerned," according to Secretary McLucas. The variance between the actual structure of the program and what's being sought now is anchored in differences in objectives. "Our original approach was geared to give us, at minimum cost, the answer to one question: 'Do we, in fact, have a B-1 design that we can go into production with?' This meant that we had to flight-test an aircraft that wasn't just a bare airframe, but included the kind of equipment, such as avionics, radar, and so on, that showed we could actually execute the assigned mission. If our objective had been to go into production quickly, we would not have taken the course we did."

"Our initial reaction to the Committee's recommendation is positive, because more than three years have gone by since we formulated the program, the B-52s have gotten older, people are getting more concerned about the obsolescence of these aircraft, and the likelihood of a decision in favor of a production go-ahead on the B-1 has increased. Three years ago, the time was not yet right for such a program structure, but now we have a coalescence of opinions regarding full program go-ahead, and, therefore, Dr. Bisplinghoff's recommendation for a preproduction stage make more sense. As a result,

we are now pricing out such a change, and the B-1 Program Office is analyzing the specific recommendations to establish what should be adopted," Dr. McLucas told *AM Force Magazine*. A decision should have been reached by the end of 1973, he added.

USAF R&D SHRINKS WHILE SOVIETS EFFORTS INCREASE

USAF's R&D budget has dropped, expressed in FY '74 dollars, from \$4.4 billion in 1968 to \$3.2 billion in the current fiscal year. "I am not sure that we can continue to function with an R&D budget of this type. Much depends, of course, on the outcome of SALT [whose phase II is to be concluded by the end of 1974]. If we don't reach any agreements with the Soviets about their pulling back from further developments and deployment of strategic systems, then we will have to modernize and improve our defensive and offensive missile systems, as well as update other weapons. In such an eventuality, we would have to show greater progress and increase our R&D effort because we can't afford to be left behind. At present, the technical quality of our systems is still quite good, but if the Soviets continue with their high-level efforts [manifested by recent missile and MIRV tests], we might have to step up our own efforts," Dr. McLucas explained.

The Air Force Secretary was sanguine about the present level of military R&D providing "reasonable assurance against major technological surprise five or ten years from now." He emphasized the need for a "balanced approach to our R&D effort, unless there is good reason to panic, and I don't see that. I do see a definite need to maintain a very aggressive effort in the ICBM field, and we must somehow cope with the ECM challenge." While the Soviet weapons introduced during the recent Middle East war proved very effective, he said, they contained no technological surprise, and, after an initial period of adjustment, the US-supplied systems "proved quite effective."

In the tactical weapons field, the Air Force has made great strides in terms of smart weapons, "but they have to be deployed on a much larger scale than is the case at present. We don't have Europe stocked with these weapons to anywhere near the degree that we achieved in Southeast Asia. This must be remedied. Also, we have not applied these new technologies to nearly the extent that we could, and should. Finally, we must recognize that any system embodying sophisticated components is susceptible to countermeasures. We have to assume that there will be countermeasures, and we will have to concentrate our efforts on defeating them," according to Dr. McLucas.

In the related area of RPVs (Remotely Piloted Vehicles) Dr. McLucas cautioned that, in spite of the enormous potential of this technology, it might take years before the rank and file of the Air Force will fully accept the robot airplane. "We started out with RPVs flying photographic missions, and this, in time, has become a widely accepted mission. There are many other applications of equal promise, including high-altitude radio relay and a strike role. There are many missions where we can use RPVs to form something like a LORAN grid to guide missiles and other weapons to a target. We have already demonstrated that RPVs can be used to launch Maverick missiles against moving tanks; we have shown that they can be used for both high- and low-altitude photo reconnaissance; and we have proved their capability in the radio-relay area. The real issue is to get people to accept the RPVs. It is only natural for the Air Force to be biased toward the manned system, but it is also clear that there are missions that can be performed better with RPVs. I have no doubt that gradual acceptance of this fact will set in."

NEEDED: A NEW APPROACH TO AERONAUTICAL TEST FACILITIES

A currently pressing Air Force concern is the inadequacy of certain of our national aeronautical test facilities, to meet modern needs. For example, the Arnold Engineering Development Center has some equipment dating back to World War II. This is costing the Air Force and others a good deal of money, because it requires more flight testing than would be otherwise necessary. Dr. McLucas disclosed that the Air Force and the Department of Defense are currently "working with NASA in order to come up with precise requirements for high Reynolds numbers [high-performance] wind tunnels as well as V/STOL wind tunnels and other facilities," to assess the performance of new aircraft and engine designs.

"We have more or less agreed on what's needed and what these new test facilities should be. It now becomes a question of putting enough emphasis on this matter. I believe that we can get the support we need on Capitol Hill once we can come up with a fully coordinated program."

The Air Force, traditionally, has advocated a government-wide, centralized approach to aeronautical test facilities in the belief that this would cut costs and permit more effective utilization and ease the funding of what, in effect, becomes a general national resource.

ARCHIE COX AND THE MEDIA

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, former Watergate Prosecutor Archibald Cox has taken a couple of swings at the news media for their Watergate coverage. While I certainly have not been in agreement with this "darling of the liberals" on other matters we see eye-to-eye on this issue.

I call the attention of my colleagues to the following story run in the February 19 edition of the *Washington Post*. It adds a new perspective to the Watergate reporting and the "power" wielded by the three television networks.

The article follows:

COX CRITICAL OF ROLE OF PRESS IN WATERGATE

CONCORD, N.H., Feb. 18.—Former Watergate Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox said today part of the press regards itself as "the fourth branch of government," and that he had "quite a few misgivings" about the way the media covered Watergate.

"The media certainly is turning gradually to a more active role in shaping the course of events through their news columns and commentaries as well as on their editorial pages," Cox said. He addressed students and faculty at St. Paul's School, from which he graduated in 1930.

"It isn't true of smaller papers around the country, but I think it's true of *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *Newsweek*, and a number of big papers, and I rather think it seems to be true of some of the network presentations," he said.

"It does seem to me that the selection of items emphasized often reflects the sort of a notion that the press is the fourth branch of government, and it should play a major role in government. I'm not sure that I want it that way when there are only three networks—to me that's an awful lot of power to

give to whoever runs the three networks," Cox said.

But Cox concluded his remarks on the press saying, "I have no grounds to complain about the way the media has treated me. Indeed, they've treated me better than I deserved."

TAPEWORM

HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, the second editorial by Mr. Mollenhour which recently appeared in the *Warsaw, Ind., Times-Union* is entitled "Tapeworm," and it draws an analogy between a magnetic tape and a tapeworm, an analogy that could only be drawn subsequent to the events of the last few months. I include the editorial in the *Record* at this point:

Every boy who ever went barefoot, then ate and ate while he got thinner and thinner, knows what a tapeworm is. Webster says a tapeworm is a parasite that feeds from the energy meant for man. The United States has an 18 minute tapeworm. It is a parasite in the gut of the nation, eating away at the energy of confidence of our people.

It is difficult to understand the unhealthy fascination we have with the missing 18 minutes on one White House tape. Less than one year ago we couldn't even know such a tape existed. Out of literally hundreds of tapes, public attention has zeroed in on one—especially the 18-minute segment of one tape.

Watergate was quieting down, people were becoming bored with the entire affair. Then the nation caught its tapeworm again. Further indictments of former White House staffers became a certainty and talk of impeachment of the President revived. This is an interesting bit of psychology. The tape existed before. The hum was there before. But six experts say the record key was punched five and maybe nine times and all at once the whole deal is big again. No doubt the entire affair has been bungled politically—and by the President. But there has not been one shred of solid evidence that would tie Richard Nixon to either Watergate, the cover up nor the 18 missing minutes on the tape. Should the fate of The United States hang on 18 minutes of tape? We said editorially one year ago, that Mr. Nixon was wrong in the way he was trying to ignore Watergate. But being wrong politically is not a crime.

Scholars are arguing whether or not the President can be indicted. This is a symptom of how sick our tapeworm has made us, for up to now there is no evidence that he has committed an indictable offense. Even if such were proven, he could not be indicted. Under the Constitution, the President is above ordinary law in his conduct of the Presidency. The Constitution provides a special avenue of impeachment by the House of Representatives and then a trial by the Senate for Presidents.

But such has been our deadly preoccupation with possible wrong-doing that we have the cart before the horse. Even a common criminal is protected by law prior to and during grand jury proceedings. We have not extended that courtesy to the President. Night after night, the American people are bombarded with new suggestions that he resign, be indicted or impeached. If he cannot be solidly connected to a crime, if he does not resign, if he is not impeached, the national press corps, especially TV com-

mentators will be sick at heart. They have tried to make it so—heaven knows, they have tried.

Mr. Nixon has mismanaged his relations with the press. He has mismanaged the aftermath of the Watergate affair. Perhaps he mismanaged his campaign. But mismanagement is not an impeachable offense. Mismanagement is a crime against Mr. Nixon himself in which the penalty will be a blot upon his page in history.

In the meantime, the nation should get rid of its tapeworm, lest it sap the energy we so desperately need to solve our real problems.

EMERGENCY MEDICAL SERVICES

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, a medical emergency may strike an American of any age at any time in any place. It may be a heart attack or an accident. It may strike at home, at work, or play. It is the third most common cause of death at all ages, and the leading cause of death among Americans aged 1 through 38. Tragically, adequate care for these victims is all too often simply not available.

It has been estimated that:

The number of American traffic fatalities, now exceeding 50,000 annually, could be cut by 20 percent by improved emergency care facilities.

A similar reduction is possible in the 60,000 annual nontraffic deaths from drowning, fires, poisoning, and other accidental causes.

Fatal heart attacks could be reduced by perhaps 10 percent. Our present rank of 20th in the world in the number of heart attack patients rescued, is unacceptably high.

The death rate in a community is directly proportional to the community's ability to respond to the individual in an emergency. Despite the fact that we Americans spend more per capita on health care than any other country, nationwide studies suggest our emergency care system needs much improvement:

Less than 10 percent of hospitals have special arrangements with other hospitals for communications in emergency situations. This frequently keeps a patient from access to the institution with the best facilities for treating his particular condition.

Few hospital emergency rooms are equipped to handle any surgical situation.

Only half of all ambulances have two-way radios, which are essential to effective coordination of emergency services.

Expensive specialized equipment is needlessly duplicated in some communities, totally lacking in others.

Few doctors are trained to handle emergencies, a fact which leads to the mistakes in the emergency room. Only seven institutions in the entire country have residency programs in emergency medicine. Fortunately for southern Indiana, among these are Louisville General Hospital and the University of Cincinnati Medical School.

No more than 10 percent of ambulance personnel have completed a basic 80-hour training course considered by the Department of Transportation to be essential for ambulance workers. One worker in 20 has not even received training in basic first aid.

In some States, doctors and other passersby are reluctant to offer assistance to the injured because, if unsuccessful, they are liable to suit.

In short, the nationwide picture of emergency medical services emerges as woefully inadequate. These examples could be multiplied, and they demonstrate the challenges confronting our system of emergency medical care:

More planning and coordination of EMS systems between local communities, States and the Federal Government, and between health agencies within the community, to avoid fragmentation and duplication.

More resources, human and financial, to improve facilities and personnel.

Better communications equipment which can spell the difference between life and death in emergencies.

Removal of certain legal barriers to the effective delivery of emergency medical care.

Expanded research and training in the nature, techniques, and delivery of emergency medical services.

These problems—of planning, coordination, facilities, personnel—act everywhere as critical limitations on the effectiveness of our national system of health care.

Serious as these problems are in our urban centers, they are compounded in rural areas:

One-fifth of all Americans, many of them rural residents, have no access at all to a doctor.

In general, rural residents have only about one-half the access to physicians, hospital beds, and other resources, compared to the rest of the Nation.

Rural emergency rooms are often crowded with nonemergency patients unable to find regular medical care.

Health problems in rural areas are aggravated by an older population, a higher degree of poverty, and a more limited access to many forms of transportation than in the cities or suburbs.

Thus, the need for efficient emergency medical services takes on added significance as it applies to rural America.

In passing emergency medical services legislation last year, the Congress showed a concern for these problems and an appreciation of their complexity. This legislation represents a genuine congressional initiative. It faced constant opposition from the administration. The President vetoed the original bill because he considered it too expensive and because it prohibited the closing of eight Public Health Service hospitals. By a very small margin, the Congress failed to override the veto.

Congress reasserted its determination to improve our EMS systems by passing a new bill without mention of the PHS hospitals. This bill the President signed into law last November 16.

The legislative intent of the bill is stated in the committee report:

To encourage and provide incentives to ap-

appropriate units of local government to inventory their resources for providing comprehensive emergency medical services, identify the gaps in such services, seek to remedy these deficiencies through better coordination or utilization of existing resources—their own and those available under other Federal programs—and develop the new components essential to the achievement of an integrated comprehensive emergency medical services system.

The bill provides several means of achieving these goals.

First, it creates a new program of Federal assistance in the development of emergency medical services. It authorizes \$185 million over the next 3 years, to be used for aid to public or private nonprofit community-based systems. Congress has already appropriated \$27 million for the remainder of fiscal 1974. Grants will require approval of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Since EMS systems all over the country are in various stages of development, the bill provides three different funding mechanisms for EMS grants.

Planning and feasibility grants for communities wishing to initiate an EMS system, with amounts to be determined by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Two-year grants for establishment and initial operation, with 50 percent Federal matching in the first year and 25 percent in the second year.

Grants for expansion and improvement of existing but inadequate EMS systems, not to exceed 50 percent of the costs of the project.

It gives areawide health planning agencies the opportunity to review and comment on proposals for these grants.

The Congress showed its concern for the needs of rural areas by providing that HEW shall give special consideration to applications for grants for research on, or implementation of, rural EMS systems.

Second, it provides for grants to medical schools and other educational institutions for research and training in emergency medical care. Special emphasis here is on training programs affording clinical experience in emergency medical services systems receiving assistance under the new law. The amount of money authorized for these grants is substantial—\$10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974.

Third, it requires the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to establish a unit for collecting, disseminating, and analyzing information on the development of EMS systems.

Fourth, it requires HEW to establish an Interagency Committee on Emergency Medical Services to evaluate the effectiveness of all Federal programs related to emergency medical service systems, and make recommendations for improvements.

Fifth, Finally, it directs HEW to conduct a study to determine what legal barriers remain to implementation of effective emergency care, and to recommend suggestions for new legislation to overcome them.

The Congress passed this legislation not in the mere hope that something better can be done for Americans who find

themselves in medical emergencies. We know that an intensive and well-planned program can work. This has been shown most dramatically in the case of the State of Illinois.

In 1971, Illinois established a "trauma care" program, with five large regional centers at key points around the State and smaller areawide centers in sparsely populated areas. Using the human and material resources already present in the communities, it has placed top priority on the treatment of the critically injured. Since then, the mortality rate from auto accidents in Illinois has steadily declined, and is now only one-sixth of the national rate.

The taxpaying public, who demanded the best emergency care facilities for wounded soldiers during the Vietnam war, should not put up with any lesser effort to cut down the number of needless highway casualties. The same humanitarian concern must apply equally to all, whether victims of enemy fire or of a heart attack. Too many people have suffered easily preventable death and disability because of ineffectual EMS systems.

The amount of money in lost wages, medical expenses, benefits paid to the injured, and property damage from accidents alone amounts to nearly \$28 billion annually.

It is clearly in our interest to spend a few million more to reduce that figure, and with it much human suffering, as envisioned by the Congress when it passed this important piece of legislation.

LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, February 16 marked the 56th anniversary of the independence of Lithuania. It is fitting, therefore, that we pause for a moment to remind our own citizens, and the people of the entire world, that Lithuanian people still hold fast to the principles of independence and self-government.

On February 16, 1918, as a culmination of years of planning and hoping, Lithuanian patriots declared the independence of the Lithuanian State. The triumph of this rebirth was shortlived, however, for the freedom of the Lithuanians was stolen from them in 1940 by the Soviet Union.

Since the occupation by the Russians, Lithuanians have been systematically denied their precious heritage of freedom. One small, but dramatic, example of this oppression occurred in 1970 when a Lithuanian seaman, Simas Kudirka, jumped from his Soviet fishing trawler onto a U.S. Coast Guard cutter, seeking political asylum in the United States. Tragically, Kudirka was seized by Soviet authorities, beaten, and sentenced to imprisonment.

Mr. Speaker, by looking at the misery that Lithuania has endured, we may gain a higher appreciation of our own free-

dom. In this spirit and in the hope that a new light of freedom will one day shine down upon this valiant people, we pay tribute to Lithuania on her independence day.

WITH MALICE TOWARD NONE

HON. WILLIAM R. COTTER

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. COTTER. Mr. Speaker, my family has lost a friend and Connecticut has lost a legend. Art McGinley was one of a kind, a gentleman, a wit, a friend to the great and the little guy as well, a sportsman's sportsman.

I am saddened by his death; yet the memory of him brings a smile because he lived life with such zest and humor and warmth. I am honored to have known this truly great man who brought so much happiness into the lives of so many people.

Sports editor and sports editor emeritus of the Hartford Times until his retirement 6 months ago shortly after his 84th birthday, Art McGinley lived a truly remarkable life.

He was crippled by arthritis, yet somehow forced his gnarled and painful fingers to peck away at a typewriter, producing the kind of folksy prose which daily informed and delighted readers of the Times.

I want my colleagues to share the thoughts of Art's "competition" for many years, the Hartford Courant's former sports editor who wrote the following column today:

WITH MALICE TOWARD NONE

(By Bill Lee)

When Art McGinley died Tuesday, his passing took a man of warm friendship and compassion to generations of Connecticut persons.

Many, many thousands who never saw Mac face to face will feel the deepest sense of loss because he put so much of his great heart into every column he wrote. Perhaps there has never been a man in our part of the country who had a warmer communication with people than Arthur Bosworth McGinley.

MAC LEFT SOMETHING INVALUABLE

Nor has he ever been limited to reaching people only through the two columns he wrote daily for many years, and almost that often even after he had passed four score in years.

If a man or woman ever attended a public dinner of any kind, the chances are that Arthur McGinley was either toastmaster or principal speaker.

Mac probably never stopped to think much about it, but if he did he might have known that when he died he would leave a legacy of a million laughs.

MOSTLY IT WAS WITHOUT A FEE

If anyone, anywhere, had a greater fund of rib-tickling stories than Arthur, that person does not come to mind.

Nobody ever heard or saw him laugh at his own jokes. In his prime at what he liked to call working the post-prandial circuit, Mac could have become a professional, but more often than not he spoke without fee to groups that could not afford to pay him the large stipends he deserved.

Church groups of every denomination have felt the warmth and humor of Mac's pres-

ence. He missed few sports dinners at the state prison, covering many wardens and generations of inmates. Perhaps few, if any, have been loved by the latter more than Art McGinley.

Arthur was on a first name basis with governors, United States senators, Supreme Court justices and high churchmen of every faith, but never in his long rich life did he ever neglect the less fortunate.

NEWSPAPERMAN MORE THAN 54 YEARS

One can think of more than a few fields in which this man could have enjoyed success, but he never left the newspaper trade once he had planted his feet beneath a Hartford Times desk 54 years ago.

Mac was sports editor of the Times for half a century, the eminent dean of Connecticut sportswriters during all of that time, but a biographer might come to think that longevity was the least of his attributes.

Life for Art was not always easy or uncomplicated. Only a man of exceptional character could have overcome the obstacles he had to fight, but he beat them all with fortitude that was inspiring to all who knew him.

NEVER A CROSS WORD BETWEEN US

Since I came to Hartford five years after Mac did, there is a flood of personal memories, not a single one of them unpleasant. We traveled the same road side by side for almost five decades, each striving for much the same things, but in all that time, rivals though we were in a sense, a cross word never passed between us.

When first he was pointed out to me on a trolley car enroute to Clarkin Field, the old ball park off Franklin Avenue, I had no remote thought that the natty young fellow wearing a modish blazer and straw skimmer would in the years ahead become my dearest friend in the business. Even then he was a big man in our trade. I sat in awe several seats behind where he was riding.

AFTER 49 YEARS, A SENSE OF AWE

After 49 years, I found myself still in awe of a man who, at 84, was banging out two completely different columns on hands so crippled by arthritis that one wondered how he ever pounded out a line, much less six or seven hundred words every time he sat in front of his typewriter.

We walked together to hundreds of ring-sides and press boxes all over the country. We once rode a train together to Minneapolis and a plane coming home, the first commercial flight for both of us.

It is difficult to say a fond farewell to Art McGinley. It is impossible to put into words all I would like to convey about this wonderful friend. He was rarely critical and never unkind. He will be sorely missed for as long as a lot of us are left.

LABOR PAINS

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, enough has been said of late about campaign contributions so I will not belabor the point. The following letter which was printed in the February 12 edition of the Washington Star-News, although brief, says it all. I recommend it to my colleagues. The letter follows:

ALEXANDRIA, VA.

LABOR'S ROLE IN POLITICS

Sir: I was pleased to read your recent editorial "Labor's Role in Politics." I couldn't agree with you more.

I have been most disturbed about the inordinate power of labor unions in our political process. Why isn't it just as wrong and illegal for a number of Democratic congressmen and senators who *always* vote pro-labor to receive thousands of dollars in campaign contributions as it is for Spiro Agnew to receive money from construction companies, or the Nixon administration to receive campaign contributions from IT&T or the milk producers?

If Congress is really interested in reform of our election laws, this is one of the best places to start.

MARY E. GOODWIN.

AUSTRIA'S CHAIN

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, a footnote or two can and should be added to the sorry spectacle presented by Austria's slamming her doors shut in the face of Jewish refugees from Russia. Chancellor Kreisky of Austria, himself born a Jew, once fled Nazi persecution by going to Sweden. It is my understanding he was allowed to take refuge in that then neutral nation. How fortunate for him. How unfortunate for his coreligionists in Russia who hoped for some refuge in the country he purports to lead politically.

One cannot help but wonder what would have transpired had Sweden not opened her doors to Bruno Kreisky and offered him haven from oppression. How grotesque an irony and stupefying a spectacle to note this man today, successfully slamming shut the door in the faces of another generation of oppressed Jews—his own people. Perhaps some of them are of an age with Kreisky's own family, which lived and perished in Hitler's Europe.

It was because so few doors in so few foreign nations swung open to admit Jews fleeing in desperation from Hitler and his cohorts, among them many Austrians, that the holocaust was so complete. And as a result of so little compassion, Europe became a vast cage for her tormented Jewish population. Trapped therein, they were hunted down by the Nazi hordes and dispatched in their millions to their doom. And Kreisky watched from his haven in Sweden, as he watches now, and shall continue to watch in the future, without lifting a finger.

Austria carries a chain about her. An invisible chain. Compare it if you will to the ghost of Jacob Marley in Dickens' "Christmas Carol." We all remember when he came to visit Scrooge, carrying the chain he forged in life about him for eternity. Who knows? Perhaps all of us wear one such.

So a nation forges its chain, composed of its evil deeds in its national lifetime. Austria's chain is grievously long, forged willingly in the Hitler era by her own people. By mass murderers who still dwell peacefully and righteously within her borders.

In the past year, the world has professed shock to see so many convicted

butchers walk smilingly out of Austrian courtrooms into welcoming throngs of their fellow citizens. Austria simply won't prosecute Nazi war criminals. There, Mr. Speaker, is the making of a very long chain indeed.

Kreisky had the power to strike a number of links from that chain. Perhaps for every Jew from Russia who breathed the air of liberty for a day or two in Schoenau Castle, the Almighty lopped off Austrian guilt for another Jew slaughtered by an Austrian commandant in an extermination camp; or perhaps he forgave Austria for a single death transport arranged by Adolph Eichmann; another Austrian. Perhaps.

No one heard the cries of agony and pleas for help of the Jews of yesterday. No one hears them today in Austria. Least of all Bruno Kreisky. So today, Schoenau is closed, a monument to cowardice and heartlessness.

Nevertheless, we should recognize him for what he is. Many national political leaders have their reasons for such actions. In Hitler's Europe they closed doors on Jews for a number of different reasons. In some cases, Jews were an inconvenience. In others there was simple fear of Germany. In still others it was basic anti-Semitism, and a secret glee that the Jews were at last "getting theirs."

In many cases, Jews were betrayed and done harm by a few of their own, who, desperate for survival or advancement, sold out their own people. This was the case with Jewish police in the Warsaw ghetto. Who can fathom such motives?

Austria stands as shamed before the world today as a result of what her head of state has done as she did when death camps were first opened to the stupefied, horrified view of the world in 1945. She is branded with an international mark of Cain now just as she has been since the first war criminal waltzed out of her courtrooms a free man, even though every person involved knew he had blood on his hands of thousands of totally innocent human beings.

Chancellor Kriesky is to be doubly pitied. Not just for what he has done to his country, but for what he has inflicted upon his own people by birth. For no matter what he says or does to excuse it, in the eyes of the world and history, he stands amidst the accused ranks of those who have betrayed and turned their backs upon their own people. Decent men turn away from the sight of such a one as this.

His chain is the longest one of all.

APPROPRIATION OF FUNDS FOR PEACE CORPS FOR 1975

HON. THOMAS E. MORGAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing by request a bill to authorize the appropriation of funds for the Peace Corps in fiscal year 1975.

The bill also provides for a contingency

authorization to take care of any increases in salaries and benefits and contains a provision for the transfer of funds to offset errors made in the payment of readjustment allowances to former Peace Corps Volunteers.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs will hold hearings on the proposed legislation at an early date.

ENCOURAGE HIRING OF DISABLED VETERANS

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, as the 93d Congress convened last year I reintroduced legislation to help remove obstacles to the employment of disabled war veterans.

Every service-disabled war veteran is entitled to a reasonable opportunity to maintain his independence and self-respect through self-support. In all too many instances, though, employers are reluctant to hire a disabled vet because of the fear that he may be more prone to additional injury, and that increased workmen's compensation insurance premiums will be required.

While studies have shown that physically handicapped employees account for a lesser percentage of additional job-incurred disabilities than do able-bodied employees, statistics alone do not provide the assurance necessary to overcome this employment obstacle.

My bill, H.R. 794, would approach this problem by authorizing the Federal Government to pay the cost of increased claims for workmen's compensation benefits in the case of disabled war veterans. This would take the form of Federal payments to the States' special or subsequence injury funds.

Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Disabled Veterans of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped adopted a resolution on this issue last November 30, and I want to commend it to the attention of all my colleagues who have an interest in resolving some of the problems of our disabled war veterans.

COMMITTEE ON DISABLED VETERANS OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT OF THE HANDICAPPED—RESOLUTION

Legislation to authorize the United States Department of Labor to reimburse states for workmen's compensation expenditures for veterans with service-connected disabilities who acquire disability by reason of employment

Whereas, during the last twenty years, the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped has conducted at least six nationwide surveys by sending out pointed questionnaires to the Governor's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped for each of the respective states to ascertain their reactions as to the most obstructive deterrent in their efforts to effect the employment of physically handicapped employ-

Whereas, most of the responses thereto very definitely concluded that the most obstructive deterrent was the fear, on the part of too many potential employers, that em-

ployers might thereby run the risk of being required to increase their Workmen's Compensation Insurance premium payments because of the possibility that any such prospective employee might incur some incremental disability in the course of his employment; and

Whereas, several other similar surveys among many local eleemosynary organizations specializing in the employment of physically handicapped workers, as well as among the managers of many local offices of the Goodwill Industries, as to their efforts to arrange for the placement of their employee-trainees, positively pointed to the same conclusion; and

Whereas, the responses to special questionnaires sent out by the Bureau of Labor Standards in 1960-61 to some 6,000 employers located in several typical States definitely indicated that employers would be much more likely to employ physically handicapped workers if any such increased Workmen's Compensation Insurance costs, incurred by reason of any job incurred disability that they might incur, would thereupon definitely be paid out of each such State's Second Injury Fund, thus preventing any increase in their Workmen's Compensation Insurance premium payments in the future; and

Whereas, several other surveys among employers have very positively indicated that their physically handicapped employees have generally accounted for a lesser percentage of additional job-incurred disabilities than has been their experience as to their able bodied employees; and

Whereas, all of such surveys have had to be based on opinion reactions, but not on verified statistical analyses, and have therefore failed to remove such fears on the part of too many employers; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by the Committee on Disabled Veterans of The President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, assembled in regular meeting in Washington, D.C., on November 30, 1973, that the Committee on Disabled Veterans does hereby urge the U.S. Congress and the President of the United States to enact such legislation as will require the Bureau of Labor Statistics to establish a fully funded Section empowered to acquire all pertinent statistics pertaining to all expenditures made through each State's Workmen's Compensation Board as to all job-incurred disabilities and injuries, thereby to enable it to prepare specific detailed comparative compilations and analyses annually to be furnished to all members of the U.S. Congress, to all State Workmen's Compensation Boards, and to all others who request same; and, be it further

Resolved that we do hereby urge the U.S. Congress and the President of the United States to enact such legislation as to require the Department of Labor to reimburse each State as to all of its Workmen's Compensation expenditures as to each employee with a service-connected disability who shall have acquired some incremental disability by reason of his employment; and, be it finally

Resolved that the Chairman of the Committee on Disabled Veterans is requested to take action on this resolution to bring it to the attention of appropriate officials.

IN APPRECIATION

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, I recently received a letter from one of my constituents, Mrs. Lee Surs of Prairie Village, Kans., who wrote an ode of

praise for my distinguished colleague from the State of Iowa, H. R. Gross.

I, in turn, would like to insert her poem in the RECORD at this time:

IN APPRECIATION

(To Representative H. R. Gross, "The Abominable No Man")

Charisma, you ain't got
Still, we have loved you long
Charisma's so much rot
We have always loved you strong.
We are glad you made a fuss
When the House went on a spree
You are not too-Gross for us
Money—"comes not from a tree."

Farewell from a grateful taxpayer.

ESTHER SURS.

HOMETOWN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, TAMAQUA, PA., RECEIVES JOHNNY HORIZON '76 ENVIRONMENTAL AWARD

HON. GUS YATRON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, it is always a source of pride when young students are cited for making valuable contributions to their community and their country.

The students of Hometown Elementary School in Tamaqua, Pa., is just such a group. These young people have been awarded the "Johnny Horizon '76 Environmental Award" from the U.S. Government. This is a nationwide, action-oriented environmental awareness program, to clean up America for our 200th anniversary celebration.

These students, whom I am proud to represent in the Congress, have taken the lead and followed the direction of the national symbol for environmental action, Johnny Horizon. Because they wanted to do something to make America a better place in which to live and because they wanted to improve the quality of life, they acted.

The program has two major phases: the first is educational, to make all Americans aware, from schoolchildren to senior citizens, that environmental improvement and protection is everyone's responsibility. Each and every individual can do something about it.

The second phase is action "on the ground," designed to inspire people to work together to prevent pollution and to clean up.

The students of Hometown Elementary School have certainly taken advantage of this program, which was initiated in 1968 by the Department of the Interior. Many organizations from across the country have joined in supporting and fostering the program. In fact, the Junior Women's Club of Birdsboro, Pa., holds an annual cleanup, with the cooperation of the Odd Fellows, the Rotarians, Lions, Jaycees, Blue Birds, Cub Scouts and the Conestoga Telephone Co.

The Hometown students and faculty have made the Johnny Horizon pledge "I'll help, too." They have availed themselves of a number of helpful program aids, most of which are free. Interested

organizations may purchase these aids in volume at nominal cost. Any group large or small, can become a Johnny Horizon '76 sponsor and I hope that many schools and organizations in Pennsylvania's Sixth District, and throughout the Commonwealth, will following the outstanding direction given by the Hometown Elementary School students and their teacher, Mrs. Ruth Purnell.

I congratulate them on receiving this honor, of which they can be justly proud—the "Johnny Horizon '76 Environmental Award."

ALL CITIZENS URGED TO SUPPORT CLOTHING WORKERS EFFORTS TO SECURE BARGAINING RIGHTS

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, more than 2,000 employees, mostly Mexican Americans, are on strike from the Farah Manufacturing Co. because they demand to be represented by a union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Farah has repeatedly been responsible for unfair labor practices as it has prohibited union soliciting on its premises and has fired employees for union activities. These injustices as well as others have led to a massive strike and boycott of Farah's men's pants until collective-bargaining rights are secured by Farah employees.

My own city of Philadelphia is a leader in the clothing industry and has continually employed members of the ACWA so as to insure workers of fair wages, fringe benefits, and satisfactory working conditions. For this reason, the city council has adopted a resolution calling for the support of the Farah employees on strike so that they may be represented by the ACWA.

At this time I enter into the RECORD the resolution adopted by the City Council of Philadelphia:

COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA—
RESOLUTION NO. 249

Resolution urging all citizens to support the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in their efforts to secure collective bargaining rights for the Farah employees, who seek to achieve economic justice, human dignity and decency on the job

Whereas, Philadelphia has been a national leader in the manufacturing of men's and boys' clothing; and

Whereas, Philadelphia's clothing industry has long employed workers who are members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO in an industry which has traditionally been one of the largest employers of minority group people; and

Whereas, The A.C.W.A. has lost 8,000 members and jobs since 1968 due to unfair non-union competition in the Southwest which has exploited working people in that area; and

Whereas, Workers of the Farah Pants Company of El Paso, Texas have been engaged in a bitter struggle for nearly three years to establish unions; and

Whereas, The Farah employees have a basic human right to organize for collective

bargaining as a means to achieve a better way of life with dignity and security; and

Whereas, The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the AFL-CIO, the Texas Conference of Churches, the National Council of Churches, His Excellency Sidney M. Metzger, Bishop of El Paso, many Philadelphia religious leaders and City Councils across the United States have all officially supported and endorsed the Farah employees' endeavors to secure collective bargaining rights; therefore

Resolved, By the Council of the City of Philadelphia, That we hereby support the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in their efforts to secure collective bargaining rights for the Farah employees, who seek to achieve economic justice, human dignity and decency on the job.

Resolved, That certified copies of this Resolution be forwarded to representative members of the Philadelphia Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and the "Philadelphia Committee For Justice for Farah Workers," as evidence of the sentiments of this legislative body.

CONTROL FEDERAL SPENDING

HON. JOHN B. CONLAN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. CONLAN. Mr. Speaker, a brief but poignant editorial in the current issue of Nation's Business has a message that every Member of Congress should remember whenever a spending vote is taken:

Ouch!

In all the years between the founding of our republic and the middle of World War II, federal government spending totalled about \$300 billion.

The budget for the next fiscal year proposes \$300 billion for that single year.

Does that make sense to you?

If it doesn't, let your Senators and Congressmen know you want spending brought under control.

Mr. Speaker, thanks to the reckless spending habits of this body over the years, about three-fourths of the proposed 1975 Federal budget is virtually uncontrollable. Congress has obligated that spending through prior legislation, and those expenditures will continue until the legislation expires or is repealed.

In addition, past Congresses have amassed a national debt of almost \$500 billion. Annual interest on this deficit alone amounts to more than \$26 billion, or \$125 in additional taxes for every citizen. That is \$600 in extra taxes for a family of four, and continued deficit spending threatens to boost it even higher.

Unfortunately, big spenders in the Congress, who somehow seem to constitute a majority whenever large spending increases are proposed, add on to this already fat-laden budget monster and the national debt every time a chance comes along, making it even harder to control.

This fiscal irresponsibility has to stop. Federal spending must be brought under control. People in Arizona and throughout the Nation are fed up with inflation, high taxes, high prices, and other eco-

nomie dislocations that threaten their ability to maintain family solvency.

Federal spending that claims an average of more than \$1,300 in taxes from every man, woman, and child in the country is the major cause of that threat.

Like our good friend and able colleague H. R. Gross, the esteemed gentleman from Iowa, I shall continue to vote against reckless spending measures that are not essential to the national interest. The buck has to stop somewhere. And unless we want to bankrupt this Nation and its people, it had better stop now.

STATE OF UNION MESSAGE

HON. ROBERT P. HANRAHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. HANRAHAN. Mr. Speaker, I think my colleagues might find interesting the following article which ran in one of the newspapers in my home district.

The article follows:

[From the Oak Lawn-Evening Park News, Feb. 7, 1974]

"STATE OF THE UNION" MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, JANUARY 30, 1974

Richard M. Nixon—smiling—seemingly assured—seemingly confident—begins his address. No good readers—it was not the "Fire-side Chats" of the F.D.R. era, nor was it "Give em Hell" approach of good ole Harry Truman, but rather it was the thoughts, reflections, and goals of not the "Tricky Dick Nixon" some have accused him of being, but of a very human person caught up in the harrowing, dangerous, and realistic game of politics! For those of you having any knowledge of History you will find that from the Roman Days of the Caesar's, right up to the present time, Politics with few exceptions, on any level, has not been a desired profession. The scheming, the plotting, and yes, the cheating and stealing have all become such a "Matter-of-fact way of life" for politicians, that we the people, who place them in office, have learned to accept their "Scallywagery and Shennanigans" with merely a shrug of our shoulders commenting "That's the way the System works attitude" and go merrily on our way. So really good readers who is to blame? I think you realistically will have to say that we the people of the United States are fully responsible for our political system, that we have today, and that we have been fully aware of this system and their shortcomings since the inception of our country. By this premise, I am not exonerating President Nixon for any wrong doings he has been purported to have done or may have been aware of. However, I must agree with Mr. Nixon at this point of time, (1) year of Watergate is enough! The lesson has been learned and I think and I hope it has been learned well. I think politicians in both parties will now think twice before acting in a situation that may have illegal proportions of any kind that may arouse their constituency. Yes, the purge of our political system has been good. For it has made our citizenry, as well as our politicians aware that all wrong doings can be brought to justice and apparently will be in the future. But in this reporter's opinion, let's not overdo a good thing. Contrary to the opinions of the "Prophets of Doom", America today is a pretty good place to live in and we as Americans are indeed fortunate to be living in this country—today—rather than the "Good old days" of yester-

year. I'd, of course, be completely naive to state that at this time things are perfect. But then—what really is? It is my belief that the time has come for all America to band together and forget the back-biting, and pett, jealousies and join our President in solving the ever prevalent problems that are confronting our Nation as well as the World. For those who are crying "Impeach", I have only this to say and with such application pertaining to the General Public as well as our politicians at all levels of Government—"Those who are without sin amongst you—cast the first stone".

REPEAL OF DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME

HON. CARLETON J. KING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include two resolutions recently adopted by the Board of Education, Shenendehowa Central School District, Elmore, N.Y., urging the Congress to return to the use of standard time during winter months.

The action taken by the Shenendehowa Board of Education emphasizes the concern many of our school officials have expressed in regard to how the use of daylight time is endangering schoolchildren who must walk or ride buses or bicycles to schools in early-morning darkness.

I am pleased to call my colleagues attention to these resolutions and I urge that action be taken on the legislation which has been introduced to repeal the Emergency Daylight Saving Time Energy Conservation Act of 1973.

The resolutions follow:

RESOLUTION No. 1

Whereas, the Federal Government has passed legislation requiring that Daylight Saving Time be utilized throughout the country effective January 6, 1974, in an attempt to conserve energy, and

Whereas, Shenendehowa's 9,064 students are transported to school by bus and must wait in darkness during the winter months, and

Whereas, this situation is dangerous to the children of our school district and of the nation, and

Whereas, schools are utilizing more fuel because of the time change, be it

Resolved, that the Shenendehowa School Board urge the Federal Government to return to the use of Standard Time in the winter months.

RESOLUTION No. 2

Whereas, school districts are planning their time schedules for the school year which will begin in September, 1974,

Whereas, school districts must know immediately what is going to occur during next winter, be it

Resolved, that the Shenendehowa Central School Board urge the Federal Government to take action now to determine whether or not the country will return to the use of Standard Time, and be it further

Resolved, that whatever action is taken be made decisive and not subject to change.

CXX—231—Part 3

FRUSTRATED TAXPAYER'S LETTER

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. R. Johnson, of Racine, Wis., has asked me to share his letter with you.

I feel his letter is an accurate assessment of the frustration and uncertainty experienced by the American taxpayer. The letter follows:

RACINE, Wis.,
January 24, 1974.

Representative LES ASPIN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ASPIN: You may read this letter to the House, in fact I ask you to read it to the House. Perhaps if the Congressmen heard more often the words and thoughts of the people, they might just do the will of the people more often.

The mass of taxpayers (the people in the middle) are getting higher prices and more taxes wholesale. Jobs too are disappearing because of ineptness, stupidity and failure to consider the people's welfare in making such things as oil depletion allowances, price supports, etc. When will the day come when taxes go down instead of up.

Exxon, the nation's largest oil corporation, estimated as of yesterday that its profit for the final quarter of 1973 was up to 60% higher than for the same period in 1972; and this money came from the little taxpayer who drives the most. If there really was or is an oil shortage, then every dram of oil and gasoline is sold, so why the gigantic price spread in profiteering. Since the American people must—must—use gasoline to drive and oil to heat, these companies have the people locked into paying anything they care to charge—there is no competition—and we now see what will happen—the oil companies are gouging the locked in buyers until they threaten to consume the buyer and in another swoop cut down on automobile production—one of our key industries in our economy—all so they can reap monstrous profits. The American people may well in the majority detest governmental controls in our economy, but oil seems to come under the heading of a public utility now, and may just have to be controlled as such. Congress should lay down the proposition to the oil people, and let them know that they cannot gouge and ruin just for profit, and that unless prices are rolled back to the first quarter of 1972, that controls will be instituted in order to save our economy. It would be no different then if the water company began charging ten dollars a pail for fresh drinking water—truly pure nonsense. The American people are waiting for Congress to act and cut the prices back to a sensible figure; and it should be done right now!!!

As for rationing; we don't need it, and we don't want it. I might say this (and this I insist if I may that you read to the House) if rationing is proposed, the only kind of rationing that would be acceptable so as to keep our economy stable (keep men working) is that the President (and if necessary by charge of the Congress) tell the people—tell the people—immediately and in all truth, that if rationing is necessary, then gasoline will be allotted on the basis of the rated miles per gallon of that particular car—for example, a VW may be rated at twenty miles per gallon whereas a Cadillac may be rated at ten miles per gallon, this means that a VW owner would get one gallon to every two gallons the Cadillac owner received; if this

had been done eight months ago, new big car production would not be down forty percent and men would be working.

Very sincerely,

R. JOHNSON,

THE 228TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO

HON. ELLA T. GRASSO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mrs. GRASSO. Mr. Speaker, on February 12 we celebrated the 228th anniversary of the birth of Thaddeus Kosciuszko, an outstanding Polish soldier and patriot who played a key role in the struggle for American independence.

Kosciuszko arrived in this country in 1776, the year the Declaration of Independence was drafted and signed. He served as a military engineer under General George Washington, whose birth we also celebrate this month, and designed the defenses for the American forces on the Delaware River. After successfully completing this assignment he was granted a colonel's commission and assigned to Fort Ticonderoga where he served as a major adviser in the construction of fortifications there. It was a failure to follow this military expert's advice that eventually led to the fall of Ticonderoga to the British.

Assigned to the American Army in the north, Kosciuszko directed the tactical choice of battle fields and the design of fortifications in the victorious battle of Saratoga, which historians have come to call "the turning point of the American Revolution." It was this battle, my colleagues will remember, that convinced the French to become allies in our War of Independence.

In 1778, Kosciuszko took charge of the construction of American fortifications at West Point. Later he was sent to North Carolina where he held the positions of transportation officer and chief of engineers. Kosciuszko's participation in the Battle of Yorktown, the last battle in the Revolutionary War, concluded his 6 years of service to American independence.

Soon after the war, Kosciuszko returned to his native Poland where he took up the struggle to make his birthplace and his land a free and sovereign nation. He succeeded in temporarily liberating Warsaw—freeing the city from foreign domination—but his efforts were defeated ultimately by overwhelming odds. Nonetheless, Kosciuszko has earned a cherished place in Polish history as one who gave unselfishly of himself for the cause of Polish freedom.

Congress recognized Kosciuszko's valiant contribution to American independence when in 1783 it granted him American citizenship and a commission as a brigadier general in the U.S. Army. His memory was again honored in 1972 when those of us in the 92d Congress acknowledged his great service by estab-

lishing the Kosciuszko home in Philadelphia as a national historic site. This Philadelphia residence, the only known structure associated with Kosciuszko's life in this country, stands as a living tribute to this great and noble hero of our fight for freedom.

Kosciuszko's great and unselfish contributions are reflected daily in the many meaningful accomplishments of Polish-Americans and their descendants in Connecticut and throughout the country. These hard-working men and women demonstrate the same love for freedom and the same zeal for independence and justice that motivated Thaddeus Kosciuszko to cross the sea and aid our cause so many years ago.

Let all of us, then, take time this month to remember this great Polish hero and patriot, and to honor those who have so ably carried on his tradition.

RESOLUTION OF WYOMING LEGISLATURE

HON. TENO RONCALIO

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. RONCALIO of Wyoming. Mr. Speaker, the 1974 session of the 42d Wyoming State Legislature assembled in Cheyenne, Wyo., adopted the following resolution requesting that the Lyman project in southwestern Wyoming be completed as authorized. I fully concur with the wishes of the Wyoming Legislature as set forth in the resolution and offer it for the consideration of my colleagues.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2

A joint resolution requesting the United States Government to immediately complete its contractual obligation for the Lyman Project, now five years behind schedule.

Whereas, the Bridger Valley Water Conservancy District, a legal entity under the laws of the State of Wyoming, was organized specifically for the purpose of contracting with the United States Government for construction of the Lyman Project, an original participating project and Wyoming's entitlement under the Colorado River Storage Project Act of April 11, 1956 (70 Stat. 105); and

Whereas, said contract was executed in good faith on April 8, 1964; and

Whereas, the United States Government acting through the Bureau of Reclamation has completed approximately seventy percent (70%) of its obligation with the construction of the Meeks Cabin Dam and Reservoir on the Blacks Fork; and

Whereas, said contract called for completion of the total project in 1969, but construction of the second dam on the Smiths Fork has not commenced five years after it was to have been completed; and

Whereas, a tax disparity exists because the Smiths Fork subscribers are unable to benefit from stored water as are their neighbors on the Blacks Fork, making it impossible for the conservancy district to fulfill its obligation to the people of this State and the purpose for which it was organized; and

Whereas, now more than ever, water storage is vital if shortages in food commodities are to be overcome;

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the legislature of the State of Wyoming, both Houses

concurring therein, respectfully insist that the United States Government complete its obligation under said contract and requests immediate construction of the second dam on Smiths Fork, the unfulfilled thirty percent (30%) of said contract.

Be it further resolved that certified copies hereof be promptly transmitted to United States Senator Gale W. McGee, United States Senator Clifford P. Hansen, Congressman Teno Roncalio and Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton.

PROTECTING THE CONSULATES

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues an editorial by R. Peter Straus, president of WMCA radio in New York City. The editorial eloquently states the case for having the Federal Executive Protection Service assume permanent responsibility for the guarding of foreign missions throughout the country.

H.R. 690, a bill I first introduced in the 91st Congress, provides for the alleviation of a considerable burden from local police forces in major metropolitan areas such as Boston, Chicago, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Richmond, New Orleans, Denver, Kansas City, as well as New York City. Each of these cities has a number of consulates located within its borders, and it is a gross inequity that the citizens of these localities must not only bear the brunt of the cost of protecting the foreign missions, but sacrifice much of their own police service as well.

The United Nations and foreign consulates do not just serve the particular city in which they are located, but the entire country, and the Federal Government should rightly provide the guard service they require.

The editorial follows:

U.N. POLICE

Although the United Nations makes its home in New York, the entire country is acting as host for the world organization. And that's why, when it comes to protecting the U.N. building and the foreign consulates in Manhattan, we think the federal government should be responsible—rather than the New York City police force.

Currently, New York's men and women in blue guard over two hundred foreign missions and consulates, in addition to the 42nd Street complex. This means that instead of protecting New Yorkers, 10 to 20 per cent of some precincts have U.N.-related duty; and it means that the city is shelling out over two million dollars a year for United Nations security.

New York must also bear an enormous financial burden, as a result of the real estate and sales tax losses it incurs because of the United Nations' being here; and we just don't think the city should be asked to shoulder the task of protecting the U.N. and its diplomats, as well.

WMCA, therefore, supports a bill introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman Ed Koch, which would provide a permanent staff of federal officers to do the necessary police work.

THE LESSONS OF THE MIDDLE EAST WAR FOR EUROPEAN SECURITY

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, most Americans have become all too aware of the impact of the last war in the Middle East upon our petroleum supplies. But far fewer people have taken sufficient cognizance of the dangerous strategic and political implications of the actions by the Soviet Union in conjunction with the fighting. In an excellent article recently in the German publication *Die Welt*, one of Europe's outstanding commentators, Axel Springer, succinctly summarizes the situation. He cogently warns us that the same offensive capability demonstrated by Soviet armaments in the thrust across the Suez canal in October could just as easily be repeated by the Warsaw Pact nations across the Elbe in Germany. But instead of uniting Europe against the potential threat, the Soviets have ironically been able to divide NATO as a consequence of their aggressive actions in the Middle East. Just as Springer alerts Europeans to the dangers posed by the complacent policy of Ostpolitik by Brandt, Americans should also be even more skeptical about our own policy of détente. The actions rather than the words of the Soviets must govern our decisions. With the wise counsel of people like Springer, we may yet recognize the dangers. As he concludes:

It is very late—but not too late!

The article follows:

YESTERDAY THE SUEZ CANAL AND TOMORROW THE ELBE—IT IS HIGH TIME FOR EUROPE TO LEARN THE LESSONS OF THE WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST

(By Axel Springer)

Those in the know were aware even before Christmas that the war of nerves against the free part of Berlin was soon to be stoked up again. Of course, as had happened so often before, such information could not be published. To do so would have brought the reproach of not letting sleeping dogs lie, i.e., of provoking hostility by publication.

So now there were protests from beyond the Wall against establishing in West Berlin a Federal office for the environment. And a week ago there came a relevant threat: sudden vexatious controls—once again—on the access routes to the old German capital. Who could believe the story of a search for Russian or East German deserters, especially as Allied vehicles were not interfered with at all? It was and is in reality all part of a carefully planned campaign.

Any remaining doubts must have disappeared last weekend when both the President of the State Council in East Germany, Willi Stoph, and the Prime Minister, Horst Sindermann, fell back into the vocabulary and the arguments of the Cold War.

These events, which will be repeated in all possible variations, show that one of the main aims of the entire West German "Ostpolitik", and especially of the Four-Power agreement and the bilateral agreements between Bonn and East Berlin, is fading even further into the distance: the defusing of the critical situation of Berlin.

The Soviets' and their vassals' strangle-

hold on the vital arteries of free West Berlin is unbroken. It can be tightened and loosened at will—a game that has been demonstrated for a long time, and despite all treaties goes gaily on.

The campaign to disengage West Berlin entirely from the Federal Republic has never ceased, despite many promises, great hopes and fine speeches. Vexatious controls on the access routes and protests with an undertone of threats are not so much a temporary relapse into old habits as a sign that at bottom nothing has changed. Lenin's words still apply: "Whoever has Berlin, has Germany; whoever has Germany, has Europe."

If Lenin is not proof enough, just because he died 50 years ago, then a statement by the Soviet Ambassador in Bonn, Valentin Falin, may be recalled: "The compulsion of history—or natural gravity—will see to it that one day West Berlin will be part of 'German Democratic Republic'."

Translated into practical politics this means that Berlin remains an important stage in Soviet aims in their much further-reaching intention of becoming the dominant power in Europe. There is no sign at all that Russia has given up this plan, or ever would. On the contrary.

In the past month the Soviets have come several steps nearer to this goal. The best guarantee against the spread of Soviet power beyond its present sphere of influence is still the Atlantic Defence Alliance, accompanied by an optimally close community of economically strong and socially sound European countries.

On the way to this community of Europe, however, the recent past has seen not progress but a relapse into petty, selfish national thinking, which exactly meets the Kremlin's aims. In the military field the Communist states have increased their armaments to an extent hardly realised by the public, as against the weakening, if not actual decay, of and lack of confidence in NATO in the West.

In a great part it was economic problems which laid bare the cracks in the structure of the European Community. What years of effort by the Soviets and their auxiliaries in the West failed to achieve, the Arab oil boycott, or even the mere fear of a possible shortage, brought about. In many cases narrow national self-interest takes pride of place before considerations of the common weal. The community of European nations, from which a united Europe was to grow, has failed its first major trial. Oil provided the breaking strain.

"Have Machiavelli's works been translated into Arabic?" the French publicist Jean Jacques Servan-Schreiber asks in an anxious analysis in the weekly L'EXPRESS. But translation was unnecessary. For at a decisive, secret, conference held in Bagdad late in 1972, when plans for an "oil war" against the industrial nations of the West were forged, Machiavelli was present in person—however under the name of A. S. Dasokow. His profession: Soviet oil expert; his superiors: the Soviet security police, the KGB. A message of greetings from the Soviet Government which Dasokow read out to his Arab hosts stated that the Kremlin would support the "important struggle by Arab oil against imperialism."

The strategy then worked out under Soviet guidance in Bagdad aims for one thing at driving the Western oil-producing concerns out of the Middle East; further at throwing sand in the works of the industrial countries' economies by arbitrary and rigorous price rises; and finally at impelling the Arab proprietors of gigantic oil-fortunes to coordinate their stock-exchange transactions so as to cause economic and currency difficulties for the West on a maximum scale.

This conference was ten months before the outbreak of the last Middle East war, which itself showed that the Soviets were

supporting the Arabs not only with Machiavellian economic advice but with supplies of supermodern war materials and active assistance in world politics.

It was these highly developed weapons, especially the latest anti-aircraft and anti-tank weapons, together with an offensive tactic designed by the Soviets and precisely executed by the Arabs, which brought success to the Egyptians and Syrians in the first days of the October war.

What happened at the Suez Canal and on the Golan Heights must be a lesson to Europe. For in a certain sense the Middle East war last autumn was for the Soviets an important dress rehearsal just as the Spanish civil war was for Hitler's armies. For this reason the experiences of the Yom Kippur war are discussed in some detail.

From standing positions the Arabs launched a grand attack, on the holiest feast of the Jewish year. There was no logistic march beyond the scope of routine manoeuvre, which would have resulted in a warning period; the Israelis existing defence strategy was thrown out of joint. They were taken by surprise by the new operative art in which the Warsaw Pact powers have been trained since the experiences gained in the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

At the Suez Canal Europe was given a first-hand demonstration of this art: supermodern pioneer units with telescopic bridges, submarine tracks and collapsible bridges effected a quick leap over the watery obstacle. Amphibious tanks passed soundlessly and invisibly under water from bank to bank. Battle helicopters flying below the radar screen secured the first lines of communication. And the SAM 6 and easily handled SAM 7 rockets protected the bridges and bridgeheads successfully from the Israeli fighter aircraft.

Two Egyptian armies were thrown across the 150-200 yards wide Suez Canal in a few days. A thousand Soviet-type tanks with night-sights and large-calibre cannon stood, twelve hours after the attack began, ready for battle on the eastern bank.

The trick only failed to succeed by a hair's breadth. Had the Arabs, with their ten-times superior tank forces and their effective anti-aircraft and anti-tank weapons, struck a less experienced, less determined opponent, one, less imbued with the archaic fighting spirit, they would have overrun the Sinai Peninsula, the Golan Heights and the Land of Israel.

The superbly equipped aggressors were only stopped by better soldiers. Contempt for death, nurtured by the certainty in every Israeli that his only choice, is to hold out or to fall, saved the situation and with the aid of good weapons from American stocks averted catastrophe. Only that. That is the lesson to be learned.

The hot war for the sake of Israel was followed, in accordance with Soviet intentions, by economic war waged by most of the oil-exporting countries against the industrial nations of the West. Even though some oil potentates try to turn back, because heavy setbacks to the West would also harm them, and some of the statesmen among them took no part from the very beginning, this oil war is by no means over. And what is often forgotten: besides its economic repercussions felt by every citizen, it has grievous military significance.

Modern armed forces and their air cover cannot operate without fuel. NATO petrol reserves are enough for 56 days; by the 57th day, therefore, victory must be won. If not, what happens on Day 58? The question is legitimate.

The Warsaw Pact armies are at full war strength and without major preparation can mount a limited offensive across the Elbe within 24 hours. Only a few days are needed to start a grand offensive against western Europe.

This is food for thought when in the "GDR" the number of large-scale military manoeuvres doubled last year: 16 in 1972, 32 in 1973. Supplies and communications capability of the Soviet forces in the "GDR" has also been doubled by the introduction of new seven-ton trucks.

East Germany's air force, hitherto aligned to defence, has been converted to offensive strategy by the formation of new hunter-bomber division. Within an hour these aircraft can be converted to operate with tactical nuclear bombs.

Stocks of tactical nuclear weapons in the security area of each air force base where hunter-bomber formations are stationed have recently been increased. And transport battalions of the East German Army are continuously rehearsing—with dummies—the movement of tactical nuclear rockets from dumps to operational positions.

And the constantly increasing number of divisions between Elbe and Oder?

Besides six East German divisions, five Soviet armies, making 21 divisions, are stationed in the "GDR"; they include such elite formations as the 2nd Guards Army in the Fürstberg area and the 3rd Thrust Army in the Magdeburg-Stendal area.

Further, in European Russia, in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary, besides the national armed forces a further eight Soviet armies with at least 36 divisions are stationed, all of them being reequipped with improved offensive weapon systems; again, the USSR has prolonged conscription service for all the armed forces by a year. This makes it clear why leading NATO generals are now saying openly that for them the much praised programme word "detente" has acquired a different meaning from its original emotional connotation: for them it means a burden of concern and precariousness. Within a year a German election slogan has lost its glamour.

This means in figures: 70 divisions under Soviet command in forward positions face some 25 NATO divisions between Rhine and Elbe. Roughly 16,000 tanks against 5,500. The proportion is similar in the air forces, rocket units, parachute regiments and air-landing formations.

At the Suez Canal it was proved that Egyptian ground troops could overcome a wide watery obstacle at speed and secure the air space above their attacking forces and bridgeheads. The tank divisions beyond the Elbe are equipped with the same amphibious vehicles which crossed the Suez Canal under water; at the Elbe the same supermodern bridging equipment is based; and some 10,000 T-62 tanks with large calibre cannon and infrared night sights stand ready for operations.

SAM rockets and FROG anti-tank rockets, which made military history at the Suez Canal, are waiting behind the Elbe; parachute brigades, helicopter fighter squadrons, single combat commandoes, are at war strength; hunter-bomber squadrons for supporting infantry operations wait in well concealed hangars ready to take off and can be in the air 30 minutes after an alarm.

On top of this the Soviets have of late greatly reinforced their pioneer troops in the "GDR" for crossing waterways. New pioneer regiments have been transferred to Wittenberg, Magdeburg, Rathenow and Frankfurt/Oder. Their slab-bridges for putting tanks and artillery across waterways were last year increased to a total length of 600 metres—and at Hamburg the Elbe is 500 metres wide.

In the climate of head-in-the-sand politics so revered in these times it is considered in bad taste to write or speak openly about plans and preparations for conquest by the USSR. To belittle is good form, to warn is shocking.

The interferences on the access routes to Berlin were internal security measures; the

threats of "GDR" politicians are routine statements for domestic consumption, not to be taken seriously; the Middle East war broke out against the will and intentions of the USSR; and the increases in armaments are only made so that generous offers can be made at disarmament talks.

That is one way of looking at it. That or something like it was the way the nations for years looked at events in Germany after 1933—until it was too late.

Today we must see things properly before it is too late again. What does this mean?

It means watching that not one single further piece of West Berlin's viability is sliced off; we have already gone much too far. Over and above this the ties with West Germany must be built up as provided in the Four-Power agreement. The Federal Office for the Environment must not remain the only project.

To see things properly also means both to increase Europe's own defensive potential and to strengthen the bonds with America again. It must be said openly that everyone who advocates reducing or dismantling the American presence in Europe becomes an advocate for Russia's hegemony in Europe.

To see things properly means, finally, not to take neutral attitudes where, apparently remotely, one's own position is threatened and on the other hand one's heart is engaged, especially the hearts of the Germans—in Israel.

To see things properly and to act accordingly is the way, the only way, to avert catastrophe.

Only if Berlin despite all objections by the ill-qualified is built up in close cooperation with Bonn, can it remain viable. Only if Europe turns away from the path of discord and self-seeking, can the continent resist the pressure from the East. Only if NATO is strong and operable will it prevent the Soviets from achieving its aims by threats or by the use of arms. And only if the entire free world is conscious of its great responsibility towards Israel, and acts accordingly, will a way to peace in the Middle East be found which leads all concerned into a better future.

It is very late—but not too late!

LITHUANIA—PROUD LAND

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, on February 16 Lithuania observed the 56th anniversary of independence. It is indeed a privilege for me today to pay tribute to these proud people and their land.

Through years of oppression, at the hands of the Germans and then the Russians, these people have remained strong in faith and spirit under the most adverse of conditions. Today, still under Russian domination, the Lithuanian people have resisted pressures to change their language, traditions, and religion.

Their experience with freedom has been brief, but in the 25 years she did experience it, progress was made toward the betterment of her people. Her industrial capabilities were increased, agriculture flourished, and new social programs were introduced to provide a better way of life for these freedom-loving people.

It is important, Mr. Speaker, not to lose sight of Lithuania and her Baltic neighbors. Turning our backs on her

would be turning our backs on oppression throughout the world.

As the leader of the free world, it is imperative the United States take the lead in efforts to insure freedom-loving people everywhere the right to live as they desire in the world community.

TRIBUTES TO FORMER CONGRESSMAN HAROLD COOLEY

HON. RICHARDSON PREYER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. PREYER. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished former chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, the Honorable Harold Dunbar Cooley, died in January, and I rise to join in paying tribute to the memory of this great North Carolinian.

Mr. Cooley is perhaps remembered best for his service to agriculture, yet many will recall his role in strengthening our economy and in promoting the cause of peace throughout the world.

Still others associate Democratic Party loyalty with Harold Cooley, while many credit him, as Time magazine did, for his stance in 1956 as the only Southern Democratic Congressman who was re-elected after refusing to sign the "Southern Manifesto" against racial integration.

Mr. Cooley stepped down from this body prior to my first term, and I regret I did not know him as a colleague.

After his death, some said that he had outlived his friends and those who knew him best. Such is not the case.

Many who do remember and appreciate Harold Cooley have put their memories of him in writing, and I am pleased at this time to join Congressman Ike Andrews in inserting their tributes in the Record:

Mrs. Harry B. Caldwell, N.C. State Grange master in Greensboro, said that:

Mr. Cooley when he left the Congress in 1966 was recognized as a statesman who had left an indelible impression on the entire economy.

Congressman Cooley was a champion of the cause of agriculture. He understood farmers, was sensitive to their needs, and worked for them during his many years in the Congress.

We have lost an effective leader and friend. His devotion to duty, his penetrating mind and loyalty to agriculture shall continue to be an inspiration to those who knew him.

Harry B. Caldwell of Greensboro, executive vice president of the North Carolina Farmers Cooperative Council and former North Carolina State Grange master, praised Mr. Cooley saying:

As a loyal American and devoted public servant who gave freely of his talents in developing programs to strengthen the economies of the entire world.

The citizens of his beloved state and the nation will always be indebted for his role in developing farm programs, rural electrification and telephone services, the expansion of world trade, P.L. 480, Food for Peace, A.I.D., the farm credit system, aid for low-income farmers, Food Stamp, School Lunch and many other measures that have con-

tributed so much to the well-being of the United States and the world.

I am reminded of the words of the poet when he said:

Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime
And in parting leave behind us
Footprints in the sands of time.

Joseph R. Williams, a native North Carolinian who is president of Tobacco Associates in Washington, said:

Mr. Cooley's death represents a great loss to every farm family in the United States. The record shows that he was closely identified with every piece of major farm legislation from 1934 through 1966.

He entered Congress in 1934 in the midst of a bankrupt agriculture. He was not afraid of new and novel ideas. He assisted in developing the philosophy of strict crop controls accompanied by mandatory price support for the basic agricultural commodities produced in this country.

For 16 years he served as chairman of the powerful House Committee on Agriculture, during which period he was the Chief architect of basic farm legislation designed to improve the welfare of the American farmer.

Another North Carolina native, Charles S. Murphy, came to Washington in 1934, the same year Mr. Cooley was first elected to Congress. Mr. Murphy, now a member of the Washington law firm of Morison, Murphy, Abrams & Haddock, was Under Secretary of Agriculture in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. He recalls Harold Cooley as:

One who contributed greatly to the welfare of his state and his nation. A wise counselor and dedicated public servant, as well as a personal friend, he was ever ready to help with measures to benefit the farm people of America. He did much to improve the use of our marvelous agricultural resources to feed and clothe all the people of our nation and our friends in other lands. Millions of people have had a better life because of what he did and said when he served among us.

The Honorable Walter J. Bone of Nashville remembers that he first saw Mr. Cooley "when, as a handsome lad, he delivered the senior class oration at commencement exercises in Nashville High School. His appearance and manifestation of outstanding ability at that time made a lasting impression upon me."

After Mr. Cooley was educated at the University of North Carolina and Yale University and completed his service in the Navy Flying Corps in World War I, he returned to Nashville. On January 1, 1925, he and Mr. Bone established a law partnership, which continued until Mr. Bone became resident superior court judge of North Carolina's second judicial district. Mr. Cooley characterized their partnership as having been an "ideal" one, and Judge Bone wrote him that "the relationship which is about to end is happier than any other I can hope to enjoy."

Judge Bone recalls Harold Cooley as:

A loyal friend, an eloquent speaker, a brilliant trial lawyer and the most distinguished citizen our town has ever produced.

Although he rose to great heights of fame, both national and international, he never forgot his hometown and his home folks, and they have not forgotten him. Not long ago a beautiful public library was erected

in Nashville and named "The Harold D. Cooley Library."

There was great affinity between him and the common people whose interest he served, and a myriad of them mourn his death. The last time I talked with him he manifested a keen interest in the problems and welfare of our great country and expressed optimism for its future. I never had a better friend than Harold Cooley and in his passing I feel a keen sense of personal loss.

Another resident of Nashville, Miss Alda Ellen Jones, served as secretary to Mr. Cooley for more than 20 years. She recalls seeing him "in moments of joy, in moments of happiness, in moments of loss, and in moments of triumph." She said:

Through all that prevailed, he retained his love for the people. This love was best demonstrated by the fact that, after he left Congress, he continued to work, without fee or remuneration, for hundreds of small people in his district. He actively solicited help for them. Harold Cooley was great in that he unselfishly dedicated himself to helping other people.

His loss is hard for those who shared in his active life to bear. We are sustained in the belief that Harold Cooley would have not desired us to mourn, but to celebrate and be thankful for what he was able to accomplish while he was active among us.

Arthur L. Quinn, member of the Washington law firm of Dawson, Quinn, Riddell, Taylor & Davis, wrote the widow of his former law partner describing Mr. Cooley as:

A most extraordinary man. He was gentle. He was always a gentleman, even though he disagreed with his adversary. He left his mark on the national legislative process, of that there is no question.

There is not, nor will there ever be, a perfect man. Harold Cooley was not—neither am I. But, Harold Cooley was a charitable, capable and forgiving man. For that he commands my respect and prayers now and in the future.

Harold has gone to his rest. He earned that rest by hard work, loyalty to his friends and brethren and service to his country. He was vilified in the public press, but history will record his victories.

I prefer to think of him as a friend, a good citizen and a soul who is now at rest with his Maker.

FORT MIFFLIN

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, as a sponsor of H.R. 9867 which seeks to establish old Fort Mifflin outside of Philadelphia, Pa., as a national historic site, I am pleased to call to the attention of our colleagues the following resolution adopted by the Philadelphia Historical Commission.

The resolution follows:

FORT MIFFLIN

Whereas, Fort Mifflin, built to protect Philadelphia and the headquarters of the Continental Congress from the British, is a tangible reminder of our struggle for freedom in 1776; and

Whereas, in the early days of the freedom fight, shortly after the defeat of Washing-

ton's troops at Brandywine, the fort on the Delaware River was one of the defenses that stopped the British from putting an end to the American Revolution; and

Whereas, the fort that saved the American Revolution is worthy of preservation for its historic value; and

Whereas, the efforts of the Shackamaxon Society, a non-profit group of young Philadelphians, has only partially restored the old but venerable military site; and

Whereas, the Philadelphia Historical Commission recognizes the blood, sweat and tears that fell on Fort Mifflin and the need to tell its story to all Americans; therefore

Resolved, by the Philadelphia Historical Commission, That we hereby memorialize the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Interior to take affirmative action now to preserve, protect and enhance the historically significant fort that Washington's troops occupied almost 200 years ago; and, be it further

Resolved, That the Senate and House Interior Committees hold public hearings on the merits of H.R. 9867 and similar bills to authorize the establishment of the Fort Mifflin National Historic Site; and, be it further

Resolved, That the Philadelphia Historical Commission transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to the Secretary of the Interior, to the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, to the Chairman of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, to the two U.S. Senators from Pennsylvania and to each Representative from Pennsylvania in the Congress of the United States.

THE ENERGY CRISIS AND THE INDEPENDENT OIL PRODUCER

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, in these times of crisis we are all concerned with gaining energy self-sufficiency, and, in particular, gaining adequate, secure sources of petroleum. Our attention has understandably been focused on the activities and immense profits of the huge multinational corporations which dominate the oil industry and which are accumulating large interests in the development of other energy sources. As we examine the role of these companies in our economy and as we seek a workable and equitable system for regulating their activities in the long-term public interest, let us not adopt solutions which will unintentionally and irrationally punish, with regulations originally directed at the powerful majors, the small businessmen of the oil industry, the independent producers who compete with the titans of the industry.

These small independent producers are engaged almost exclusively in domestic drilling and exploration. Though almost unnoticed by the general public, independents account for over 75 percent of all wildcat oil and gas wells drilled in the United States, provide over one-third of all crude petroleum produced in the United States, and contribute over 40

percent of all capital investment spent on domestic drilling and exploration.

These small businessmen producers are not reporting exorbitant profit figures. In fact, over one-third of the independent producers who were operating in 1954 are no longer in business today. One reason for this is that independents, unlike the majors, have no means for offsetting their production losses by laying claim to alternative sources of income such as might stem from refining and/or foreign operation and production. Neither are they in a position to benefit from the foreign tax credit enjoyed by the majors. The highest rate of return on investment that was reported by any of these small businessmen oil producers with whom I have talked was 1 percent.

Certainly it is necessary for Congress to take steps to cope with the energy crisis. It appears that some regulation of the powerful major corporations which dominate the oil industry is necessary. However, it seems unreasonable to do so in a fashion which may seriously harm the small independent producers who are such a significant source of investment in drilling and exploration for domestic supplies of petroleum secure from foreign disruption.

BUYING BACK OUR GRAIN

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, Vladimir S. Alkimov, Soviet Vice Minister of Foreign Trade, told New York City newsmen during a visit there the other day that his country, perhaps in the spirit of the new détente, might be willing to sell back to us some of the large quantities of grain it bought from us over the last 2 years.

Should we be grateful? Maybe so. But what puzzled me is the brief mention which this ironic development received in the Nation's news media. We sold the Soviet Union, our former cold war foe, our grain surplus. Now, grain short ourselves, we may have to buy some of it back. Has there ever been a more mismanaged arrangement in the jumbled history of our foreign trade policies?

If we do attempt to get back our grain, then what price will the crafty Russian negotiators demand? It goes without saying, obviously, that they will want far more than they paid us—the bargain-basement rates into which we locked ourselves when the 1972 deal was made. Senate Majority Leader MIKE MANSFIELD said in his recent Democratic state of the Union speech that the Russians will want three times as much. This about reflects the increases in world grain prices in the last 2 years.

But my interest in this is more than the price involved. I feel that the matter needs to be stressed to the point where no American will overlook it or miss the point of how those who managed the grain sale, with their reckless disregard of their responsibility to our people, now

have us considering buying back what they so blissfully and cheaply tossed away. It is a classic example of the utter absurdity of our "America last" approach in dealing with other nations—the approach which gave us the "Great Give-aways," the trade disadvantages and all the other elements that brought on the devalued dollar and built up the Federal deficits.

A MODEL ELECTION SYSTEM

HON. BILL FRENZEL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, the elections systems project of the National Municipal League has recently completed a 2-year study of election administration in the States. The league has published its conclusions in a pamphlet entitled "A Model Election System." Especially relevant, considering the public demand for reform of the Federal electoral process, is the chapter on the Federal Government's role in the conduct of elections.

The National Municipal League is opposed to a uniform, monolithic system of national registration. The league believes a national system would be excessively rigid and inflexible. Instead, Congress can facilitate the development of innovative practices at the local level by providing grants-in-aid to the States for specified activities.

This recommendation is especially important, because the House will soon consider H.R. 8053, postcard registration. Richard Carlson, director of the elections systems project voiced his opposition to the bill in hearings before the Subcommittee on Elections. He testified that postcard registration is probably the least effective means of registering new voters, especially when attempted on a national level. Door-to-door canvassing and face-to-face encounters are far more effective.

I would like to emphasize that these recommendations are based on 2 years of intensive study of all facets of the present registration system and 45 years of experience in the field of election administration.

In accordance with the league's recommendations, I will offer a substitute bill, H.R. 11713, when the postcard bill comes to the floor. My bill will give revenue sharing moneys to the States for the purposes of improving voter registration, education, and participation. The General Accounting Office will conduct audits of the programs adopted by the States to insure that the funds are being spent for the intended purposes. I urge all Members to give careful consideration to this alternative, because in the opinion of most registration experts, it is a far better means of increasing the number of registered voters:

6. THE FEDERAL ROLE IN THE CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the expansion of federal involvement in the conduct of elections, to consider the proper division of government responsibility for the conduct of elections, and to suggest how federal and state governments can cooperate to improve election administration. The federal government should continue to provide strong leadership in setting national standards for the expansion of voting opportunities and incentives to the states for the improvement of election administration and voter registration procedures. At the same time the states should be free to meet national standards by developing procedures compatible with their institutions and traditions, and with the characteristics of the population they serve.

AN EXPANDING FEDERAL ROLE

State authority over elections has developed in the absence of a clear federal constitutional guarantee of the right to vote. In the years before the Civil War states took the initiative in extending the suffrage, making this country the first major democracy to enfranchise all white male adults. Since the Civil War, the federal constitution has become increasingly specific about protecting voting rights. Eight of the 14 amendments enacted since that time have expanded the suffrage, from the fourteenth amendment through others prohibiting state restrictions on the right to vote because of race, sex, failure to pay a poll tax and age.

The impact of these constitutional guarantees has been significantly advanced by the federal courts. Using the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, the U.S. Supreme Court has invalidated such racially discriminatory practices as the grandfather clause (1915), the white primary (1944) and the poll tax in state elections (1966). In the early 1960s the Supreme Court began to apply the equal protection clause of the fourteenth amendment to state laws governing legislative apportionment and voter qualifications. Its historic series of legislative districting decisions gave significant new emphasis to the franchise with the doctrine that equal value must be given to each vote. Then, in a less noted but just as "revolutionary" series of decisions, the court began to apply a strict standard of equal protection review to state laws governing eligibility to vote. When a state acts to deny the franchise to a group of citizens, the court ruled it must do more than demonstrate that its laws are reasonably related to state policy goals, the traditional judicial test. In voter qualification cases, states must demonstrate a "compelling interest" in limiting the franchise and must use the least restrictive device available. Applying this standard the court has invalidated state laws excluding military personnel from voting, whether or not they could qualify as residents (1965); the poll tax in state elections (1966); requirements that voters in school board elections be parents or property owners (1969) and requirements that voters on bond issues be property owners (1969). In one of its latest rulings the court invalidated state laws requiring that citizens be residents for a specified period of time before becoming eligible to vote (1972).

Through these decisions the Supreme Court has severely limited the license of the states to restrict the franchise. Moreover, the court, by giving each vote equal value, has placed an individual's political rights under much the same constitutional protection as his civil rights. In effect the court has established a set of national standards for certain portions of the electoral process. Congress also influences the conduct of elections in

two major ways; it can protect voting rights in all elections from inequitable infringement and it can regulate the conduct of federal elections. In 1957 Congress enacted the first of a series of civil rights laws to eliminate discrimination against black voters. Congressional efforts to protect voting rights reached a peak with the Voting Rights Act of 1965 which suspended literacy tests and authorized the United States Attorney General to send federal examiners to register voters in areas covered by the act. Then in the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970 Congress mandated national standards for participation in presidential elections by eliminating durational residence requirements and establishing national standards for absentee voting and registration. The 1970 amendments also included a provision lowering the voting age to 18 in all elections. Although the Supreme Court subsequently ruled that Congress had no authority to lower age qualifications for state and local elections, it upheld the 18-year-old standard in federal elections and set the stage for adoption of the twenty-sixth amendment which enfranchised young voters in all elections. The amendment was ratified in record time as states rushed to avoid the administrative hardships of implementing different voter qualifications for federal and state elections.

THE PROPER DISTRIBUTION OF AUTHORITY

Now that eligibility barriers to voting have been substantially overcome, reform initiatives at the federal level are beginning to focus on administrative and procedural obstacles such as registration. In 1972 and 1973 legislation was introduced in the Congress that would create a national postcard registration system for federal elections but with financial incentives to states that accepted it for state elections. Other plans have been introduced to involve the federal government directly in assuming responsibility for the conduct of voter registration, as well as proposals to provide states with grants-in-aid to expand registration opportunities.

These proposals reflect an important shift in congressional concepts of federal responsibility for elections, first evident in the 1970 Voting Rights Act Amendments. Until the passage of that act the federal role had been directed at setting standards and policing state actions that might restrict individual rights. Thus when Congress amended the Voting Rights Act in 1970, establishing rules for voting for President, there was great confusion among the states. To give but one example, federally-fixed deadlines for receiving absentee ballots for President came into conflict with state laws. The new federal law departed from the traditional approach in which procedures for voting are left to the states, or more precisely to local officials acting under state laws. For in spite of its undisputed power to regulate its own elections the federal government does not conduct elections anywhere.

To a large degree the increasing federal interest in administrative procedures is a consequence of state inaction. The administration of elections has long been relegated to a back seat among state priorities and a strong impetus is needed to encourage serious reform. There is a continuing need for federal involvement in regulating federal elections and in setting standards for all elections. Federal intervention, moreover, could provide the uniformity that is often the key to equal voting opportunity. However, there are some difficulties to consider.

Centralization of rule-making power could mean rigidity as well as uniformity if a single national system were substituted for the diversity of current state election practices. For example, North Dakota and small communities in two states have no registration

requirements at all, an approach that may be appropriate in places with a stable population. A uniform national registration system should not impose registration in areas where it is not really needed nor exclude other possibilities for reform.

A national system might tend to concentrate on the election of the President, at the expense of other contests for congressional as well as state and local offices. It could also have a significant impact on state primary elections which go to the heart of the states' widely varying party systems. For example, present state distinctions between open and closed primaries might be hard to maintain under a federal registration system that did not keep concurrent party enrollment records. Different state calendars for holding primaries would have to be changed to meet the schedule of the national nominating conventions. Thus there is some danger that a federally administered system geared to federal contests might neglect state and local interests. In view of the growing clamor for public action and community control there is a real need to encourage citizen activity in politics at the state and local level. States might well be encouraged to overhaul their own systems to stimulate voter participation in the far more numerous state and local elections. The prospect of dual bureaucracies at the state and federal levels could cause great duplication of effort and expenditure as well as voter confusion.

The national and state governments should not be regarded as competitors for authority but at two levels of government that can complement each other in efforts to meet the growing demands on both. The resources of state and local governments should supplement national action where necessary and relieve the national government of having to divert its resources and energies to activities that could be handled as well or better at other levels.

In spite of the drawbacks to national administration there is a growing need for reform pressures from the federal government. The strength of the federal system may lie in the freedom that states have to develop new approaches to solving problems, but electoral reform among the states has been rare. Several avenues are open to the federal government to improve election administration without jeopardizing the state administrative role. The federal government should continue to pursue its traditional role as the protector of an individual's right to vote. The Voting Rights Act of 1965, extended for an additional five years in 1970, has been a dramatically effective vehicle for increasing black voter registration in the South. Congress should continue to extend the act and pass other legislation necessary to protect voting rights from unconstitutional infringement by individuals or governments. The United States Department of Justice should be encouraged to enforce vigorously the provisions of the Voting Rights Act and to prosecute violations of other federal voting rights statutes. Congress can encourage innovative practices by providing grants-in-aid to states for specified activities:

1. Implementation of statewide systems of door-to-door or mail registration under the supervision of a state agency;
2. Expansion of personal registration opportunities through increased registration hours and locations, widespread use of deputy registrars and absentee registration;
3. The creation of statewide training programs for local election administrators and precinct personnel;
4. The establishment of a state association of election administrators with regularly scheduled conferences;
5. The design and implementation of electronic data processing programs or other management techniques to modernize voter

registration and election administration procedures.

The federal government should also promote better communication among state and local election officials and encourage continuing studies of the problems of election administration through the Office of Federal Elections of the United States General Accounting Office. The Office of Federal Elections was created to monitor the campaign expenditures reports required under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, but the act also directed the Comptroller General to serve "as a national clearinghouse for information in respect to the administration of elections" and to "enter into contracts for the purpose of conducting studies of the administration of elections." This responsibility might prove to be one of the most helpful functions of the office. There is a critical need for greater exchanges of information among state and local election administrators and the development of comparative studies of the problems of conducting elections.

CARSON CITY COUNCIL OPPOSES CLOSING OF FORT MACARTHUR

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the Department of Defense's proposed closing of Fort MacArthur, located in southern California, has been opposed by many public officials and communities, as the fort provides necessary services for both the retired service personnel and the military dependents who reside in the area, and it provides an important source of employment for those living in the southern section of Los Angeles County.

The City Council of Carson, Calif.—one of the largest cities in the county—which has a deep understanding of the economic problems confronted by those residents of the area and has actively worked to increase employment opportunities, has adopted a resolution opposing the closing of this important military installation.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I place the resolution adopted unanimously by the Carson City Council on February 11 in the RECORD:

[Resolution No. 74-037]

A RESOLUTION OF THE CITY COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF CARSON OPPOSING THE CLOSING OF THE FORT MACARTHUR MILITARY BASE

Whereas, the Pentagon has announced its intention to close the Fort MacArthur military base; and

Whereas, the Fort MacArthur base is an important source of employment in the Harbor area; and

Whereas, the closing of the base at this time would further add to the critical unemployment problem that presently exists in this area, and would cause additional economic problems at a time when Harbor area is facing major economic dislocation.

Now, therefore, be it resolved:

Section 1. That the City Council of the City of Carson does hereby oppose the closing of the Fort MacArthur military base.

Section 2. That copies of this resolution be mailed to the California Senators and all Congressmen.

A TRIBUTE TO VIC LERNER

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, last month, my congressional district lost one of its brightest beacons, Vic Lerner. Well-known throughout the bowling industry, he was one of the integral factors in the growth and subsequent popularity of the game.

Vic Lerner exemplified the American dream. He was a self-made man who rose from a humble beginning to the top of a multimillion dollar business. During his lifetime, he received many honors and awards, including being named to the Kansas City Men's Bowling Association Hall of Fame.

At this time, I would like to insert in the RECORD an article from the Kansas City Star which chronicles Vic Lerner's many accomplishments:

VIC LERNER, ONE OF BOWLING'S BEACONS
(By Sid Bordman)

When Vic Lerner died last month the bowling industry lost one of its guiding lights. Nationally and locally the President of King Louie Bowling Corp. was an integral factor in the growth of the game.

"A tremendous loss to all of bowling," said Milt Rudo, President of Brunswick Division and Vice-President of Brunswick Corp., one of the world's leading manufacturers.

"Vic was a great leader with great ideas," praised Rudo. "Along with two or three others in the nation he helped hold the bowling industry up. Vic was a driving force that bowling had to have. He had a broad perspective of the game on the national scene and in his hometown of Kansas City, Vic was not provincial."

Eddie Elias, founder of the Professional Bowlers Association, credits Lerner with closing the interbreed between his organization and the nation's bowling proprietors.

"There aren't enough words to describe the love we had for Vic Lerner or the impact he had on the growth of the P.B.A.," Elias remarked. "When our small group was forming the P.B.A. we ran into opposition from the Bowling Proprietors Association of America. Vic came to our defense, explained our cause and today the bowling proprietors are the No. 1 ally of the P.B.A."

"Vic, who sponsored some of our tournaments, was the one person in the industry who was able to bridge the gap in any misunderstanding the P.B.A. may have had with any other element of the bowling world, whether it be the association or corporate. Vic possessed a certain cool, a certain awareness and sense of fair play that few people are ever able to attain. Friendship transcended business with Vic. Principle meant more than profit and, above all, he was completely honest."

In addition to heading King Louie Corp., with its world-wide bowling shirt business and six bowling establishments (five in Kansas City and one in Omaha), Lerner for years served in top echelon positions with the B.P.A.A. From 1966 through 1968 he was president of the national association of bowling proprietors.

Not only was he instrumental in the growth of junior bowling and the national tournament with college scholarships as prizes, but Lerner helped put the N.A.I.A. nationals on the road.

Without Lerner the annual National Asso-

ciation of Intercollegiate Athletics tournament here would not be a reality.

"Vic did the prime moving," pointed out A. O. Duer, Executive Director of the N.A.I.A. "Vic went to Brunswick and A.M.F. and got them to help subsidize our tournament. Vic furnished the shirts for all 32 teams and the lanes for the tournament."

Lerner, who passed away Jan. 21 at the age of 54, knew both sides of the bowling counter. For years he shot in the city's leading scratch league, averaging from 195-200. One of his King Louie Shirt teams claimed second place in the national team tournament.

"Something special for me," he smiled after returning home with his team. "It's something when you can sponsor a team that finishes high. But when you can bowl on it, too, that's a genuine thrill."

Lerner did not limit his team sponsorships to Kansas City. He backed teams from coast-to-coast.

"About 200 teams a year," pointed out Alex George, public relations director for King Louie.

Ted Sieler, a Tulsa proprietor who succeeded Lerner as President of the B.P.A.A., perhaps had one of the best insights of Vic's impact on bowling.

"When Vic was elected president of the B.P.A.A. in '66," recalled Sieler, "he inherited an organization that was enshrouded with many, many troubles. At the time the B.P.A.A. was involved in two different lawsuits with the Justice Department pertaining to restraining of trade, had several individual suits filed against it, had its lowest membership in many years and represented an industry that still was basically in the heights of depression. This situation arose from the overbuilding that existed in the late '50's and early '60s."

"Vic's first act was to clean up the entire internal operation of the B.P.A.A. Many changes were made to create a more spartan organization. The B.P.A.A. began to move forward again. During his administration Vic discussed many thoughts with me on how we could promote bowling and bring it to the fore in the public eye. About three or four months before his term of office ended he called me to tell me of his million-dollar promotion idea."

"This idea was the beginning of what now is the \$2 million promotion of the National Bowling Council. He suggested that Brunswick, A.M.F., the American Bowling Congress and Woman's International Bowling Congress each put up \$200,000 a year to create the fund for bowling promotion. At first I thought there was no way he could sell the A. B. C. and W.I.B.C."

"My second thought was that we wouldn't be able to sell our proprietors the idea. Vic decided to go ahead. At our next National Bowling Council meeting he was very persuasive and sold the idea."

"At first there was much dissent and mistrust among the various proprietors. In time they realized it was to their benefit to work together and pull in the same direction. They followed Vic's lead."

"The results of this combined effort are apparent to all of those who are familiar with the bowling industry. Bowling has climbed to a point of popularity with the American public that it had not enjoyed in many, many years. Membership in the W.I.B.C. and A.B.C. has grown. So has membership in the B.P.A.A."

"Vic Lerner was a person of great pride, not only in his business and family, but in his country, his achievements and his friends. He long will be remembered by the bowling fraternity, which for many years will enjoy the fruits of his many labors."

"I met Vic in '58 at the first B.P.A.A. convention I ever attended. I believe it was his first convention. Even in his early years in the bowling business he approached it in a different manner than had been the custom

in the past. He attempted to bring modern business methods and business-like thought to an industry that in some degree had remained more or less a 'mom and pop' operation."

"For many years there had been a great deal more misunderstanding between the proprietors and bowlers. There had been many years of almost hatred between the two segments, accompanied by much backbiting and mistrust. When Vic took over the Youth Bowling Program he did not meet with a lot of friendly hands. Soon afterward the A.B.C. and W.I.B.C. realized that he was fair, honest and only trying to do a good job. The situation changed."

"As a longtime member of the B.P.A.A. Executive Committee he was chairman of many, many committees. In everything he did he attacked the job with zeal and a fervent desire to do it better than it ever was done before."

Sieler described Lerner as a "kind man." "He was a harsh taskmaster and expected the job to be done well," added Sieler. "But he always seemed to be aware of the feelings of others, and I don't believe at any time tried to insult, talk-down or belittle a person, no matter how lowly their position was. I traveled thousands of miles with Vic, I feel I knew him."

Lerner rose to the top from a humble beginning.

Vic and his brother Morris, starting with a \$500 bank loan for the purchase of six used sewing machines, opened the Lerner Brothers Manufacturing Co. in 1937. The brothers built a multimillion-dollar business.

Vic's honors have been many. He was named Man of the Year by the Kansas City Men's Bowling Association. Also, he was ushered into that association's Hall of Fame.

Five years ago the Kansas City Men's Association and WyJon Association co-sponsored a testimonial dinner-dance for Lerner, and officials from far and near attended. Frank Baker, then Executive Secretary of the A.B.C., Fred Botkin, Executive Secretary of the W.I.B.C. and Dick Weber, one of pro bowling's greats, were there. So were Jack Thomas, a Vice-President for Brunswick, Joe Schoenberg of A.M.F. More than 300 paid tribute to the Kansas Citian.

To me Vic was both kind and co-operative, always willing to explain aspects of bowling. Although his time was valuable, he didn't treat it as such when asked for help. He gave me invaluable help during my first years on the bowling scene.

Vic will be missed by many.

ACLU AGAINST DISCLOSURE

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, many of us in the Congress have long questioned the intentions of the American Civil Liberties Union. Now, while a majority of the country and the Congress is pushing for disclosure laws, the American Civil Liberties Union has gone against the grain, thus proving that the saying "different strokes for different folks" does hold an element of truth.

I offer the following comments from the State Headlines newsletter of February 11, 1974:

NEW JERSEY LOBBYISTS REQUIRED TO REVEAL FUNDS

Money spent on legislative lobbying and the source of such funds must be fully revealed under a ruling by the New Jersey Elec-

tion Law Enforcement Commission. A date of March 1 was set for reporting 1973 lobbying funds. A challenge to the rule was announced by the American Civil Liberties Union to prevent revealing the names of its contributors. In other action, the New Jersey Assembly voted to change its rules to provide for open and public voting by all committees among other reforms.

TRANSPORTATION INITIATIVES

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the House Urban Mass Transit Subcommittee, I was pleased last week-end to hear the eloquent and informative reply to the President's transportation proposals by our distinguished majority whip, JOHN McFALL.

Mr. McFALL sets out clearly and precisely the major shortcomings of the administration's plans. I commend his remarks to all my colleagues:

ADDRESS OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN J. McFALL

I am speaking to you today on behalf of your Congress about the serious challenges facing our nation's transportation system and what we must do to meet them.

In his radio message last week, the President rightly recognized that our transportation system—the nation's lifeline—is no longer working at maximum efficiency and must be improved.

In cooperation with this and previous Administrations, the Congress has enacted a long and productive list of measures to improve that system—from the creation of the Department of Transportation in 1966 to the Airport Development Act in 1970 to the Northeast Rail Reorganization Act of 1973. We recognize the continuing need for improvement in our transportation system, and we pledge our determined efforts to reach this objective.

Last week, the President submitted two transportation bills to the Congress: one dealt largely with urban highways and mass transit, the other with railroads. The Congress welcomes in these bills what appear to be some helpful changes in policy on the part of the Administration.

However, we must regretfully say that neither of these two proposals represents anything that could be described as a massive, broad based assault on our nation's basic transportation problems.

In the Unified Transportation Assistance Act, the President for the first time acknowledges the necessity for mass transit operating assistance. This will be welcome news to our hard-pressed cities and states. In the past, the Administration has flatly opposed such legislation, including the operating assistance bill now pending in House-Senate conference.

However, we should also understand what the Unified Transportation Assistance Act does not do. It has been billed as a big-money recommendation. However, it does not provide the big infusion of funds that it seems to imply. The act would simply rearrange funds, and in some cases cities and states would come up with less than they thought they had.

For example, mass transit operating assistance, under the President's proposal, would not be available unless a city gave up construction money to get it. Thus, while one hand giveth, the other taketh away.

After 1977, all money would be thrown into a common pot, subject to far more de-

mands than it could fulfill. The Administration would make the fund available for mass transit construction and operating assistance as well as highway construction. As the range of choices widens, the money available to cities for each purpose diminishes.

The bill also fails to provide cities and states with the guidance which they desperately need to make increasingly sophisticated transportation decisions. In fact, the bill would intensify pressure on the cities and states: we would be requiring them to make more difficult choices without giving them the necessary direction or information. No state can make the best use of its transportation money if it doesn't know how its system will affect—or be affected by—adjoining states' systems or the nation at large. And we cannot know this until we develop the national transportation policy that Congress has demanded for so long.

The other thing the bill does not do is to tell us what will happen to the highway trust fund. After 1977, the bill would shift the burden for urban highways as well as mass transit to the general taxpayer. There is no mention of the highway trust fund—as if the Administration expected to let it die.

The President's other bill—the Transportation Improvement Act—would set up a loan guarantee program for the railroads. This follows an initiative marked out by the Congress in 1971 when it drafted and considered the Surface Transportation Act. At that time the Administration strongly opposed the legislation. Today, the President has recommended a rail assistance plan which incorporates a broad loan guarantee program. In the present Congress, similar legislation has already passed the Senate and is now pending in the House.

The Transportation Improvement Act also revives an Administration attempt to make major changes in the government regulation of railroads, including rate-making and the abandonment of rail service. A few years ago, the Administration urged radical deregulation as the way to help railroads out of their financial difficulties. The Congress rejected that concept, and rightly so. Deregulation would have unleashed ruinous competition among the carriers and severely damaged the industry. Although the deregulation proposals in this bill are more moderate, the Congress will want to examine them carefully.

It has been the stubborn insistence of the White House on three inadequate precepts—deregulation, special revenue sharing and reorganization of the Department of Transportation—that has held up the formulation of a national transportation policy. None of these, nor all of them together, can substitute for transportation policy, and the Congress will continue to push for the development of one.

This Congress is seeking to build with President Nixon a better record of cooperation and achievement on transportation matters. Furthermore, we will need everyone's help, from the Administration to every American. Only if we all strive together can our nation achieve the vital, flourishing, pre-eminent transportation system that our well-being today and our children's future demand.

LITHUANIA'S INDEPENDENCE

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday, February 16, was the 723d anniversary of the founding of Lithuania and the 56th anniversary of the independ-

ence which that nation achieved after World War I.

Because Congress was in recess, the Members of this great body were unable to properly observe the day. We ought, nonetheless, to call attention to the plight of the people of Lithuania and its sister republics, Estonia and Latvia. The lights of freedom for the Baltic nations were extinguished in 1940, when the Communists seized their lands.

In theory these countries are still free members of the family of nations, because the United States has never recognized their forcible annexation by the Soviet Union. In cold reality, they are colonies of international communism.

Mr. Speaker, let us hope and pray that independence will some day soon become, not a fiction, but a reality. Lithuania and its people have suffered greatly through the centuries. May God speed the day when their anguished cries for deliverance from oppression will be answered.

VICE PRESIDENT? HIS FANS GO FOR IT, BUT NOT H. B. G.

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, I submit to you the second in a series of five articles about Congressman HENRY B. GONZALEZ. My friend and colleague was featured in the San Antonio Express and News between January 7 and January 10 by Mr. Jim McCrory.

The second of five parts follows:

VICE PRESIDENT? HIS FANS GO FOR IT, BUT NOT H. B. G.

(By James McCrory)

Henry B. for V.P.!

When San Antonio businessman Bill Sinkin lofted a trial balloon this year in that direction, it drew a quick rejoinder from the congressman.

"What have you got against me?" "I didn't even know you were mad at me."

Bumper stickers urging Gonzalez for Vice President had surfaced in both 1968 and 1972 in Texas and Arizona, and Gonzalez killed the boomlets in both years.

NOT HIS CALLING

While the congressman may not hold the Vice Presidency in the exact same light as former Vice President John Nance Garner, who more than once compared it to "a pitcher of warm —," he doesn't feel the Vice Presidency would be his bag.

"I wouldn't have it on a bet," Gonzalez reports.

In the wake of former Vice President Spiro Agnew's disability, Gonzalez feels the Vice Presidency is even less appealing than at its unappealing best.

"Legislative advocacy is my field," Gonzalez assesses. "I'm trained for it, and happy in it. It is the height of honor."

The height of his ambition, Gonzalez asserts, was the Texas Senate, but he couldn't live with the pay, \$4,800 a year. But even at that, it beat the \$1,040 a year he was drawing as a city councilman prior to moving on to the Senate in 1956.

THE PAY IS BETTER

"The pay in the Senate is piece work pay," Gonzalez says, "while the pay in the U.S. House is union scale."

The Senate, with 31 members, is small

enough to allow individual members with flair, personality, and even ability, to shine, certainly a more difficult feat in a national House body with 435 members.

When Gonzalez went to the House in 1961, the pay was \$22,500 a year. It was since raised to \$42,500 a year, and Gonzalez this year voted for a bill, which failed, which would have hiked the pay by some \$10,000.

It is not generally known, but Gonzalez had decided that he wasn't going to stay in the State Senate past 1962. With a wife and eight children, he just couldn't afford the luxury, much as he liked the work.

ALMOST QUIT POLITICS

It was the third time he came close to quitting politics and moving into business.

The other two times came while he was serving on the City Council in the mid-50s, trying to sustain himself, a wife, and six children on \$1,040 a year.

If Gonzalez had been less successful in his first venture into politics in 1950 for the Texas House, he probably wouldn't have been bitten by the political bug and continued in politics at all. But in that race, running countywide, he managed to get into a runoff with Stanley Banks Jr., losing by about 2,000 votes.

He ran that race largely on a \$200 bank loan on the family jalopy, \$100 of which went to pay his filing fee. He ran for Place 3 for the good and simple reason that his birthday fell on May 3, just as he was to announce for the State Senate later on his fortieth birthday.

His largest single contribution in 1950 came from an American of Japanese descent, Tony Kawazoe, a restaurant owner who donated \$50.

NO VOTES IN BARS

It was in that campaign that Gonzalez decided it was neither healthy, nor productive, to campaign in bars.

Dropping in to see a tavern operator who had voiced some interest in putting up some Gonzalez campaign signs, Gonzalez introduced himself. A patron sitting nearby, brooding over a succession of beers about a brother recently dispatched to the penitentiary by Dist. Atty. Prosecutor M. C. Gonzales, mistook Gonzalez for Gonzales.

He whipped out a switchblade knife and started after Gonzalez, and the candidate departed the premises through the screen door—without opening the door.

While Gonzalez was campaigning in another bar, an impromptu survey showed that only a small percentage of the people in the bar even had a poll tax.

BAN ON POLL TAX

(When Gonzalez raised his right hand to take the oath of office as Congressman of the 20th district in 1961, he had in his left hand a bill to abolish the poll tax. That proposal subsequently was incorporated into the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the poll tax has been abolished as a prerequisite for voting, not only on the national level but the state as well.)

Three San Antonio millionaires—Al Jergins, Strauder Nelson, and Morris Kallison—sought him out to run on a ticket for the City Council in 1953. It was the first, and the last time he was to run on a ticket.

Gonzalez was the only Mexican-American on the San Antonians ticket, and he was running against George de la Garza, a member of the Citizens Committee ticket. The Citizens also had a second Mexican-American on its 9-member slate, Ruben Lozano.

WITHOUT RUNOFF

When the dust had settled after the first election, Gonzalez and Mayor Jack White had been elected without a runoff. The other seven won the runoff, with Gonzalez helping Mrs. E. M. Stevens defeat Lozano.

The new council named Gonzalez Mayor Pro Tem, and he told his fellow council mem-

bers that "you have stamped out the big lie that this country is the downtrodder of minorities."

In his first elective post, Gonzalez early demonstrated his independence and his ability to be a constructive irritant. He opposed a move by the mayor and city manager to burn "communist-tinged" books, told of a bribe attempt to keep him from reporting a mounting vice problem, and questioned proposed increases in water and telephone rates.

ONLY SURVIVOR

Gonzalez was to be the only survivor of the ill-fated San Antonians, five of whom resigned under recall pressure. He was elected as an independent in the 1955 elections, defeating four opponents without a runoff and carrying a number of northside Anglo boxes for the first time.

As the campaign reached its climax, shots were fired at Gonzalez as he entered his home after a night of campaigning, but the shots went wide.

On May 3, 1956, Gonzalez decided to move either up or out. He announced for the Texas Senate against conservative Democratic State Sen. Ozzie Lattimer. His fellow council members dug into their pockets to come up with his \$100 filing fee, some because they were genuinely fond of him and others because they figured it was worth the price to get him off the council.

This was the first term of the Good Government League council, which usually spoke with one voice but couldn't silence independent Gonzalez.

OPPOSED BY GOP

Gonzalez beat Lattimer by 282 votes, and the Republicans threw Atty. Jesse Oppenheimer into the fray in the general election. Gonzalez was the only Bexar County Democrat the GOP opposed.

Oppenheimer accused Gonzalez of being "a left-winger" and "a creeping socialist," and Gonzalez retorted he was a right-handed baseball pitcher, making him a "right-winger." And he defused the creeping socialist charge by quipping that the only thing creeping about him was his shorts.

Gonzalez defeated Oppenheimer by about 13,000 votes, and he reversed the usual coat-tail political operation by carrying Bexar County over the national Democratic ticket headed by Adlai Stevenson by 2,000 votes.

HE MADE HISTORY

Gonzalez's election to the State Senate marked the first time a Mexican-American had been elected to that body. It was one in a number of paths blazed by Gonzalez during his political career, including being the first Mexican-American independent elected under Council-Manager governor, the first Mexican-American Mayor Pro Tem under Council-Manager, and the first Mexican-American ever elected to the U.S. Congress from Texas.

Not bad for a man who couldn't speak a word of English when he entered the first grade, whose mother and father fled Mexico just a step ahead of the revolutionaries in 1910 and settled in San Antonio with plans to remain only until things settled down in the mother country.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIME TO HOLD HEARING ON H.R. 4191 AND H.R. 8722 TO AMEND THE FEDERAL KIDNAPING STATUTE

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce that the Subcom-

mittee on Crime of the House Judiciary Committee will hold a hearing on legislation to amend section 1201 of title 18 of the United States Code. The hearing will be held on Thursday, February 28, 1974, at 10 a.m., in 2141 Rayburn House Office Building.

The subcommittee will consider H.R. 4191 which would remove the parental exception to kidnaping and H.R. 8722 which would permit the FBI to investigate certain missing persons cases.

Witnesses testifying before the subcommittee will include Representative CHARLES E. BENNETT, author of H.R. 4191; Representative EDWIN B. FORSYTHE, author of H.R. 8722; and John C. Keeney, Deputy Assistant U.S. Attorney General, Department of Justice.

Those wishing to testify or submit a statement for the record should address their requests to the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515.

JOSEPH BELARDI

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, February 24 an old and dear friend, Joe Belardi, will be honored at a dinner by the San Francisco Trade Union Council for Histadrut. The proceeds from this testimonial will establish a Joe Belardi-Histadrut Scholarship for the children of Israeli trade unionists.

Joe Belardi has dedicated more than 35 years to the labor movement and to the service of his community and his fellow man.

He came to California from his native Mississippi in 1931. Eight years later, he ran for business agent for Cooks Union, Local 44 and won. He held and worked at that position until 1955 when he was elected president of that union.

In 1963 Mr. Belardi was elected to the office of executive secretary of the San Francisco Local Joint Board of Culinary Workers, Bartenders, Hotel, Motel, and Club Service Workers.

In 1965 he was elected president of the San Francisco Labor Council.

This accounting of the positions which Joe Belardi has held is but a partial picture of the man. Joe Belardi is not only an outstanding labor leader; he is also a humanitarian.

He has worked with the DeLancey Street Foundation to help former drug dependent persons and prison inmates to seek a new start and a new way of life.

Joe Belardi has worked in close association with the San Francisco Human Rights Commission in their efforts to meet the needs of the racial and ethnic groups which make up our city. He has fought for social and economic justice.

Joe Belardi was ahead of his time in espousing the rights of consumers. He is an active participant in the Consumer Federation of California and is a leader in the fight to protect the rights of the consuming public.

It is difficult to reduce to a few words all that Joe Belardi has done for working men and women or to capture the concern for his fellow man which motivates this decent human being.

He has earned the honor which will be bestowed upon him on Sunday. It is truly fitting that from this testimonial will develop another expression of concern for his fellow man, the Belardi-Histadrut Scholarship.

I am pleased to note in the RECORD this brief picture of a giant of a man and to take this occasion to call to the attention of my colleagues the well deserved tribute which is being paid to Joe Belardi, a champion of the labor movement and a gentleman in the fullest meaning of that term.

ARTHUR A. BAER

HON. MORGAN F. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, today I join thousands of Chicagoans in applauding the accomplishments of a dedicated business and civic leader who has made an outstanding contribution to our community. Arthur A. Baer began as a local businessman and has through his own efforts and unique talents become recognized as one of Chicago's most prominent bankers, pioneering drive-up banking and multiple-service tellers. He has been affiliated with the banking business for almost 50 years, serving first as President and now as chairman of the board of Beverly Bank for 30 of those years. Arthur Baer is presently chairman of the board of four banks in Chicago metropolitan area.

Truly, Arthur Baer is an exceptional individual gifted with the ability to personalize banking with a business philosophy fostering warm and individual service, a refreshing approach in our ever-growing impersonal society. Moreover, as a community leader and founding father of the Beverly Art Center and the Ridge Historical Society, he has added another dimension to the cultural life style of an urban area enriching the lives of young and old alike.

I take pleasure in inserting at this time in the RECORD two articles that describe the achievements of this man in revolutionizing the banking industry as well as citing his professional and community contributions:

ARTHUR A. BAER: SENIOR CITIZEN OF THE YEAR
IS HONORED BY THE CHICAGO PARK DISTRICT
(By Jane Schnedeker)

The most radical idea that Arthur Baer initiated was to apply retailing principles to banking thus making him the first people-oriented, rather than money-oriented, banker. He confounded the traditional bank attitude that the bank is always right with the retail principle that the customer is always right. Retail banking proved to be spectacularly successful: Beverly Bank is more than thirty times as large as when Arthur Baer first took a hand in its destiny. And suddenly, a quarter of a century later, big urban banks across the country are discovering the value of putting people before money.

Among the many other services that Beverly Bank extends to its customers is one that, these days, you don't expect to find in a bank: a travel bureau. And it's completely free; the bank's own travel experts can give complete advice on tours, package trips, personal lodging, timetables, foreign exchange rates, obtain tickets and make reservations.

Part of Arthur Baer's people-philosophy is that a bank's obligations extend beyond the people it employs and the people it serves as customers. He feels a bank owes much to the community in which it lives, too. Accordingly, at Beverly Bank, under his direction, there is a full-time Community Development Department which serves the many schools, churches and organizations in a wide area. Arthur Baer believes he owes a personal contribution to the community.

It is part of the paradox of Septuagenarian Baer that he can both look into the future with enthusiasm and cherish the best of the past; that he can roam the world in search of new sights and ideas and pioneer in such futuristic concepts as computerized banking. (Arthur Baer is Chairman of the Beverly Bancorporation, a company providing ten community banks with support services such as, data processing and market research.)

At the bank, he is surrounded by energetic young people yet he sees farther into the future than any of them and has already mastered the art which most younger people have yet to learn: how to preserve individuality and warm human concern in an increasingly impersonal electronic age.

A RESOLUTION

(By the Beverly Bank Board of Directors)

Resolved, That we highly commend Mr. Arthur A. Baer, Senior Officer of the Beverly Bank for Thirty Years, and Member of the Board of Directors for Forty-Five Years, for his many contributions not only to the bank itself, but to the community of Beverly Hills/Morgan Park, the City of Chicago and the State of Illinois.

Mr. Baer has devoted much of his time to the community and other civic affairs. He has served as Treasurer of the Beverly Hills Community Concert Association for twenty-eight years. He is a Trustee and past Treasurer of Morgan Park Academy and of La Rabida Children's Hospital and Research Center. He was one of the organizers of Beverly Art Center and currently serves as Chairman of its Executive Committee. He is a past President of the Chicago District of Illinois Bankers Association and of the South Side Bankers Association. The State of Illinois has cited him as "Employer of the Year." He has served as District Chairman on the United States Savings Bond Division of the American Bankers Association. He has also served as the District Representative of the National Association of Supervisors of State Banks.

Mr. Baer was a Phi Beta Kappa student at the University of Chicago, where he obtained his Ph.D. degree in 1918. He is past Chairman of the Alumni Association of the University, and a past President of its Alumni Fund.

Mr. Baer is a past President of The Chicago Literary Club and is currently serving as Chairman of its Centennial Committee.

are also in the weakest position to do anything about the situation which they now find themselves in. There is no strong lobby fighting for poor people. The poor are left to the mercy of government agencies which are often unsympathetic to their problems and often do nothing to help them.

I have introduced a resolution to create a select committee to study the problems faced by the poor because of the energy crisis. I believe that such a committee would serve as an advocate for the poor who now seem to be unrepresented. The issues which effect the poor will be dealt with in a comprehensive and responsible manner if this committee is established.

On February 16, the National Journal Reports featured an article by Karen DeWitt which examined the problems faced by the poor because of the energy crisis. I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues in the hope that you will better understand this issue and support this resolution:

Resolved, That there is hereby created a select committee to be composed of fifteen Members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker, one of whom he shall designate as chairman. Any vacancy occurring in the membership of the committee shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

The committee is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of the health effects of the current energy crisis on the poor.

For the purpose of carrying out this resolution the committee, or any subcommittee thereof authorized by the committee to hold hearings, is authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, including any Commonwealth or possession thereof, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, and to require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents, as it deems necessary; except that neither the committee nor any subcommittee thereof may sit while the House is meeting unless special leave to sit shall have been obtained from the House. Subpoenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any member of the committee designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member.

The committee shall report to the House as soon as practicable during the present Congress the results of its investigation and study, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable. Any such report which is made when the House is not in session shall be filed with the Clerk of the House.

WELFARE REPORT/AGENCIES ACT ON FUEL CRISIS TO SOFTEN SHORTAGE IMPACT ON POOR

(By Karen E. DeWitt)

In the recent syndicated strip, *Luther*, a ghetto child tells a classmate that she is fighting the energy crisis by turning up her thermostat. Incredulous, the friend admonishes her for not dialing down to a fuel-saving 68 degrees. She replies that at her house "a temperature of 68 degrees is UP."

The comic's humor might be lost on many of the nation's 24.5 million poor, for whom the energy crisis signals a new—if not unfamiliar—obstacle to obtaining life's necessities.

Already reports are trickling into the HEW

Department about the impact of the energy crisis on the poor. Some examples:

In Huntsville, Ala., low-income domestics cannot get to their jobs in the suburbs because of inadequate public transport and their employers no longer can pick them up because of the gasoline shortage.

In the Missouri Ozarks, a Headstart program that serves 11 rural counties within a 700-mile radius has cut its operation from five to four days a week because of fuel shortages, leaving working parents with no place to leave their children.

Federal officials acknowledge that the poor and near poor will be hardest hit by the energy crisis, but they say they do not know how intense the impact will be or whom it will affect the most.

"Our difficulty is simply a lack of knowledge," said an HEW paper, *The Poor and the Energy Crisis*. "We know that energy shortages can affect the cost of living and the levels of unemployment. But we do not know how much. We know that the energy crisis will affect some more than others. But we do not know who and how much more."

Organized efforts: Unlike specific interest groups—such as truckers or more affluent consumer organizations—the poor are not set up to let the federal government know what their specific problems are. Indeed, spokesmen for organizations such as the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) and the Committee on Urban Ethnic Affairs (CUEA) maintain that their constituents' poverty already constituted a crisis that the energy shortage merely aggravated.

"Gas rationing doesn't affect most of the poor because they don't earn enough to own cars," said Eileen Gregson of the NWRO. "But they'll feel the pinch of rising transportation costs as a result of the energy crisis more heavily than a middle-class family will when they go to fill up their car tank."

She explained that a low-income family would spend proportionately more of its income on rising public transportation costs than a middle-income family would on increased gasoline prices.

Volunteers—Ironically, some of the organizations that represent low-income constituencies are limited in how much they can do because many of their workers are volunteers whose car usage will be curtailed as a result of gasoline shortages.

"We just don't have the resources or the personnel to respond to the crisis of the poor," said Rt. Rev. Msgr. Geno Baroni, director of CUEA. "We've done some work with getting fuel to elderly people living on fixed incomes in the Middle West and we've provided the OEO (Office of Economic Opportunity) with some information on the crisis' impact."

"But the real issue is not just the poor's needs, but how you shape and share the burden of the energy crisis."

Citizens' Energy Conference—In an effort to distribute the burden of the energy crisis equitably, groups concerned with the needs of the poor met with consumer groups, unions, environment organizations and civil rights groups in Washington Feb. 15-18 to determine the impact of federal energy policy on their constituents.

"Everyone is hurt by this (the energy crisis)," said conference organizer James Goodell of the Center for Community Change. "We are looking for points where we're commonly affected by the same situation, areas where you can find allies."

Among conference participants are the National Organization of Women and Common Cause.

IMPACT

The energy shortage affects the poor, like the rest of the population, through inflation and unemployment.

But the energy-related problems of the

THE ENERGY CRISIS AND THE POOR

HON. JOE MOAKLEY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, poor people in the United States are being hit hardest of all by the energy crisis. They

poor are likely to be "emergency and income problems" rather than limits on "personal luxury and comfort," said John C. Sawhill in Jan. 22 testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs. Sawhill is deputy administrator of the Federal Energy Office (FEO).

For example, he said, the poor could have more problems obtaining heating oil because they tend to be cash-on-delivery customers who deal with "small one- to three-truck heating oil firms" on an irregular basis.

He said emergency rationing regulations call for a "degree-day, usage-factor system" that depends on a constant, long-term relationship between the supplier and the customer.

Sawhill said the Administration is urging that "normal deliveries" (to the poor) continue to be made.

Sawhill said the Administration established a "state set-aside" of fuel oil of 4 per cent to handle emergency and hardship situations.

Among the questions about the poor and the effects of the energy crisis that must be answered for sound policy making, Sawhill said, are: "Do the poor use relatively less or more energy than others? Are the poor and near poor more or less likely to be subject to energy-related unemployment?"

Commenting on Sawhill's testimony, NRO's Ms. Gregson said that the Administration is wasting "valuable time" studying the effects of the energy crisis on the poor. "They know the problems," she said. "It is overwhelming how little concerned they are."

Herrington J. Bryce, director of the Washington Joint Center for Political Studies, testified before the select committee that studies would show blacks and low-income people initially would not feel the effects of the energy crisis because they generally do not work in industries such as plastics and the airline industry, which would be affected directly.

"But as the energy shortage works its way through the economy, the black unemployment rate will take off and rapidly," Bryce said. "Inflation always affects blacks and the lower working class much more than it affects the middle-class and the rich."

"We might find that many who just had a foot in the middle class last year may now fall out as they lose jobs or as their income becomes inadequate to maintain a middle-class style of life. And many who had been at the brink of poverty will now go under."

Bryce said that this would stem from already high unemployment levels among the poor, the increase in the cost of basic commodities and the fact that many low-income workers are not covered by unemployment insurance or social security.

HEW: An HEW report on the poor and the energy crisis reached similar conclusions.

"While a prediction of unemployment among low-income workers caused by energy shortages cannot be made with any precision, it is obvious that unemployment among low-income workers takes a heavy toll on their ability to sustain themselves and their families," the report said.

It said that an added burden on the poor would result from difficulties encountered by social service agencies in reaching needy families because of gasoline shortages. Finally, it warned that the use of rationing and other allocation regulations would give rise to inequities from which "low-income households, will be the least equipped to seek redress and the least equipped to adjust to the burdens imposed by them."

FEO: To help the poor with problems resulting from the energy shortage, the FEO is setting up a Special Impact Office.

According to its acting head, Robert A. Knisely, the office will have a two-fold function:

Informing the poor about things they can do to minimize the impact of the crisis;

Offering them a bureau from which to seek redress when they think they are being unduly penalized by a situation related to energy.

"We're just beginning to get started," Knisely said. "No one has taken a nationwide survey of the kinds of problems that face the poor and those that live on fixed incomes. Their problems run across the board and we have a whole body of social services that could be activated to help them. But the problem is matching the service with the people."

Knisely said he had a "tentative okay from a departing assistant administrator" about the way the office would work. (John A. Hill, assistant administrator for policy, planning and regulations at the FEO, is going to the Office of Management and Budget as deputy assistant director for science, energy and natural resources. Hill held the FEO position for two months.)

Knisely said one of the things being considered is the printing of small pamphlets to educate community leaders on the effects of the energy crisis.

"We could provide energy training courses on a regional basis or through community action agencies or model cities programs," he said. "I think we should have both an advocate and advisory role, showing the poor how to wend their way through the bureaucratic maze."

ACTION

Groups guarding the interest of the poor and low-income workers are concentrating on preventing or mitigating the effects of the energy crisis on their constituents.

"We've already started telling our clients to work for increases in their welfare grants," said Ms. Gregson of NWRO. "We're working on strategy for survival because no one is paying attention to the effects on the poor."

Josephine Hulett, director of the National Committee on Household Employment, which represents 15,000 domestic workers, said her organization is using similar tactics.

"We've tried to get our members to use the newspapers to publicize their situations with the hope that they'll get some kind of immediate relief locally," she said. "That is about all you can do when your employer tells you she can't afford you for as many days because of the fuel crisis."

Response: The HEW Department has begun to accelerate its regional offices' activities to deal with this kind of pressure.

HEW energy task forces headed by Deputy Assistant Secretary Don I. Wortman have been set up in the Office of the Secretary. They are composed of representatives from each of HEW's major divisions.

Wortman said the task forces have established liaison with the FEO to "ensure that the needs and problems of the poor are considered in the development of policies and regulations."

He said that HEW's health agencies are using their relationship with state and local health agencies to monitor emergency health problems and advise HEW when general problems indicated a need for a policy change.

As an example of a policy change that was approved, he said that New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania and Virginia asked to amend the federal regulations for the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program to provide a payment system ensuring that grantees could get fuel even if they could not get credit.

He said the procedure would permit states and the grantees, on a voluntary basis, to request a portion of the public assistance grant to be paid as a separate check for energy usage.

He said that the AFDC program grantees and emergency and special assistance recipients could be helped directly through a

number of HEW programs. Wortman said that because AFDC payments levels are at the discretion of the states, they could be modified to meet any emergency.

He said that the Social Security Act (86 Stat 1329) allows states to provide up to \$500 for home repairs, which could be used to improve insulation and reduce heating fuel consumption for welfare recipients.

Wortman said the inflationary aspects of the energy crisis on the poor could be alleviated to some extent by the recent social security increase, the new supplemental security income program and food stamps.

James Goodell of the Center for Community Change said he hopes consumer pressure will bring lower prices.

OUTLOOK

The problems of the poor are exacerbated by the energy crisis, but no one knows to what extent.

"My own view is that we have not yet started to fathom the immense impact that the shortage of fuel oil will have on the poor and on blacks," said Bryce of the Washington Joint Center for Political Studies. "Worse yet, we have not had a forum through which their views might be heard."

He said the issue of whether the energy shortages are contrived does not concern the poor because "they're too busy feeling the fallout" from the shortages.

He said the nation's lack of provision for the poor and needy during the best of times had left them "cynical and under hardship. I think the situation will just get worse if the crisis is as bad as we are told."

DYING AGENCIES AID THE POOR

While the Nixon Administration tries to develop new mechanisms to provide help for poor families affected by the energy crisis, an old program—the Community Action Program (CAP)—already has had some success in assisting them.

"We're hearing that local community action agencies have been very effective in providing winterizing services and getting fuel to people," said Richard E. Johnson, a staff member of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Subcommittee on Manpower.

Nevertheless, the Nixon Administration is going forward with plans to halt direct federal funding of the CAP, which is operated by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). The Administration's fiscal 1975 budget proposes no CAP or OEO funding, except that \$33 million would be appropriated to the HEW Department for phasing out OEO and CAP. About 1,000 OEO employees would be transferred to HEW to perform the phase-out activities.

The budget proposes that states and local governments decide whether they want to continue funding of their community action agencies (CAAs).

Dispute: Congress and the Administration have been arguing for a year over the continuation of the Community Action Program. The White House sought no funding for CAAs in the current fiscal year, contending that they failed to fulfill their mandate of moving people out of poverty.

"Community action programs have had an adequate opportunity to demonstrate their value to local communities," said the fiscal 1974 budget. "If the constituencies of individual communities desire to continue providing financial support to local community action agencies, general and special revenue sharing funds could be used."

Congress nonetheless voted to finance the program. CAP fiscal 1974 outlays are estimated at \$175 million, including grants that have provided a bridge over the energy crisis for many poor families, especially in the Northeast.

Northern New England: In November, 13 CAAs in Maine received \$478,000 from OEO to set up Project Fuel for poor families.

Part of the money was put into an emergency fund from which welfare recipients and other needy persons could borrow to pay for heating oil. Borrowers pay back the no-interest loans to keep the fund revolving.

"People are eager to pay the money back to keep the fund going," said Joy L. Bennett, a staff member of Communities in Action Together, which serves as the national organization for the nation's 940 CAAs.

She said the rest of the money is being used to winterize low-income homes in an effort to save on fuel costs.

"In a matter of three weeks, using manpower trainees and volunteer workers, more than 700 houses have been winterized," she said. The projection for the six month period is 3,000 homes.

Community action agencies in New Hampshire and Vermont later received grants of \$200,000 for each state for similar programs.

Connecticut: Without federal funds, Ms. Bennett said, CAAs in Connecticut set up a "hotline" for emergency fuel calls and intervened on behalf of welfare clients when heating companies refused to deliver fuel without cash payment.

"They arranged for the grantees to pay for their fuel in small amounts on a regular basis," she said.

Because the Northeast has experienced some severe cold weather this winter, CAAs there have been much quicker to organize energy programs than CAAs in other areas, she said.

Other actions: "People are just beginning to form coalitions, particularly in the western states where they will have the problem of natural gas and gasoline shortages," she said.

One OEO official, who asked not to be identified, said, "It's funny, but the community action agencies are proving to be a good example of New Federalism and yet they are slated for death."

THE ENERGY CRISIS AND THE POOR

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, while White House officials, and assorted bureaucrats attempt to deal with the energy crisis, it is imperative that organizations and associations across the country not relinquish their responsibilities in representing their constituencies in this matter.

In this light, I was heartened to receive a statement from the National Association of Social Workers concerning the energy crisis and its ramifications for the poor. I now submit the material for the attention of my colleagues. I believe that it states important considerations for the future development of Federal, State and local government policies to meet the energy crisis.

The statement follows:

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS
STATE POSITION ON ENERGY CRISIS

"We believe the first priority in the energy crisis is the preservation of life," Lorenzo H. Traylor, President of the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) said today.

Representing 60,000 professional Social Workers, Traylor stated that NASW is concerned that the Federal and State governments guarantee that the poor, the disabled, the working poor, the elderly and all people

living on fixed incomes, such as retirement and social security benefits be protected by receiving immediate assistance or short-term aid during the critical months of January through March.

Citing the case of the two elderly people, aged 91 and 93 who froze to death in late December in New York, because their electricity was turned off, Traylor said, "There can be no place in the human spectrum for such merciless neglect, resulting in the loss of two lives."

Referring to the Proposed Mandatory Fuel Allocation Regulations published in the December 13, 1973, issue of the Federal Register, Section 200.44, Subsection F, Number 4, which states, "... to insure that no American suffers life threatening cold, permanent disability or death because he or she could not obtain sufficient fuel on a priority allocation or emergency basis," Traylor said he is requesting formal NASW and low income consumer participation on national, regional, state and local fuel allocation boards and commissions and asking the Association's 172 Chapters to become directly involved.

We must not let the energy crisis obscure the fact that prices and the cost of living are at an all time high. The poor and low wage earners are already suffering from malnutrition and other health problems.

Because NASW's major constituency—people with personal or social problems—is the most affected by the energy crisis, the Social Workers' concern in developing and implementing long term energy programs, regulations, guidelines, allocations, possible rationing or taxes and other related actions. "Because administrative regulations are equally as important to the welfare of low income Americans as the development of broad policy, we believe it essential that the NASW be formally represented in Washington on any Federal Energy Office bodies responsible for drafting administrative guidelines implementing the proposed regulations," Traylor said.

One subject which causes us further concern, Traylor added, is the forecast unemployment rate of 6 to 8%, or 8 million unemployed. Socio-economic and demographic data show that an estimated 9 million people in the U.S. on fixed incomes live in poverty. This represents 1/3 of the American people on fixed incomes. Of the 27 million people in poverty, over 7 million are in areas of the country facing severe winters. Many of the 8 million soon to be unemployed will be middle class Americans who will be doubly affected and must be included in the assessment of potential human impact in this energy crisis. Special impact of the unemployed forecast of 8 million will also double rates in the nation's ghettos.

Traylor pointed out that professional Social Workers are working in a variety of fields other than public welfare, including: correction, health care, rehabilitation, hospitals, graduate and undergraduate Schools of Social Work, Psychiatry, child care, mental health, long term care facilities and adult and juvenile justice systems, to name a few.

In view of the occupational versatility of professional Social Workers, NASW has established the following priorities in this energy crisis:

1. Prevention of sickness and death.
2. Maintenance of essential community operations (employers, schools, hospitals, etc.)
3. Representation of those people most affected on policy making bodies at all levels.
4. Designation of the responsible person, agency, etc. at the Federal Regional, State and local levels.
5. Utilization of the 37,000 voluntary Health and Welfare Agencies at all levels to locate possible distress cases.
6. Assess supply of fuel resources.
7. Enforcement of equitable distribution of fuel allocations by distributors.

8. Insure that all flexibility, etc. in Federal grant-in-aid programs is utilized to deal with the energy crisis (i.e., Health and Welfare Title IV-A funds; Farmers Home Administration—Section 504; Housing and Urban Development—Section 115 and 312).

9. Collection of data on impact of energy crisis, especially on low income people.

"NASW wants to help," Traylor said, "and we are in full support of the Office of Economic Opportunity's proposal to establish a national program, 'Energy Alert' and to assist in any way we can at the National level, through the Regional Offices, the SEOs, the Community Action Agencies and public and private organizations at the state and local level. We have these communication lines and outreach potential through our 60,000 members in 172 Chapters throughout the United States.

"We also want to have something to say about gasoline rationing, relaxation of standards, mandatory conservation, energy taxes, economic impact, heating fuel, energy allocation, energy data and mass transit, as all of these subject areas are primary concerns of our constituency. We support public service employment for the people dislocated by the energy crisis, and believe they should be working on the problem itself."

Who will ask the Administration these questions:

1. Will heating fuel be cut off first for those who have the least credit?
2. Will the independent gas dealers in rural areas where the poor buy gas be the first to close?
3. Isn't low income housing the poorest insulated?
4. Aren't the poor least able to form car pools?
5. Will the lack of gas make it difficult for the poor to travel long distances for food stamps?
6. If you turn down heat in a poorly insulated home, you will need two sweaters—what if you don't have one?

HOUSE REJECTION OF IDA BILL

HON. CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, in view of the House's rejection of the bill to authorize the U.S. share for the International Development Association—IDA's fourth replenishment—I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article which appeared in the February 9, 1974 issue of the New Republic.

The author analyzes the various factors contributing to the Congress decision to deny U.S. participation in this multilateral "soft loan" window of the World Bank. He argues persuasively that this action makes suspect the Congress willingness to insure that the United States will continue to carry out its international responsibilities.

I feel that these remarks merit the consideration of my colleagues, and I submit this article for their information.

The article follows:

DO NOT COUNT ON CONGRESS—FLIGHT FROM AID

(By Stanley Karnow)

It is sometimes said these days that with the authority of the President on the wane, Congress ought to exercise a more decisive role in the management of national affairs. Is not Capitol Hill a more sensitive gauge

than the White House of how the winds are blowing in the country? And in the light of Mr. Nixon's egregious abuse of power, isn't the pluralism of Congress a democratic safeguard? Some advocates of a stronger legislature look longingly at Britain and suggest that a parliamentary system might be more responsible than our constitutional system. The speculation is interesting, but empty when put to the test.

One such test came a couple of weeks ago, when the House of Representatives overwhelmingly voted to reject a bill to provide the International Development Association, the easy money department of the World Bank, with fresh funds to help the poorest of the world's poor regions. The vote partly mirrored congressional disgust, particularly among Republicans, at the administration's miserly support of domestic programs to improve health, housing, education and welfare. It also reflected the fact that Americans, troubled by fuel shortages, spiraling prices and high interest rates, feel that charity begins at home. But the House action was nevertheless, as World Bank president Robert S. McNamara said in an unusually emotional statement, an "unmitigated disaster." It means that the US is prepared, at its own future risk, to neglect areas that are going to become more and more important for vital natural resources. And it signifies that Americans, who consume nearly half of the raw materials on earth, are giving vent to their own frustrations by condemning more than a billion impoverished Asians and Africans to malnutrition and perhaps starvation.

The general disillusionment toward foreign aid in recent years is understandable. Many are disappointed that several European states, which would have crumbled after World War II had it not been for the Marshall Plan, now coldly rebuff appeals by the U.S. for cooperation. There is also a spreading suspicion, justified, that U.S. assistance frequently fills the coffers of dictatorial regimes that have little regard for the well-being of their own people. With the abatement of the Cold War, Americans can no longer be rallied to aid as a weapon against communism. And these attitudes have been heightened by the sentiment that America's monetary and other economic difficulties are largely the result of past generosity. The extent to which foreign aid had fallen into disfavor was underlined by Congress' failure to authorize assistance money in 1971 and again in 1972, and finally voting by a narrow margin last year to give the administration about 85 percent of its request for \$2.4 billion.

Among their other complaints, many congressmen grumbled that other industrial nations, whose prosperity has soared within the last decade, ought to share more of the aid burden. It was precisely that complaint that prompted the creation in the early 1960s of the World Bank's International Development Association as a multilateral instrument comprising 25 major donor states. Funds for the association would be replenished periodically, and, under the initial agreement, the U.S. committed itself to provide 40 percent of the financing. Though this matter the U.S. the biggest single contributor, its share in proportion to its gross national product was smaller than every other donor except Austria and Italy. Even so, sensing the rising hostility of Congress to aid programs, Secretary of the Treasury George Shultz went to the annual meeting of the World Bank in Nairobi last September determined to reduce further the U.S. contribution. He succeeded in cutting it to 33.3 percent by persuading the Germans and Japanese to boost their subsidies significantly, and he returned to Washington to ask Congress for \$1.5 billion to cover the U.S. share of the association's funds for the next four years.

The International Development Association was conceived as a channel through which to funnel long-term interest-free loans to the most marginal countries. One criterion for recipients is a per capita income of \$375 per year or less, and in order to minimize corruption the association requires that loans be linked to concrete operations. The majority of these are designed to increase agricultural production, develop communications and improve transportation. Most are concentrated in destitute regions of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East. Individual projects have ranged from the construction of roads in Afghanistan, Malawi and the Yemen to promoting livestock breeding in Paraguay, spurring tea cultivation in Indonesia and encouraging education in Ethiopia, where 87 percent of primary age children are permanent truants. Within recent months the association has been confronted by three crises. What McNamara calls "one of the worst droughts in human history" is plaguing Niger, Upper Volta, Mali, Mauritania, Senegal and Chad, the lands that make up the Sahel Zone of West Africa. Drought combined with a threefold rise in the price of imported grain are threatening India and Pakistan as well as newly independent Bangladesh, where 75 million people struggle for subsistence on an area the size of Florida. Aggravating these conditions, the cost of Arab oil has jumped fourfold, which means that the developing countries as a whole will be forced to spend \$10 billion more for fuel this year than they did last year—or, as is more likely, cut back the energy they use for development.

The urgency of these crises inspired the Nixon administration to make a special effort to sway the House subcommittee on international finance, which held three sessions in November and December to consider the U.S. contribution to the International Development Association. For the first time the President sent the House a message stressing that the U.S. share in the association's funds had been apportioned "more equitably." The hearings featured Shultz, former World Bank president Eugene Black, Chase Manhattan Bank board chairman David Rockefeller and C. Fred Bergsten of the Brookings Institution. Bergsten, a leading expert on the economics of the so-called Third World, emphasized as he has on other occasions that the U.S. is going to be increasingly reliant on the developing countries for raw materials and as a market for American exports, and therefore, he argued, cooperation with these lands is essential. The testimony was so convincing that both the subcommittee and its parent Committee on Banking and Currency voted unanimously in favor of the U.S. subsidy. The administration breathed a sigh of relief in the expectation that the House would go along. But the vote, when it was taken on January 23, went 248 to 155 against the U.S. contribution. Republicans opposed it by a margin of three to one, and 11 of the 39 congressmen who had backed the bill in committee turned against it. Shocked administration officials afterward tried to assess what went wrong.

In the first place, they conceded, they had failed to lobby effectively, partly out of complacency but largely because they had scant leverage. The President had impounded billions of dollars in appropriations passed by Congress for medical research, education, highway construction, pollution control and other programs; now, as one congressman put it, "he was trying to get us to give Asians and Africans what he has denied to Americans." The timing was also a blunder. It was the first piece of legislation presented to the House after the Christmas recess, and the congressmen, their ears still ringing with the gripes of their constituents, were in no temper to finance foreigners. This isolationist bias was further exacerbated, according to a

senior House staffer, by a pervasive hostility to Mr. Nixon himself. "I doubt that he could have swung the vote even if he had come up here in person," he said. "This administration just has no credibility."

Legislative maneuvering usually goes on in the corridors of Congress, but in this instance the fate of the bill was decided during a debate described as "more chemical than rational." Republican Rep. Tim Lee Carter of Kentucky blasted the request on the grounds that most of the African recipients opposed Israel, and besides, he added, "Shouldn't we take care of our poor people first?" John Dent of Pennsylvania, a Democrat who had backed the US contribution in years past, proclaimed a change of heart. Factories are closing down all over his district because of high interest rates, he complained: "Giving this aid to these countries without some kind of string attached puts us in the position of being suckers." John Flynt, a Georgia Democrat, objected to the bill as one of "those things which would be nice to have if we had the money to pay for them." One of the strongest arguments against the act came from Ohio Democrat Wayne Hays. Basing his statement on a World Bank study, he asserted that the increased subsidy would really go to the Arabs in the form of inflated oil prices, and he appealed to the average congressman's instinctive concern for reelection:

Now some of the members can go home if they want to . . . and tell their constituents they voted for this \$1.5 billion and at the same time tell them this money goes to these same countries that caused the price of gasoline to go up to 50 cents a gallon, the price of fuel oil to go up 100 percent. The Republicans can just keep voting like that and talking like that . . . and we Democrats probably will take more seats in the House than any party since this Republic was founded.

A key element in the debate, however, was the intervention of the influential Texas Democrat George Mahon, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee. He had never supported past US contributions to the International Development Association, but at least he had never raised his voice against them on the floor. Now he spoke out in opposition:

I am not going to vote to increase our commitments at a time when we cannot take care of folks at home, when the dollar has been under heavy pressure, when the national debt has increased by about one-fifth in the last four years, and when we are going into debt this year another \$15 billion.

Dismayed by the stunning defeat that followed, Shultz and Secretary Kissinger promptly put out a joint declaration assailing the House action as "a major setback to our efforts of cooperation and to the ability of the US to provide leadership in a world where there is an increasingly serious tendency for nations to believe that their best interest lies in going it alone." That admonition did nothing to alter the attitude of senior congressmen. Meeting with Wayne Hays and House Foreign Affairs Committee chairman Thomas Morgan not long after the vote, Kissinger voiced his unhappiness and warned that rejection of the multilateral aid contribution would complicate the conference of European oil-consuming countries to be held in Washington next week. The two congressmen firmly replied to the effect that they favored toughness toward the Europeans, who, they said, "make oil deals behind our back." Meanwhile Washington has been seething with recrimination. World Bank officials, McNamara among them, privately blame the administration for not lobbying effectively. Congressmen are snarling at McNamara for abandoning the apolitical posture he is supposed to take as an international civil servant. And members of the administration are expressing displeasure with what they call congressional caprice. Failure by the White House to get the bill

passed would spell the end of the International Development Association. At this stage the 24 other donors to the World Bank group are refraining from any comment which, they fear, might prejudice a renewed administration effort. But it is not entirely clear what steps the administration intends to take—or whether the steps it does take will reverse the result. One strategy being considered is to persuade Senator Fulbright, who is receptive to Kissinger's entreaties, to guide the proposal through his Foreign Relations Committee so that it can be returned to the House. This approach faces two principal uncertainties. First, it is not at all sure that Fulbright, who has been fighting foreign aid as a "Cold War relic," will accommodate the administration. And if he does, there is no guarantee that a compromise bill will offer the World Bank the full \$1.5 billion pledged by the US at Nairobi. Specialists familiar with congressional thinking submit that the most that the White House can hope to obtain is \$960 million, the sum authorized by the legislature in 1972. Such a sum would mean a complete renegotiation of the International Development Association's subscription schedule.

The episode is viewed by administration operatives on Capitol Hill as an indication that the executive arm is going to have hard days ahead as it seeks to convince congressmen that the US still has responsibilities abroad. Perhaps a more significant lesson to be drawn from the House's indiscriminate behavior is that Congress has a long way to go before it can presume to wear the mantle of responsible leadership.

EMERGENCY SSI PAYMENTS A NECESSITY, HEW MUST RESPOND, NEW LEGISLATION OFFERED

HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Ms. ABZUG, Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to require the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to issue emergency payments to those on the Federal supplemental security income program who do not receive their SSI checks because the check is lost, stolen, or undeliverable. The bill further requires the Secretary to provide emergency assistance where it is verified that a recipient's SSI cash benefits have been stolen.

We are all aware of the many cases of hardship which have been visited on those least able to bear it by the recent takeover of the disabled, aged, and blind welfare cases by the Social Security Administration under the Federal supplemental security income program. On January 9, 1974, a New York Times photographer captured the chaos in the program with a photograph of hundreds of blind, elderly, disabled men and women huddled outside the local social security offices on a dark, bitterly cold January day.

At that time, as a result of pressure from Members of the New York City delegation, the Social Security Administration and the Treasury arranged to replace these missing SSI checks on a 24-hour interim payment program. However, though there was no reason to believe that similar scenes would not take place this month, this 24-hour emergency pay-

ment program was canceled on the 31st of January.

This month, many handicapped and aged persons again had to spend long periods of time at social security offices without receiving the money they desperately need. Many are without money for food; others are unable to pay their rent; all are suffering. My colleagues in the New York delegation and my own office have been besieged with complaints and cries for help.

The Social Security Administration has advised me that they will not reinstitute their 24-hour emergency assistance payment program. As a result, local public assistance agencies are beleaguered with SSI recipients who are in desperate need of help. The legislation which I am introducing today will require the Social Security Administration to give an emergency payment to an SSI recipient who has not received his or her check for an amount not exceeding the amount of his or her missing check.

The text of the legislation follows:

H.R. 12903

A bill to amend title XVI of the Social Security Act to provide for emergency Federal assistance grants to aged, blind, or disabled individuals whose supplemental security income checks (or the proceeds thereof) are lost, stolen, or undelivered

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 1631 of the Social Security Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"EMERGENCY BENEFITS FOR RECIPIENTS

"(g) The Secretary shall grant financial assistance in accordance with this subsection to individuals who are recipients of benefits under this title and who are faced with financial emergency and make application therefor. Such assistance shall be granted to any such individual within twenty-four hours of his or her application, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary and in such amounts as are proper and equitable for (1) replacement of lost, stolen, or undelivered checks issued to or for such individual in payment of such benefits, or (2) replacement of lost or stolen cash which is determined by the Secretary under such regulations to constitute the proceeds of one or more such checks, where the loss or theft has been promptly reported to and verified by the appropriate local law enforcement officials."

Sec. 2. The amendment made by the first section of this Act shall apply with respect to checks issued in payment of supplemental security income benefits for months after the month in which this Act is enacted.

ILLEGAL CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS

HON. DAVID C. TREEN

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. TREEN, Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in the New Orleans Times Picayune and an article in the Wall Street Journal discuss aspects of illegal campaign contributions, which I believe deserve the attention of my colleagues. The articles follow:

[From the New Orleans (La.) Times-Picayune, Jan. 31, 1974]

UNION GIFTS TO DEMOS SHOWN

In the drumfire about illegal political contributions, one might guess that about the only miscreants were corporations or trade groups and that the recipients almost solely were Republican candidates.

Federal law says corporate and union treasuries can't give anything of value to candidates for federal elective office.

But the relatively narrow spotlight on corporations and the GOP has been broadened into a floodlight by court revelations embracing a large AFL-CIO union, the International Association of Machinists, and many Democratic races for Congress.

As recounted in the Wall Street Journal, a court case led to the opening of piles of union documents showing direct cash campaign gifts via the Machinists Non-Partisan Political League, but of greater volume were contributions in league staff time valued in the tens of thousands of dollars, contributions of campaign literature and contributions of union airline credit cards for use by candidates.

If this court case shows such in the instance of one union, what could be shown by lifting the lid for a look at other unions' political machinations? Or does the double fact of unions and Democrats guarantee immunity from a searching public appraisal?

[From the Wall Street Journal, Jan. 29, 1974]

UNIONS AND POLITICS—MONEY'S JUST ONE TOOL MACHINISTS USE TO HELP FAVORED OFFICE SEEKERS

(By Byron E. Calame)

LOS ANGELES.—Like the President himself, some of Richard Nixon's foes in organized labor have been surrendering sensitive political records.

The International Association of Machinists, in a case initiated by a group of dissident members of the union, was forced by a federal court here to release thousands of documents. They reveal in unusual detail how the IAM goes about electing its friends to federal office.

This rare glimpse into the inner workings of one of the AFL-CIO's largest (800,000 members) and most politically active unions shows that there is a lot more to a union's political clout than the direct financial contributions reported to government watchdogs—and labor's political experts say the machinists probably adhere to the campaign spending laws as closely as any union.

The documents indicate that direct gifts are often overshadowed by various services provided free of charge to favored candidates under the guise of "political education" for union members. The indirect aid includes some of labor's most potent political weapons; assignment of paid staff members to candidates' campaigns, use of union computers, mobilization of get-out-the-vote drives.

TRIPS AND DINNERS

Dues have also been used, the documents indicate, to supply IAM-backed candidates with polls and printing services and to finance "non-partisan" registration drives, trips by congressional incumbents back home during campaigns, and dinners benefiting office seekers endorsed by the machinists. Machinist-backed candidates are almost invariably Democrats.

An important question is whether these dues-financed activities violate federal laws that for decades have barred unions and corporations from using their treasury funds to contribute "anything of value" to candidates for federal office. Money for such direct contributions by unions must come from voluntary donations coaxed out of the members. The federal statutes do permit unions to spend dues for partisan politicking direct-

ed at the union's members and their families, on the theory that this sort of thing is internal union business, and the money used for this activity is called "education money," or "soft money."

The political activities of the machinists' union are, indeed, aimed at the union's members and are therefore proper, says William Holayter, director of the union's political arm, the Machinists Non-Partisan Political League.

DRAWING THE LINE

Even labor's critics concede that it is sometimes hard to draw the line between activities designed to sell a candidate to union's members and those intended to sway voters in general. A member of the machinists assigned to promote a candidate among other machinists may inevitably find himself wooing other voters as well.

Still, the machinists' documents suggest that the union has often sought to provide maximum assistance to a candidate by use of soft money. "The problem," says one labor political strategist, "is that the machinists put too much in writing." The late Don Ellinger, the widely respected head of the Machinists Non-Partisan Political League who died in 1972, evidently had a penchant for memos.

Spending reports filed with the Senate for the 1970 campaign show that the Machinists Non-Partisan Political League openly gave Sen. Gale McGee \$5,000; the internal records now disclose that the Wyoming Democrat also received at least \$9,300 in noncash assistance. Direct donations to Texas Democrat Ralph Yarborough's unsuccessful Senate reelection bid in 1970 were listed at \$8,950; one document indicates he got other help worth at least \$10,680. While the league poured \$15,200 directly into Democrat John Gilligan's unsuccessful 1968 bid for an Ohio Senate seat, the documents show it indirectly provided more, \$15,500.

RECEIPT UNREPORTED

Available records indicate that few, if any, campaign committees for machinist-backed candidates listed indirect aid from dues money as contributions. Prior to a 1972 toughening of disclosure requirements, candidates evidently found it easy to spot loopholes that were used to avoid reporting such indirect assistance.

The dissident machinists who forced disclosure of their union's files had brought their suit with the backing of the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation. The dissidents wanted the court to bar the union from using dues money for any political activity—including such clearly legal endeavors as politicking directed at its own members and traditional union lobbying efforts. The real goal of the right-to-work foundation is to eliminate the forced payment of dues. A federal judge dismissed the suit Dec. 19, largely because the union offered to start rebating the dues of any member who disagrees with the union's stand on political or legislative issues. The dissident group appealed the decision Jan. 10.

One questionable arrangement of the machinists helped reelect Sen. McGee in 1970. Alexander Barkan, director of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, asked the machinists early that year to put the names of 65,000 "Democrats in Wyoming" on the machinists' computer for the Senator's use in "mailings, registration, etc." The minutes of the Machinists Non-Partisan Political League executive committee show that Mr. Ellinger recommended handling the chore but warned that it would have to be financed with "general-fund money" (the league's separate kitty composed of voluntary donations and would be considered "a contribution toward the Gale McGee campaign."

Despite the warning, internal records show that bills totaling \$9,302.74 for the operation were paid out of the league's political-education

fund, built from dues money. Computing & Software Inc. was paid \$4,606.84, Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co. received \$414, and \$4,191.90 went to reimburse the IAM treasury for cards it provided.

Doubts about such arrangements may be raised in the coming report by the Senate Watergate committee. Though Republican hopes for public hearings on union campaign contributions will probably be disappointed, the committee staff has asked unions broad and potentially explosive questions about the services provided to candidates.

Watergate revelations, some union politicians believe, have demonstrated that labor can never collect enough rank-and-file donations to rival campaign contributions by business bigwigs. "There is no way we can match them," says Mr. Holayter of the machinists. "It's silly to try." Hence the importance of the indirect contributions.

This is one reason why the AFL-CIO is pressing for public financing of federal campaigns; its strategists obviously figure that a ban on direct contributions would leave labor in a better position relative to business than it is in now.

If past performance is any guide, the machinists' union would still be a valuable supporter for its political favorites if public financing were adopted. Its indirect assistance in staffers' time alone has totaled in the tens of thousands of dollars, the court documents show.

Printing is another campaign expense that the IAM often helps its friends meet. With the 1970 elections coming up, an aide to Rep. Lloyd Meeds passed to the machinists a bill for the printing of the Washington Democrat's quarterly newsletter. "The newsletter went to every home in the Second District," the aide rejoiced in one of the released documents. "We had a tremendous, positive response to it." Although the newsletter had been distributed far beyond the IAM's ranks in an election year, a soft-money check for \$656.17 to the printer was quickly dispatched to a local union official.

Early in the 1972 reelection drive of Sen. Thomas McIntyre, the Machinists Non-Partisan Political League agreed to spend \$1,000 "for assistance in newsletters" put out by the New Hampshire Democrat. And earlier, during Rep. John Tunney's successful 1970 bid for a California Senate seat, the league picked up a \$1,740 tab for printing of a brochure that compared the Democrat's voting record with that of the GOP incumbent, George Murphy. Some of the brochures were passed out at a county fair.

The amount of union staff time devoted to candidates' campaigns is difficult to pin down. Irving Ross, a certified public accountant retained by the suing dissident machinists to analyze the IAM documents, filed an affidavit giving "incomplete" tabulations. Mr. Ross says the time that IAM "grand lodge representatives" and "special representatives" spent on campaigns in 1972 was worth \$39,175. The amounts were \$58,241 in 1970 and \$42,921 in 1968, he says. The IAM says the figures are too high, but it didn't challenge them in court.

A status report prepared by the machinists political unit in late August 1970 shows that at least one field representative was working full time on each of over 20 congressional campaigns. IAM agents often become almost part of the candidate's campaign staff. When Robert Brown was assigned full time to Indiana Sen. Vance Hartke's reelection campaign in May 1970, he set up an office right in the Democrat's headquarters and had the title of chairman of the Indiana Labor Committee for Hartke. Another IAM representative, William Wolfe, was assigned to Yarborough campaigns in Texas in 1970 and 1972—and was being paid out of the union treasury in May 1972 even though a new law effective in April 1972 specifically barred

a union from using dues money to pay for services rendered to a candidate, thus spelling out more clearly an old prohibition.

The union also takes machinists out of the shop for campaign duty, giving them "lost time" compensation out of dues money to make up for the loss of regular pay. Thus, the files show, two Baltimore machinists got \$282.40 a week while working for the Humphrey presidential campaign for five weeks in 1968. A Maryland IAM official said later that the two "did a first-rate job, especially in smoking out the local Democratic politicians who were inclined to cut the top of the ticket" and persuading them not to do so.

Rep. Richard Hanna of California got \$500 from the machinists to help finance a \$6,000 "nonpartisan" registration effort to help get him reelected in 1970. In a letter requesting the union's aid, the Democrat predicted that the drive would "raise the district to at least 53.5% Democratic . . . because most of the unregistered voters are Democrats." He said the registrars would be preceded by "bird dogs," meaning that Democratic workers would roam out ahead of the registrar to identify residence of unregistered Hanna supporters.

The machinists' union's airline credit cards come in handy when incumbents are eager to get home in election years. Early in 1969, the executive committee of the machinist political unit authorized the expenditure of \$3,600 to buy plane tickets home for unnamed "western Senators" during the following year's campaign. The league's "education fund" provided Sen. Yarborough and his aides with \$705.80 worth of tickets during his 1970 reelection campaign. The files show that \$500 went to Sen. Albert Gore, Democrat of Tennessee, during his losing reelection effort in 1970.

Machinist officials contend the organization pays for such travel because the candidate speaks to a union group or "consults with union leadership" in his district. But correspondence in the files indicates that this is more a rationalization than a reason. Take a 1969 Ellinger memo to Sen. Yarborough outlining procedures "for all transportation matters." It states:

"We would like our files to contain a letter . . . indicating that you intend to be in Texas on a particular date to consult with the leadership of our union. If a trip includes a member of your staff, the letter should also name the staff member as being included in the consultation."

"Appreciation dinners" for Senators and Representatives often serve as a conduit for "soft money." Consider the ten \$100 tickets the IAM bought to a 1969 testimonial gathering for Sen. Frank Moss, Democrat of Utah, who faced an election in 1970. "Since Moss is not yet an announced candidate, we can use educational money for this event and later consider this as part of our overall contribution," the minutes of the league's executive committee explain.

WINNER IN ESSAY CONTEST IN NORTH DAKOTA

HON. MARK ANDREWS

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to announce that Mr. Mark Allan Munson of Bismarck, N. Dak., has won the Voice of Democracy essay contest in North Dakota.

Mark is a student at Bismarck Senior High and plans to enter the University of

Notre Dame this fall where he plans to study law.

He is the son of Mrs. Ardys J. Munson. Mr. Munson likens America to a ship, with the Constitution as the wheel and the American people as the crew. He depicts Watergate as part of the rigging that was left unattended and expresses the hope that the ship does not have to sink.

His essay deserves public attention, and I insert it in the Record as follows:

ESSAY—"VOICE OF DEMOCRACY"

Two-hundred years ago a group of honorable men started building a ship, which over the years, has grown to immense proportions. What has this to do with me, you ask? It has everything to do with you for this very country is that self-same ship and those men are the Founding Fathers of the United States of America.

One could liken the Constitution to the wheel of the ship—both tend to steer their ships along an orderly and efficient path. The Captain and his officers represent the leaders of the country and the overall decision making process. Similar to our Bill of Rights would be the rigging, which sustains the masts and sails, and with the assistance of the wind, pulls the nation through the rough as well as the calm waters.

Granted, all of these aspects are important, but there is one that rises above the aforementioned things—and that is the crew. We, the American people, are the crew. By going about our everyday actions in this, a democratic society, we reaffirm our belief in a system that can be truly unsinkable. It must be noted, that the failure of one member of society to carry out his responsibilities does not contribute to the immediate destruction of that society, but it does start a process of deterioration, if the situation goes unchecked. For example, if a crewman neglects his duty to keep a certain portion of the rigging tight, then he is hindering the overall operation of the ship. It is comforting to know that our democracy has a reliable system of checks and balances and that even if a substantial minority veer off in the wrong direction, the country is still highly capable of healing its own wounds.

You see, there are things holding up the mast other than just that part of the rigging that was left unattended. One can readily see this in our own government today, for as recently as June of 1972, a group of unorthodox individuals unlawfully placed listening devices in a certain party's campaign headquarters. They were caught and the system is now healing itself. It has become apparent that we are all on the same crew, each, directly or indirectly, striving for the betterment of all. This is true for any kind of government or society, but ours is unique among many, for one may pick the way in which he chooses to spend his life and abilities.

This is what is meant by "inalienable rights" guaranteed to us by our Constitution and it is the most important responsibility that we have—to select the best way in which to serve our country as well as ourselves. For example, if a man who would make an excellent first mate resigns himself to another position on board ship, then he is robbing that ship of his ability to lead, just as today's American would be wasting his God-given abilities.

This brings to light a second major duty that we must learn to execute efficiently. It is the ability to compromise and without it our democracy could not exist. This may be seen more easily in our Congressional system, for there bargaining on a huge scale takes place. One Senator may have to bend his beliefs a little if he wishes a colleague to vote for something he believes in. Or, a man on the street may have to relinquish

his right to walk across an intersection when the light is red so that cars may come and go. Of course, his turn will come when the light turns green. Both of these examples show that with everyone compromising and cooperating, everything from the most complex problem to the simplest can be solved.

As America sails through the oceans of time, I envision many more great things happening to the United States and the world; to think that it all hinges on the individuals who established this country, who are developing this country, and you and I, who will continue to make this country a nation of nations. Good luck, America, and smooth sailing.

EFFECT OF ROLLBACK ON STATE AND LOCAL REVENUES

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under current Federal regulations controlling prices of crude oil, the share of oil which is owned by State and local governments produced from Government lands, is exempt from price controls.

As a result, the oil companies which purchase the oil from State and local governments are being forced to pay market prices for this resource. In California, this revenue, totaling millions of dollars, is used by the State for capital improvements of the universities and colleges, and it is used by local governments to keep property taxes at a reasonably low level.

Under the Energy Emergency Act, S. 2589, however, the exemption for State and local governments is reversed and, thus, the major oil companies will be permitted to purchase oil from State and local governments at controlled prices. As a result, the State of California will lose millions of dollars.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I place in the Record a letter from Houston Flournoy, the controller of the State, and a copy of a telegram from Ronald Reagan, the Governor of California:

CONTROLLER OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA,

Sacramento, Calif., February 7, 1974.

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON,
Member of Congress,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ANDERSON: In recent months, your active support has been contributory to the Federal Energy Office's January 15, 1974, decision that State and local governments were exempt from crude oil price ceilings.

It has come to my attention that this decision might be reversed and the exemption removed due to pressure from major oil companies now actively working with the FEO staff for such reversal or removal. The effect of such action would be to deny the people of California potential additional revenue and would be of benefit only to the major oil companies involved. As you know, the major portion of tidelands oil revenues in California is presently allocated to capital outlay for our universities and colleges. These additional funds could be an additional benefit to this program and would allow us to move forward in other State wide people-benefit programs which deserve our attention.

Attached is a copy of a telegram which I have sent to the Administrator of the Federal Energy Office outlining my strong objections to any reversal of the present regulations.

As Chairman of the State Lands Commission, I am again enlisting your active support in opposing any change in the FEO regulations with respect to the present exempt status of State and local governments from the crude oil price ceiling. I invite you to support us in urging the Federal Energy Office to reject pressure from the oil companies and to continue California's exempt status in regard to royalty oil sales.

Cordially,

HOUSTON I. FLOURNOY,
Chairman, State Lands Commission.

[Telegram]

FEBRUARY 7, 1974.

MR. WILLIAM E. SIMON,
Administrator, Federal Energy Office,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SIMON: As Chairman of the California State Lands Commission, it has come to my attention that major oil companies are now actively working with the staff of the Federal Energy Office to reverse or remove the State's exemptions as defined in part 212, subpart C, section 212.52, paragraph (b) of the FEO regulations issued on January 15, 1974.

To consider making the State's exemption inoperative at this time would deprive California, like most State and local governments, of an established source of public funds to provide for the needs of its citizens. We assume that you are not ignoring previous comments from Governor Reagan, myself, and members of the California Congressional Delegation, which previously indicated the effect of such action on the State of California.

Removal of these potential additional funds from California, or from any other State or local government for that matter, would be of major benefit to the oil companies involved and of no benefit to the people these governments serve. In fact, the people of California would be disadvantaged by severe revenue loss from a State natural resource which is legally and morally the shared property of the citizens of this State.

If serious consideration is actually being given to changing the now-established Federal regulations, we most urgently request public hearings be held before any change in action or decision is made.

Sincerely,

HOUSTON I. FLOURNOY,
Chairman, State Lands Commission.

[Telegram]

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE,
February 8, 1974.

MR. WILLIAM E. SIMON,
Administrator, Federal Energy Office,
Washington, D.C.

It has come to my attention that the Federal Energy Office is considering reversing current regulations with regard to the State's exemption from crude oil pricing as defined in part 212, subpart C, section 212.52, paragraph (b) of the FEO regulations issued on January 15, 1974. I must object strongly to any proposal to remove State and local governments from exempt status in the sale of "covered products," including California's royalty share of oil from State-owned offshore leases, California's offshore leasing contracts net million of dollars per year in revenue for capital improvements at our universities and colleges.

Removing State and local governments from exempt status is inconsistent with intent to exempt prices and fees which aid educational institutions. I urge that no action be taken without adequate notice and scheduled public hearings.

RONALD REAGAN, Governor.

WASHINGTON STATE FINALIST IN
"VOICE OF DEMOCRACY" ESSAY
CONTEST

HON. THOMAS S. FOLEY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, the following essay, "My Responsibility as a Citizen," was written by Miss Susan Marie Hageman who has been judged the Washington State finalist in the Veterans of Foreign Wars' Voice of Democracy Contest. I would like to bring this essay to the attention of the House and insert it in the RECORD at this point:

MY RESPONSIBILITY AS A CITIZEN

(By Susan Hageman)

I dream of a free life—free of governmental regulations, governmental impositions, governmental interference. But I also dream of men living side by side; helping each other, making compromises for the sake of compatibility—without leaders demanding it. Yes, I dream of this utopian kind of freedom, yet I know that it cannot be because I know the reality of human existence. Human beings have differences and human beings argue about them. We find that our wishes conflict with our neighbor's wishes. We sometimes help those who need help, and we sometimes don't.

It took me a while to realize that if we are to live peacefully under a common name, we must organize one-to-one principles so that they will work between millions. The word "government" is simply a labeling of the men who carry out that necessity.

I think I understand why we have a government; that makes it relatively simple to know where I stand as a citizen. Those things which I hold in high esteem as a human being are the very same ones that I must strive for as a member of this nation. If it is important to me that the moral standards of my nation be high, then I must maintain those standards in my own life. If I want the poor of America to prosper, then I must be willing to give. If I want the words of all to be heard, then I must devote time to listening. In this way, I can live as a citizen by my own personal principles.

Much as I may work for it, I don't anticipate perfection. So, my obligation to society is to try to understand why it is that others live the way they do. I can always learn something more, find a better way. Still, it is important to maintain a constant vigilance to prevent an open mind from becoming a lax mind. There may be a hundred "right" answers to every question, but there are also that many—and more—wrong ones. Yes, the ability to view these sides is crucial, because only then is one capable of evaluating them. In the end, I can only adopt one way for myself. Hopefully, it will be the best way, if such a thing exists. However, knowing that I am limited because I only walk one road, I can surely realize that two people may have the same goal in mind, but reach it by very different means.

Yet, there will be methods that I cannot, and should not, accept. Times will come when it is not only right for me to refuse something in my own life, but I will also attempt to exert influence to prevent its infiltration into the lives of others.

There are lines I have to set to check myself; goals I place to push myself. That is also what a nation must do. I cannot personally fill the tables of the hungry, but I can support the local food bank. Our nation can never eliminate all the evils of society, but it can and it should remove the gravest in-

justices within this country. For instance, this affluent society still allows some of its poorer members to go without needed medical care, and there's just no excuse for that.

If our laws are really the epitome of national standards, then no one has more right than I, as a citizen, to work for correct laws. I'll fight the wrong answers in myself; I'll fight them in my country. Actually, it is one and the same battle. If I have weeded out something in myself, then my country is better for it, because I am a fraction of the whole.

These are beliefs that I would hold regardless of whether I lived under a government or not. They are things that I value simply because they hold truth for me concerning the inter-relationships of human beings.

I am a citizen of this nation, and equally important, I am a human being. The fulfillment of both roles is complete when they become one through a common goal: that of giving my private beliefs the benefit of my public support. And this is my responsibility as a citizen.

CONGRESSIONAL CONFIDENCE

HON. GERRY E. STUDDS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. STUDDS. Mr. Speaker, in the past 3 weeks I have spent 8 days at home in the 12th Congressional District of Massachusetts, listening to and talking with the people I represent in Congress. They are not at all happy about the state of this Nation, the energy crisis or the record of the 93d Congress in dealing with our problems. The recent Harris poll is a stark indictment of what was established to be the branch of Government most representative of the people. When we begin to lose the confidence of the people our effectiveness to govern must also begin to diminish. So it is the Congress that must reassert itself, must regain the respect and trust of the people by accomplishments—not empty rhetoric and verbose platitudes. For the further information of my colleagues I would like to enter in the RECORD at this point a cogent and well thought out argument from the editorial page of February 17, 1974 New Bedford, Mass., Standard Times.

The editorial follows:

CONGRESS IMAGE

A large number of Americans are aware that pollsters say only 26 per cent of the U.S. electorate presently supports President Nixon but probably not nearly so many know that the latest Harris poll revealed only 20 per cent of those interviewed think Congress is doing an effective job.

That is a jarring, nonpartisan, non-Watergate statistic that should provoke serious thought among both Democrats and Republicans on the Hill who may have thought it was only the Executive Branch or, at worst, only the GOP, that was in trouble with the American people. It is, of course, not new that a majority of the electorate is less than enthusiastic about congressional performance—both Harris and Gallup polls have revealed similar sentiments for years—but to stand six percentage points below the President in this particular hour of history is awful.

The Joint Committee on Congressional Operations undoubtedly will have this in mind

when it opens hearings on Feb. 20 on ways to improve the ability of Congress to communicate with the American people through the media. Many lawmakers, including Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, believe that what the Congress does and thinks is little known by the public, whereas a president and his cabinet get far more television time and news-column inches, which translate into greater influence.

Mansfield commented, "With the revolution of communications in this country, the whole notion of the separation of powers has been significantly diminished by the inordinate input that the Executive Branch . . ." has in the media. He believes, "It is time for Congress to determine who really should decide what is a fair input by a co-equal branch of government into the perceptions of the American electorate . . ."

The committee has its work cut out for it, for several reasons:

To a certain extent, this is a chicken-or-egg problem. Does the presidency command more ready access to the mass media because it has become more powerful than Congress? Or is intensive media coverage of the Executive Branch largely responsible for the president's expanded powers?

Many of Congress' communications problems are beyond its control. The president and vice president are the only two federal officials elected by nationwide popular vote. On the other hand, senators represent single states, and congressmen individual districts within a given state. Furthermore, Congress is divided along party lines. Who, then, can be said to speak for Congress?

It has been proposed that certain proceedings on the House and Senate floor be televised. The problem here is that congressional debates and floor votes rarely provide any drama and the committee action most likely to be interesting is most likely to be closed to the public, whether or not it should be.

Other proposals envision a congressional information service in the Library of Congress, instructional films to improve the quality of teaching about Congress, and even the establishment of a congressional broadcasting system but somehow these do not strike us as likely competition for even a poor White House press conference.

If the Congress wants to improve its image—and it needs improving—we propose a simple approach: Get to work; provide some leadership and direction, especially because the faltering Executive cannot.

Committees ad infinitum, in profusion and confusion, mull critical matters of inflation, unemployment, export-import control, budget process reform, energy policies, Social Security, welfare and a hundred other things—many of which have been studied and heard to death for years—and nothing much happens, except for the expenditure of more time and money. The statesmanship, stature and wisdom that characterized Congresses of other days are not now in evidence; instead, the weaknesses of the Executive merely reveal the weaknesses of the Legislative Branch.

Committee hearings on access to TV and newspapers won't help that.

VIETNAMESE ORPHANS

HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, as the sponsor of H.R. 3159, a bill to facilitate the adoption of Vietnamese orphans I believe, along with my colleagues, the time has come for a full discussion through

congressional hearings of the problems facing these children and their prospective adoptive parents.

My mail from Americans throughout the Nation and from social workers in Vietnam is overwhelmingly in favor of speeding the adoption of those orphans who are without hope of finding families within Vietnam—most particularly the half-American orphan.

However, from other branches of this Government I have received comments about the general question of not only Vietnamese-American adoptions, but the entire question of Asian-American adoptions.

On February 8, I presented the first in a three-part series of refutations to these common objections to adoptions. Today I am continuing the discussion with further excerpts from *The Children*, a handbook on Asian-American adoptions, written in 1969 by Jan de Hartog, the father of two adopted Asian daughters. I am most grateful to Atheneum Publishers for granting permission for these copyrighted excerpts to appear:

SOME COMMON OBJECTIONS TO THESE ADOPTIONS

2: "THEY CAN BE LOOKED AFTER MUCH BETTER IN THEIR OWN, FAMILIAR ENVIRONMENT"

All experts agree that in the long run, a child is infinitely better off, emotionally and psychologically, in the environment of his origin than in another culture where he has no roots, even if the material circumstances there are better. The argument sounds convincing; there can be no doubt that those who use it today are sincerely trying to protect the abandoned and orphaned children of Vietnam. The only thing wrong with their reasoning is that, obviously, they do not know the environment in which these children live.

In most of the orphanages I visited in Vietnam all children under the age of two were kept in iron cots with a plastic webbing or wooden slats in the bottom. This does away with the need for diapers; the child's urine and feces fall on the floor under the cot and can be swilled away by buckets of water thrown at odd intervals. Babies are picked up as little as possible, because to pick them up means to stimulate them to clamor for attention, which would mean more work. As a result they all lie helplessly on their backs, rolling their heads from side to side, and flattening their soft small skulls until they ultimately become pointed. It was by the shape of his head that we came to estimate the time a given child had spent in the orphanage; the first thing that struck me on my return to the United States was the beautiful round heads of the babies and the alertness with which they observed the world around them.

The arrival of a visitor in an orphanage usually means a sudden burst of activity by the native women helpers, called amahs. On one of my visits, when we entered the ward, one of the women squatting against the wall at the far end of a row of cots got to her feet, picked up two babies and carried them to a high dressing chest, where she began to paint the sores on their heads with the standard copper-sulfate solution. I turned away to talk to the Mother Superior, who was accompanying us; suddenly a Vietnamese officer in our party who had been watching the amah gave a startled cry. We looked around and saw that one of the babies had dropped off the chest onto the concrete floor. The amah picked the inert little body up by an arm, carried it back to its cot, dropped it inside and returned to the dressing chest,

where she continued to paint the skull of the one who was left. It was not cruelty, not even callousness; the Mother Superior explained apologetically that these women, being Buddhists, considered each individual's life to be the continuation of a previous existence—all that was meted out to a human being in his present incarnation was the outcome of his own actions during that previous existence and should not be interfered with, as it might be part of his redemption. The amah had picked up the babies in the first place only to cater to our foreign attitudes.

I saw, during the rest of that visit, two infants die of no apparent cause but emotional neglect. Every nurse who deals with babies knows that unless children receive a certain amount of sheer physical loving care they will, at a given moment, turn their faces to the wall and die, as if by choice. During the worst of the famine in Holland in the last winter of the Second World War, the Supreme Command of the German army of occupation allowed two barge loads of babies less than a year old to leave the city of Amsterdam for hospitals in Friesland across the Zuider Zee, where food was more plentiful and where they would be looked after by a professional staff. The barges sailed in bad weather; one of them was blown off course and ran aground on the beach near a fishing village north of the city. The babies were in a pitiable state of hunger, seasickness and sheer terror; the fishermen of the village waded out to the ship and formed a human chain that passed them to the shore, where they were taken over by the women. That night every woman in the village, young, old, single, married or widowed, had a baby to look after. A few days later the barge was reloaded and entered the harbor to take on its load of babies once more. But the women refused to give them up despite the dire threats from nervous officials, not one child was delivered on the quayside. The barge returned empty to Amsterdam.

In each barge there had been two hundred children; of the ones who ended up in the hospitals across the water, where they were well nourished and looked after by shifts of professional nurses, one quarter died, yet all the babies taken in by the women of the fishing village survived, despite the fact that their rations were far inferior and that there was no professional help available.

There is no substitute for the life-giving comfort and warmth of being hugged, nuzzled and loved by one motherly woman, and there can be no doubt that Vietnamese babies in the same desperate condition would respond as well to this treatment as the kidnapped infants of Amsterdam did, if only those whose professional duty it is to safeguard their well-being would close their books of rules and let them go.

3: "WHY NOT A CHILD FROM YOUR OWN COUNTRY?"

The social worker assigned to your case, when she first visits your home, probably will have this question uppermost in her mind. But she is unlikely to put it to you, at least not directly; the people who do are usually acquaintances, even total strangers, who for some reason react with irritation and hostility to the information that you are planning to adopt an Asian child.

Is the question a valid one? Objectively speaking, it is; the social workers will think so, but as it is not her business to berate you, only to pass judgment on your suitability as adoptive parents, she will with a sigh and a shrug start investigating you, ascribing your preference for a Korean or Vietnamese child to fashion.

Should you ask yourself this question? There is no harm in doing so, but I personally do not think there is any point to it. Even those who do not believe in Divine

guidance must sooner or later come to the conclusion that there are things in life which should be accepted and not questioned; useful and sometimes necessary as self-analysis may be, in basic decisions like this the danger is that too intense a scrutiny of one's own motives will bring about doubt, and that doubt will lead to one's abandoning the whole idea. As even the most ungenerous social workers agree that it is better to adopt a needy child from Asia than no child at all, they will not bug you with the question. But what should your answer to those others be?

The relationship between you and your future child, like the relationship between any parent and his offspring, is an emotional one. Only a small part of our identity is revealed within the horizon of our consciousness; our moods are ruled and our acts steered by currents and streams beyond the range of our perception. Why did you fall in love with your wife and not with the girl next door? Why do you instinctively like one person and just as instinctively dislike another? We can analyze ourselves until all our psychological tendons and viscera lie exposed in the unflattering Kleig light of our scrutiny, and we will know no more about the source of our motivation and the course of our destiny than we knew before.

I believe that in this particular respect you should allow yourselves to be guided by whatever wind it may have been that carried the notion, like the seed of a dandelion, from that unknown field half a world away, across plains and mountain ranges and the immensity of the ocean until it alighted in the fertile soil of your inarticulate longing. In the face of that mystery, the question whether the thought of adopting a child from Asia was reasonable when it occurred to you is immaterial. You were moved to reach out to an unknown child in an unknown land; the essence of your humanity demands that you shall go on reaching out until you can shelter it and give it life, not that you shall furnish a socially acceptable motivation for your impulse.

Maybe I have had more than my fair share of this type of inquisitioner, but the longer our children are with us the more important I feel with people who, from the objectivity of their non-involvement, demand a satisfactory answer to the question as to why I did not adopt a needy child from our own community. After trying for a while to come up with a reasonable reply I at least found a retort. Now, when someone comes drifting toward me at a meeting or a party, glass in hand, to call me to task, I say, "That's a good question. If you feel so strongly about it, why don't you?"

4: "DID YOU KNOW THAT THEY ARE BOUGHT FROM THEIR MOTHERS?"

The origin of this rumor may be that some agencies in East Asia are in the habit of giving a small donation to an orphanage or reception center after they have placed one of its children for adoption abroad. The sum of money involved never amounts to much, and is certainly not to be classified as "the price for the child". It is more like a symbolic gesture of appreciation to the orphanage, expressing awareness of the circumstance that the children who remain behind are the innocent victims of a caprice of fortune, or of the mysterious ways in which God works His wonders to perform, according to one's personal interpretation. To make a donation of fifty dollars to an orphanage trying to care for seven hundred orphans, in the space for three hundred and on a budget for one hundred, can hardly be classified as a transaction in the slave trade. When I was roaming the nightmarish halls of the orphanages of Vietnam I came to the conclusion that to donate fifty dollars to any one of them would be like giving a peanut to a starving elephant.

Another cause for this rumor may be the laudable practice of one Korean social agency to make an effort at rehabilitating the mother after having placed her child abroad. It does this by giving her a training which may result in her opening a little shop, or by finding some other type of work for her that will save her from having to return to her old, familiar environment.

Although it cannot be substantiated and is clearly a figment of somebody's private demonology, the rumor persists, so it may be more effective to ask the person who brings it up whether, in his opinion, this consideration should decide whether a child should live or not. Suppose at some moment, in some dark corner of the twilight world where these children swarm, some money secretly changed hands in return for a babe in swaddling clothes. If one participant in this transaction is innocent, surely it is the child itself. To refuse him a chance to lead a normal life, or any life at all, as retribution for other people's sins is unacceptable even to those who perpetuate the rumor. Or, at least, they will agree it is.

**H.R. 12898 IS A NEW APPROACH TO
SURFACE COAL MINE RECLAMATION WHICH BALANCES ENVIRONMENTAL AND ENERGY VALUES**

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced H.R. 12898, the Surface Mine Reclamation Act of 1974. It is a piece of legislation designed to insure harmony between two of the Nation's foremost goals—providing adequate supplies of energy and protecting nature from needless scars. A copy of H.R. 12898 is set forth in the body of today's Record, along with my remarks on introducing it.

I am taking this action out of the conviction that a nation that is facing a critical shortage of fuel cannot afford arbitrary restraints on energy production. We must use the resources we have in abundance—such as coal—to get us through the current fuels emergency and to achieve long-term energy self-sufficiency. And this, I submit, can be accomplished with full protection for the environment if we legislate wisely and well and do not permit emotion to cloud the facts.

The surface mining bills approved by the Senate and H.R. 11500 pending before the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, will not accomplish these ends. They are a product of an earlier day when protecting the environment was a singular goal and before the current energy crisis proved forcefully that an assured energy supply from domestic sources is at least an equal consideration.

Those bills cut needlessly into coal's ability to produce and expand and in many cases, their rigid constraints would actually stand in the way of environmental protection.

The reasons behind this are easy enough to understand. Arab oil embargoes, growing queues at gasoline pumps, and power cutbacks from my home in

Long Beach, Calif., to New York City were not the case when the conceptual framework for the bills was constructed.

Now, the situation has changed. We are running out of the oil our economy and lifestyles depend on. And only two energy sources—nuclear fission and our abundant coal reserves—offer real alternatives to Arab oil today. Nuclear power has much to offer in the longer term, but coal now appears to be the only domestic energy resource that can get us through the shortages we face in the short to mid-term.

A Cornell University report commissioned by Dr. Dixy Lee Ray, the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, in preparation for her report on energy research and development, makes it clear how much of the energy burden coal must carry if we are to get through the current fuel emergency with our economy and national honor intact.

The report says that if we are to hold oil imports to their 1970 level, more than one-third of the 124.9 quadrillion Btu a year energy production we must provide by 1985 will have to come from coal, even if nuclear powerplants are added as fast as possible and domestic oil production can be increased by 25 percent.

The report points out, however, that this will only be possible if the coal industry can expand production from 1973's 590 million tons a year to a minimum of 1.8 billion tons a year by 1985. The only way this can be done is to expand surface mine production from 300 million tons a year to one billion tons a year because of constraints on underground production, the report says.

Dr. S. L. Groff, Montana's State geologist, recently summed up this whole question neatly:

I strongly favor reclamation and environmental controls, but I hope that reason and flexibility will receive primary consideration in the wording of the final stripmining bill. It has always been my opinion that reclamation will be successful and could produce land of considerably more value and usefulness than the original (before mining) surface.

I regard people as part of the environment. They should understand, cherish, and control their surroundings, but never should we regulate so as to benefit a few to the detriment of the many.

Reasonably controlled surface mining however, is not possible with the bill now before the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. It states that as a matter of national policy coal mining should be forced underground. This, of course, is based on the mistaken premise that surface mineable reserves constitute less than 3 percent of domestic coal reserves. This simply is not true. According to Federal Energy Office Administrator William Simon, at least 18 percent of the Nation's recoverable reserves can only be extracted through surface mining. What is more, surface mining is the only means to provide desperately needed coal now, when it is most urgently needed.

Another section of the bill would prohibit new mining starts on Federal land until the Secretary of the Interior implements a Federal lands program. Although the bill directs the Secretary to develop the program within 18 months,

by the time impact statements are drafted and circulated, administrative hearings and court action concluded and leases issued, 2½ to 3 years could go by.

The bill also insists on returning land to its approximate original contour, even though that contour may stand in the way of slope stability and erosion control. The Council on Environmental Quality says more than 100 million tons of current coal production a year comes from steep slopes—much of which would be eliminated by this provision.

In contrast, H.R. 12898 would assure an equal—and in some cases, greater—degree of environmental protection. It would assure that land is returned to an equal or better use after it is mined. It would protect streams against siltation and acid runoff, insure the stability of slopes, and guarantee that revegetation does, in fact, occur. What is more, it would provide a case-by-case mechanism for prohibiting any surface mining operation if the site cannot be reclaimed.

In addition, H.R. 12898 would require the States and the Secretaries of Interior and Agriculture to establish a planning process to determine what areas under their jurisdiction cannot be reclaimed with existing technology. No new strip mining operations could be started in these areas until the technology is available to satisfy the bill's environmental standards.

My bill also prohibits the placement of spoil on steep slopes. Exceptions would be granted only where slides can be prevented and the other environmental requirements of the bill can be met. This would prohibit the indiscriminate dumping of spoil on hillsides—a flagrant abuse of the environment that can no longer be tolerated.

In short, the legislation I am proposing is a tough but effective surface mine reclamation bill. Unlike other measures pending before Congress, it does not address underground mining but would regulate the surface operations incident to deep mining. It has no land use provisions dealing with the exclusionary zoning of large portions of the coal producing States of the West; it would leave that determination to State and Federal agencies operating under land use legislation pending before State legislatures and the Congress. Nor does it attempt to force a shift to underground mining through a complex set of economic sanctions.

It is what it says it is—a surface mine reclamation bill that will prevent the all too evident excesses of irresponsible surface mine operators from occurring again. At the same time, it will permit responsible operators to mine the coal we need to protect jobs, industry, and our national security. Achieving harmony between energy and the environment is indeed possible. This measure will insure this occurs.

I think H.R. 12898 is a far superior vehicle for markup in the Interior Committee than H.R. 11500 and will, therefore, seek to substitute it.

The following are amongst the major provisions of H.R. 12898.

First. An interim regulatory procedure which will take effect within 90 days from

the date of enactment. The interim permit will provide for the restoration of the approximate original contour, require topsoil replacement, and a stable and self-regenerative vegetative cover. It will prohibit spoil placement on steep slopes, require stabilization of waste piles and the burying of toxic material, require protection of water quality and quantity, and protection from offsite damages. The regulatory authority may alter down-slope and contour restoration requirements only if it will result in the land ending up with an equal or better economic or public use. Section 201.

Second. A procedure requiring the Federal Government to establish minimum coal mining and reclamation guidelines for State regulatory and enforcement programs within 180 days following the date of enactment. Section 202.

Third. Provisions for approval of State regulatory programs which meet stiff Federal guidelines for surface coal mining and reclamation operations. Section 203.

Fourth. Provisions for a Federal program to be implemented on Federal lands and in States which fail to adopt a federally approved plan within 24 months after the date of enactment. Sections 204, 221.

Fifth. A provision compelling the States and Federal agencies to establish an objective land review program for designating areas unsuitable for surface coal mining operations under existing technology because they cannot be properly reclaimed. Decisions would be based on public hearings and scientific data. Section 205.

Sixth. A ban on surface coal mining operations except in accordance with 5-year renewable permits conditioned on adherence to a sound mining and reclamation plan setting forth the engineering techniques to be used in the surface coal mining and reclamation operation. Sections 207-209, 212.

Seventh. The posting of a reclamation bond or deposit adequate to assure satisfactory and permanent reclamation of the mined land, adequate insurance to compensate for any offsite damages from mining operations. Sections 210-211.

Eighth. Comprehensive mining and reclamation performance standards for both surface coal mining and surface operations incidental to underground coal operations. Sections 213-214.

Ninth. Provisions insuring public notice of permit applications and provisions for public hearings on promulgation of State and Federal standards, mining permit applications, bond release procedures, and a provision authorizing citizen suits. Sections 215, 220.

Tenth. Provisions requiring both State and Federal inspections of surface mining operations together with provisions for adequate monitoring and record-keeping. Provisions for studies of subsidence and underground waste disposal in coal mines. Sections 216-218, 302.

Eleventh. Stiff penalty provisions for violations by mine operators, including revocation, suspension, permit denials, and civil and criminal fines and imprisonment of up to 1 year. Section 219.

Twelfth. Protection for owner of the

surface estate by requiring written consent of the surface owner prior to issuance of a mining permit or, in lieu thereof, execution of a bond to secure payment for any damages to the surface estate as fixed by agreement or court order. Section 308.

CONGRESSWOMAN SULLIVAN'S TESTIMONY ON COSMETIC SAFETY BEFORE SENATE HEALTH SUBCOMMITTEE

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I was privileged today to be the opening witness at a historic set of hearings before Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY's Subcommittee on Health of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare on legislation to close glaring loopholes in the provisions of the 36-year-old Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938 relating to the regulation of cosmetics for safety. Senator KENNEDY confirmed my understanding that they were the first hearings on cosmetics safety and labeling legislation in the Senate committee since the 1938 act was passed.

I knew that they were the first hearings on either side of the Capitol on cosmetics legislation in the 12 years since the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce held a week of hearings in 1962 on my bill, H.R. 1235, to close all of the loopholes—not just in the cosmetics title but in other areas also—of the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act. The 1962 hearings resulted in passage of the Kefauver-Harris Drug Safety Act, many of the provisions of which had come out of H.R. 1235 as originally introduced but nothing was done at that time—or since then—by Congress to tighten the law on cosmetics safety or on many other areas of the basic consumer statute.

SENATOR EAGLETON TAKES LEAD ON SENATE SIDE

Thanks to the leadership exercised by the distinguished junior Senator from my State of Missouri, Senator THOMAS F. EAGLETON, who introduced a safe-cosmetics bill on the Senate side a year ago, the Senate subcommittee, of which Senator EAGLETON is a member, has set aside today and tomorrow for hearings on cosmetics legislation.

Senator EAGLETON's bill, S. 863, is modeled on, but differs in a number of technical respects from, section 11 and parts of section 2 of my omnibus food, drug, and cosmetic bill—which has always carried the same number, H.R. 1235, in every Congress since it was first introduced in 1961.

As I pointed out in my testimony today, the Congress knew when it passed the 1938 act that its cosmetics provisions were very weak. Our colleague, Congressman JAMES J. DELANEY, documented those weaknesses in a very far-reaching investigation by a select committee which he headed in the early 1950's, which also exposed the weakness of the food additives section of the 1938 law.

When I came to Congress in 1953, I joined Congressman DELANEY in introducing legislation to tighten the food additives and the cosmetics sections of the 1938 act, and we were successful in enacting the strong Food Additives Act of 1958, including the provision we insisted upon—usually referred to as the "Delaney clause"—to prohibit the use in food of any chemical which can cause cancer in man or in animal. But cosmetics safety legislation was passed over at that time, as it was again in 1962; and since then, no legislative hearings were even conducted on cosmetics legislation until the Senate hearings started today.

I am grateful to Senator EAGLETON for persuading the Senate subcommittee to go into this issue. He has been an eloquent and effective voice for new cosmetics legislation, particularly on the series of television programs on cosmetics by the National Broadcasting Co. network this week on Barbara Walters' "Not for Women Only" program.

FDA ACKNOWLEDGES LOOPHOLES IN THE LAW

The testimony today of Dr. Alexander M. Schmidt, Commissioner of Food and Drugs and head of the Food and Drug Administration, acknowledged the statutory limitations of his Agency in assuring the safety of the billions of dollars worth of cosmetics used by the American people; and although the Nixon administration has not asked for the specific powers Senator EAGLETON's bill and my bill would give to his Agency, Dr. Schmidt said today he would have no objection to the Congress passing at least some of them.

I was gratified to hear Dr. Schmidt generally confirm the fears I expressed in my testimony that a proposed FDA regulation to require ingredient labeling of cosmetic products under the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act of 1966 may be susceptible to successful court challenge in view of the legislative history—and particularly the House debate in 1966—on the application of that law to cosmetics labeling requirements. Hence, if we are, in fact, to accomplish the long-sought reform of having all ingredients in cosmetics placed on the label, it is essential, I believe, that we bring it about through a straightforward amendment to the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, as both the Eagleton and Sullivan bills provide.

TEXT OF MY TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE

Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD as part of my remarks the testimony I gave today on the subject of cosmetics safety, as follows:

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSWOMAN LEONOR K. SULLIVAN (D.-Mo.) BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE ON HEALTH, SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE, AT OPENING OF HEARINGS ON COSMETICS SAFETY AND LABELING OF COSMETICS PRODUCTS, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1974

The first thing I want to do is to thank Chairman Kennedy and Senator Eagleton for making it possible for me to participate in what I regard as a historic occasion. I believe this is the first time in a dozen years that a legislative committee on either side of the Capitol which has jurisdiction over the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938 has scheduled hearings on legislation to amend the

cosmetics sections of that Act. On behalf of 210 million Americans who use cosmetics—and who are the guinea pigs for testing the safety of cosmetic products—I sincerely hope that these hearings will lead to effective action by the Congress to close glaring loopholes which were deliberately written into the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act 36 long years ago, and which have remained virtually untouched in that Act ever since.

Even the best of laws need updating after 36 years. But the law providing for Federal regulation of cosmetics was defective—and known to be defective—when it was enacted in 1938. Yet in the intervening years, the only change in the law has been in connection with the coloring matter used in cosmetics. That was in 1960. That was 14 years ago. The only reason changes were made in the Act in 1960 was that the cosmetic industry itself came rushing in that year with a fervent plea for immediate passage of legislation which would rescue the industry from what it regarded as a disaster. And Congress was quick to oblige the cosmetic industry by passing the law the industry demanded, the Color Additives Act of 1960.

A brief recital of that history might be instructive to this subcommittee. The 1938 Act provided that no coal tar colors could be used in foods, drugs, or cosmetics unless they were "harmless." The Food and Drug Administration thereupon set up an elaborate system for testing and certifying coal tar color additives on a batch-by-batch basis, and developed numerous colors suitable for use in different types of products, depending upon whether they were ingested by the consumer or whether they were used in ways which would not lead to their ingestion. But as testing techniques became more sophisticated, the Food and Drug Administration discovered that some of its colors officially certified as harmless were not, in fact, completely harmless because, if ingested by test animals in sufficiently large quantities—usually very large quantities—injuries resulted to the liver or other organs. Therefore, some of the popular colors used in lipsticks and other cosmetics had to be withdrawn from certification and use. As soon as this happened, the cosmetic industry came rushing into Congress to ask for a revised color safety law which would eliminate the "harmless" test and permit the use of any coloring matter which was found to be *generally safe* for the purposes for which it was intended to be used. That was in 1960. But nothing was done at that time, and nothing has been done since that time, to require proof of safety before marketing of any ingredients in a cosmetic product other than the coloring matter.

MOST COSMETICS SAFE FOR MOST USERS

I want to acknowledge the fact that most ingredients used in most cosmetic products are safe for most consumers. Some of these ingredients are as old as civilization itself. But in a highly competitive, advertising-oriented industry where being first on the market with something new is a great sales promotion gimmick, new products can be marketed without adequate testing and if they turn out to be dangerous to the consumer, it is up to the Food and Drug Administration to ferret them out, conduct the testing and establish legal proof that a product is unsafe in order to move against it.

This is wrong. This was also the law as it related to new drugs up until 1938, but the 1938 Act ended that situation by requiring the manufacturer to establish the safety of a drug product before it could be placed on the market. It was also the law as regards food additives until 1958. Between 1938 and 1958, a food manufacturer could market a product containing unsafe food chemicals and it was up to the FDA to prove it was dangerous in order to remove the product from sale. The 1958 Act changed that insofar as

food additives are concerned, requiring proof of safety before the product could be sold. But the pretesting of cosmetic ingredients for safety has never been required other than for color during the 36 years in which cosmetics have been subject to any form of Federal regulation.

This is an indefensible situation, jeopardizing the health and safety of 210 million American men, women and children who use products legally defined as cosmetics almost every day in some form or other, from mouthwashes and toothpaste to shaving cream and hair dyes, baby powder or shampoos.

CURRENT EXEMPTION FOR SOAP

I said that most cosmetic ingredients are safe for most consumers, and that is true. But increasing numbers of Americans are discovering that they are allergic to many things in our environment—food additives, color additives, plants, fruits, air born chemicals from industrial pollution, and a variety of drugs from aspirin to antibiotics. Once an individual knows what chemicals he or she is allergic to the consumer can look at the labels of foods or over-the-counter drugs and avoid those which pose in a threat to one's personal safety or well-being. But labels of cosmetic products tell the consumer nothing whatsoever about the ingredients to enable the individual to protect himself or herself from a cosmetic which can cause a painful and even dangerous reaction. This, too, is an intolerable gap in consumer protection.

The most ridiculous loophole in the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938 as it relates to cosmetics is the exemption for soap. Under the 1938 law, soap is not a cosmetic. What is it? It is certainly not a food; in rare instances where therapeutic values are claimed for it, it might be regarded as a drug. But under the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, soap is a nothing—it doesn't exist. This loophole, also, must be closed after 36 years.

THE COAL TAR HAIR DYE EXEMPTION

Let me cite another: hair dyes—particularly the permanent coal tar dyes—are not subject to any regulation whatsoever as to their safety as long as the manufacturer places a warning on the label of possible danger and advises the user to make a patch test before applying the product. Permanent dyes are usually applied in beauty parlors, rather than at home. The patron of a beauty parlor does not usually see the container in which the product comes from the manufacturer. So every once in awhile an occasional woman loses much or all of her hair, or suffers indescribable agonies from a burned or blistered scalp because the beauty parlor failed to make a patch test before applying the dye. You seldom hear of these cases because they seldom if ever get to court—the manufacturers are quick to settle any claim resulting from the horrible injuries resulting from the use of unsafe hair dyes. How can anyone defend that loophole in the law?

Just as there are no ingredients listed on the label of most cosmetics products to warn the allergic consumer of the presence of ingredients that he or she might know to be injurious the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act does not require warnings on the label—other than for a coal tar hair dye preparation—of the danger inherent in the use of a particular product. Hair sprays contain flammable ingredients and also ingredients that can cause lung disease, but any warning that you find on the label is there because the manufacturer voluntarily put it there or else because state law might require it. Many cosmetic products are poisonous if swallowed by children, but there is nothing in the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to require a warning to that effect or to guide the parent on what to do if the child does ingest nail polish remover or other danger-

ous products. The Hazardous Substances Labeling Act of 1960 required warnings on all household products except that cosmetics, being covered by the Food, Drug, and Cosmetics Act and presumably regulated by that Act, are therefore exempted from the application of the Hazardous Substances Labeling Act. This is in effect a double exemption for cosmetics and is another intolerable loophole.

FEW INJURIES REPORTED TO FDA

Only a tiny fraction of the injuries which are suffered by consumers each year in the use of cosmetics is ever reported to the Food and Drug Administration. The National Commission on Product Safety established that fact four years ago when it surveyed claims made to insurance companies for injuries resulting from cosmetic products. The Commission reported that there are about 60,000 cosmetic injuries a year. The Food and Drug Administration, on the other hand, receives no more than 300 or 400 complaints each year. Furthermore, the inspectors of the Food and Drug Administration do not have access to the complaint files of the manufacturers even though these complaints to the manufacturers could immediately alert the FDA to the existence of a problem product which should be investigated immediately for safety.

Now how have we managed to allow this situation to go on for 36 years under a law which presumably protects the consumer in the use of cosmetics? There are two explanations: the first is that the public doesn't realize how poorly it is protected by Federal law in the use of cosmetics; and, secondly, the Food and Drug Administration—with a variety of other problems it has encountered in recent years—regards the cosmetic safety issue as one of relatively low priority, and has been reluctant for the past five years to ask for the kind of legislation it needs.

The Food and Drug Administration did not always feel that way. Back in the 1950's when I introduced the first cosmetic safety bill along with Congressman James J. Delaney of New York—at the same time that we also introduced the legislation which became the Food Additives Act of 1958—the FDA strongly supported the kind of legislation which I have been introducing repeatedly in every Congress beginning in 1954. It took us four years to get the Food Additives Act passed, but nothing was done legislatively then or later about the safety of cosmetics. In 1960, as I said, the industry itself came in to ask for the Color Additives Act, and Congress quickly passed it but refused to include in that law anything dealing with ingredients of cosmetics other than the coloring matter. For an extended period after 1960, the Food and Drug Administration attempted to stretch the application of the Color Additives Act to include pretesting for safety of all ingredients in a colored cosmetic product. But the industry went to court to overturn that regulation and succeeded in doing so.

ACTION TO CLOSE LOOPHOLES LONG OVERDUE

In 1961 I introduced for the first time the bill H.R. 1235 to rewrite the entire Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938 to close all of the loopholes in that Act, dealing not only with cosmetics but with the efficacy of drugs and of medical devices, the certification of all antibiotics and of other erratic life-saving drugs, the use of coloring matter in dairy products, and so on. As Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare at the time, Senator Ribicoff endorsed practically everything in H.R. 1235 as introduced in 1961; in 1962, the first Consumer Message ever sent to Congress by a President, President John F. Kennedy also called for rewriting the 1938 Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act along the lines of H.R. 1235. The House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce held a week of hearings on this legislation in

1962—mostly for educational purposes—in contemplation of legislation in the following Congress. However, when the thalidomide tragedy broke upon the world that summer of 1962, the Committee reopened its hearings, but only on the subject of drug safety and the Kefauver-Harris Act of 1962 was the result. I am proud to say that most of the provisions of the Kefauver-Harris Act came out of the original version of H.R. 1235 as introduced in January of 1961. But cosmetics safety legislation was again put off, as it had been in 1958, until "later".

In the dozen years since 1962, the House Committee has never held any legislative hearings on H.R. 1235 as an omnibus bill, or on the cosmetic sections of that bill. These, beginning today, are the first hearings, I believe, in the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare on the subject of cosmetic safety in the past dozen years, and perhaps as far back as 1938, although I have not researched that point.

ATTEMPTS TO STRETCH APPLICATION OF OTHER LAWS

I said that the Food and Drug Administration had strongly supported corrective legislation on cosmetics and on other aspects of the loophole-ridden Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act in the 50's. It also did so in the 1960's. But from the time President Nixon took office in 1969, until last week, I do not believe that the Food and Drug Administration or the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare ever asked for any legislation whatsoever dealing with cosmetic safety. Instead it appealed to the industry for voluntary cooperation in disclosing to the FDA, if not to the public, the ingredients of its formulae. Although hundreds of cosmetic firms have complied with the request, the information on ingredients used is not available to the public and may never become public knowledge.

Also, just as the agency tried after 1960 to stretch the application of the Color Additives Act to cover ingredients not contemplated in the 1960 Color Additives Act, the agency now is seeking to require the ingredient labeling of cosmetic products under the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act of 1966. I think the legislative history of the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act, particularly as it was debated on the House Floor in 1966, would provide any section of the cosmetic industry—if it chooses to fight the FDA's proposed regulation—powerful ammunition to use in the courts to prove that the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act was not designed to accomplish what the Food and Drug Administration is trying to do under it insofar as cosmetic labeling is concerned. A much more forthright approach would be to amend the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to require the listing on the label of all ingredients, as my bill proposes and as Senator Eagleton's bill proposes, permitting exemptions from this requirement only when the Secretary finds that no practical purpose is served. But I certainly oppose any proposal which would exempt colors or—as the FDA itself has proposed to do—the listing of specific fragrance ingredients.

I am not a chemist or an allergist and am not qualified to discuss the reactions from specific cosmetic chemicals but I do know, from the many, many women and some allergists I have heard from on this issue that coloring matter and fragrances are often the culprits in cosmetic allergies. A woman in my district has discovered that she has an allergic reaction in the form of raging headaches from all coal derivatives, from aspirin to coloring matter. Her shopping experience is, in itself, a headache in trying to find products free of the kinds of coloring matter she must avoid.

COSMETICS SAFETY IS PART OF A LARGER PROBLEM

I am deeply grateful for the work done by Senator Eagleton in pressing the cosmetics

safety issue in this Committee of the Senate. His cosmetic labeling amendment to the Consumer Product Safety bill several years ago would have been a strong step forward; unfortunately, his amendment was not germane to that bill in the House. If you can get a good cosmetics bill through the Senate, I will certainly do my best to help get it through the House. Speaking personally, I would prefer to see this issue handled, as it is in H.R. 1235, as part of an omnibus bill to rewrite—and close all of the many major loopholes in—the 36-year-old Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act. There are so many outdated provisions of the 1938 Act which pose serious threats to consumer safety that cosmetics safety, important as it is, is only one part of a much bigger problem. I introduced H.R. 1235 as an omnibus bill and have re-introduced and expanded it in every Congress since the 87th Congress because I was deeply concerned over the small-like pace in which Congress was acting to remedy the faults in the basic Act—one aspect at a time in 1958, 1960, 1962, 1965, and so on.

Many of the major deficiencies in the 1938 Act have been known to us for 36 years. All of them have been known to us for at least 13 years. Much as I want cosmetics safety legislation passed—and I will do all I can to help pass it, either as a separate measure or as part of an omnibus bill to rewrite the 1938 Act—I would hate to see Congress take the attitude that by passing cosmetics legislation alone, it was solving enough of the consumer's immediate concerns to permit postponing further changes in the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act for another dozen years or so. In conclusion, I would like permission to append to my statement the title of H.R. 1235 which lists all of the areas covered by this bill. I think anyone reading just the title of that bill cannot help but be struck by the magnitude of the inadequacies of our most basic consumer safety law.

REPRESENTATIVE LITTON HELPS EXPLAIN WHY THE PRICE OF FOOD HAS GONE UP

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague and my friend, Representative JERRY LITTON, "an enlightened Democrat" of Missouri and a Member of great insight into the causes of problems confronting our Nation, has authored a thought-provoking article which appeared in the newspaper supplement, *Family Weekly*, this past weekend.

Congressman LITTON raises the question: "Did consumer advocates talk the price of food up?" On the whole, he has made a convincing case that they did do just that: They drove the price of food, particularly meats, upward. And everyone paid the price for Congress and the administration having succumbed to their pressures for the imposition of mandatory price control which backfired. That is one reason I am glad I voted against the extension of price control authority last April.

Congressman LITTON, a farmer all his life, is working diligently on ways to close what he calls the communication gap between food producers and food consumers. I think this article is a valuable contribution to that effort. I join him in advocating both an end to the political

phase IV economics and a return to the free market economics which alone can produce and deliver the goods in the most efficient and stable way.

Mr. Speaker, at this point in the RECORD, I wish to insert the full text of the Congressman from Missouri's remarks:

[From *Family Weekly*, Feb. 17, 1974]

DID CONSUMERS ADVOCATES TALK THE PRICE OF FOOD UP?

(By Representative JERRY LITTON (D-Mo.))

(NOTE.—Jerry Litton, 36, is a freshman congressman from Chillicothe, Mo. A farmer all his life, he says he is currently working on ways to close the "communications gap" between the nation's food producers and food consumers.)

America is faced with food shortages. And strangely enough, those who have expressed the greatest concern over rising food prices have been those most responsible for the shortages and the even greater price increases that followed.

Let me try to explain what I mean.

Trying to solve food shortages with a food-price freeze is like trying to solve a teacher shortage by placing a ceiling on teachers' salaries. Instead of easing the shortage, you would create additional shortages. Problems of shortages are solved by programs that encourage production, not by those that discourage it.

Unfortunately, many politicians in both the Congress and the Administration took the easy way out. They yielded to pressure from would-be consumer advocates by supporting programs that appeared to help the consumer. But, in fact, those programs did just the opposite. Congressmen who opposed the price freeze were labeled unsympathetic to the consumer. The fact is, they were the ones who were being honest with the consumers.

Last February, food prices responded to increased food demand: they began to move upward. Farmers, anticipating better pork, poultry, beef and grain prices, were increasing their breeding herds, buying better machinery and preparing to produce a record volume of food.

Then, in April, along came the boycotts and threatened freezes or price rollbacks. While these moves were well-intended, they accomplished only one thing. Farmers who were increasing their breeding herds in February—in anticipation of better prices—started decreasing them in April.

So, the louder the cries for boycotts and freezes, the more the farmers reduced their breeding-herd numbers. They weren't reducing the herd numbers or drowning baby chicks to hurt the consumer. Like everyone else, they are in business to make a profit. Their income is substantially below that of non-farmers. They did these things only to lessen the losses they anticipated if boycotts or freezes took place.

On March 29, 1973, President Nixon announced a food-price freeze. But in fairness to my Republican friends, I must admit many Democratic members of Congress favored price rollbacks—which would have been even worse.

The freeze meant farmers were caught in a squeeze between the freeze and increasing costs of production. Instead of being encouraged to increase their production, they were discouraged. Tens of thousands of farmers across the country took this occasion to cull their herds of all but their very best breeding animals. Many farmers decided to quit altogether.

Pork and poultry prices were the first to go up because of all the pregnant sows that went to market and all the eggs that weren't hatched. Then came pork and poultry shortages, so that prices for these items skyrocketed when the freeze was lifted. Consumers shifted to beef, thus creating a similar situation in beef.

Imagine that you own a farm. Farm debt has increased 400 percent since 1960, so the chances are you own it with the bank. You have room on your farm to keep between 10 and 100 sows this winter. You hear that consumers plan to boycott meat, and that there may be price freezes or rollbacks. You decide to keep 10 sows—not 100.

The 90 sows you didn't keep could have produced 10 pigs each—every six months. The 900 pigs you didn't produce because of the 90 sows you didn't keep represent 180,000 pounds (200 pounds per market hog) of pork the consumer will never see. Multiply this times thousands of hog farmers—and you begin to see why pork production went down. Consumers bid against each other for a limited amount of pork—and they simply bid up the price.

So consumers in effect talked the farmers into raising less food and then bid up the price of that food. If they had a better understanding of what encourages farmers to produce there would have been no food crisis in America last year. And by now, food production would have begun responding to higher prices, and food supplies would have been more in line with demand.

The price freeze hurt everyone. It hurt the consumer by raising food costs. It hurt the producer by denying him profits from higher production—and, in many cases, by forcing him to take losses. It hurt the economy by reducing the production of goods we needed to help offset our balance-of-trade deficit.

There were other things that brought on the price increases:

Social Security and Medicare were increased by \$10 billion annually in September, 1972. Much of this increase was spent by retired people on food, making food demand greater.

The food-stamp program was increased 17 percent last year. All of this went for food, also increasing demand.

Russia and China changed their food and trade policies with the U.S., and experienced a bad crop year, decreasing supply.

We, too, had unfavorable weather, also decreasing supply.

The standard of living went up around the world, increasing demand.

We devalued the dollar twice in 14 months, making American-produced food a much better bargain abroad; foreign buyers bought more.

We experienced a period of high inflation.

Since increases in food prices are not offset by corresponding decreases in purchases, we have food shortages and fast-rising prices. But the truth is, food prices have not increased nearly as much as the prices of other goods or wages in the past 20 years. If food prices had gone up as much as wages during that time, round steak that sold at \$1.75 per pound in April would have sold at \$2.67, eggs would have increased from 68¢ a dozen to \$1.61, and a frying chicken from 89¢ to \$1.46 a pound. The retail price of food from 1952 to 1972 went up 38 percent—wages went up 140 percent.

Americans spend less than 16 percent of their average after-tax income on food. In England, the same figure is 25 percent; in Japan it is 35 percent; in Russia it is 58 percent; and in Asia it is 80 percent. But the farmer who supplies all this food is himself not well paid. Once you give him a seven percent return on his assets (he can get this by selling out and drawing interest), he received 74 cents and 81 cents an hour for his labor in 1971 and 1972. But his costs are going up too, and he can't be expected to continue at those wages.

Now many voices are joined in asking the government to shut off exports of grain and other farm products. Is their advice sound advice? Again, imagine you are a farmer. Grain prices have gone up sharply in the past few months. Because of this you are considering making long-range investments in

machinery and land improvements. Now you hear that the government is considering stopping the export of American grains. What do you do?

Chances are you won't make the big investments, and the consumer, eventually, will be hit by shortages and higher prices.

How can it be said that food is too high in America if it is the thing we produce cheaply enough to sell on the world market at a surplus? What else do we have to sell to stabilize the American dollar, balance our trade deficit and make it possible for us to import energy-producing products that keep the country running?

CIVIL RIGHTS FOR ALL INDIANS

HON. WILLIAM S. COHEN

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. COHEN. Mr. Speaker, early this month the Maine State Advisory Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights held 22 hours of hearings on the severe problems now facing the nearly 3,000 Indians in Maine. These Indians, members of the Maleseet, Micmac, Passamaquoddy, and Penobscot tribes, are faced with such an urgent situation that the Advisory Committee concluded that the preliminary findings of their investigation should be promptly submitted to the Commission and made public.

I am bringing these findings to the immediate attention of my colleagues, because it is imperative that we recognize and correct the injustices that have been done by the pernicious administrative discrimination that has been made between so-called State and Federal Indians.

The same day I received the findings of the Advisory Committee, the U.S. Senate passed the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Reform Act. The purpose of this legislation is to enable more effective and meaningful participation by the Indian people in the planning, conduct, and administration of Federal programs and services. The legislation also makes provision for the kind and quality of services necessary to assure that Indians will have an opportunity to compete in the life areas of their choice. Unfortunately, though the legislation establishes vital national goals, it continues to arbitrarily exclude significant portions of our Indian population from access to these resources simply because they do not reside on or near federally recognized Indian reservations. As I hope the following findings of the Advisory Committee will make clear, our Indian policy must be changed to reflect human need, rather than geographical accident:

FINDINGS

The Maine Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights finds:

1. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the Indian Health Service (IHS), two important Federal agencies which provide services to many American Indians, do not provide such services to Maine Indians. The denial of services by the BIA, an agency within the Department of the Interior, is based on a restrictive interpretation by the Department of the Snyder Act (42 Stat. 208,

24 U.S.C.A. § 13). This 1921 law authorizes government appropriations for a broad range of services for the "benefit, care and assistance" of Indians "throughout the United States" but is interpreted to exclude Maine and most Eastern Indians.¹ The denial of services by the IHS of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), according to HEW representatives who appeared before the Committee, appears to be based primarily on economic consideration—program funds are too limited to provide health services to Maine and Eastern Indians. Secondly, the IHS effectively follows the administrative decision of the BIA to expend funds only for Indians who meet BIA's definition of eligibility under the Snyder Act. This IHS policy appears particularly harmful in Maine where the health needs of Indians, on and off reservations, are acute. Maine's Regional Medical Program in a recent study stated:

"The general health status of the Indians is far below that of the U.S. general population. They have high infant mortality, low life expectancy, high morbidity and numerous infectious diseases due to impoverished physical and sanitary conditions."

2. The provision of services to Maine Indians by the BIA and the IHS would drastically improve services to Maine Indians, and result in a better balance in Federal-State responsibility for meeting the needs of Indians. The National Council on Indian Opportunity, a Federal coordinating body headed by the Vice President, provided the Committee with data which show that two states with Indian populations similar to Maine's are each currently receiving an annual appropriation of approximately \$4.5 million from BIA and \$5 million from IHS. In lieu of this potential resource of \$9 million in Federal revenues, the State of Maine now asks its taxpayers to provide approximately \$1 million in yearly appropriations for Indians.

3. The announced elimination, reduction or transfer of certain Federal programs and services may seriously threaten the health and welfare of Maine Indians. Although the precise details of the announced reductions are not available at this time, statements by public officials and private citizens indicate that a severe crisis may be in the offing for Maine Indians. Programs which currently serve Maine Indians may be jeopardized by transfers from one Federal agency to another, particularly if the receiving agency is the BIA and if the funds are administered under the BIA's current restrictive interpretation of the Snyder Act. For example, programs administered by the Economic Development Administration (EDA) of the Department of Commerce have funded water and sewer projects on Maine Indian reservations. These programs are to be transferred to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In turn, housing projects on Indian reservations in Maine will be stymied if EDA (or BIA) funds are not available to Maine Indians for water and sewer projects. While the Committee was told that existing projects would not be impaired, no confirmation of this has been obtained from BIA, and future projects remain in doubt.

4. The inadequate budget of the Maine Department of Indian Affairs (DIA), and the restriction of the Department's services to on-reservation Indians seriously limits the Department's ability to meet the needs of all Maine Indians. Present legislation authorizes the DIA to serve the health and welfare of reservation Indians only. Yet, approxi-

¹ The Passamaquoddy Tribe and the Penobscot Nation have litigation filed in Federal court challenging the Department of the Interior's similarly restrictive interpretation of the Trade and Intercourse Act of 1790 (4 Stat. 730, R. S. § 2116) affecting the Indian lands in Maine.

mately half of Maine's nearly 3,000 Indians live off-reservation. In many instances, off-reservation Indians live in poverty, not only below most white living standards in the State, but even below that of reservation Indians. Furthermore, with the backlog of problems confronting the DIA, and with the prospect of the possible loss of Federal funds in some program areas, the recommended increase in the DIA's budget was only \$12,000—a less than 3 percent increase over the current fiscal year budget. This augmented budget is insufficient to meet the needs of reservation Indians, and does not provide any funds to meet the pressing needs of off-reservation Indians. The present restriction of DIA's ability to serve non-reservation Indians leaves a significant portion of Maine's Native Americans without the admittedly meager State resources which are available to reservation Indians.

5. In too many instances, Maine Indians have not shared in the development, management and implementation of programs ostensibly designed for Indians. Non-Indians have written proposals for programs to serve Indians, in whole or in part, without meaningful Indian participation. Programs for Indians have been funded which do not serve Indians in a substantial manner. Programs for Indians have been operated with limited or no Indian staff. Testimony at the Committee's hearings indicated that, in addition to the above, Indians rarely have been represented on citizen boards and committees which participate in policy decisions on Federal programs which relate to Indians.

6. Indians have had almost no success in obtaining jobs in State agencies. The Governor's Executive Order No. 11 and the newly enacted Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 have had little beneficial effect on Indians. Testimony at the Committee's hearing indicated that Indians were seldom employed in State jobs even in areas where they make up a significant percentage of the population; nor were they represented in those occupations which require only minimal qualifications. With the possible exception of the Department of Mental Health and Correction, Indians make up less than 1 percent of State employment. The Maine State Personnel Board has not developed affirmative measures to recruit and hire Indians, and thereby has contributed to the critical employment problems facing Indians.

Mr. Speaker, it is my fervent hope that the Commission and this Congress will affirmatively act on these findings and correct this tragic discrimination.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS AT CONGRESSIONAL BREAKFAST

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, this morning I was privileged to attend the breakfast given for Members of Congress by the Cast Metals Federation in conjunction with their governmental affairs conference. I include at this point a copy of the keynote address and the program of activities for the federation's Washington conference:

KEYNOTE ADDRESS AT CONGRESSIONAL BREAKFAST

(By Charles E. Drury)

Honored guests, members of the Cast Metals Federation, ladies and gentlemen. It

is a privilege to be the keynote speaker at the important third annual Cast Metals Federation Governmental Affairs Conference. We are particularly grateful to our friends from Capitol Hill for taking time to be with us.

Burleigh Jacobs, president of Grede Foundries, addressed the opening conference in 1972 and John McIntyre, vice chairman of Sibley Machine and Foundry Corporation, gave last year's keynote address.

The Cast Metals Federation is composed of the Gray and Ductile Iron Society, Malleable Founders Society, Steel Founders Society, and the National Foundry Association—representing the ferrous casting industry. Also participating in this conference is the Non-Ferrous Founders Society and the Investment Casting Institute. All in all, approximately 700 companies are involved in this third governmental affairs conference.

The purposes of this conference are to promote, publicize, and create an awareness of the metal casting industry to those in Washington whose decisions affect us, and to alert management in our industry to become involved in public affairs.

The annual sales volume of the cast metals industry is approximately \$14 billion. Of all manufacturing industries it ranks sixth in value added. Employment is approximately 400,000 in approximately 4,000 separate foundries. All figures include large and small, captive and/or integrated operations, along with the independent, privately-owned operations that produce about 60 percent of the output. Approximately 80 percent of all foundries employ less than 100 workers.

Our industry is capital intensive, an intensive energy consuming industry. It is difficult to control interior and exterior environment. We are also a labor intensive industry and employ predominantly minority or less privileged people. In fact, some castings operations in and around larger metropolitan areas employ over 90 percent of their employees from minority races or nationalities, which, of course, includes considerable numbers who are disadvantaged.

Growth in metals consumption is one of the best single measures of man's material progress. Since the beginning of the 19th century, per capita consumption of iron and steel has risen from approximately 30 pounds to about one-half a ton.

Edward Cole, General Motors' president, said in a recent talk before the cast metals federation, that G. M. is critically dependent on the foundry industry and is very concerned about casting shortages. He said that "perhaps even more critical than the importance of ferrous castings to car and truck assembly are the severe shortages of short run castings in some of G.M.'s nonautomotive lines."

Another speaker on that same program, William L. Naumann, vice chairman, Caterpillar Tractor Company, exhibited the same anxiety over casting shortages.

A Lester B. Knight report says that "we do know from the past that when total ferrous tonnage demand exceeds approximately 18.5 million tons, the industry is oversold and backlogs become lengthy. Approximately 85 percent of this tonnage is gray iron to be produced by suppliers whose numbers have dwindled from 2,094 plants in 1959 to approximately 1,570 plants in 1969. Industries that are castings-oriented show dramatically increased requirements by 1980 as forecast by the U.S. Department of Commerce.

"Overall, there are eight major markets for castings: Plumbing fixtures, valves and fittings, agricultural, construction, metalworking, general industrial, motor vehicles, and railroads. To keep pace with the needs of these markets, the foundry industry must increase its output a minimum of 6 to 7 percent per year."

In a petition filed in December with the Cost of Living Council by the Cast Metals Federation, Jerald Jacobs, counsel for the

federation, said that "the current energy crisis points up the coming demand that must be satisfied to provide for expansion of domestic energy sources. Ferrous castings will be required in large quantities as essential equipment components in the following manner:

A. At the source in underground and open pit mining equipment, as well as in drilling for oil and natural gas.

B. In fuel transportation as components in railcars, trucks, and barges, as well as in the form of valves, pumps, and compressors in pipeline transportation.

C. In the construction of refineries and conventional or nuclear power plants, as valves, fittings, pumps, compressors, coal grinding equipment, etc.

In addition, he also stressed the point that foundry products are vital military equipment and weapons components and that a healthy metal casting industry is essential for national defense.

The castings industry can and will meet its obligations, but it will not be easy, and—like the energy crisis—won't be solved overnight. Unfortunately many metalcasters have not generated the funds needed to modernize, expand, and equip. Castings plants are locked into processes and equipment for extended periods. Pollution control and OSHA also require major capital investments amounting to half or more of some plants' net worth; it's generally felt that such expenditures do not increase production or reduce costs. However, the elimination of pollution and excessive noise attracts better employees, improves morale, and enhances the plant's reputation in its community. OSHA too can be constructive in much the same way; it also contributes to less absenteeism, operating downtime and workmen's compensation expense.

Despite these problems, the metal castings industry has made significant progress. For example, Mr. Cole pointed out that 81 percent of all casting plants planned capital improvements in 1973. Few outside the industry realize that for years it has been actively conserving natural resources. As in most modern casting plants, ninety-six percent of the metal used in Hayes-Albion's operations is recycled. This is true conservation of our natural resources, whose by-product is ecology improvement. Unfortunately, though, the public in general and the Federal and State governments in particular aren't aware of these forward strides. It is the responsibility of the Cast Metals Federation to see that they are.

In pollution control and occupational safety legislation, it appears that Congress attempted to legislate technology instead of stimulating research and development and utilizing the results as they became available.

Many noncaptive U.S. foundries are long on business and short on capital. In his brief, Jerald Jacobs said, "to attract capital for investment, an industry must have an attractive return on investment. If an industry as basic to our Nation's needs as the foundry industry is unable to generate funds and to attract capital, it will atrophy causing our Nation's industrial strength to weaken." And since most of them have low profit margins, the chances of obtaining capital for many of the smaller, family-owned companies are slim.

The October 1973 issue of Foundry magazine had a graph showing return on capital employed in the foundry industry declining from 8 percent in 1965 to 4 percent in 1971. We all know these figures include depreciated book values of plant and equipment. The capital required to replace these plants at today's inflated costs and the cost of working capital at today's cost of money would show an actual return closer to 28 percent. Dr. Dunlop of the Cost of Living Council gave

this same evaluation when discussing the steel industry recently.

According to Industry Week, the castings industry will need nearly \$1 billion in expansion capital over the next few years, but unfortunately, most of the Nation's gray iron foundries—for example—are small and lack borrowing ability; many have closed and more will. Some see the industry total dropping to 1,000. Net result: the successful castings facilities will have to expand.

In his comments to the Cost of Living Council, Mr. Jerald Jacobs commented that, "the cast metals federation and its members have long supported the goals of the economic stabilization program. The foundry industry has done its best to cope with the problems that have accompanied controls for the past two and a half years. But at the present time the shortages of metal castings coupled with the inability of foundries to expand in order to end the shortages have compelled the industry to seek decontrol."

The profit margin approach to controls in phases II, III, and IV has also seriously affected the foundry industry and along with the environmental and safety and health requirements, has contributed to the closing of hundreds of foundries. Many more will close if the profit margin squeeze continues. I've pointed out that capacity in the foundry is shrinking instead of expanding. Today capacity utilization is at the maximum. Mr. Jacobs said, "customer industries are having great difficulty finding sources of supply to fill their casting requirements. Controls have had a continuing inhibiting effect of necessary expansion of productive capacity. In addition, the enormous strain on manpower and plant equipment during this period, if sustained, will have an inhibiting effect on foundry production. The escalation in the unit cost of production and curtailment of production will both increase sharply as the stress continues."

It is an intensive energy consuming industry. The Cast Metals Federation governmental affairs bulletin dated January 7, 1974 said, "ferrous foundries were one of eleven three digit industry groups in which the costs of purchased fuels and electrical energy accounted for more than 10 percent of the total cost of materials."

The metal casting industry faces serious shortages of materials—steel scrap, pig iron, coke, ferro alloys, aluminum and copper. Supplies of natural gas and propane are extremely critical. Because of the shortage of steel scrap its price is skyrocketing. For example, between August 1, 1973 and October 31, 1973, the price of steel scrap rose 40 percent. By mid-December 1973, it had jumped up another 40 percent! Steel scrap is as vital to the steel industry as it is to the gray and malleable iron industries; it accounts for about 85 percent of the raw materials used in the production of ferrous castings.

A very substantial contributor to the scrap shortage, with its resultant inflationary price spiral, is exportation. Foreign countries, particularly Japan, have made it clear that they will continue to import large quantities of steel scrap from the U.S. because it is the only major industrial nation who permits the export of this essential raw material. We are back in the same type of short scrap situation that created such a chaotic condition in the 1969-70 period.

Charles Hood of the American Steel Foundries division of Amsteel Industries, in his November 19, 1973 letter to Congressman Philip M. Crane of Illinois, said that "each ton of scrap exported must be replaced with 1½ tons of ore (some of it imported), 1 ton of coke, and ½ ton of limestone. This is an irreversible depletion of resources."

"Further that each ton of ore requires 12.5 million Btu of energy for conversion in excess of that required to process scrap (18 million for ore versus 5.5 million for scrap), and that generating the needed energy to

replace the 12.4 million tons of scrap, which will be exported this year, will require 155 billion Btu." He stressed the point that "this much energy would require 25.5 million barrels of oil or 150 billion cu. ft. of natural gas."

I've explained what problems confront the metal casting industry. I have touched on some of the things the industry has done and is doing to make it more viable.

In his September 1973 talk to the cast metals federation, Mr. Cole concluded his remarks with this highly pertinent admonition: "Perhaps the most important things for us to realize is the rapidity of change in manufacturing . . . in economic conditions . . . and in social concerns. You and I must either anticipate and direct those changes . . . or be their victim. We must be prepared for tomorrow or be left with yesterday's buildings . . . and yesterday's management philosophy. This is both our challenge and our opportunity."

Important as these factors are, they are not the most important. Management is. It is the guts of any business. The day of the bull-of-the-woods manager is past. Some managers are finally realizing that they share the constraints of other contemporary industries. Namely: Tough competition, increasing product demands, and smaller profit margins. We need good businessmen in all levels of management. Trained managers and good employees are increasingly hard to come by; consequently, management must provide training opportunities.

In conclusion I shall list some ways the Congress can help this vitally needed but troubled industry.

Special interest groups are dirty words in Washington, but is the interest of our national economy and our national defense special? *Sure it is special*, because that interest is so vital to our national wellbeing.

We must help Congress understand how tax incentives, such as the investment credit, will assist in modernization and in meeting the cost of OSHA and the elimination of air and water pollution.

Perhaps incentives for retraining of employees whose skills are obsoleted by modernization and facilities to meet State and Federal regulations can help to reduce plant closings.

Perhaps incentives for the initial training of new employees for additional capacity will enhance capital for such an investment, remembering that in both cases we train underprivileged or minority groups.

Perhaps incentives for the start-up modern facilities—encourage spending of dollars for additional capacity.

Understand the effect of health insurance, social security, and other legislated employee benefits on the company as well as on the employee.

Understand the effect that OSHA and EPA standards have and are having on us. That such legislation did increase foundry closings and continues to be a major factor in foundries closing.

Congress should understand the effect of energy shortages and rising costs on employment and profitability. Congressmen, not understanding the cost and technology required to reduce our current energy requirements, could unwittingly cause additional foundries to close.

Understand the effects on American business of price and wage control.

Understand the effects on American business caused by the export of basic raw materials.

Finally, the Congress may well have to decide whether the trend to fewer small independent foundries in favor of large captive integrated operations and the large conglomerate holding company, as a horizontal operation, is in the best interest of our country.

You will readily note that the listed items fit to perfection the saying . . . "It's easier

said than done." However, in areas requiring foundry expertise and/or general industry data, the members of the Cast Metals Federation, will effectively respond to your inquiries. To this end, we shall increase our efforts to become better acquainted with you and to better acquaint you with our problems in areas where you can be helpful.

Thank you for joining us this morning. Your presence reflects your concern.

THIRD ANNUAL CAST METALS FEDERATION GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS CONFERENCE PROGRAM

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19

9:00 a.m.: Registration, East Corridor. Ladies Hospitality Suite Opens, LaSalle Room.

10:00 a.m.: Meeting—State Chairmen, Lafayette Room.

12:00 p.m.: State Chairman Luncheon, Monet II Room (2nd floor).

1:00 p.m.: General Session, Ballroom; Conference Overview—Daniel L. LaMarche, Jr., General Chairman, President, American Malleable Castings Co., Marion, Ohio.

1:15 p.m.: "Proposed and Current Legislation of Importance to the Foundry Industry."

Moderator—Walter Kiplinger, CMF Washington Representative.

Panelists—U.S. Chamber of Commerce: William P. McHenry—Manager, Economic Security;

Andrew A. Melgard—Director, Private Pension Programs;

Brockwell Heylin—Attorney, Labor Relations;

Reuben D. Siverson—Group Manager, National Economic Development Group;

John J. Coffey—Director, Natural Resources Committee.

Robert R. Statham—Manager, Taxation and Finance.

3:30 p.m.: State and Regional Caucuses. Break out sessions by state and region for final preparation of position statements for presentation and discussion with Congressmen.

Wisconsin, Degas Room (2nd floor).

Pennsylvania, Lafayette Room (Main Floor).

Indiana, Charles Room (11th Floor).

Illinois, Montcalm Room (Main Floor).

Ohio, Monet II (2nd Floor).

California, Washington, Renoir I (2nd Floor).

Michigan, Pierre (11th Floor).

Specific room assignments for the other states and regions will be announced.

6:30 p.m.: Industry Reception, Ballroom.

7:30 p.m.: Industry Dinner, Ballroom.

Speaker—The Honorable Robert P. Griffin, United States Senate.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20

8:00 a.m.: Congressional Breakfast, Ballroom.

Chairman—Daniel L. LaMarche, Jr. Keynote Address—Charles E. Drury, President, Hayes Albion Corporation, Jackson, Michigan.

10:00 a.m.: General Session.

"The Administration's Policy on Scarce Material Exports", Ballroom.

Chairman—Robert Schumo, President, Pennsylvania Steel Foundry & Machine Co., Hamburg, Pennsylvania.

Speaker—Peter M. Flanagan, President's Council on International Economic Policy.

11:00 a.m.: "Update on the Economic Controls Program", Ballroom.

Chairman—Walter O. Larson, President, Larson Consolidated, Inc., Grafton, Ohio.

Speaker—James McLane, Deputy Director, Cost of Living Council.

12:00 Noon to 2:30 p.m.: This period was set aside as free time for scheduling appointments or visitations with Congressmen or agency representatives. It may still be used as such.

However, for those who have been unable to secure such appointments—and have a prime interest in the subject—we have been able to secure a commitment from Dr. Floyd Van Atta, OSHA's Chief Industrial Hygienist who will discuss present and proposed standards on Noise, Heat Stress and Dust from 1:00 p.m. until 2:15 p.m. This session will be in the Charles Room on the Eleventh (11th) floor.

Industry Specialists who will discuss these areas with Dr. Van Atta are—

Robert Korevec, Chairman, Intersociety Safety & Health Committee.

John Shockley, American Foundrymen's Society.

Rudy Zillmann, Steel Founders Society of America.

William Ferguson, Gray & Ductile Iron Founders' Society.

2:30 p.m.: "The Consumer Product Safety Act—Its Implication to our Industry", Ballroom.

Chairman—Eckard Von Estorff, Secretary, Motor Castings Company, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Speaker—Constance Newman, Commissioner, Consumer Product Safety Commission.

3:30 p.m.: "Occupational Safety & Health Update", Ballroom.

Chairman—Robert Eck, President, Eck Foundries, Inc., Manitowoc, Wisconsin.

Speakers—The Honorable William Steiger (R., Wis.).

Howard J. Schulte, Deputy Assistant, Secretary of Labor, U.S. Department of Labor.

5:00 p.m.: Adjourn.

6:30 p.m.: Legislative Reception, Ballroom.

7:30 p.m.: Legislative Dinner, Ballroom.

"The Metal Casting Industry and Our Industrial Economy".

Chairman—Daniel L. LaMarche, Jr.

Speaker—Donald Moll, President, Minneapolis Electric Steel Castings, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21

7:30 a.m.: State Chairman Breakfast, Lafayette Room.

8:30 a.m.: General Session, Ballroom.

"Taxation—Legislative Considerations".

Chairman—Robert Schumo, President, Pennsylvania Steel Foundry & Machine Co., Hamburg, Pennsylvania.

Speaker—The Honorable Herman T. Schneebell (R., Pa.), Ranking Republican, House Ways and Means Committee.

9:45 a.m.: "Energy and Material Shortages", Ballroom.

Chairman—Forst Robertson, President, Keokuk Steel Castings, Div. of East Metals Corp., Keokuk, Iowa.

Speakers—

Energy—Robert E. Shepherd, Director, Office of Energy Programs, U.S. Department of Commerce.

Robert Knisley, Special Assistant For Regulatory Review, Federal Energy Office.

Materials—Francis E. Brantley, Acting Chief, Ferrous Division, Mineral Supply, Bureau of Mines, U.S. Department of Interior.

Norman A. Matthews, Bureau of Mines, Department of Interior.

12:30 p.m.: Adjourn.

Special Note: The Marquette Room, adjacent to the Ballroom, will serve as Press Headquarters and CMP staff headquarters throughout the period of the Conference.

LADIES PROGRAM

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19

9:00 a.m. Registration, East Corridor.

Ladies Hospitality Suite Opens, La Salle Room.

6:30 p.m.: Industry Reception and Dinner, Ballroom.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20

8:00 a.m.: Ladies Hospitality Suite Opens, La Salle Room.

9:00 a.m.: Tour leaves for Kennedy Center, Embassy Row, National Cathedral. Luncheon at the Carriage House in Georgetown, followed by a tour of the newly decorated Australian Embassy. Return to hotel at 4:30 p.m.

6:30 p.m.: Industry Reception and Dinner, Ballroom.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21

7:00 a.m.: Ladies Hospitality Suite Opens, La Salle Room.

7:30 a.m.: Buses leaves for Special VIP Tour of White House (limited to 50 persons).

Guided bus tour of Washington's most popular sights. Visitation of Alexandria—the nation's old incorporated town—and of Mount Vernon. Return to hotel for Conference adjournment at 12:30 p.m.

Reservations for the Special VIP Tour will be on a first come, first serve basis. For those ladies who cannot or do not wish to go on the VIP Tour, the buses will be returning to the hotel at 9:15 a.m. They can join the group for the tour of Alexandria and Mount Vernon.

SUTTON CALLS FOR CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, if we can believe that Watergate has had its positive side, it would certainly be in the interest that has developed over the needed reformation of our system of financing political campaigns. Hopefully, we are moving toward some kind of public financing system for our political endeavors.

In a speech before the Citizens Union and the City Club of New York, Manhattan Borough President Percy E. Sutton recently put forth a cogent program for the total public financing of political campaigns. I would like now to place the full text of Mr. Sutton's speech in the RECORD for the attention of my colleagues.

SUTTON CALLS FOR CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

I want to thank the City Club of New York and the Citizens Union for your very dedicated effort to develop a workable program for the reform of campaign financing. And I would also like to commend our municipal radio station, WNYC, for broadcasting this hearing live today.

I support the full and exclusive public financing of all political campaigns. I have supported this concept ever since it first came to my attention during my two (2) terms in the New York State Assembly.

In the mid 1950's, a group of people active in the Civil Rights movement including the distinguished Vice Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Basil Paterson, the now Congressman Charles E. Rangel, myself, and others, decided that we should move into direct political involvement. We discovered quickly that the deck was stacked against us. We learned swiftly that as insurgents, the Board of Elections and the Courts would automatically rule against us. We also learned that the cost of running for public office is enormous.

For 11 years in Central Harlem, either I, or someone I supported, ran for either District Leader or State Assembly. And for 11 years, the voters of Central Harlem, in their good judgment, rejected us. During this period, in order to finance my campaigns, I went deeply into personal debt. I borrowed

from my family; I mortgaged my home, and I sold off personal property.

Our opposition, enjoying all of the advantages of incumbency in raising campaign funds, had no such problems. Candidates for public and party office should not have to make the kind of financial sacrifice that we were forced to make in order to break through.

In a democratic system of government, those who hold public office should be obligated only to the voters. But the system by which campaigns are financed in this country creates obligations to wealthy interests, obligations that are often in conflict with what the vast majority of people want and need.

Throughout all of American history, wealthy individuals, and groups, have been able to obtain special favors from government. But, in recent years, several trends in our society have combined to make elected officials more dependent than ever before upon those who have the financial resources to underwrite campaigns.

First, because of civil service reforms, higher levels of education, and the advent of electronic communications media, our system has moved from a politics dominated by powerful political organizations to a politics characterized by the "cult of personality."

In the past, even if a candidate lacked great wealth or wealthy backers, he could win elections with the support of a political machine which, fueled by patronage, had the manpower and the money necessary to attain victory. Today, the powerful organizations are dead or dying, and a candidate must create a campaign organization from scratch at great financial cost.

Second, for major public office, the way of reaching voters with the greatest impact, is through radio and television. The costs of election media time are enormous and have caused a vast increase in the amount of money necessary to wage an effective campaign.

And finally, a society becomes more complex and government becomes involved in more areas of the economy, it has become increasingly important to vested interests to protect themselves by controlling elements of government—a classic example of this is the publicly acknowledged role of the milk industry in the 1972 Nixon presidential campaign.

And so it is that campaign financing has become the most significant mechanism for translating and transforming wealth into political power. The problem is institutional, and the recent disclosures of campaign finance abuse by Mr. Nixon are not a bizarre aberration, not an isolated example, and not a set of practices limited to one election, to one office, or to one party—they are symptomatic of the norm in our system.

I know that all of us here today are in agreement that some form of public finance of campaigns is necessary. I will now move to discuss my own views on political campaign financing reforms.

A political campaign can be best analyzed if we think of it as a communications process. A candidate makes use of a variety of communications media for the purpose of transmitting to voters information about his or her character and personality, positions on issues, background and qualifications.

In most campaigns, the vast majority of campaign expenditures go for the purchase of communications media and for the preparation of the message to be transmitted by the media. The bulk of money is spent on radio time, television time, newspaper space, billboard space, direct mail postage, and telephone calls.

In advocating public financing of political campaigns, what we are really calling for is a guarantee of equal access to the various communications media without the necessity of private payment for that access.

This point is important, and I stress it in order to suggest that some of the goals of public financing of campaigns can be achieved without direct allocation from the public treasury. If we can minimize the direct allocation of tax dollars for campaign purposes, we can broaden the base of support for the reforms we seek.

One area where there should be no necessity of public expenditure is in the allocation of radio and television time.

TV AND RADIO

The highest expenditures in the national presidential campaigns, in state-wide and city-wide races, and in legislative races for areas of low population density is for the purchase of television and radio time, mostly in the form of 30 to 60 second spots.

I propose that Congress pass a prohibition of the purchase of radio and TV time on behalf of a candidate. Instead, there would be a legislatively mandated allocation of free time to all candidates for those offices for which it is reasonable to use television or radio in a campaign.

It is reasonable to require that this time be provided by radio and television stations as one of the requirements for their exercise of the privileges granted to broadcasting stations in the issuance of a license by the F.C.C.

In granting broadcast licenses, the Federal government, on behalf of the citizens of the United States, confers a monopoly privilege valued often in the hundreds of thousands, or millions of dollars. In return for that license, stations are required to devote part of their programming to "public affairs." And it is altogether sensible to expand the public affairs requirement to include political campaign time.

Of course, this time would be in addition to the exposure given to candidates during regular news programs, debates, and talk shows.

Let me elaborate on how such a mandatory time allocation might work.

First, Congress might require that for all statewide offices and for every other public office where residents of a district comprise at least 15% of a station's market area, free time must be provided to candidates. (This formula is arbitrary and represents an attempt to establish some kind of reasonable limits on the number of offices which would be entitled to free time . . . a variety of other formulas is possible.)

Then, state legislatures would be responsible for establishing a scale of the amount of equal time allotment for each eligible office, such allocation to be subject to F.C.C. approval as to "reasonableness."

Radio and TV time could be allocated in segments of specified duration ranging from one minute spots to one half hour programs; also it could be specified that a certain percentage of the media time be during prime hours.

Complaints regarding fairness of time scheduling by stations would be adjudicated by a State Fair Campaign Practices Commission. Violations of fairness would be grounds for license removal by the F.C.C.

DIRECT MAIL SUBSIDY

Direct Mail is another major area of campaign expense, and Direct Mail is the only medium of communication that, no matter what the office, can reach virtually every voter within a particular electorate.

Because of the importance of direct mail as a means of campaign communication, I propose that Congress establish a "Franking Privilege" a free mailing privilege for all candidates for public and party office.

Every candidate who is also entitled to free television campaign time would also be entitled to one franked campaign mailing. All other candidates (in other words, those who lack high access to voters through the elec-

tronic media) would be entitled to three free mailings.

Mailing costs have two major components. The greatest cost is the postage. The other component is printing. I would establish a limit of perhaps 6¢ per mailing per voter on the combined expense of printing, typesetting, mail house, and creative costs.

OTHER CAMPAIGN COSTS

Other campaign costs should be handled according to the excellent proposal advanced by the City Club.

All campaign expenses should be paid directly by the various governmental bodies according to a voucher system. A voucher system would discourage candidacies by those people who might seek to use funds allocated for campaign purposes for their own personal benefit. Each candidate should receive a total allocation which cannot be exceeded, an allocation based on population in the general election and party enrollment in primary elections.

I would guess that about 30¢ per voter might be a reasonable amount, assuming that electronic media and postage costs would not be included in the amount.

No additional contributions of any kind ought to be permitted.

ACCESS TO THE BALLOT

Finally, I would like to address myself to one of the most difficult questions in formulating a program of public financing of election campaigns—and that is how best to prevent the ballot from becoming flooded by candidates, while at the same time preventing an unfairness to independent candidates.

It would be unfair and undemocratic to provide "minor" party or "independent" candidates with less funds, or less media time, than "major" party candidates. All candidates for a given office must be able to compete on an equal basis.

On the other hand, since a major goal of public finance of campaigns is to substitute the power of public support in place of private financial power in determining the outcome of elections, it is reasonable that any candidate for office be required to demonstrate a sufficiently large base of public support as a pre-requisite to appearing on the ballot. This, to prevent use of an invalid and "unreal" or insincere candidacy as a public attention-getting device.

To guarantee that all candidates appearing on a ballot have a constituency, I would propose that the requirement for qualifying a candidate for public or party office be a sufficiently large number of signatures on a petition.

Too, it is important that the signatures on petitions genuinely represent a base of public support. Therefore, I would propose that the law expressly forbid the payment of workers employed in the collection of petition signatures. Significant violation of this law should be grounds for disqualification of a candidacy.

There are some who say that a system of public campaign finance will institutionalize the advantages enjoyed by incumbents . . . advantages which under the present system can be overcome by a wealthy challenger.

This is indeed a problem. It is a complex problem that must be given great study to determine all the answers. However, as a start, I would minimize the advantages of incumbency somewhat by limiting by law the number of subsidized mailings and media exposures allowed to public officials in the six month period before an election.

I have today outlined a variety of suggestions for reforming the system of campaign finance. While there are many first steps which can be taken toward public finance of campaigns by State and Local levels of government, the total overhaul of the system is dependent upon Congressional action. I am confident that these hearings and the good work of the City Club of New

York and the Citizens Union represent an important first step toward the day when Congress will act so that all candidates might fairly compete for public office without regard to personal wealth and free of commitments to wealthy, personal and organizational interests.

Thank you.

DISCRIMINATION PRACTICED AGAINST VETERANS

HON. WILEY MAYNE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Speaker, on February 19 the House with my support passed H.R. 12628, a bill which increased the rates of vocational rehabilitation, educational assistance, and special training allowances paid to eligible veterans and other persons, and to make improvements in the veterans' educational assistance programs.

This legislation provided very important and well-deserved benefits for the present generation of veterans, and I am hopeful that the Senate will speed it to early enactment.

However, in extending and improving benefits for these veterans who served more recently, we must not forget those who have served in other wars and periods of hostility, with no less honor and personal sacrifice.

The veterans of World War I had no GI bill awaiting their return from the trenches or the sea, there was no veterans educational assistance bill. Compensation of sorts was provided those who had service-connected disabilities, but those veterans who became disabled with nonservice-connected disabilities receive very limited pensions, pensions which are reduced or even cut-off entirely if the veterans' earned income exceeds a maximum level set forth in the statute.

Under the Veterans' Pension Act, even social security benefits are counted as part of the outside earned income of the veteran in determining whether he had exceeded the maximum level during the previous calendar year and should therefore suffer reduction or loss of pension. If a disabled veteran is fortunate enough to also receive social security benefits, an increase in his social security benefits enacted by Congress or automatically made because of increases in the cost of living may well cause his "earned income" to so exceed his maximum that his veterans pension is reduced or lost, and his aggregate income is lower than before the social security increase was put into effect.

Certainly this cannot have been the intent of Congress, to so discriminate against our senior citizens who receive social security benefits and who happen to be veterans with nonservice connected disabilities. Our veterans deserve to see their standard of living be maintained with the rest of our older Americans.

I personally do not believe social security benefits should be counted in computing veterans pensions. They are both retirement incomes which the recipient

has earned for two different reasons—somewhat comparable to qualifying for two pension plans from two separate companies.

On February 28, 1973, over a year ago, I introduced H.R. 4965, to remedy this deplorable situation. This bill would amend title 38 of the United States Code to make certain that recipients of veterans' pension and compensation will not have the amount of such pension or compensation reduced because of increases in monthly social security benefits. My bill provided that in determining the annual income of any person for purposes of determining his continued eligibility for, and the amount of, pension payable under the Veterans' Pension Act, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs shall disregard any part of the social security benefit increase the person received under section 201 of Public Law 92-336—which provided the 20-percent increase in benefits—or any subsequent cost-of-living increase in such benefits occurring pursuant to section 215(1) of the Social Security Act.

Since I introduced H.R. 4965, the Congress with my support has enacted two further increases in social security benefits, to take effect in two stages this year, Public Law 93-66 and Public Law 93-233. I have therefore today reintroduced this legislation, revised to provide further that the social security benefit increases received under section 201 of Public Law 93-66 and under sections 1 and 2 of Public Law 93-233 shall also be disregarded by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs in determining the annual income of the veteran or other person for purposes of determining his continued eligibility for veterans' pension.

In the meantime, I cosponsored legislation which would provide some interim relief, H.R. 2687, introduced on January 23, 1973. That bill would have raised by \$600 the limit on income which a veteran could earn without losing his pension, and would have increased the benefit formula for computing veterans' pensions. That interim legislation would have in effect permitted the veteran or his widow or child to retain the pension despite the 20-percent increase in social security benefits enacted in 1972.

At the time I cosponsored introduction of that legislation, it was estimated that unless this or other remedial legislation were soon enacted, more than 20,000 veterans would have lost all their veterans pension because of the 20-percent increase in social security benefits. Some 1.3 million veterans and widows would have seen their pension reduced by an average \$8.71 monthly, 22,827 single veterans would lose an average of \$12.14 per month, 466,948 veterans with dependents would lose an average \$9.46 per month, and some 525,000 veterans' widows would lose approximately \$6.35 monthly. These amounts may not seem very much to some, but when an elderly couple is living on a shoestring budget, as are many veterans, this small amount can make a big and tragic difference. In many cases, the veteran might be better off had the 20-percent social security increase not been enacted.

The House Veterans' Affairs Committee finally recognized this problem and

held hearings on my bills H.R. 2687 and H.R. 4965, and on related bills introduced by other colleagues, on June 12 through June 19, 1973. As a result of those hearings, the House Veterans Affairs Committee drafted a clean bill, H.R. 9474. I was disappointed that this legislation did not go as far as I had proposed, but it was a significant step in the right direction. I had introduced identical legislation H.R. 9516 on July 24, and supported the House passage of H.R. 9474 on July 30. After some amendment by the Senate, this legislation was signed into Public Law 93-177 on December 6, 1973.

This new legislation, which took effect January 1, 1974, increased non-service-connected pensions by not less than 10 percent. A new formula was provided for payments of pensions to veterans and widows—or dependency and indemnity compensation, DIC, in the case of dependent parents of deceased service-connected veterans—which was intended to preclude loss of aggregate income when a beneficiary receives an increase in income—including social security benefits—from some source other than pension or DIC—providing such increase does not place income above the maximum annual income limitations.

This legislation helps, and is a great improvement over the preexisting law. The House Veterans' Affairs Committee was deservedly commended for reporting this legislation. However, it does not go far enough. It does not sufficiently increase the maximum limitation upon earned income before a pension is reduced or lost, and it still includes social security increases in the computation of annual income from outside sources. Although the bill should prevent a veteran from losing his pension or having it so reduced that his aggregate income would fall as a result of his receiving an increase in social security benefits, it does not allow him to receive any benefit from social security benefit increases if he was already in upper-income limits as far as his veterans' pension is concerned. In effect, such a veteran's aggregate income of veterans' pensions plus social security benefits is frozen, while other senior citizens receive social security benefit increases because of increases in the cost of living.

I urge the House Veterans' Affairs Committee to recognize this problem, and to complete the job, by taking early action on the bill I introduced today. Let us end once and for all the discrimination practiced against veterans as far as social security benefit increases are concerned. America's veterans deserve no less.

NATO, THE UNITED STATES, AND FORCE REDUCTIONS

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, there is concern among many people regarding the U.S. troop involvement in Western Europe.

In the December issue of *The Officer*,

Marvin Leibstone a member of the National Security Affairs Forum and Dr. James Dornan, director, department of politics, Catholic University, wrote an article which gives a broad perspective of the situation. I recommend it for the benefit of all my colleagues.

The article follows:

NATO, THE U.S., AND FORCE REDUCTIONS

The following article was written for *The Officer* by Marvin Leibstone, a member of the National Security Affairs Forum sponsored by the Capitol Hill Chapter of the Reserve Officers Association, and Dr. James Dornan, Director, Department of Politics, Catholic University.—Ed.

Recent events have again proved that the United States has a world power interest in NATO. Peace must be sustained in Europe and the Middle East if the Americans are to survive. Mediterranean access routes are now as important to U.S. oil imports as they are to Europe. Freedom and strength in other nations are as significant to U.S. policy today as is domestic power.

Our contributions to NATO pay for the fulfillment of a larger national interest than is opted for the smaller NATO nations. This does not mean we should be paying what we are; it is obvious we are paying too much at a time when our economy is unstable. It does mean our contributions are not so out of proportion we should liquidate half without considering the effects liquidation would have on the rest of the alliance.

Western Europe has grown affluent because of a U.S. presence. The NATO allies realize this and know that their contributions to the alliance should increase. To eliminate dependency on the United States, several of the allies formed the European Development Improvement Program (EDIP) in 1970. Although the aggregate of funds and resources this program delivers is but one percent of the \$24 billion all the NATO countries provide annually, it is a step toward increased burden-sharing. By encouraging protracted development of this program, the U.S. can insure greater European assumption of the burden.

Some critics favor larger European increases now. But such would be dangerous. European nations, more affluent than in the past, still have unique social and political problems which drain a sizeable portion of their respective GNP's. If NATO were to strain their economies, the domestic security they have gained would diminish. Contributions to NATO made by European nations must not imbalance their individual efforts in economic, industrial or agricultural development. NATO could not survive if sufficient tranquility did not exist in each member-country.

At NATO's 1971 Ministerial meeting, European allies pledged a \$1 billion contribution. It cannot be said the allies are deliberately avoiding burden-sharing.

MBFR AND SALT PROVIDE FOR BILATERAL REDUCTION

Greater European burden-sharing lies within negotiations with eastern Europe for Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR). Should Russia and the United States agree during such talks to lower troop sizes considerably so that parity between East and West minimizes threat to either side, then it will be easier for the United States to shorten the buck and for free Europe to assume a bigger NATO share.

MBFR is complex. Because the Warsaw Pact is superior to NATO in numbers, force reductions between East and West could not be on a one-for-one basis. Specific ratios would have to be established. One retrieved western unit may seem less than five eastern units, yet quantitatively the West could reduce a more valuable military force. For MBFR to work, when it is completed both sides must be equally as strong or weak. If

one side is superior, MBFR will have been a hoax.

A second factor impacting on NATO viability is SALT, which should affect the minimum number of fighting divisions Russia and the United States would provide on European soil. A purpose of NATO is not only to repel or eject an enemy but also to prevent governments from having to rely on nuclear weapons to do the same job, but more devastatingly. If NATO has weaker and fewer conventional forces, and the Warsaw Pact nations attack, it would have no choice but to trigger tactical nuclear weapons. Neither Russia nor the U.S. wants this; it is better to maintain sufficient forces to meet aggression at the conventional level, to view nuclear devices as last-resort measures.

It should be obvious that immediate unilateral reduction of U.S. forces in Europe would nullify the effectiveness of SALT. The Warsaw Pact would find itself with a secure margin of strength. The U.S. would not have a large enough stick to carry while speaking softly in favor of arms limitations.

The willingness of the Soviet Union to negotiate SALT and MBFR indicates a desire to divert future confrontation. If this willingness were Russia's sole expression in the European arena, we might be justified in seeing détente as a lasting possibility. However, as the Soviet Union expresses willingness to negotiate, they also increase military power.

Russia's naval forces in the Mediterranean have grown tenfold. They have moved ahead of the United States in the field of attack submarines. They have enough surface ships to gain control of access routes that are used for shipment of oil to Europe. As to land forces, the Soviet Union moved troops west of the Ural mountains to facilitate entering a European theatre.

NATO BARELY HOLDS POWER MARGIN

General Andrew Goodpaster, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, stated that NATO holds "a barely sufficient margin" in the balance of military power. NATO's claim to a superior edge lies in strategic nuclear force and the presence of U.S. troops, but data collected by Great Britain's Institute for Strategic Studies have shown that the Warsaw Pact has grown in size and improved in quality, especially in nuclear terms. This is sufficient reason for the U.S. to sustain its present European force levels.

Unilateral reduction of U.S. forces would serve the Warsaw Pact a significant military advantage. NATO allies, at this moment in history, are not prepared to fill the vacuum in power that the U.S. would leave. Unilateral reduction—a possible instrument for forcing the allies to pick up a greater share of NATO's economic and manpower burden, and a tool for reducing a U.S. balance-of-payments drain—would make Warsaw Pact nations stronger and capable of revisionism through military force.

By negotiating for MBFR and forgetting, for now, unilateral reduction, the U.S. would allow its European allies to prepare for increased burden-sharing along a realistic time scale. If those who are now building support for unilateral reduction succeed before MBFR gets off the ground, détente may never actualize; permanent peace in the European arena may never be.

Along with the holdout, so-called male chauvinists, they have their champions. One is Rep. Pierre S. duPont of Delaware, who has introduced H.R. 10705 which would alter sections of the U.S. Code in order to allow women to be admitted to the three service academies. The ultimate purpose of West Point, Annapolis and the Air Force Academy is, of course, to train officers for combat command.

Observing that these academies should be moved "into the 20th century," Congressman duPont noted that women's role is ex-

panding rapidly as the military moves toward its all-volunteer goals.

"By June of 1973," he said, "their total objective is to have some 45,000 enlisted women and officers . . . women's role in the armed forces is increasing, not only in terms of sheer numbers, but also in terms of occupational and career opportunities available to them."

"In view of the changing facts on the role of women it is ridiculous, wasteful and anachronistic to maintain that the best officer training our nation has to offer should be limited to men only."

The Delaware legislator feels that competition for service academy appointments "would only be enhanced" by allowing women to be eligible. He also does not see why a commission from any one of them necessarily presupposes combat, listing administrative and many other skills and specialties needed in the armed forces.

EXTRA EXPENSE CITED

Secretary of the Army Howard H. Callaway, however, is not in agreement. In a letter to Rep. duPont, he said that the U.S. Military Academy would have to go to the expense of providing new courses and other "facilities," which in turn would have to be financed by Congress.

Sec. Callaway, a West Point graduate, said he still does not believe women should serve in combat, and therefore training leading to that goal is not applicable to them.

Meanwhile, as the subject is discussed pro and con, the distaff side inches near the front lines. The Army and Navy have placed women in flight training programs aimed at the ferrying of support aircraft, reminiscent of World War II.

A proposed Defense Officer Personnel Management System would involve a legislative package incorporating many of the objectives of Rep. duPont's H.R. 10705. It would eliminate such bars as Section 8549 of the U.S. Code which prohibits Air Force women from assignment to "duty in aircraft engaged in combat missions."

In World War II, the fairer sex was generally content to "back the attack," whether in uniform or engaged in some civilian pursuit. Not so today. Like their Chinese and Israeli counterparts, women now want to be within earshot of the cannon.

Nonetheless, many wedges have been driven into the old Air Force since all but five combat associated job specialties have been opened up to women, while the same service has appointed a woman, Col. Norma Brown, as the first female commander of a major U.S. men's military unit.

NAVY COMBAT DUTY?

Another part of the contemplated legislative package would wipe out the section barring women from combat duty in the Navy, except in medical support roles.

Cited as well by those who favor an increasingly active role of women in the military is the ROTC, where girls have already made spectacular inroads—30,000 in JROTC, alone, or double last year's female enrollment.

Naval regulations are in the process of revision to permit women to assume command of naval shore stations and women line officers to compete with men for promotion, including the rank of admiral. Presently, they may serve only on hospital ships and transports.

The Coast Guard is not thus far that liberal, not allowing SPARS to serve on its limited fleet. On the other hand, with respect to the American merchant marine, over which it holds some regulatory and inspection control, the Coast Guard has sent tumbling one of the male's most timeless ramparts: the "head," or washroom. Within reasonable bounds of control, they may now be shared on merchant vessels by both sexes.

If this seems invasion of men's domain, what about the recent field training for the 385th Evac. Hosp., Spokane, Wash., in which 10 women have been added to the 170 men?

They attended via truck convoy a two-day overnight bivouac under stringent field conditions. The girls qualified with the M-16 rifle and .45 caliber revolver in addition to such operations as gas mask drill and night compass reading, all topped off by an eight-mile forced march, complete with field pack. . . . watch closely, fellows. The soldier in the next foxhole may be your sister.

HOW THE ENERGY CRISIS CAN AFFECT WILDLIFE

HON. TENO RONCALIO

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. RONCALIO of Wyoming. Mr. Speaker, the national gas shortage can have a serious effect on game and fish management. In the event of gasoline rationing, the reduced fuel available for hunters and fishermen could result in wildlife overpopulation.

George Sura, the editor of Wyoming Wildlife, has written an excellent article on the subject in the January issue of the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission publication. I think the article, which follows, deserves consideration:

GAS, GAME AND FISH

(By G. Sura)

The current energy crisis may create a paradoxical turnabout in optimizing recreational opportunity. If—and a big IF is involved—gasoline is rationed across the board or if fuels for "pleasure vehicles" are curtailed by "50 percent," most game and fish departments will suffer more than "temporary inconveniences."

If resident and nonresident sportsmen are unable to reach fishing and hunting destinations this year, the subsequent carryover populations of wildlife from underharvest would be far more dangerous than any imagined danger from theoretical overkill.

Much has been said of the energy crunch and the possible effects it will have on the life-style of people in the densely settled sectors of the East. Though we share concern for our urban fellows, the people of the West will suffer equal—even more severe—penalties during the impending crisis. If the gasoline problem cannot be resolved, game and fish departments will experience a severe paralysis during the prohibition.

Fatalistic sources in Washington have predicted prematurely that parks and other recreational areas may be closed to deter "nonessential" travel and thus conserve gasoline. We are fully aware of the essential significance in protecting "essentials." And we seek no special favors in the current energy crisis. However, it should be stated that unlike products produced by many industries, our product (wildlife) cannot be stockpiled indefinitely until someone comes up with the answers to the energy shortages.

If wildlife populations are allowed to increase beyond established maximum limits, the entire resource may become a perishable commodity; moreover, rangelands can be destroyed from severe overpopulation—it could take years to regain full recovery of the plant communities. (Many Wyoming game managers still recall the problems we had when pronghorn overloaded ranges just before the recreational movement got underway.)

The mere thought of drastic underharvest will consume any educated wildlifer and knowledgeable sportsman with anxiety. Why? The only practical method of achieving the mandatory harvest is with a full cross section of resident and nonresident sportsmen.

It is impossible to predict what may evolve from the present fuel shortages. But it would be in violation of logic to take the problem lightly in view of the large wildlife populations we have in our state. Considerable achievement and years of effort could conceivably be destroyed if we do not partake in the annual take.

Recreation may have little importance in any crisis when adjustments are made to protect "essentials." Therein lies a false connotation, however. In spite of the associated pleasures that go with fishing and hunting activities, there is essential pertinence in the scheme of things; the only way we can maintain the wild resource is through the program of annual cropping. Now, when so many Americans crave the opportunity to fish and hunt, it would be ironic indeed if our wildlife should become endangered by a bizarre turn of events that would force the perishables to "freeze on the vine." Aside from any self-interest and the sportsmen's pleasure, we must consider the far-reaching effects that gas rationing would have on our wild populations in all remote areas distant from our people centers. It is in these back-country regions where North America's largest wildlife populations have receded to establish last strongholds.

Just how Wyoming will adjust to the energy crisis is probably beyond official conjecture at this writing. We may be forced to tough it out and lick the wounds of waste—biological, financial and illogical waste. If any pertinent announcements are forthcoming, Wyoming Wildlife will publish the information as soon as feasible.

Meanwhile, let us proceed under the assumption that we will fish and hunt as usual. The best way to conserve body energy is to remain mentally cool. We have faith in the technological genius of our country; we have reason to believe that our political leaders are aware of the significance of a rich, full harvest; and we also believe that a workable solution more acceptable than gas rationing will be implemented by Washington, and that all people and all areas will be given equal consideration.

We must assure sportsmen of adequate gasoline reserves. It will take countless mobile people to manage the annual harvests. Though precarious, the energy crunch is not hopeless. It will take energetic thought processes and governmental honesty to fill our gas tanks. From this corner, it is not, in all sincerity, a matter of "recreational fun," it is a matter of extreme importance. Our large populations of game and fish must be thinned. Annually!

FERTILIZER SHORTAGE: A GROWING HEADACHE

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, more of my farm constituents in Minnesota are writing to me these days about the serious shortage of fertilizers that has developed in this country, and are deeply concerned about price gouging. Yesterday's Wall Street Journal carried an informative article by David Brand about this whole situation which I wish to in-

sert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

As the article makes clear, a significant part of our present fertilizer trouble stems from the virtual halt in new fertilizer plant construction and production in the United States. This standstill in turn results from the fertilizer industry's inability to obtain long-term guarantees of supplies of natural gas, the key raw material essential to manufacture nitrogen fertilizer.

In this connection, I would like to point out that I wrote to the chairman of the Communications and Power Subcommittee of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee over 12 months ago, February 1 of last year. I requested that first priority be given to hearings on petroleum and natural gas problems with the objective of finding better legislative ways to stimulate domestic fuel production. There has been some recent indication that these hearings may be held, centering on proposals to stimulate natural gas exploration and production, and I am encouraged by this possible development.

But additionally, over the last couple of years I have repeatedly urged the Agency for International Development to suspend all tax-supported fertilizer exports until domestic needs have been met. AID-financed fertilizer shipments increased from 640,879 metric tons in 1971 to about 959,000 metric tons in fiscal 1973, an increase of 48 percent. About two-thirds of the 1973 shipments appear to have been purchased from U.S. supplies, rather than from offshore sources, and involved the expenditure of over \$90 million tax dollars.

Originally, AID estimated that its fertilizer program for fiscal 1974 ending on this June 30th would run at about the 1973 level. However, an AID official advised our office yesterday that difficulties in obtaining various fertilizers since last October may well alter that estimate substantially. We were unable to obtain any information at all from AID about the projected size or cost of this program during fiscal 1975 which begins on July 1. But the point should be made again that this program is apparently being continued at a time our own farmers are desperately short of fertilizer needed to boost food and feed supplies for America and other nations throughout a hungry world.

Over recent months, it might also be noted that I have made other suggestions to the Cost of Living Council and the Commerce Department in an effort to help find further ways to alleviate the fertilizer shortage. Most recently, we have asked Mr. Gary Cook, Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary for Competitive Assessment in the Commerce Department and the head of the Government task force assembled last October to deal with the fertilizer shortage, about the feasibility of establishing an allocation program for fertilizer. We hope for a response soon.

But to sum up, a variety of Government actions and inactions seems to have contributed to the fertilizer shortages that we face over the next few years. One alarming outgrowth of this situation has

been evidence of price gouging. There is no justification for charging \$300 a ton for anhydrous ammonia, according to Edwin Wheeler, president of the Fertilizer Institute. If this sort of profiteering is found to be widespread, it is obvious that the Cost of Living Council will have to establish machinery designed to keep retail prices within reasonable limits.

The Wall Street Journal article follows:

FERTILIZER INDUSTRY WARNS OF A SHORTAGE; FOOD PRICES MAY GO HIGHER THAN PREDICTED

(By David Brand)

The U.S. is fast running out of the ability to increase its production of nitrogen fertilizer, the stuff that helps produce bumper crops of corn, wheat and cotton. Many experts are predicting a shortage of the fertilizer this year.

As a result, even though farmers are bringing millions of acres back into production, the huge crops that some people have been counting on to bring down soaring food prices may not be quite so huge after all.

How great a shortage of nitrogen fertilizer threatens seems to be anyone's guess. Some fertilizer producers say the U.S. will be short about 5% of its total needs. The Fertilizer Institute in Washington, the producer's trade group, says the shortage will be more like 15%, or three million tons. Corn yields, alone it says, will fall 20 million to 25 million tons short of requirements as a result. On the other hand the U.S. Department of Agriculture's chief economist, Don A. Paarlberg, while agreeing that production of nitrogen fertilizer is running full out, accuses the fertilizer industry and farmers of "magnifying their estimates of need." He says, "Crop production won't be crippled this year."

An attempt to determine the truth of the matter begins today when Sen. George McGovern's Agricultural Credit and Rural Electrification Subcommittee opens hearings in Washington on the fertilizer situation.

Fertilizer industry leaders are expected to tell the panel that the prospect is for even higher food prices than have already been predicted. If less fertilizer is used, and becomes less productive. The lower the supply of a grain, the higher the price. Higher wheat prices mean higher bread prices. Higher corn prices mean higher meat prices because livestock producers buy the corn for feed.

A TWOFOLD PROBLEM

The reason for the fertilizer problem is two-fold. First, there was an oversupply of fertilizer until a year ago; as a result construction of new fertilizer plants virtually halted. Second, now that it has become apparent that new fertilizer production is needed, the industry says it can't build new plants because it isn't able to get long-term guarantees of supplies of natural gas, a raw material essential for the production of nitrogen fertilizer.

Because of the fertilizer situation, crop forecasts for 1974 may be far off, the fertilizer industry warns. The Agriculture Department predicts corn production this year of 6.7 billion bushels, up from 5.6 billion bushels, last year. It predicts wheat production of 2.1 billion bushels, up from 1.7 billion. Edwin Wheeler, president of the Fertilizer Institute, says there is simply no way to meet the corn production estimates (corn uses 55% of U.S. nitrogen-fertilizer production). He says the wheat and cotton estimates are also doubtful.

The corn outlook is worse than the wheat outlook, Mr. Wheeler says. One reason is that when farmers planted their winter wheat last fall "they got the first lick at our nitrogen-fertilizer supplies and have almost preempted the corn farmer," Mr. Wheeler says, "Wheat

has already soaked up a lot of our nitrogen-fertilizer supplies."

For the U.S. to meet the domestic demand for crops this year and also to honor its export contracts, the institute says, nitrogen-fertilizer production would have to increase by 16%—which is impossible, because there aren't the factories to do this and imported fertilizer is also in short supply.

3 PERCENT TO 4 PERCENT RISE PREDICTED

The actual increase in U.S. nitrogen-fertilizer production this year will be between 3% and 4%, says the Agricultural Department's Mr. Paarlberg. This is being achieved by "cranking up old plants"—in some cases with only limited supplies of natural gas—running other plants at full capacity "around the clock" and cutting back on fertilizer exports. This extra fertilizer will give the U.S. total stocks of 27 million tons of feed grain by October, Mr. Paarlberg estimates, "which will be enough for our needs."

Mr. Paarlberg attacks the "doleful cries" of farmers and fertilizer producers and says that the claimed shortages are only shortages "of what farmers would like to buy," rather than shortages of what they really need. Crop prices now are so high, he says, "that farmers want to maximize their yields; they want to stock the nitrogen fertilizer on." It is true that as the price of grain rises, a farmer tends to use more nitrogen fertilizer to increase his yields.

But why, asks Donald N. Collins of the Fertilizer Institute, is the Agriculture Department allowing some 20 million new acres of wheat, corn and cotton land to go into production this year "if they don't want farmers to get the maximum possible yields?" He adds, "The Agriculture Department has thrown the farm industry into a tizzy with their planning. Now they're a moving target."

Mr. Paarlberg replies that the fertilizer industry is attempting to "diminish the estimate of supply" in order to increase the price for its product. Already the price for ammonia, a common nitrogen fertilizer, is as high as \$120 a ton, up from \$60 a ton last October when the Cost of Living Council lifted price controls on fertilizer.

Prices are also rising for phosphate and potash fertilizer, which are used to increase the quality of crops. But it is the nitrogen fertilizer that is essential to producing grain-laden wheat and corn plants.

Nitrogen in its normal state is part of the air we breathe. Factories extract the nitrogen gas from the atmosphere and combine it with hydrogen to make ammonia. The source of the hydrogen is usually natural gas. Ammonia, which is 82% nitrogen, is the basic form of chemical nitrogen and is widely used by U.S. farmers. It can be converted into other types of nitrogen fertilizer, of which urea (about 45% nitrogen) is the most commonly used around the world.

It is so widely used because even developing nations now grow staple crops that are dependent on nitrogen fertilizer; the more nitrogen fertilizer put into the ground, the more grain the plant will yield. Over the past few years the global use of nitrogen fertilizer has been climbing by 9% a year, according to Raymond Ewell, professor of chemical engineering at the State University of New York, Buffalo. But, he says, new fertilizer-production capacity is growing by only 6% annually.

Since 1970 no new plants have been built in the U.S. and only seven have been put up in Europe. The future doesn't look much better. Only six new plants are being built in the West, including just two in the U.S.

James Calvin, a vice president of W. R. Grace & Co., a major fertilizer producer, says the U.S. will have to face fertilizer shortages for at least the next five years. Before manufacturers can decide to build new plants they require assurances of natural-gas supplies

over 10 to 15 years, he says, "and right now that sort of guarantee seems unlikely."

YEARS TO CATCH UP

(Nitrogen-fertilizer factories in the U.S. are designed for natural gas so as to employ an especially efficient technology for obtaining hydrogen. Naphtha, a petroleum derivative, could be used instead of natural gas, but the fertilizer would be more expensive; besides, naphtha is also in short supply. Coal could also be used if the factories were redesigned, but the fertilizer produced that way would be still more expensive. Nevertheless, coal is being considered as a raw material by U.S. fertilizer producers on the theory that something is better than nothing.)

Even if the fertilizer industry were assured of adequate supplies of natural gas tomorrow, Mr. Calvin says, it would take several years and substantial investments to catch up with demand. A typical plant producing 1,100 tons of nitrogen fertilizer daily costs about \$35 million and takes three years to complete, he says.

So, in the absence of its own new plants the U.S. will be forced in future years to become a major importer of the material, Prof. Ewell says. Last year the U.S. did import 10% of the nitrogen fertilizer it needed, mainly from Venezuela, the Netherlands and Trinidad and Tobago. But this year, the Fertilizer Institute says, imports will be down "simply because the product isn't available; the world-wide shortage is going to hurt us."

The U.S. may be helped by some of the 50 or so nitrogen fertilizer plants now being planned or built around the world. Just about all of them are going up in the developing world and in Communist nations. An enormous building program in Eastern Europe (which is doubling its nitrogen-fertilizer capacity), the Soviet Union and China apparently reflects the sharing of Western plant technology in recent years. But developing nations of Latin America and Africa are putting up plants because many have bountiful supplies of natural gas and oil. Because of this hydrocarbon horn of plenty, a World Bank spokesman in Washington says he believes that these nations will ultimately become a major supplier of fertilizer to the West.

THE CURRENT IRONY

Meanwhile, though, the developing countries are facing overwhelming construction problems, mainly due to lack of capital and skilled labor—that are causing delays of up to three years. And plants already operating are running at less than 60% of capacity because of erratic supplies of electricity.

Thus, ironically, while these nations are preparing future resources, they must rely for today's fertilizer needs on Japan and the wealthy nations of North America and Western Europe, which control the non-Communist world's fertilizer supply.

But the developed nations, which now need all the fertilizer they can produce, are cutting back on their exports (Japan, it is rumored, is cutting off all supplies to Indonesia, India and Pakistan). This has caused the international price of fertilizer to skyrocket. Urea, which 18 months ago was selling internationally for \$50 to \$60 a metric ton, is now selling for as high as \$250.

How did this happen so quickly? A World Bank internal report details the course of events that led to a shortage of fertilizer at a time of peak demand. World fertilizer prices reached their lowest levels in the late 1960s due to an oversupply (between 1965 and 1971 the global supply doubled). This was partly the result of the plant-building boom in the West springing from a technological breakthrough that made new fertilizer plants more efficient and thus more profitable. Because of the oversupply, construction had virtually stopped by 1970.

But in 1971, the report says, a rapid growth

in demand began to catch up with supply. At the same time a number of obsolete plants in the West were being closed, further reducing the supply. The inevitable result, Prof. Ewell says, has been the recent "cross-over in supply and demand."

DISTURBING TRENDS IN SALT II

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, SALT I resulted in a seriously weakened U.S. strategic position. With President Nixon's scheduled trip to Moscow in June and with negotiations continuing, it is important that the direction of SALT I be reversed. Unfortunately, the evidence, at least in regard to one recent appointment and one reported possible appointment, does not point toward a firmer U.S. stance. Jerome Kahan has joined the planning and coordination staff which is gaining great influence in the Department of State and with Dr. Kissinger. Mr. Kahan seems to view with alarm any move of the United States to bolster its strategic forces as provocative to the Soviet Union. Additionally, Kahan believes in the United States unilaterally cutting back on a number of weapons systems.

At this point, I include in the Record two articles "Kissinger's New Disarmament Expert" and "The Pentagon's Nitze: An Uncertain Trumpet" from the February 16, 1973, and February 23, 1973, issues of Human Events which deserve the attention of those concerned with our national security:

KISSINGER'S NEW DISARMAMENT EXPERT

Supporters of a strong national defense posture were moderately pleased with the unveiling of the Nixon Administration's \$85.8-billion military budget, more than \$6 billion over the sums to be spent in fiscal 1974. Pressing the argument for the budget hike before the Senate Armed Services Committee last week, tough-minded Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger stressed he offered "no apologies" for its size. In real terms, he added, it means "no more than holding our own," for the greater part of the increase is consumed by pay and price hikes.

The Nixon-Schlesinger budget, however, is welcomed by hawkish lawmakers for some of the new initiatives and increases in certain critical categories. For instance, the budget provides funds for improving missile accuracy, the acceleration of an advanced nuclear submarine (the Trident), the speed-up in construction of the B-1 bomber and the more rapid development of strategic cruise missiles that can be fired from either submarines or aircraft. Moreover, it revitalizes our Navy in two ways; by continuing to build necessary nuclear and conventional aircraft carriers and by constructing smaller and more efficient "mini-carriers."

So pleased was Sen. Jim Buckley (C.-R.-N.Y.), a defense hawk, with the Nixon budget that he was preparing to deliver a speech this week claiming that President Nixon had "presented a defense budget that is a very welcome sight to those of us in the Senate who feared that the euphoria surrounding the alleged detente between the United States and the Soviet Union might well have caused our leadership to dangerously cut back in areas of defense spending."

While the military budget reflects a certain hard realism, there is still mounting concern that the new initiatives and weaponry outlined by Schlesinger last week are nothing but "bargaining chips," all to be sacrificed in the second round of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks at Geneva.

From a variety of reliable sources within defense and diplomatic circles, it is repeatedly heard that the United States, with Henry Kissinger as the master, behind-the-scenes negotiator, is prepared to conclude an offensive treaty with the Soviet Union that will leave this country forever inferior to the USSR in strategic nuclear weaponry. Sen. Henry Jackson (D.-Wash.), for instance, who raised a furor about the outcome of SALT I, is said to be especially concerned with the course Kissinger is taking in directing American disarmament policy.

Kissinger is not only a "soft-liner" himself, argue knowledgeable Pentagon officials, but he is bringing into the State Department a number of dovish theoreticians. What particularly alarms some department observers is the increasing influence Kissinger is bestowing upon the Planning and Coordination Staff. The staff's director, Winston Lord, a long-time Kissinger intimate, is considered a devout dove.

As *Newsweek* recently described him, Lord is Kissinger's "valued aide, intellectual comrade-in-arms and personal friend. He has been a Kissinger brain-truster for nearly five years: as special assistant, he accompanied his boss six times to China, four times to the Soviet Union, and some 25 times to the Paris peace talks with the North Vietnamese. If anyone in the State Department can be called 'Kissinger's Kissinger,' it is Winston Lord."

When Kissinger appointed the 36-year-old Lord to run the department's think-tank operation, Kissinger told Lord that the planning staff would play a "principal role" in shaping policy options for the secretary of state.

In his effort to shape Kissinger's options on nuclear matters, Lord has brought on board the PCS Jerome Kahan, a former staffer with the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency who for the past five years has been writing on strategic nuclear doctrine for the liberal Brookings Institution. Kahan's own writings plus what he says to friends and acquaintances clearly mark him as an outright dove. Indeed, Kahan's move from Brookings to the PCS has brought open handwringing from Pentagon officials, who are now certain that Kissinger, bolstered by such disarmament theoreticians as Kahan, is determined to undermine the military at SALT II.

While Kahan might not subscribe to the description, his own writings project an extreme fear that the United States might take some action to protect itself that would provoke the Soviets into mounting a fresh, nuclear arms race. Kahan seems especially worried, for instance, that American policymakers might deploy too many defensive weapons, thus irritating top Soviet strategists. Moreover, Kahan appears to have few worries regarding Soviet provocations, including Russia's massive buildup of offensive weaponry, ever since SALT I.

The types of options on defense that Kahan might develop for Kissinger were outlined at a conference on foreign policy on Oct. 23, 1972, sponsored by Pepperdine University. Kahan submitted a discussion paper for the conference in which the central emphasis focused on the need to restrain the impulse of U.S. officials to counter the Soviet military threat.

The U.S., advised Kahan, should reject efforts to modify the SALT agreements to permit a nationwide system of anti-ballistic missiles. In addition, America should "eschew offensive weapons programs, such as warhead accuracy and yield improvements,"

which would provide its land or sea-based missiles with the capacity to launch counter-force strikes against Soviet ICBMs. (The fact that the Soviets have the capacity to strike our ICBMs doesn't appear to worry Kahan too much.)

"In fact," Kahan went on, "consistent with the proposition that all nuclear defenses are potentially destabilizing, the U.S. should also avoid initiating massive anti-submarine warfare deployment efforts . . . and should reduce rather than increase its air-defense network."

While the absence of U.S. ABMs should alleviate any Kremlin fear that the U.S. might embark on a first-strike strategy, said Kahan, the "combination of American missile counter force, ASW and air-defense efforts would create a serious threat to the USSR's deterrent within the next decade."

"On a broader level," Kahan maintained, "U.S. leaders should recognize that programs which they consider to be stabilizing, such as new submarines or bombers, might well trigger Soviet reactions based on Moscow's political attitudes or psychological outlooks. Even if certain U.S. weapons, such as Trident or the B-1, might not pose a direct threat to the USSR's retaliatory capability, premature deployment of any major strategic systems could stimulate a Soviet reaction for political 'force-matching' reasons, particularly if the Kremlin came to believe that the U.S. was moving toward some form of superiority."

Scattered through Kahan's writings are a myriad of don'ts for U.S. policy-makers in the next phase of SALT. Kahan even goes so far as to suggest that U.S. leaders shouldn't take "high confidence" measures to protect our weaponry! "Premature force decisions taken to hedge against future Soviet threats of low probability should be avoided, and in many instances reliance on high confidence measures to ensure survivability and penetrability might have to be foregone in favor of measures which are less reliable but also less provocative." "Unilateral restraints," Kahan argued, could bring great benefits.

For the future, urged Kahan, officials "should play down our nuclear strength, avoid attributing undue significance to variations in the U.S.-Soviet force balance, and refrain from overstating the dangers of the Soviet threat or the problems of nuclear parity."

In short, what Kissinger's new disarmament adviser believes is that America, in order to reach a productive outcome at SALT II, must restrain its protective impulses, engage in unilateral disarmament, refrain from provoking the Soviets with "high confidence" defensive measures and virtually ignore what ever *Time* magazine now sees as the growing and ominous nuclear threat from the Soviet Union. And what profoundly disturbs the hard-liners in Congress and the Pentagon is that they believe that these days Kissinger and Kahan think very much alike.

THE PENTAGON'S NITZE: AN UNCERTAIN TRUMPET

No sooner did it become known that Henry Kissinger had hired Jerome Kahan, a unilateral disarmament advocate, to enter the top councils of the State Department (see HUMAN EVENTS, February 16, page 3) than word leaked out that yet another controversial disarmament expert had been slated for a key Pentagon post. That expert: Paul Nitze, an old Democratic hand who played a major role in shaping the disarmament policies of former JFK-LBJ Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara.

Nitze is expected to be named to the job of Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, the same job he held in the Kennedy years and from which he and his successors exerted a powerful impact on the Pentagon's defense and foreign policy planning.

While the New York Times' Leslie Gelb

quoted a former Nitze colleague as saying that he's "the most knowledgeable hawk in town," others more closely acquainted with his positions take strong exception to the "hard-liner" portrait. In the phrase of one observer, Nitze, at best, is "an uncertain trumpet." Far from strengthening the hawkish viewpoint in the Defense Department, for instance, there are some knowledgeable defense experts who believe that Nitze might seriously undermine the Pentagon's position on a variety of issues, including its "semi-hard" attitude toward the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks.

Though even his critics will acknowledge his hawkish moments, Nitze's rhetoric and actions in the past are not consistent with the views of "hard-liner." Nitze's views on disarmament, in fact, have proved fairly consistent—and dovish—since 1958.

In November of that year, for instance, Nitze presided over Session 2 of the Fifth World Order Study Conference of the National Council of Churches which met in Cleveland, Ohio.

The panel claimed the "aggressive tactics of the Communist powers are caused, in part, by fear of their own security . . . and the history of Western imperialism must be taken into account if we are to understand contemporary Communist attitudes." It also claimed that "American nuclear stockpiles and widely scattered military bases, some of them near the borders of the Soviet Union arouse apprehension" among the Communist rulers. The clear implication of that argument, of course, was that America should relieve Soviet fears by abandoning our overseas missile bases.

Furthermore, the panel urged the United States to encourage Chiang Kai-shek to abandon the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, to suspend nuclear tests unilaterally, and to use force only if it were "sanctioned by, and under control of, the United Nations."

Before the Senate Armed Services Committee in 1963, after he had been nominated as secretary of the Navy, Nitze said he had vigorously differed with many of the panel's points, though exactly which points were not always clear. His performance was not altogether convincing for the simple reason that his own thinking clearly bore a striking resemblance to some of the most controversial aspects of the panel report.

As Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs under Kennedy, he had, in fact, endorsed an American defense strategy that would not "provoke" the Soviet Union: he had favored withdrawal of U.S. missiles from Turkey, Italy and England, and he had openly supported the nuclear test-ban pact which the Joint Chiefs of Staff concluded was a "net disadvantage" to the U.S. militarily. Moreover, when Sen. Richard Russell (D.-Ga.), then chairman of the Armed Services Committee, asked Nitze if he had believed in 1958 "that we should pressure the Chinese Nationalists to evacuate Quemoy and Matsu," Nitze replied: "My recollection is in 1958 I think so." Nitze also opposed the 1955 Senate-House resolution empowering the President to commit American forces to protect those offshore islands from a Red Chinese attack.

One of the most provocative resolutions emanating from the World Order Study Conference panel was the proposition that America should use force only if it were "sanctioned by, and under the control of, the United Nations." Nitze said he opposed this part of the panel recommendations but his denial was less than persuasive in view of the startling speech he delivered to military and civilian personnel in Astoria, Calif., on April 28, 1960—nearly two years after the World Order Study Conference in Cleveland and a few months prior to Kennedy's election.

The Nitze speech consisted of a series of finely reasoned assumptions, but the key element was that America should no longer strive for nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union or what Nitze defined as a "Class A" capability. Instead, said Nitze, the United States should aim for a "secure second-strike capability" with the capacity to retaliate if the Soviets strike the first blow.

Indeed, Nitze's 4,000-word address contained the seeds of the unilateral disarmament policy pursued so diligently and disastrously by the Kennedy Administration, a policy that called for—and resulted in—the deliberate abandonment of U.S. nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union.

At Asilomar, Nitze went even further than most dovish nuclear experts by explicitly proposing a plan that would make the United Nations the ultimate arbiter of when the Western world could employ its strategic nuclear arsenal. Said Nitze:

"The actions I propose are the following: (1) That we concentrate on building a variety of secure, purely retaliatory systems . . . (2) that, when we have such a mix of relatively secure systems, we scrap the fixed-based vulnerable systems that have their principal utility as components of a Class A [superior] capability; (3) that we multilateralize the command of our retaliatory systems by making SAC [the Strategic Air Command] a NATO command, and (4) that we inform the United Nations that NATO will turn over ultimate power of decision on the use of these systems to the General Assembly of the United Nations subject to the following conditions:

"(a) That we and our allies will assume continuing responsibility for manning, maintaining and improving these systems.

"(b) That U.N. inspectors would be invited to inspect and satisfy themselves that these are the only nuclear systems we are maintaining.

"(c) That a U.N. order to use them will be honored only in the event some nation has initiated the use of nuclear weapons other than on or over its own territory in self-defense against military aggression . . ."

In other words, Nitze proposed turning over America's and NATO's strategic retaliatory forces to the Afro-Asian-dominated General Assembly of the United Nations. The Nitze-imposed conditions, moreover, would have even rendered the U.N. impotent, for the world organization itself would not have been permitted to allow the use of weapons consigned to its control if the Soviets had launched a massive, conventional assault.

Facing the Senate Armed Services Committee three years later, Nitze initially tried to downplay his proposal, but under considerable prodding he acknowledged it had been seriously put forth. Furthermore, only a few weeks prior to his appearance before the committee, Nitze, according to a Human Events source, had stoutly defended his Asilomar address before the liberal Democratic Study Group in the House. When Sen. Harry Byrd (D.-Va.) asked Nitze about his remarks before the DSG, Nitze said that his "recollection" was that "I said that I very recently reread this Asilomar speech, and there were elements in it which I thought stood up after having reread it."

Sen. Robert Byrd (D.-W. Va.), now the Democratic whip in the Senate, remarked to Nitze at the time: "I don't want to impugn your sincerity . . . [but] it seems to me that in my reading of this speech I get an impression that you threw out an idea which you thought might really be practicable and feasible. You attempted to destroy the anticipated objections to it . . . I don't think a careful reading of the statement really would convince me and persuade me that it was indeed just a mere proposal which you did not believe in . . ."

Under Byrd's continuing barrage, Nitze

owned up: "I sincerely wanted this to be analyzed by these people who were there, I thought it was worthy of discussion."

In later years, Nitze has also been noted for his soft policies. From 1967 to 1969, Nitze was No. 2 man in the Defense Department. In the Nixon Administration, he has been an important member of the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks, and publicly defended SALT I, although he has been critical of the outcome in private conversations. In addition to his disarmament views, he also opposed the Vietnam War and argued against the belief that Hanoi could be bombed into submission.

So much for Nitze "the hawk." Nitze may now, in fact, believe in a "harder line" than he has voiced on the record, as many observers seem to think. And judged by the disarmament theorists who think the U.S. strategic arsenal should be reduced to a couple of H-bombs (a spare, in case one goes flat). Nitze is probably considered a Dr. Strange-love. But if past is prologue, as the saying goes, the selection of Paul Nitze is hardly likely to firm up the attitudes of Defense Secretary Schlesinger or send a single shiver down the spines of Kremlin strategists.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS' CUYAHOGA VALLEY STUDY

HON. JOHN F. SEIBERLING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Speaker, a hearing on the bill to create the Cuyahoga Valley National Historical Park and Recreation Area is scheduled before the House Interior Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation for March 1. This is indeed good news for the people of Ohio and the Midwest, who have long been shortchanged with regard to Federal parks and recreation areas. Ohio, the 6th most populous State in the Nation has no national parks or national recreation areas. The Cuyahoga Valley park would be, in effect a "Central Park" for over 4 million people in the Akron-Cleveland area. It would also make a national recreation area within a short driving distance of the whole Detroit to Pittsburgh urban corridor. Certainly with the energy crisis, the need is even more acute to "put our parks where the people are."

Since last April, when Congressmen VANIK, REGULA, and myself introduced the Cuyahoga Valley park bill—cosponsored by almost 50 Members of the House of Representatives—the park proposal has received tremendous support from both local and national organizations. I personally have received letters of support from over 3,000 people.

Mr. Speaker, at this time I would like to introduce in the Record an outstanding study of the Cuyahoga Valley park proposal prepared by the League of Women Voters in Cuyahoga County and Summit County, Ohio. These women have done an excellent job of describing the unique historic, scenic, and botanic features of the valley and the park proposal. Their study should be of interest to all Members concerned with preserving the Cuyahoga Valley for present and future generations.

The study follows:

CUYAHOGA VALLEY STUDY

(The Leagues of Women Voters in Cuyahoga County and Summit County, having studied the proposed park plans for the Cuyahoga River Valley between Akron and Cleveland, present this condensed summary of their study committee report, January, 1974.)

The Cuyahoga River has not always been held in low esteem and made a butt of jokes as "the river that burns." It is, in fact, a very important river from both historic and economic points of view. In the very early history of this nation, the river was known extensively even in Europe. The river, plus the eight mile portage south to the Ohio River system, was an important route and was for a while the northwest boundary of our colonial settlements. The Indians declared it "sacred ground" and kept it free from warfare for the use of all. Explorers, traders and settlers in successions all made use of the route. Honored by inclusion in the *Rivers of America* series, it has been dubbed "The Mighty Little River."

THE VALLEY DESCRIBED

That portion of the Cuyahoga and its Valley of interest in this study is about 18 miles long and 4 miles wide lying between two growing cities, Cleveland on the north and Akron on the south. It is outside the city limits of both and in the main is miraculously free of development. As urban sprawl approaches urban sprawl, it is the last large piece of open green area between the two cities.

Major east-west highways cutting across the valley are the Ohio Turnpike (I-80), I-271 and I-480. Lesser east-west roads are Rockside Road (proposed as the northern limit of the National Park), State Route 82, Boston Mills Road, State Route 303 and Bath Road (proposed as the southern limit of the Park). North to south are I-77, U.S. 21, and State Route 8. A line of the Baltimore & Ohio RR runs the length of the valley.

Nearby centers of population are Independence, Brecksville, Valley View, Sagamore Hills. Within the valley is the village of Peninsula, the hamlet of Boston, a trailer park, and a growing housing development called Towpath.

The Cuyahoga River in this section varies in width from 35 to 85 feet and in depth from inches to 4 or 5 feet. Its level flood plain varies in width from a few hundred yards to a mile, and is subject to swift winter and spring floods which may inundate it completely. Major tributaries are Tinkers Creek, Chippewa Creek, Brandywine Creek and Furnace Run. The Valley walls are heavily forested and rise steeply 200 to 300 feet. The river and some stretches of the major tributaries are badly polluted with municipal and industrial wastes. However, there has been some recent improvement in water quality.

For the most part, the soil of the flat valley floor is sandy and clayey—subject to flooding, poor in ability to absorb, poor in ability to bear loads such as housing and roads would impose, but fairly good for agriculture. The valley walls are predominately sand, silt and clay; meaning unstable slopes and poor ability to bear loads. Engineers and planners conclude that these characteristics along with a general lack of groundwater indicate the land should not be used for commercial or industrial purposes.

Botanically speaking, the Valley is a cross roads where plants meet from all directions. Geologically speaking, the Appalachian Plateau crosses the Valley near Independence and turns south, dividing eastern mountains from western prairie.

There are several National Historical Landmarks already established in the Valley. Stretches of the Ohio Canal, towpath, locks and diversion dams are still visible today. Across from Tale Farm is the restored Western Reserve Village.

Much of the Valley retains its charming 19th Century way of life. Yet, all around it, 2 major metropolises continue to grow. The 1970 Cuyahoga County population of approximately 1,721,300 and Summit County's 553,400, a total of 2.3 million, is expected to increase to 2.9 million by 1980. Within the Valley, however, the population remains low. Industrial and commercial development on the valley floor remains sparse: a paper mill, 2 or 3 sand and gravel operations, top soil removal, a trucking firm, a florist shop, two junkyards, an autobody shop, greenhouse, sodfarm, crops, gardens and orchards.

FACILITIES IN THE VALLEY

Historical, natural, cultural and recreational facilities are in private, public and quasi-public ownership. Of the 990 acres privately owned, the major pieces are Brandywine Golf Course and the 2 Ski Areas (Brandywine and Boston Mills). Public and quasi-public facilities make up an acreage of 6,331 and 2,040 acres respectively, and include Brecksville Reservation, Virginia Kendall Park, Sand Run, Furnace Run and Hampton Hills (public); Boy Scout Camps Manatoc and Butler, Girl Scout Camp Ledge-wood, Camp Mueller, Blossom Center, Hale Farm and Western Reserve Village (quasi-public).

On land overlooking the valley and dominating it is Nick Mileti's sports coliseum.

PROPOSALS FOR USE OF THE VALLEY

As early as 1921 studies have dealt with preservation of the Cuyahoga Valley and its possible future. Two major pieces of legislation have been recently introduced in Congress to make the valley a National Park.

The Rosenstock-Holland Associates study (*The Cuyahoga Valley of Ohio: A Recreational Feasibility Study*, 1968) concludes "that this area MUST be preserved as open space land. It possesses all the requisites... Situated in the center of one of the Nation's most populous and industrial sections, its present status places it on the threshold of becoming completely urbanized... The forces pushing this must be arrested, the litter and water pollution damage already created must be repaired, and the tranquil atmosphere and esthetic beauty of the river and valley must be preserved. When this is accomplished and the recreational potential for the Valley is realized, then the industry and the people... surrounding the Valley will grow and prosper because of it."

A *Statewide Plan for Outdoor Recreation in Ohio 1971-1977* is a sizeable project of the Ohio Dept. of Natural Resources. Recreation facilities both public and private are inventoried, undeveloped areas are analyzed for recreation potential, supply and demand are predicted, and recommendations made. The prediction is for an increase in population density and an even greater increase in recreational demand. By 1985 Akron-Cleveland will need 126,522 acres of land for land-based recreation alone. Sizeable shortages are predicted in relation to demand. The study states that the Cuyahoga Valley "should be considered as a prime area."

The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers has published its first Interim Report on *The Cuyahoga River, Ohio, Restoration Study* (Sept. 1971) Appendix B—Recreational dealing with plans for the complete river. Within the area of LWV concern, they recommend tentatively 6 canoe-launching sites on the river, 2 canoe-launching sites on the canal and a Trail Center.

The Northeast Ohio Water Development Plan (Preliminary), Nov. 1971 emphasizes that river corridors or environmental corridors tie in with other plans for the valley. The corridors preserve green open space along the rivers and allow for public access.

Cuyahoga River Valley Acquisition (Final Environmental Statement, Dept. of the In-

terior, Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, June 1973) report recommends acquisition of a tract of land totaling 14,500 acres in the valley to be used as a park. Action would be taken by the Ohio Dept. of Natural Resources (ODNR) and the two Metropolitan Park Districts, Akron (AMPD) and Cleveland (CMPD) with federal assistance from the Land & Water Conservation Fund (LWCF). The process would probably take twenty years and cost \$35 million, during which time prices are expected to rise. The ODNR and the 2 Park Districts would receive money from LWCF to match money they invest; they would each manage the various properties they bought. Land would be obtained by outright purchase, by scenic easements, by life estates, by lease-back arrangements with many in-holdings left. The small settlements of Boston, Jaito and Everett would not be included in the Park, nor would the developed portions of the larger towns and cities (e.g. Peninsula and Brecksville). The undeveloped parts of these communities that become part of the Park are usually undesirably situated (except for Peninsula).

Communities in and around the Valley have expressed great concern about the loss of land, i.e., money from their tax duplicates. They fear, too, the nearby Park will force them to have extra expenses for police and fire protection and for road repair. This BOR report has several answers to this. Visitors spend sizeable amounts of money locally for food, lodging, gasoline, bicycle rentals, etc. In addition, it has been noted that around all such parks and recreation areas, land values increase through the years.

The Proposed Cuyahoga National Recreation Area, Ohio (Draft February 1973 by the Dept. of the Interior National Park Service) endorses the idea of a federal park. "Clearly the Cuyahoga Valley with its significant natural, historical and recreational qualities is one of the most strategically located resources in reach of urban America." NPS envisions a national park of 14,843 acres as an axis for a larger total park of over 22,000 acres. It would encompass the Valley's special historic resources and its natural resources, would develop and manage a varied recreation program, emphasizing urban-related cultural events and environmental education. The main use of the Park would be intensive day use.

In summary, two divisions of the Dept. of the Interior, the BOR (Bureau of Outdoor Recreation) and the NPS (National Park Service) have now recommended a Park. Each operates differently. In acquisition, the BOR gives matching funds; the NPS purchases outright 100%. Park lands bought by BOR money (LWCF) and the locality together are managed by the locality; NPS manages the land it purchases.

Presently there are 2 National Parks near urban areas elsewhere in the U.S.A.: Gateway National Recreation Area in New York Harbor and the Golden Gate National Recreation Area in San Francisco, voted by Congress in 1972.

Two bills have been introduced in U.S. Congress to make the Cuyahoga Valley a National Park. In April 1971 Congressmen Seiberling and Vanik co-sponsored a bill to create the Ohio Canal and Cuyahoga Valley National Historical Park and Recreation Area. In April 1973 the same two Congressmen, joined by colleague Ralph Regula, introduced a bill to establish the Cuyahoga Valley National Historical Park and Recreation Area (H.R. 7077). This bill concerns itself with the Valley area between Akron and Cleveland and incorporates the following features: 1) the boundaries of the park will not be established until after public hearings, 2) The Secretary of the Interior may not acquire private lands as long as the owner is in compliance with zoning provisions that protect the character of the park. 3) A land-

owner who sells his holdings may, if he wishes, retain possession of his land for 25 years or the rest of his life. 4) Without selling, the owner may negotiate a "scenic easement" whereby he is reimbursed for not destroying the scenic appearance of his property. 5) The 13 person advisory commission for the Park will have 5 members who are permanent residents of the Valley. 6) Communities within the park area may be compensated for any erosion of the tax base or any extra expenses for firemen, policemen or road maintenance.

DECISION AS TO LAND USE

This is an emotion-charged issue especially for those who live in the Valley. Everybody seems to feel the need to "Save The Valley." The actual methods urged, however, range from the plea of the land-owners "Leave us alone and we'll take care of our Valley," "We do not want hordes of outsiders trampling our land," to the professional objectivity of the land-use planner whose tests and charts indicate "The Valley must be declared, legislated and acquired as open space for the good not only of the Valley but of the whole region." Congressman Seiberling, whose home is in the Valley and who has signed a scenic easement for his land, states flatly that the only way to save the Valley in time is the route he has espoused.

The official governmental processes in this region have produced "a planning proposal sponsored by the Metropolitan Park Boards of Cleveland and Akron, consistent with the State outdoor recreation plan, the Seven County open space plan and the Tri-County and Cuyahoga Regional Planning Commission's plans." NOACA (Northeast Ohio Areawide Coordinating Agency) has approved it.

At the national level, H.R. 7077 awaits hearings, in February, in the House Interior Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation. An identical bill, S.B. 1862, has been introduced in the Senate by Senators Taft and Saxbe. Citizens have had input, and H.R. 7077 provides for public participation every step of the way. When the final vote comes on H.R. 7077, the voice of the people may well be the deciding factor.

If for any reason a national park cannot be established, the State of Ohio has indicated that it will still continue the purchase of lands for park purposes.

IMPLEMENTING THE DECISION

If the Valley is to avoid haphazard development, land must be acquired. Both Metropolitan Park Boards have been making strategic purchases. The State of Ohio has opened a purchasing office in the Valley and expended several million dollars for land purchase, the largest amount coming from federal revenue-sharing money. The Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR) has allotted funds from the Land & Water Conservation Fund (LWCF). Some citizens have sold their land (requirements: cost set at, or above, "fair price;" two appraisals made; value set made public). No eminent domain or condemnation proceedings are contemplated. Because local zoning usually topples under the pressure of developers, special arrangements clearly are needed.

Though the process of land acquisition is now accelerated, some important pieces of land have already been lost (Towpath development for instance). At the current rate of acquisition, it is estimated that it will take at least 20 years to acquire the desired land. "Only national park status will permit acquisition at a faster pace than the State could achieve, thus saving more of the Valley from development and at less inflated prices." (H.R. 7077)

Another way of acquiring park land is by scenic easement. This means the Park District has bought the right to keep the land in its natural state. The owner has not sold his land nor must he move. The community

continues to have the property on the tax rolls. It is possible for a landowner to donate the scenic easement to the park and to count it a charitable deduction on his income tax.

If a park is assembled, how shall it be administered? Already both Metropolitan Park Boards are skillfully administering several thousand acres in the area. If national park status is achieved, parkland adjacent to the federal boundaries would remain in the ownership of the two local Park Districts. Federal programs, as projected, would incorporate local park programs.

POSSIBLE ACTIVITIES

The two Metropolitan Park Districts presently provide for the familiar daytime activities of picnicking, ball playing, hiking, fishing, horseback riding, nature study, etc. The Cuyahoga River—when cleansed of its pollution—would provide canoeing, rowboating, float trips. One of the proposed recreation projects for the Valley is a canal boat ride in replica canal boats pulled by mules on a restored towpath. Another proposal is the reopening of the railroad with rides furnished in vintage cars. Existing B&O tracks and stations would be utilized to provide mass transit access to the park for residents of Akron and Cleveland. Minibus shuttles would connect with train stations and planned information and recreation nodes in the park. Also proposed: a resident environmental education center, hostels for hikers and bike riders, primitive camping areas, Canal Museum, assembly area(s) for folk festivals, a restored barn for art exhibits.

SUMMARY

Four million people live within a half-hour's drive of the proposed park. The next nearest national park is 200 miles away. If a park is to be established in the Valley, careful consideration must be given to the planning and development of the land so that irreparable damage is not done through overuse, pollution and commercialization.

WHY DEPORT HAVIV SCHIEBER?

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, in October 1971, the Chicago Tribune ran a column by its veteran reporter and columnist, Willard Edwards, now retired, detailing the plight of an anti-Communist, anti-Zionist citizen of Israel, Haviv Schieber, whose deportation from the United States was at that time imminent. Since arriving in the United States in 1959, the Schieber case has been the subject of an action by the immigration authorities, the courts, and Congress, not to mention appeals to the Attorney General and the State Department. Some indication of the merit of the request for permanent status can be gleaned from the interest in the case of Senators BUCKLEY, HELMS, and THURMOND and the late Congressman James Utt who introduced three private bills on Mr. Schieber's behalf.

In addition to Mr. Edwards, my interest in the case was aroused by Mr. Stephen Koczak, a former Foreign Service officer who knew Mr. Schieber in Israel and who is now research director of the American Federation of Government Employees—AFL-CIO. My confidence in

Mr. Koczak's judgment stems from his several appearances before our House Internal Security Committee and his assistance in drafting legislation relating to due process rights for Foreign Service officers.

Yesterday a court decision in New York gave Mr. Schieber until 5 p.m. on this Friday, February 22, to wind up his affairs before being subject to deportation. An appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court is now being drafted and appeals to the Attorney General and the State Department have been submitted.

Since coming to the United States, Mr. Schieber has received many commendations from people who have tried to help him. He is especially proud of his tribute paid him by Mr. Frank Meistrell, director, receivership, of the department of rent and housing maintenance of the city of New York who stated:

I unqualifiedly recommend him for consideration as a citizen.

Bearing in mind that Mr. Schieber employed without discrimination blacks, Puerto Ricans, and returning Vietnam veterans in his contracting business, this excerpt from another commendatory letter is revealing:

Haviv Schieber has also exhibited fantastic results in working with minority labor through his ingenious program of forming workers in small collectives, who then take jobs on a contract base. Result, the individual who has always worked on an hourly scale, a little more than if he were on welfare, is now in business for himself, has pride and monetary reasons for self-assertion, works faster, learns quicker, and earns a hell-of-a-lot more. And the beautiful part of this is that the contractor needs 70% less supervision, and the job is completed on an average of 62% of the time.

One final argument for giving serious consideration to Mr. Schieber's desire to reside permanently in the United States is his long-held belief that only a coalition of Arabs, Christians, and Jews in a Holy Land State will bring peace to the Mideast, a position certainly not appreciated by Israel in its present time of trial. Mr. Bruce J. Terris, Mr. Schieber's Washington lawyer, spelled out the political implications of the case in a detailed letter to Mr. Louis A. Wiesner, Director of Office of Refugee and Migration Affairs of the State Department in support of political asylum for Mr. Schieber.

The aforementioned Edwards' article and the Terris letter follow:

[From the Chicago Tribune, Oct. 30, 1971]

REFUGEE'S DESPERATE PLEA DENIED

(By Willard Edwards)

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29.—He was small in stature, low-voiced, a little apologetic of mien, and apparently fearful that the dramatic nature of his appeal would inspire incredulity.

"I am not a fanatic," he said. "I ask only for the freedom that America has given me since 1959."

"Now, they are going to deport me and I must ask you to believe that if I am sent back to the Poland, now under Soviet control, where I was born, or to Israel where I later became a citizen, it will constitute a death sentence."

These were desperate words, carrying conviction reinforced after listening to his story. At this moment, Haviv Schieber, 58, of New York City is in danger of being shipped

back to either Poland or Israel. The Board of Immigration Appeals last month denied his plea for permanent residence in the United States after 11 years of legal bickering over his status.

Examination of the record supports his fears of imprisonment or worse if he is returned to either country. As organizer of the Anti-Communist League of Israel, he is anathema to Moscow. His proposals for solving the Palestine question are offensive to Israel.

Two senators, James L. Buckley [C.-R., N. Y.] and Strom Thurmond [R. S.C.] have interested themselves in the mystery of why the U.S. seems determined to deport Schieber.

A number of prominent citizens and government officials have testified to his services here as a good citizen in fact if not in name. A building contractor, he has been saluted for his contributions to housing for the poor and employment of the unskilled in New York City.

His long fight to remain in this country was seemingly ended when the immigration board ruled him "excludable" on grounds of "moral turpitude." He had been convicted in Israel some 20 years ago, the board said, of the crimes of theft and obtaining money under false pretenses.

Buckley notified Atty. Gen. John Mitchell that there was an apparent absence of official court records to support these charges. He forwarded affidavits from persons on the scene in Israel at the time. They confirm Schieber's claim that the alleged crimes are fictitious.

As the elected mayor of Beersheba in 1950, Schieber said, he organized a protest against the lack of government postal facilities. He appropriated two sidewalk tiles to erect a token mail box.

Arrested for theft of city property, he was fined 5 Israeli pounds [about \$1.50] by a township judge who then complimented Schieber for his civic zeal.

The other charge, according to Schieber and the supporting affidavits, was equally flimsy. He irritated government officials by building housing for newly arrived immigrants on land abandoned by Arabs, charging a low rent. A judge gave him three months on parole.

Born in Poland in 1913, Schieber played a leading role in facilitating the illegal immigration to Palestine of Jews from Europe to escape Hitler. He became an Israeli citizen in 1948 but was in constant conflict with the government which he accused of Marxist tendencies.

"I am a Jew but I am also a realist and I do not believe that Israel can exist as an independent state without the full agreement of the Arab coalition," he said. "I suppose a 'Holy Land state' in which Jews, Christians, and Moslems would live peacefully with equal standing and rights. Israel is following a dangerous course which, in the long run will result in its destruction."

Such assertions outrage many. Without getting into a dispute over their merit, it is possible to suggest that silencing them by deporting their author mars the proud image of this nation as an asylum for political refugees with unpopular views in their home land.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
February 19, 1974.

Re: Haviv Schieber
A11 596 969

Mr. LOUIS A. WIESNER,
Director of Office of Refugee and Migration
Affairs, Department of State, Washington,
D.C.

DEAR MR. WIESNER: I am writing to you as the Washington, D.C. attorney representing Mr. Haviv Schieber who applied for political asylum on October 15, 1973 in refusing to

return to Israel. My communication supplements letters which you have received from Mr. James A. Cardillo, who is representing Mr. Schieber as his attorney in New York.

I am informed by responsible persons that, if Mr. Schieber is deported to Israel, his life will be in serious danger because of his political views and the activities which he carried out in connection with the Yom Kippur war. It appears that, no matter how much forbearance or police protection he might be afforded by the government of Israel, he will still be in danger of being murdered such as happened to Rudolph Kastner. Although found innocent of charges linking him in improper dealings with Adolph Eichman, Kastner nevertheless was shot to death on the streets of Tel Aviv by inflamed Jewish groups who felt he deserved to die.

Inasmuch as your office has access, either directly or through the Department of Justice, to many of the facts in Mr. Schieber's case, I shall not repeat them here. Instead, I shall limit this letter to an urgent request that, prior to taking a final decision regarding his petition for political asylum, you consult with Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, Alfred L. Atherton, and with Assistant Secretary of State for Education and Cultural Affairs, John Richardson, Jr., regarding the new evidence which I will summarize in this letter. I further request that the Department of State obtain the views of the American Embassy in Tel Aviv, Israel, the American Embassy in Cairo, Egypt, and the United States Delegation to the United Nations as to the impact on American-Arab and Arab-Israeli relations if Mr. Schieber were deported and later arrested or physically harmed in Israel. I am told that there is considerable interest in the Arab world in Mr. Schieber's case as reflected in stories being published in Arab newspapers.

I am told that, during the Yom Kippur war, Mr. Schieber permitted the Egyptian authorities to record several messages by him to Israeli troops urging them not to rely on military might in defense of the present State of Israel but to pursue their goals through the establishment of a Holy Land State whose creation Mr. Schieber has been advocating for years. I am also informed that the broadcasts which Mr. Schieber made over Radio Cairo are considered by Israelis as tantamount not only to treason but also to a call for revolution in Israel. The Holy Land State which Mr. Schieber is proposing would transform Israel from a unitary Jewish state into a pluralistic Jewish-Christian-Muslim state modeled on Lebanon or on the cantonal system of Switzerland.

The Department of State may already be in receipt of an announcement by Palestinian guerrilla leader, Yasir Arafat, calling for a Jewish-Christian-Muslim state apparently identical to the one proposed by Mr. Schieber. The Reuters news service carried such a report which appeared in the Baltimore Sun on January 5, 1974.

I am informed that persons who heard Mr. Schieber's broadcasts over Radio Cairo are ready to testify that his messages so inflamed Israelis that they would insist on his being tried as a traitor. Even if that did not occur, his life would be in serious danger from action taken by individual Israelis.

Under these circumstances, it would appear to be incumbent on the Department of State not to permit Mr. Schieber's deportation to Israel until American authorities are in possession of the full texts of his broadcasts over Radio Cairo, and the comments of the American Embassies in Tel Aviv, Israel and Cairo, Egypt, as to the consequences of his deportation on American-Arab and Arab-Israeli relations.

It is not my purpose, of course, to justify Mr. Schieber's actions in permitting the Egyptian authorities to record and broadcast his messages to the Israeli army and people. However, as his attorney, I felt obligated to point out that he considers these broadcasts to be consistent with his past political activities both in Israel and in the United States.

As his position is presented to me, Mr. Schieber considers himself to be a loyal patriotic anti-Communist Jew who has always regarded the "true Zionist" movement as composed of three interrelated essential elements—Judaism-Christianity-Islam. His rationale is that the common ancestor of these religions is Abraham. For this reason, he maintains that "true Zionism" must give equal weight to Judaism, the Mosaic tradition developed by the descendants of Isaac; to Islam, developed by the descendants of Ismael; and to Christianity, which he regards as a religion dedicated to reconciling Isaac and Ismael, the sons of Abraham, through the sacrifice of Jesus.

It should be obvious that the fervent proclamation of such beliefs by Mr. Schieber while in Israel confronted by a hostile Arab world was not conducive to popularity. Further complicating Mr. Schieber's life in Israel was an equally fervent belief that Marxism, in any form, had to be repudiated because of its atheistic rejection of the God of Abraham.

These two tenets "Abrahamic Zionism" and "anti-Marxism" accounted, I am told, for the great bulk of Mr. Schieber's problems while he was in Israel, resulting in his

being arrested 18 times while there. Notably, Mr. Schieber has never been arrested in the 14 years he has been in the United States, excepting his current detention pending deportation proceedings. Consequently, I believe it is not altogether implausible to infer that his conflicts with the legal authorities in Israel arose basically from his political and ideological beliefs.

As to his anti-Marxist and anti-Communist beliefs, I request that you consult Mr. John Richardson, Jr., who is currently the Assistant Secretary of State for Education and Cultural Affairs. Mr. Richardson is personally acquainted with Mr. Schieber's activities in publicizing the evils of the Soviet labor concentration camps. In this regard I understand that Mr. Richardson provided Mr. Schieber with an affidavit as far back as April 29, 1961 attesting to Mr. Schieber's anti-Communist and pro-American attitudes.

Apart from the personal fate of Mr. Schieber, it appears that his case has elicited the interest of a large number of persons. Among them are such Congressional figures as Senator James Buckley, of New York, Senator Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, and Congressman John Ashbrook of Ohio. I believe that all of them would wish to be assured that the Department of State undertook a full inquiry into the facts involved before acquiescing in the deportation of Mr. Schieber.

In addition to these members of Congress, other prominent American citizens are deeply interested in the disposition of Mr. Schieber's case. I enclose a copy of a joint letter sent to President Nixon by Willard Edwards, Edward Hunter and Charles Lucom.

If the Department of State would wish to have particulars about Mr. Schieber's relations with the American Embassy in Tel Aviv, Israel, I suggest that it may wish to communicate with Mr. Stephen A. Kozak, a former Foreign Service Officer stationed in Israel in the years 1954-1956, and with Mr. Harold Williams, who was the CIA chief of station in the Embassy in Israel from 1956 to 1958. Mr. Kozak is currently the Director of Research of the American Federation of Government Employees, AFL-CIO, located at 1325 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. I understand that Mr. Williams is now retired from the CIA and resides in Seattle, Washington. Both Mr. Kozak and Mr. Williams knew Mr. Schieber in Israel and are familiar with the serious danger which deportation will bring to Mr. Schieber's life.

Sincerely,

BRUCE J. TERRIS.

SENATE—Thursday, February 21, 1974

(Legislative day of Tuesday, February 19, 1974)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon, on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by Hon. WALTER D. HUDDLESTON, a Senator from the State of Kentucky.

PRAYER

Rabbi Joseph P. Weinberg of the Washington Hebrew Congregation, Washington, D.C., offered the following prayer:

We cannot merely pray to You, O God,
To abolish war and starvation;
To root out prejudice;
To end despair and disease.

For we know that You have made the
world in such a way
That man can find his own path to
peace,

That man can develop the resources
With which to feed the entire world.
That we can see the good in all men
And use our minds to bring dignity and
healing to our brothers.

Therefore we pray to You instead, O God,
For strength, determination, and will-
power,

To do instead of just to pray,
To become instead of merely to wish.

For Your sake and for ours,
Speedily and soon,
That our land may be safe,
And that our lives may be blessed.

May the words that we pray,
And the deeds that we do
Both be acceptable before You, O Lord,
Our Rock and our Redeemer.

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 assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,

Washington, D.C., February 21, 1974.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate on official duties, I appoint Hon. WALTER D. HUDDLESTON, a Senator from the State of Kentucky, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
President pro tempore.