

trict of Columbia a plan providing for the representation of defendants who are financially unable to obtain an adequate defense in criminal cases in the courts of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. EDWARDS of California:

H.R. 14377. A bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, to require prenotification to affected employees and communities of dislocation of business concerns, to provide assistance (including retraining) to employees who suffer employment loss through the dislocation of business concerns, to business concerns threatened with dislocation, and to affected communities, to prevent Federal support for unjustified dislocation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. FULTON:

H.R. 14378. A bill to extend certain programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. FUQUA:

H.R. 14379. A bill to amend the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1946 in order to give the Secretary of Agriculture additional authority to promote and stimulate development in rural areas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HAMILTON:

H.R. 14380. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide income tax simplification, reform, and relief for small business; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LITTON (for himself, Mr. STUBBLEFIELD, and Mr. PODELL):

H.R. 14381. A bill to establish a Department of Social, Economic, and Natural Resources Planning in the executive branch of

the Federal Government; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. MOAKLEY:

H.R. 14382. A bill to amend section 6161(b) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to extension of time for paying tax) to require repayment of deficiencies by installments in cases of undue hardship; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 14383. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to encourage the preservation and rehabilitation of all structures of a historic nature, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. TIERNAN:

H.R. 14384. A bill to extend and improve the Nation's unemployment programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. STARK:

H.J. Res. 986. Joint resolution relating to the publication of economic and social statistics for Spanish-speaking Americans; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. HAMILTON:

H. Con. Res. 481. Concurrent resolution relating to arms control in the Indian Ocean; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ICCHORD (for himself, Mr.

DENT, Mr. ASPIN, Mr. STUCKEY, Mr. ANDREWS of North Carolina, Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts, and Mr. MATSUNAGA):

H. Res. 1059. Resolution declaring the sense of the House with respect to a prohibition of extension of credit by the Export-Import of the United States; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. JONES of North Carolina (for himself and Mr. GRAY):

H. Res. 1060. Resolution providing a system of overtime pay in lieu of compensatory time off for officers and members of the U.S.

Capitol Police under the House of Representatives, subject to rules and regulations prescribed by the Committee on House Administration; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. PODELL:

H. Res. 1061. Resolution respecting the safety of the Jewish community in Syria; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

#### MEMORIAL

Under clause 4 of rule XXII,

438. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the Legislature of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, relative to greater administrative control and political autonomy for Micronesia, which was referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. GONZALEZ:

H.R. 14385. A bill for the relief of Alexander F. Garcia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SMITH of Iowa:

H.R. 14386. A bill for the relief of Pham Van Kiet; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1, of rule XXII,

431. The SPEAKER presented a petition of the City Council, Maple Heights, Ohio, relative to development of the Cuyahoga Valley Park, which was referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### BEWARE THE IDES OF APRIL

#### HON. E. G. SHUSTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. SHUSTER. Mr. Speaker, for the past 15 months, I have been both appalled and shocked at the free-spending attitude of the U.S. Congress. I was shocked to learn that we have spent over \$150 billion in foreign aid payments since World War II, and I am appalled at the unworkable and costly programs annually funded in the name of "social progress."

But I had no idea of the extent of the Congress madness until I read an editorial in the April 9, 1974, issue of the Lewistown Sentinel, a daily newspaper in my congressional district serving a county with a population of nearly 50,000 people.

Mr. Speaker, some of the uses of the taxpayers' money featured in the Sentinel editorial are beyond the realm of imagination. If someone were to sit down and fabricate fantastic and unbelievable projects to "put one over" on the American people, I doubt seriously if he would come close to the reality so clearly outlined in this article.

Because of the incredulousness of the misuse of public funds, I believe it is important for this editorial to be brought to the public's attention. Therefore, I insert the editorial, as it appeared in the

Lewistown Sentinel on April 9, 1974, to be included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this time.

#### BEWARE THE IDES OF APRIL

We are well into spring and the month of April, when nature begins to blossom forth in all its verdure, and unhappy taxpayers make ready an accounting to a higher authority—the Internal Revenue Service. It is a time for rejoicing—it is a time for sorrow.

For some, who overpaid their taxes all year, it is a season when they look forward to a check from the government, a refund of their overpayment and return of the money that they let Uncle Sam hold for them, without interest.

Others, whose income is derived from sources not subject to withholding, with long faces and solemn indignation will be calling on their bankers with the annual request for a loan to meet their tax obligations.

We are indebted to James Davidson of the National Taxpayers Union for some blood-curdling examples of the way in which our tax money is spent in grants and appropriations by Congress in its wisdom.

Not all goes for national defense, nor the eradication of disease, or finding cures for malignant and terrible diseases. Our tax money goes for some bizarre and unbelievable purposes.

Would you believe that \$35,000 of your money was spent for a year of chasing wild boars in Pakistan? Well, it was. Or perhaps you would like to read the report—if one has been made—of a \$70,000 expenditure made to study the smell of the perspiration of aborigines in Australia.

For that olfactory project we also bought an odor measuring machine from Turkey at a cost of \$28,361. Now that the project is completed the machine could be used to

measure smells emanating from various appropriation bills as they are passed by the Congress.

Do you know that we have a national board of tea tasters? Well, we do. And last year and every year they cost us about \$120,000. We also have a board of Tea Appeals. Consider that when you are going through your checkbook carefully looking for items which might possibly be considered deductions.

While you are considering bankruptcy, or moving to Costa Rica, or one of the few remaining states with no state income tax, you might mull over the \$68,000 which we paid the Queen of England for not growing cotton on her plantation in Mississippi.

Have you had an invitation from Marshall Tito of Yugoslavia for a cruise on his yacht? It would be fitting if you had. The American taxpayer paid \$2,000,000 for it.

We also footed the bill for Leonid Brezhnev's twelfth magnificent motor car, in the interest of cordiality and maintenance of what seems to be a fast vanishing detente.

And there are more and more in unbelievable profligacy.

Our only recourse is to elect congressmen with sharp noses for a fool expenditure.

#### GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES CITED FOR SERVICE

#### HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, once again the Federal employees of the Pittsburgh area have singled out for special recog-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

nition those members who have distinguished themselves in public service.

The awards were presented at the annual Civil Service banquet, held earlier this month, and attended by our esteemed colleague from North Carolina, the Honorable DAVID N. HENDERSON, who was the principal speaker, and Maj. Gen. Willie E. Dixon, Jr., commanding general of the 99th Army Reserve Command, which is comprised of western Pennsylvania and West Virginia.

As has become traditional, the highlight of the dinner is the bestowing of the special award established in memory of two former Members of this House: the late Robert J. Corbett and James G. Fulton.

The Corbett-Fulton Award is given each year to the Federal employee who displays the highest degree of skill and ability in the administration and performance of duty. This year's recipient was Ms. Bernyce Hamlin, who began her Government service in 1959 in dietetics service at a veterans' hospital. She also is an avid participant in seminars and conferences which affect Federal employees and their duties.

Ms. Hamlin received her award from Mr. Robert W. Huffman, president of the Council of Locals, AFGE, and a man dedicated to the interests of those in the employ of our Government. Mr. Huffman has been instrumental in bringing together employees and supervisors and establishing a closer understanding of mutual problems.

This year's award dinner also featured two other special presentations. One was the "Award of Valor" and was presented to Mr. George Dimoff by Mr. Royal L. Sims of Philadelphia, national vice president of AFGE. Mr. Dimoff, according to his citation, risked his own life to save that of a patient in a veterans' hospital.

The second special citation was an "Appreciation Award" given Congressman HENDERSON by Clyde M. Webber, national president of AFGE. Mr. HENDERSON, vice chairman of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, was recognized for his unselfish and dedicated service on behalf of Federal employees. I hope my colleague enjoyed his visit to western Pennsylvania and will come back to see us again from time to time.

Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure I join in the tribute to Ms. Hamlin, Mr. Dimoff, the officers and members of the Pittsburgh area's American Federation of Government Employees. Too often, those whose work effects the life of practically every American go unnoticed in the shadow of major crises.

## KEEP PANAMA CANAL

## HON. WILLIAM M. KETCHUM

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. KETCHUM. Mr. Speaker, in the 2½ months since Secretary of State Kissinger signed articles of agreement

which would cede American control of the Panama Canal to the Republic of Panama, a storm of protest has arisen against this absurd action. I am convinced that the American people are united in opposition to this giveaway of vital American property. Recently one of my constituents, Sarah Corry, wrote a most thoughtful and persuasive letter to January 21 issue of Goleta Valley Today outlining the reasons why the canal should remain in American hands. I insert Ms. Corry's article into the RECORD, and ask my colleagues to give it their close consideration.

## KEEP PANAMA CANAL

To the Editor:

Help stop the giveaway of our Panama Canal and Canal Zone, the strategic defense of the entire North American continent.

Gen. George C. Marshall, Army Chief of Staff in 1944, said: "The Panama Canal is and will remain a military objective of the first order."

Los Angeles Times reporter Bill Henry January 17, 1964 also warned us: "The United States (without which Panama wouldn't be in existence at all) gets the blame for everything.

"It is an inviting target for the Communists, and the Reds have been working hard to keep the natives stirred up," according to Bill Henry's on-the-spot observation.

Yet "a preliminary agreement to return the Panama Canal and Canal Zone to Panama has been reached" by negotiators—U.S. roving ambassador, octogenarian Ellsworth Bunker, and Panamanian Foreign Minister Tack—in January, 1974, according to a recent Associated Press release.

That in the face of the fact Chicago Tribune Panama authority, Chesly Manly, reminded us on August 1, 1967: "The United States has operated and defended the canal for the benefit of all mankind without discrimination, at an unrecovered cost of 700 million dollars for the canal and about 3 billion dollars for defense." (More since 1967.)

Why, in 1974, tolerate ambassadorial madness or plain gall in tossing away this vital lifeline?—to Panama, a nation a) with an area of 20,208 square miles, about 2,000 square miles less than the size of South Carolina, and b) with a government which has had "32 presidents in 60 years, one of whom—the record holder—lasted only four days."

Panama could 1) never have maintained its independence without our assistance; 2) never have survived its malaria and yellow fever without our scientific expertise and ability to follow through regardless of obstacles; 3) never have had within reach one of the finest hospitals in the world, built by the United States; and 4) never have had any degree of employment or prosperity without our know-how, our magnanimity, and our generosity in sharing this magnificent engineering triumph after all other explorers failed.

What's more, the 1903 treaty, signed by Panama and the United States, sealed our rights and sole authority over the Panama Canal and Canal Zone "in perpetuity."

The proposed ambassadorial giveaway of those rights is still subject to the reaction of the Defense, Commerce and Interior Departments, and approval of Congress.

Write, wire, or phone your representatives and senators to vote against that giveaway. (House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515, and Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510.)—Sarah Corry, Sarah Barbara.

April 24, 1974

## THE 1973 PROFITS: A YEAR TO REMEMBER IN OIL, BEVERAGES, PAPER, ET CETERA

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM  
OF NEW YORK  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, 1973 was not only a year of tremendous profit for the oil industry, it was a great year for American "big business" in general. Despite adversity laid to a variety of sources, "corporate America" made more money this past year than at any time since the Korean war. Corporate earnings in 1973 soared a whopping 25 percent over their 1972 levels.

The point that needs to be made is that, despite all the crying by industry over economic controls and how they are killing American business prospects, big business fared so well in 1973 that it set new records for profitability over a 25-year period. Controls are needed now that would respond to the needs of the worker whose wages have been tightly restricted, and whose toil is responsible for all that corporate well-being: we need controls that would hold the line on prices while allowing wages to catch up so that the American worker will have the same purchasing power he had prior to controls.

The chart and article appearing below summarize data appearing in the March 9 edition of *Business Week* and indicate the good health of American industry:

Industry	Sales		Profits	
	4th quarter sales increase	12 month increase	4th quarter sales increase	12 month increase
	1973/72	1973/72	1973/72	1973/72
All industry composite	22	19	23	25
Oil	40	27	80	55
Aerospace	23	20	313	64
Automotive	9	18	-26	13
Banks	66	51	13	13
Beverages	17	17	4	8
Building materials	20	21	32	50
Chemicals	21	19	36	41
Conglomerate	26	17	9	24
Container	20	14	19	18
Drugs	19	15	15	17
Electrical electronics	16	16	6	16
Food processing	24	20	21	17
Food and lodging	19	18	5	9
General machinery	27	21	33	33
Instruments	18	17	6	20
Leisure time industries	8	10	-3	-15
Metals and mining	35	27	79	62
Miscellaneous manufacturing	21	20	20	25
Nonbank financial	15	12	8	-3
Office equipment computers	25	18	56	30
Oil service and supply	13	24	18	16
Paper	22	18	57	67
Personal care products	23	19	10	9
Publishing	10	10	12	21
Radio and TV broadcasting	3	8	1	13
Railroads	10	10	22	8
Real estate and housing	21	16	26	13
Retailing (Food)	12	13	26	32
Retailing (non-food)	12	15	5	14

Industry	Sales		Profits		
	4th quarter	month	4th quarter	month	month
	percent sales increase	percent sales increase	percent increase	percent increase	1973/72
Savings and loan	13	15	-30	2	2
Service industries	22	21	13	21	21
Steel	26	28	60	66	66
Textile and apparel	12	14	9	22	22
Tire and rubber	15	16	13	10	10
Tobacco	14	9	6	9	9
Trucking	20	20	-2	7	7
Utilities	10	12	7	14	14

## 1973 PROFITS: A YEAR TO REMEMBER

Rapidly rising costs, price controls, materials shortages, and the initial impact of the energy crisis combined to dampen corporate profits during the final quarter of 1973. But that was not enough to cool the spectacular profit performance for the year as a whole. When all the counting is done, U.S. corporations will have made more than \$70-billion after taxes during 1973, 27% more than the \$55.4-billion recorded in 1972. That was the biggest percentage increase since the post-Korean War boom days of 1955 and the biggest dollar increase in U.S. business history.

For this survey of fourth quarter and full year 1973 financial results, *Business Week* is including 1,200 companies, 50% more than are polled for regular quarterly performance reports. Four new industry categories appear on the list: food and lodging, real estate and housing, oil service and supply, with retailing now broken into separate food and non-food categories. Finally, this survey includes not only composite figures for all the companies in an industry, but, for the first time, an all-industry composite covering all 1,200 companies.

All the data was compiled by Denver-based Investors Management Services, Inc., a subsidiary of Standard & Poor's Corp., and includes nearly all U.S. industrial corporations with fourth-quarter sales of \$18-million or more, utilities with quarterly revenues greater than \$50-million, and banks with deposits of at least \$1-billion. Companies whose most recent fiscal quarter ended before Nov. 1 were left out unless their sales for the three months topped \$100-million.

Together, these 1,200 companies had combined sales of \$261.5-billion in the fourth quarter, up 22% from the same quarter a year earlier. Their profits totaled \$15.3-billion, up 23%. For full year 1973, these same 1,200 companies racked up sales of \$955.1-billion, 19% higher than for all of 1972. And they recorded annual profits of \$55.9-billion, an increase of 25% from 1972, the previous record earnings year.

The one visible sign of trouble came in fourth-quarter profit margins. Margins for these companies were the same in both the final quarters of 1972 and 1973—5.8%. Margins had run nicely ahead of year-ago levels in the first three quarters of 1973.

The five industries that turned in the best fourth-quarter profit performance also led the pack for the whole year. But their order of finish, as well as the magnitude of their earnings increases, was considerably different. The paper industry was the big profit winner for 1973 with earnings up by 67%. It was closely followed by steel, up 66% for the year; aerospace, up 64%; metals, up 62%; and oil, up 55%. But two of those industries did not hit their stride until the fourth quarter. Spurred by new defense spending, aerospace profits rocketed ahead by 318% during the final quarter of 1973. And profits for the oil industry grew by 80%, fueled by rapidly rising prices for energy. The paper industry, after six quarters of extremely high profit

increases, found its fourth-quarter gains cooling a bit to 57%.

Fourth-quarter profits took a nosedive in the automotive and airlines industries, hard-hit by the energy crisis and rising costs. Savings and loan associations were hard hit by stiff competition for the savings dollar at a time when money market rates seesawed. But these industries did considerably better for the entire year, although they were still among 1973's poorer performers. Airlines profits were off by 8% for the year, while S&Ls showed only a 2% gain and autos produced a subpar 13% increase. The big loser in 1973 was the leisure-time industry, where profits skidded by 15%.

If the big oil companies made big profits during 1973, their smaller brethren did even better. Earnings for the year were up 99% at Commonwealth Oil, 432% at Amerada Hess, and 305% at Occidental Petroleum.

Steel industry earnings were led by annual boosts of 258% at McLouth, 101% at Republic, and 108% at U.S. Steel. Wheeling-Pittsburgh nailed down a 199% profit increase in the fourth quarter. Paper industry leaders were Hammermill, up 274% for 1973, and Westvaco, up 232%.

Reflecting a bad year on Wall Street, annual profits fell by 66% at Dean Witter, 56% at Reynolds Securities, and 55% at E. F. Hutton. In the airlines industry, Eastern, Pan Am, and American all racked up big losses for the year, but profits were up 151% at UAL and 194% at Northwest.

Metals companies made a particularly strong showing during 1973's final quarter. Profits at Reynolds Metals were up by 987%, followed by Revere Copper & Brass (up 738%) and Kaiser Aluminum (up 372%). And earnings at Martin Marietta Aluminum grew by 583% during 1973.

## THE BEST PERFORMERS

Of the 1,200 companies surveyed by *Business Week*, the glamour stocks continued to command the highest price/earnings ratios during 1973. Leading the pace was the drug industry, with a p/e of 23, followed by oil service and supply with a p/e of 21. Personal care products, office equipment, beverages, and instruments again commanded high multiples, with p/e ratios ranging from 14 to 20. Industries with the lowest current p/e's include aerospace, steel, conglomerates, automotive, textile, S&Ls, and containers—all with p/e ratios from 5 to 7.

Many of the highly touted glamour industries also continued to give their common shareholders the best return on equity during 1973. Long an institutional favorite, the personal-care products industry led the list with a return on common equity of 20.7%. But the trucking industry also provided common shareholders with a 20.7% return, even though it was among the poorer performers when it came to profit increases.

Other industries with high returns on common equity included drugs, 20%; instruments and office equipment, both 17%; and radio and TV broadcasting, 16.8%—all members of the glamour set. Industries with the poorest annual return for shareholders were airlines, with 5.2%; railroads, 6.3%, and steel, 9.1%; followed by food retailers (9.6%) and textiles and apparel (10.8%).

The key question, of course, amid all the talk of record profits is just how "real" these spectacular gains actually are (page 133). A big chunk of the hefty 1973 earnings increases can be attributed to inventory profits—profits generated by the increase in the value of inventories between the time of purchase or production and the time of sale.

Last year, U.S. corporations earned a huge \$127-billion before taxes, 30% above the handsome \$98-billion earned in 1972. But the Commerce Dept. estimates that \$17.3-billion of total 1973 earnings came from inventory profits, compared with inventory

profits of only \$6.9-billion in 1972. If the data for both years is adjusted, the "real" increase in pretax profits for 1973 was only 19.9%.

Inventory profits, of course, still count as solid profits on the bottom line. But the investor should be aware that inventories may have to be replaced during 1974 at much higher prices, and that could be a drag on corporate results if the prices that the company is able to charge do not keep pace. And if prices of raw materials and other commodities should tumble later in the year, these corporations may experience still another drag on earnings as they use up relatively higher priced inventories. Companies that use first-in-first-out (FIFO) accounting, and whose inventories are rather slow to turn over, are particularly vulnerable.

For this reason, the Securities & Exchange Commission recently suggested that companies break out their inventory profits, if they are significant, in their financial reports for 1973. But few, if any, corporations are likely to make such disclosure. Inventories are only one item in the financial statements that are affected by inflation. To only show the effect on inventories would be "potentially misleading," they argue.

Breaking out inventory profits is only "a piecemeal, patchwork solution," says Donald H. Chapin, partner at Arthur Young & Co., one of the nation's Big Eight CPA firms. Most corporate managers are waiting until the new Financial Accounting Standards Board can put its stamp of approval on some kind of price-level adjustments for the entire income statement and balance sheet. That kind of "inflation accounting," which now is being tried in Great Britain, lets investors compare the present financial results based on historical costs with a new set of figures expressed in constant dollars. The FASB has scheduled a public hearing on the issue late next month.

In its preliminary profits report, Bethlehem Steel's chairman, Stewart S. Cort, did take note of the inflation factor in discussing his company's 1973 earnings, which rose from \$134.6-million to \$206.6-million. He noted that Bethlehem's net income was only about 8% higher than it was in 1957—the company's previous record earnings year—although it shipped 3-million more tons last year than in 1957. "In fact," Cort summed up, "our 1973 earnings were about 30% lower than 1957's in constant dollars—that is, adjusting the figures to compensate for the effects of inflation."

## REFIGURING OVERSEAS INVESTMENTS

Economists estimate that the over-all impact of currency realignments of 1973 profits was negligible—amounting to no more than 1% or 2% of total U.S. corporate earnings. But for multinational corporations, the impact was considerably greater. Those companies also now have a wide range of accounting alternatives, and can choose how and when they want to take some of the gains.

BankAmerica Corp. says that its revaluation of overseas investments during 1973 produced \$9.7-million in after-tax profits. But the bank will put aside \$5.5-million of this amount into a special reserve to offset possible future losses if the dollar continues to strengthen against other currencies during 1974. And Eastman Kodak Co. says that \$13.8-million of its \$653.5-million 1973 earnings came from foreign currency exchange gains. But the company set aside another \$19-million in a special reserve to help offset inventory losses caused by the decline of "certain European currencies in early 1974."

Many economists are predicting almost no growth in corporate profits for 1974. But businessmen, more optimistic, expect industry to show respectable earnings gains (page

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

April 24, 1974

45). Part of the gap may be explained by the "inventory profits" issue. But how corporate profits rank at this time next year will depend on the depth of any economic slowdown, the rate of inflation, the effect of any remaining price controls, and the severity of the energy crisis.

Uncertainties about the direction that oil company profits will take—or will be allowed to take—are enough to throw a money wrench into the best of predictions.

YOUNG MARYLAND FARMERS  
WRITE THE PRESIDENTHON. ROBERT E. BAUMAN  
OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. BAUMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have recently received a copy of a letter sent to President Nixon by members of the Southern Cecil County Young Farmers in which they comment on the present state of American agriculture.

These young farmers express many of the concerns which I share and I would like to share these views with my colleagues. The letter follows:

EARLEVILLE, Md., April 1, 1974.

Hon. RICHARD M. NIXON,  
President, United States of America,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR PRESIDENT NIXON: As a group of Cecil County, Maryland young farmers, we would like to express our concern over your recent speech on March 19, during which you proclaimed that "farmers never had it so good." The prices that you asserted we were receiving, particularly \$7 a hundredweight for milk and \$14 a bushel for soybeans, are erroneous for all but a minute percentage of the products involved, and are completely misleading and unrepresentative.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture has called on the farmers for all-out production of crops and livestock in 1974. Yet overproduction causes surpluses, with government control of grain stocks and prices, and results in lower prices for the producers. With feed prices doubled and fertilizer tripled since last year, and labor costs ever-increasing, to mention but a few, we must have an equitable price for our products. This can only be accomplished by a free supply and demand market.

With still over 1,000 family farms a week going out of business in this country, we obviously have not reached the necessary financial level which will support more, not fewer, farmers. Food will soon be this country's largest "shortage-crisis," as it already is in much of the rest of the world, if farmers are not able to operate with financial success.

Be assured that we are in favor of your policy of less government interference with agriculture. Also, be advised that farmers, especially the young farmers, on whose ability for the next few decades millions of Americans are going to continue to be almost completely dependent, will do all in their power to produce all they profitably can. But, as the most important minority group in this country, we will be properly heard.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Cora Jean Burrows for Mr. & Mrs. Howard L. Burrows, Mr. & Mrs. John O. Byrly, Mr. Randall P. Carrion, Mr. & Mrs. Carroll E. Davis, Mr. William W. Jeanes, Jr., Mr. & Mrs. William C. Nanlove, Mr. Kenneth B. McDonald, Mr. & Mrs. Edward A. Mechling, Mr. & Mrs. Ronald Miller, Mr. & Mrs. Edgar B. Hevelow, Mr. & Mrs. William F. Schrader, Miss Joyce Schrader, and Mr. & Mrs. Richard S. Sutton, Jr.

BLACKS STOPPED AND SEARCHED  
ON THE STREETS OF SAN FRANCISCO

## HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, the charade now being staged in the streets of San Francisco is deplorable and cannot be tolerated. Young black men are being stopped, questioned, and searched in an effort to find the mysterious murderer in the so-called Zebra killings.

Recently, I received a letter from Robert White who is national president of the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees. Mr. White addresses himself to this problem. I fully agree with what he has set forth that—

There can be no justification for the complete disregard of a citizen's constitutional right to personal dignity and protection against unreasonable searches and seizures, even under the guise of identifying a potential menace to the White public . . . Ask yourselves, if the situation were reversed and a White person (as has been the case many times in the past) was killing black people, would the Mayor have White men stopped and searched?"

Mayor Alioto must be forced to halt his order which is not only illegal but, more importantly, degrading to the black population.

I am sure my colleagues will be most interested in reading Robert White's letter which follows:

NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL  
AND FEDERAL EMPLOYEES,  
Washington, D.C., April 19, 1974.

Hon. WILLIAM CLAY,  
U.S. House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BILL: According to repeated newscasts today following the slaying of White, Nelson T. Shields, IV, April 17, 1974, in San Francisco, Ca., the Mayor of that city has issued statements which are extraordinary, provocative, dangerous and misguided. He has declared the so-called Zebra killings (the alleged murder of 12 unsuspecting Whites by unidentified Blacks during the past several months) so unusual in nature as to demand unusual counter measures by law enforcement authorities. He instructed the city's Black citizens to cooperate by peacefully submitting to official questioning and searches. He gave assurances that the police actions which he was authorizing were not racist in intent, notwithstanding the fact that only Blacks would be the butt of the inquisition.

This predominantly Black national union has hundreds of black members who work in the San Francisco Post Office and other federal agencies in that area. They are some of America's finest people who have met the test of Civil Service fitness on their jobs and in the communities in which they live. They work all tours of duty, including those which fall at night and they must travel from their place of residence to their jobs.

Local San Francisco officials of this union have reacted in alarm to Mayor Joseph Alioto's dictum and seek immediate and strong action to nullify the impact of his unfortunate order to his police force.

No black individual has been taken into custody as a result of these unfortunate deaths. Reliance has been placed on hearsay and hysterical descriptions of a Black man

as the assailant, but no one has been arrested.

In an era of streaking, where public nudity enables mere onlookers to learn that blond headed females are not really blond and that long hair is not a final determinant of sex, who can be positive that an alleged Black assailant is not a smutted up (blacked) Nordic with a sadistic mental quirk.

There can be no justification for the complete disregard of a citizen's constitutional right to personal dignity and protection against unreasonable searches and seizures, even under the guise of identifying a potential menace to the White public.

Ask yourselves, if the situation were reversed and a White person (as has been the case many times in the past) was killing Black people, would the mayor have White men stopped and searched?

No More Second Class Citizenship and No More Nigger Thinking!

We urge you to stop this illegal action now!!

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT L. WHITE,  
National President.

## TRIBUTE TO DEAN IRVING R. MELBO: OUTSTANDING EDUCATOR

## HON. ALPHONZO BELL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to pay tribute to an outstanding educator, author, and administrator, who has been a highly respected leader in his field. I speak of Dr. Irving R. Melbo, who recently retired from the position of dean of the School of Education of the University of Southern California. I would like to mention some of the outstanding achievements of this prominent educator, who has had important influence upon public education in this and other countries.

Irving Melbo graduated from New Mexico Western College and continued on to receive his master of arts degree from the same college. He subsequently earned his doctor of education degree from the University of California at Berkeley in 1934. Dr. Melbo's first involvement in public education in this State was in a position in the division of textbooks and publications in the State department of education. Later, he was named director of the department of research and curriculum for the Oakland Public Schools and then became deputy superintendent of schools in Alameda County in 1938. Dr. Melbo then joined the faculty at the University of Southern California. He was named dean of the school of education in 1953.

Dr. Melbo was responsible for many innovations, including recruitment and training programs to meet the severe teacher shortage with accelerated programs of teacher training; the establishment of two reading centers; advances in the specialized training of teachers of the handicapped, and instigation and supervision of the construction of the 12-story Waite Phillips Hall of Education at the University of Southern California. Dr. Melbo has also been the au-

thor of books in the fields of education, social science, history, and natural history.

Under Dr. Melbo's leadership, the school has developed an international reputation in the field of teacher training and currently has programs in a number of foreign countries. We are grateful for the educational leadership provided by Dr. Melbo, who has been named dean emeritus of the USC School of Education, and we wish him a very happy retirement.

**A COMMENDATION FOR THE MARGARET HUDSON PROGRAM**

**HON. JAMES R. JONES**

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. JONES of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month, I was pleased to learn that the Margaret Hudson program, a truly innovative health delivery system for pregnant adolescents, had won the "Organization of the Year Program Award" for 1973 from the Oklahoma Public Health Association. This is an achievement worthy of note, because it fills a need that is growing every year. The program permits hundreds of teenage unwed pregnant girls to continue their education and to make something of their lives under circumstances that otherwise might make them school dropouts and leave them emotionally scarred for years to come. And the program also helps give the child born under such circumstances a much better opportunity to receive the love and care that it must have to develop into a healthy adult, both emotionally and physically.

In Tulsa, Okla., where the program operates, there were 1,080 births to girls between the ages of 12 and 18 in 1972. This was an increase of 49 percent in 1 year, and it occurred in a city with a population of about 380,000. So the efforts of the Margaret Hudson program are vital to an increasing number of adolescents. I say adolescents and not "girls" because teenage fathers also receive counseling under its auspices.

This program uses both public and private health resources for the pregnant school-age girl, and looks at her total needs rather than isolating the medical from the family and emotional problems. And the program educates community groups on social issues raised by the problems of teenage parents. It also acts as a multidisciplinary teaching lab for higher education. The medical, nursing, education and social science professions find the program an invaluable aid in training students, and the assistance provided the young parents by those students also is very important. I am told that 95 percent of the young parents who participate in this program keep their children and rear them.

Mr. Speaker, it is the meticulous attention to the needs of these young parents and the unique method of dealing with their problems that sets this program apart and which earned it the

**EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS**

Oklahoma Public Health Association Award.

I commend the board of directors, the staff and all who support this worthy program, particularly Dr. John B. Nettles, the board president, and Lois Gatchell, the program director.

**A LESSON IN MOSCOW**

**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, there is an occasional editorial that comes to my attention that has the potential to rise above prose and almost reach the heights of poetry. That was my reaction to an editorial in yesterday's Washington Star-News which comments on the personal foreign policy lesson learned by Senator KENNEDY:

[From the Washington Star-News, Apr. 23, 1974]

**A LESSON IN MOSCOW**

It is hard to say what Senator Kennedy had in mind when he tried to poll the audience at Moscow State University on questions of internal Soviet policy. Whatever it was, the poll backfired, leaving the audience embarrassed and Kennedy looking inept. And if Soviet officials weren't angered over his ill-advised attempt to put the audience on the spot, they probably got a few belly laughs over his naive performance.

Perhaps Kennedy sought to provoke the sort of "kitchen debate" that skyrocketed Richard Nixon's political stature in 1959 when Nikita Khrushchev engaged the then-vice president in a running debate while Nixon was visiting an American trade exhibit in Moscow. If so, it was a flop.

Or perhaps he thought that college students the world over could not resist the Kennedy charm that sends many young Americans into paroxysms of ecstasy when he shows up on campus. Maybe he thought he could send the Soviet government a message through the students. He should have known better. The openness of expression found on American campuses is in no way duplicated on those in the Soviet Union. Soviet citizens, young or old, are not used to telling their government whether it should be spending more or less on defense, and it is not surprising that a member of the audience accused Kennedy of asking a "provocative" question.

For the most part, the audience—about half of which apparently was faculty and staff—sat on its hands in confusion and embarrassment. Most of them didn't know what this American-style polling was all about and those who did evidently didn't like the idea of being asked publicly to take positions on sensitive matters. In a closed society such as that in the Soviet Union, officials don't take kindly to opposition to government policy and it was rather inconsiderate of Kennedy to put his audience on that kind of a spot.

Kennedy also seemed to show a certain obtuseness when he failed to take the hint from a university official who announced that the senator was not feeling well and that the session therefore would end. Kennedy protested that he felt fine and went on to make a few other remarks.

Kennedy is on a foreign tour apparently aimed at enhancing his chances for the presidency if he decides to seek the Democratic nomination in 1976. When he arrived in Moscow last week he proclaimed that he had not come to negotiate but to learn. It would

appear that the biggest lesson from the Moscow State University encounter is that the Senator from Massachusetts still is slightly wet behind the ears.

**OUR NATION SALUTES THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH OF HAWTHORNE, N.J., THE LITTLE CHURCH WITH THE BIG WELCOME ON ITS 50TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION**

**HON. ROBERT A. ROE**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. ROE. Mr. Speaker, on May 3, 1974, the First Baptist Church of Hawthorne, N.J., will hold a fellowship dinner culminating the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the founding of this most distinguished "little church with the big welcome." I know that you and our colleagues here in the Congress will want to join with me in extending our heartiest congratulations and best wishes to the pastor, Rev. Norman Winter, and members of his congregation on this most important golden anniversary celebration.

The faith and devotion of our people in a full communion of understanding, ever caring and respecting the individual religious beliefs of his fellowman has been the lifeline of our democracy, ever inspiring our people with hope and urging the individual on to great achievements and purpose in pursuing the fulfillment of his dreams and ambitions. The exemplary leadership and outstanding efforts of our citizens so important to our quality of life are in the vanguard of the American dream and today we express our appreciation to the pastor and officers, present and past, of the First Baptist Church whose esteemed dedication and unselfish devotion in promulgating goodwill, fellowship, and brotherhood has truly enriched our community, State, and Nation. The current officers of the church are as follows:

Rev. Norman Winter, pastor.

**DEACONS**

The Honorable John Andringa, Palmer Kauffman, Chris Sikkema, Theodore Van Natta.

**TRUSTEES**

The Honorable Albert Brouwer, treasurer, John Coe, financial secretary, Russell Gallup, secretary, Wilbert Klepper, Sr., Wilbert Klepper, Jr., J. D. Popper, Robert Slater, Gilbert Terrell, Donald Van Natta.

The Honorable Mrs. Edna Eck, church clerk, Mrs. A. Sikkema, publicity, Mrs. Lenore Alexander, bulletin editor, Mrs. Lois Winter, missions, Mrs. Mildred Lee, fellowship, Miss M. Martin, Sunday school superintendent.

**DEACONESS**

The Honorable Mrs. Sue Andringa, Mrs. Blanche Brouwer, Mrs. Tess De Ruiter, Mrs. Mildred Lee, Mrs. Carrie Nydam, Mrs. Lee Van Natta.

Members of my Eighth Congressional District and the State of New Jersey

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

commenced the celebration of this golden year anniversary in May 1973 with many outstanding special events held during the course of the year by each organization of the church under the auspices of the golden anniversary committee, whose members are as follows:

The Honorable Reverend Norman Winter, honorary chairman, Mrs. Lenore Alexander, chairman, Wilbert Klepper, Sr., Mrs. Tess De Ruiter, Mrs. Betty Klepper, Wilbert Klepper, Jr., Russell Gallup, Palmer Kauffman, Albert Brouwer, Ernest Alexander.

A commemorative service at the church opened this 50th anniversary celebration when a certificate of recognition was presented to the Honorable Frank Rea, the only living charter member, in testimony to his standards of excellence and outstanding contribution to the church during its past half-century of progress.

The honored guests at the fellowship dinner to be held on May 3 will be:

Reverend Norman Winter, Reverend and Mrs. Jerome Lucido (former pastor and wife), Honorable Mayor and Mrs. Louis Bay, Honorable and Mrs. Raymond L. Rhodes, Reverend and Mrs. John Hailey, Honorable and Mrs. Leonard Wood, Reverend & Mrs. R. Jackson, Reverend and Mrs. R. Othof, Reverend and Mrs. P. Speecker, Reverend and Mrs. H. Braunlin, Reverend and Mrs. R. Camp, Pastor Jacob VanderMeer, Reverend and Mrs. R. Hamilton, Reverend and Mrs. C. Cedarholm, Honorable and Mrs. B. Nyborg, Reverend and Mrs. R. McCoy.

Through the courtesy and diligence of Lenore (Mrs. Ernest D.) Alexander, the chairlady of the golden anniversary committee, whose research provided me with an in-depth understanding and appreciation for the outstanding accomplishments of the founders, organizers, present and past pastors and other members of the congregation of the First Baptist Church of Hawthorne, I am pleased to have this opportunity to present the golden anniversary history of the church as she related it to me:

THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH OF HAWTHORNE,  
N.J., 1924-74

As the First Baptist Church in Paterson was formed with seventeen members, so the First Baptist Church of Hawthorne on May 6, 1924 organized with seventeen Charter members. They were helped in the establishment of this new Baptist congregation by Mr. Harry Pounds of the Broadway Baptist Church and the Reverend F. S. Berggren, a local printer and preacher.

## CHARTER MEMBERS

Reverend F. S. Berggren, Mrs. F. S. Berggren, Mr. Frank Rea, Mrs. Frank Rea, Mrs. Leslie Eldridge, Mrs. John Pohlman, Mrs. Charles Waterman, Mrs. William Fairhurst.

Mrs. Walter Lee, Mrs. Jennie Murphy, Mrs. Wilson, Mrs. Louis Peoples, Mr. George Ashfield, Mrs. George Ashfield, Miss Myrtle Levi, Miss Jessie Levi, Mr. Smart.

The first meetings were held in a public place known as Llewellyn Hall. The new group was formally incorporated on October 11, 1924.

Reverend Berggren served as Pastor from the beginning and was a great influence in the building program which started in the first year of the organization. The first stage of a church edifice was completed and dedicated, February 8, 1927, the Reverend Mawhinney, Pastor of St. Clements Episcopal Church, and the Reverend Van Arsdale, Pastor of the North Paterson Reformed Church, participated in this special service.

The Reverend Schoemer was engaged to assist Reverend Berggren with the preaching and other pastoral work. He remained until April 11, 1929.

Reverend Berggren submitted his resignation on October 24, 1929 and continued serving as pastor until December 15, 1929.

Fortunately, the time between pastors was short since on December 22, 1929 Reverend E. Bowe, of Hoboken, N.J., inaugurated his pastorate.

Many organizations were started with religious and civic endeavor.

Reverend Bowe's pastorate continued until July 14, 1931, having previously submitted his resignation on June 25, 1931.

Reverend Mayhew of the New Jersey Baptist Convention and Lay-Preacher Mr. Graham would alternate to bring the Sunday morning message.

As a special business meeting held June 5, 1932, a call was extended to Reverend Lewis K. Davis. Reverend Davis preached his first sermon as pastor on August 21, 1932.

The building program was revived in order to have a baptistry and many other additions and improvements. The church grew in spirit and number. The first person to be baptized was Miss Ruth Dunsheath. She was also the first bride married at the church, June 9, 1934, to Mr. Walter Martin, active member and Sunday School teacher.

Reverend Davis resigned in January 1941, to pursue the duties of Chaplain in the United States Navy.

The effect of war in Europe and the experienced of economic depression at home were felt by all. The church services were maintained each Sunday by guest preachers for more than a year.

A young preacher, Mr. Vernon Whitney was introduced to the church by the convention in June 1942. This was to be his first pastorate as he was ordained as a minister of the Gospel at the First Baptist Church.

Weekly meetings of both men's groups and women's clubs were held. The young people of the area also met for spiritual encouragement and fellowship.

Reverend Whitney resigned in July 1945.

Financial difficulties were experienced by the church which threatened the continuance of this ministry. Fortunately, a committee led by Mr. Hampton Hall were successful in their efforts to encourage the Reverend Harold E. Erickson to accept a call to the pastorate of the First Baptist Church. In August 1945, Pastor Erickson embarked on a strong Evangelistic Gospel Ministry.

He had his beginnings with personal acceptance of Christ as a young man of 17. Living in Brooklyn, New York, he preached at street meetings, at local churches and conducted waterfront missions, and toured the Midwest on Gospel preaching revival crusades.

The First Baptist Church began to flourish with new life. This pastorate continued for twenty-four years, during which time the church grew in spirit and numbers which necessitated the building of an addition in 1959.

Twenty-four years is a considerable part of the progress of a church family. Accordingly many events close to the life of all those in the congregation took place during Reverend Erickson's pastorate.

September 30, 1969, marked the retirement of Reverend Harold E. Erickson from active ministry. A special service celebrated the event with the presentation of a citation making him Pastor Emeritus by unanimous vote of the membership.

All regular worship services of the church were maintained by the Board of Deacons with the assistance of the minister, friends of the church and candidates for a call to the pastorate of the church.

The next pastor was the Reverend Jerome Lucido, a young man who after graduation from Dallas Seminary was assistant pastor in youth work in several southern churches. Many programs for youth were sponsored by

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different organizations of the church: art classes throughout the summer, special boys' programs—all with a spiritual background.

Reverend Lucido resigned August 15, 1971, to pursue the Radio Ministry as a means of spreading the Gospel.

The fall season commenced with a new full time pastor, Reverend Norman Winter, who agreed to accept the call of the church. The formal installation of Reverend Winter was held on Sunday, October 10, 1971.

Reverend Winter's testimony is that of being brought to the recognition of the Lord Jesus Christ as his saviour through the preachings of Pastor Erickson at this church. Rev. Winter subsequently attended Nyack Bible College and was ordained a minister of the Gospel. He served a missionary tour of duty in Morocco, Africa.

All organizations rallied to the new pastor's support with great enthusiasm. The Pastor preached with great conviction in his presentation of the Gospel.

Thus far the church under his ministry has experienced a growth of membership, ten by Believers Baptism, eight by experience, and four by letter of transfer.

The church by a vote of the membership became an Independent Baptist Church as of May 1972.

The last mortgage on the church was burned on Thanksgiving Day of 1972 and everyone looks to the future with great expectation.

Although they refer to themselves as a small church, their mission interest is far-reaching. They are supporters of Radio Ministry, the printing of Christian literature, Food Kits for Hungry People, A Christian Home for Children, A Mission Family in the Field and A Home for The Aged.

The First Baptist Church of Hawthorne has as its motto "The Little Church with the Big Welcome." Wonderful servants of God, past and present have made this history possible and our theme for the years to come is "Forward Through The Ages."

Mr. Speaker, we can all, indeed, be inspired by these historic events and I know you will want to join with me in saluting Reverend Winter and members of his congregation in commemoration of the 50th golden anniversary of the First Baptist Church of Hawthorne.

## POST OFFICE VERSUS "MA BELL"

## HON. STEVEN D. SYMMS

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. Speaker, in this day and age of a collectivist-oriented Congress passing one regulatory law after another; beating the very life from liberty and the free market system. That the enclosed article comparing the regulated private monopoly "Ma Bell" as compared with the Government controlled and owned monopoly—the Post Office is so appropriate.

It has always amazed me to watch and hear my colleagues demanding for investigations of certain private utility companies, screaming that they may be making an excess profit. After my colleagues have read the commended article I am sure that logic and commonsense will tell them that the investigation should be of the Government not private enterprise.

The article follows:

## POST OFFICE VERSUS "MA BELL"—PUBLIC OWNERSHIP CAN'T COMPARE WITH PRIVATE MANAGEMENT

One of the most disturbing proposals we've heard lately is the Senate bill to create a federally operated oil enterprise. Its sponsors claim that it would stimulate competition and serve as a yardstick for measuring the petroleum industry's performance. Naturally, it would be subsidized by taxpayers with cheap capital and exemption from tax and royalty payments.

Some Congressmen and editorial writers want to take a bigger immediate step and nationalize the oil companies right away. And several politicians here in Massachusetts have been making noises about the "need" to take over electric utilities as well.

This latest outbreak of governmentalists—along with the current leap in postal rates—reminded us of a Staff Letter first written in 1964 and reissued in 1967. Titled "Government vs. Private Operation—A Striking Contrast," it compared the operating results of the nation's two communications giants—the U.S. Postal Service and the privately run Bell Telephone System. So we decided to reprint the letter this week—he only changes being to bring the figures up to date.

It has become the fashion—especially among politicians, union bosses and businessmen—to call more and more on the government for action. The extent to which its share of the economy has mushroomed over the years is shown in Table I.

Note that the public share of employment has been rising almost as fast since 1947 as it did during New Deal days. Also observe that 16.2% of all workers (one out of six) are now on public payrolls compared with 6.4% (one out of 16) in 1929.

The table also shows that the public sector now accounts for close to one-third of total economic activity against less than one-tenth in 1929. Our federal government is the biggest employer, borrower, lender and spender in the world. One out of nearly every three dollars of personal and business income now goes to a tax collector somewhere.

Particularly disturbing is the fact that this speed-up in public spending has been taking place during a period of record economic prosperity. In the past decade, non-defense outlays in the federal budget have shot up by \$129 billion, or nearly 200%, while those of state and local entities have also tripled with a rise of \$122 billion.

Just in the past four years, total federal expenditures have jumped \$78 billion, or by nearly two-fifths. The entire rise in spending has been for non-defense activities. It seems incredible, but this increase in civilian outlays is nearly 10 times as much as the U.S. government paid out for all purposes in any year prior to World War II.

Moreover, Washington is constantly pressing, or being urged, into new fields—education, health care, credit, housing. Problems that are essentially local in nature—such as mass transit, traffic, urban decay—are now being passed on to federal bureaus. So the public sector grows and grows.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

A question that puzzles us is why anyone should think that such spheres of activity can be conducted more effectively under public than private management. Does anyone conceive that federal administrators have greater talents than private business managers or local civic leaders?

A good illustration of the striking differences in public vs. private management is afforded by a comparison of the two giants of the communications field—the U.S. Postal Service and the Bell Telephone System. It is interesting to observe how these two organizations have affected us as consumers and taxpayers over the years. As a starting point, let's take a look at the trend of postal rates since the early "Thirties. The first class rate for a one-ounce letter has risen as follows:

	Regular mail (in cents)	Airmail (in cents)
1974	10	13
1971	8	11
1968	6	10
1963	5	8
1958	4	7
1957	3	6
1947	3	5
1933	3	6
1932	2	5

In recent years, various public commissions, Congressional committees and the White House have investigated and criticized the "inflationary" pricing policies of private business. Yet it is a matter of record that during the past 10 years the Post Office has hiked its rates 65%—100%. Now let's see how prices of the privately-operated telephone system have fared over the past four decades. The rates for three-minute toll calls between Boston and other major cities are shown in Table II.

In addition to the rate drops shown in the table, Bell recently introduced a 35¢ rate for one-minute, coast-to-coast calls made after 10 p.m. While toll charges have declined substantially over the years, the cost of local telephone service has been trending upward. But even here, the rise since 1932 has been less than half that of the consumer price index and only one-quarter as much as the increase in postal charges for regular mail.

Thus, it's obvious that as consumers we have fared much better pricewise with the privately-operated organization than with the publicly-run one. This is largely a reflection of the degree to which each of the two systems has been able to lift its efficiency or "productivity." Despite some improvement in recent years, the public operation again makes an unfavorable comparison (see Table III). Note that over the past 43 years the postal service has managed to increase the number of pieces of mail handled per employee by 56%, but the Bell System takes care of 2.7 times as many conversations per worker as it did then.

Quality of service is, of course, much harder to measure than cost. But even without benefit of statistics, it is apparent that postal service has been going downhill for years despite the sharp increase in its rates. In the early part of the period under review we received two daily postal deliveries at home, four at the office. Now we are supposed to get one at home and two at the office. Despite fast planes and express highways, business mail from New York frequently fails to arrive here until the second day—even though it is less than an hour's flight and a five-hour train or truck trip. In contrast, a phone connection to almost any station in the country takes but a few seconds—a fraction of the time it did 40 years ago.

TABLE I.—FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY

	Employ- ment (millions)	Percent of total employ- ment	Expendi- tures (billions)	Percent of total economy
1973	13.7	16.2	\$407	31.6
1967	11.4	15.3	243	30.6
1963	9.2	13.6	167	28.3
1955	6.9	11.1	98	24.5
1947	5.5	9.6	42	18.3
1940	4.2	8.8	18	18.4
1929	3.1	6.4	10	9.8

Now what effect have these two systems had upon us as taxpayers? Table IV shows the postal deficit and the taxes paid by the Bell Telephone companies, both annually and on a cumulative basis. Public operation makes a strikingly poor showing here. Even though as consumers we pay much higher postal rates than ever before we are even worse off as taxpayers. We now contribute \$1.4 billion a year to make up the deficit between postal receipts and expenses, or 20 times as much as when the letter rate was only two cents.

In contrast, note that while the Post Office has drained off \$23 billion from our tax revenues since 1932, the Bell Companies have, over the same period, put \$54 billion into public coffers through tax payments. And this figure does not include the federal excise taxes paid by Bell customers—\$18 billion in the past 20 years.

Moreover, the Bell Companies have millions of stockholders—American Telephone itself has three million, including colleges, churches and other institutions as well as individuals. Last year's dividend payments came to \$1.7 billion vs. \$248 million in 1950 and \$39 million in 1930. In the past two decades, these disbursements have created \$4 billion of federal income taxes to help finance the postal deficit.

Altogether, the contrast in the results of these two organizations is startling. If the government ever gets into the oil business and runs it like the Post Office, today's gasoline prices will be remembered as wistfully as the 10% income tax and the 2-cent stamp.

TABLE II.—STATION-TO-STATION TOLL RATES\* FROM BOSTON

Year	New York		Chicago		San Francisco	
	Day	Night	Day	Night	Day	Night
1974	\$0.80	\$0.55	\$1.15	\$0.65	\$1.45	\$0.85
1967	.75	.55	1.40	.70	7.75	1.00
1963	.75	.55	1.50	1.20	2.25	1.75
1955	.75	.55	1.60	1.30	2.50	2.00
1947	.75	.45	1.65	1.25	2.50	2.00
1939	.80	.50	2.50	1.50	6.75	4.50
1932	1.00	.60	3.25	1.75	9.50	5.75
Percent decline, 1932-1974	-20	-8	-65	-63	-85	-85

\*Excludes Federal excise taxes.

TABLE III

	Number of employees (thousands)		Volume handled		Volume per employee (1930 equals 100)	
	Post Office	Bell Cos.	Pieces of mail (billions)	Daily number conservations (millions)	Post Office	Bell Cos.
1973	701.1	798.9	89.7	432.0	156	269
1966	675.4	650.8	75.6	295.7	136	225
1963	587.2	571.4	67.9	251.4	140	218
1962	588.5	563.9	66.5	242.4	137	214
1961	582.4	566.6	64.9	226.4	135	189
1957	521.2	640.9	59.1	188.3	137	146
1950	500.6	523.3	45.1	140.8	109	134
1940	353.2	275.3	27.7	79.3	95	141
1930	339.5	318.1	27.9	64.0	100	100
Percent increase 1930-73	+107	+151	+222	+575	+56	+169

TABLE IV  
[Millions of dollars]

Deficit of Post Office Department	Taxes paid by Bell companies	
	Annual	Cumula- tive from 1932
1973	1,390	22,703
1966	943	12,843
1963	819	10,454
1961	826	8,860
1958	891	6,832
1950	545	2,233
1940	41	687
1935	66	428
		94
		352

## "GOODNESS" IN EDUCATION

## HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the University of Minnesota has chosen a new president, C. Peter Magrath. Dr. Magrath thinks the university "stands with the outstanding universities of the nation" and he hopes to "move the university to excellence" and make it "a truly distinguished one."

The following essay, by Garrison Keillor, appeared in the Minneapolis Tribune on April 14, 1974. Mr. Keillor discusses academic excellence, dividing institutions of learning into classes from the greatest to the less-great. Mr. Keillor then issues a "Challenge to Goodness." A good university, by Keillor's definition, is "a university whose scholars care about teaching and whose alumni remember the names of their teachers for years afterward."

I would like to direct the attention of my colleagues to Mr. Keillor's article which cannot fail to evoke a sympathetic response from university graduates everywhere.

## WHY NOT "GOODNESS" IN EDUCATION?

(By Garrison Keillor)

C. Peter Magrath, the president-to-be of the University of Minnesota, said last week that he thinks the university "stands with the outstanding universities of the nation" and that he hopes to "move the university to excellence" and to make it "a truly distinguished one." Magrath arrives this fall, and his first task will be to pronounce his name (the Tribune says it should be pronounced "Ma-grah" but obviously it is "Magrath"). When that has been cleared up, I wish he'd clear up, once and for all, this matter of academic excellence.

For decades, university presidents have taken the long biennial ride out University

Av. past the used-car lots to the state Capitol to explain the complexities of excellence to the Legislature. Legislators tend to think of appropriations in terms of adequacy and inadequacy, enough or not enough, but for a university, adequacy is never enough; a university can no more settle for being merely adequate than a poet can accept being intelligent—with poets, it's either brilliance or nothing.

The biennial university position usually comes out like this: Our university is a great university; however, due to inadequate funding two years ago, the university has lost ground to other universities; thus, we require an appropriation twice as large to enable us to close the gap and restore the university to a position of excellence. With this increase, the university will regain its rightful place as one of the most distinguished in the country.

The response of the Legislature is to "trim," "cut" or "slash" the university's request, depending on which newspaper you read. University officials express regret—their proposed budget had been a "realistic" or "hard" one—but they pledge to continue the pursuit of excellence nonetheless.

The question I wish Magrath would answer is: What exactly is the difference between an outstanding university, and excellent university and a truly distinguished one? And what will excellence do for Minnesota?

I'm sure he will answer this as soon as he learns about the university's needs and objectives, which he said will be his first priority. In the meantime, I submit the following list, which may help to clarify the question. It divides institutions of higher learning into classes, from the greatest to the less-great. As you will note, there is no such thing as a bad college.

1. Harvard. There is only one school in this class, and it is Harvard University. Its pre-eminence is indicated in the number of schools that have set out to become "the Harvard of the Midwest" or "the Harvard of the South." I've never heard of a school that hoped to be known as "The University of Minnesota of the East."

2. One of the Two or Three Most Distinguished in the Country. Indeed Perhaps in the World. There are probably 10 to 12 schools in this class, the likes of Yale, Berkeley, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which can use that phrase in public and not hear snickers. The university, great as it may be, is not one of them.

3. One of the Five or Six, etc. A much larger group, including perhaps as many as 30 schools. The university was once among them (I can remember President Wilson using the phrase), but Magrath now consigns the university to the One of the Outstanding class (see below), and one has to go along with his judgment.

4. Its Name Is Synonymous with Greatness. Of all the schools in America, from Abilene Christian to Yuba Junior College, I'd guess that about half have attained synonymity status. If their names are not synonymous with greatness, at least they are synonymous with education or service to the community. I'm not happy that our university falls short

of the synonym standard, but it's a fact: You simply can't go Out East anymore and say "U. of M." and expect people to think "Oh, he means greatness."

5. One of the Outstanding. This is the lower end of the excellence spectrum. After all, what fully accredited school with more than one building and at least one vice president is not outstanding? Minnesota has many outstanding colleges, so the promotional literature says. In fact, would Magrath say that any of them are less than outstanding, from Augsburg to Willmar State Community, and where does that leave the university but in a most tenuous position? Below the Outstanding class lies the morass of computer institutes, broadcasting schools, barber colleges, schools of tap and baton and McDonald's Hamburger University. Clearly, the university must strive hard and talk fast lest it join them.

Will the Legislature accept the challenge to greatness when Magrath delivers it, as he is sure to, next year? I hope so, but I would like to put challenge to him. I call it "The Challenge To Goodness." A good university may be somewhat different from a great excellent or distinguished one. It is a university whose scholars care about teaching and whose alumni remember the names of their teachers for years afterward. Fourteen years later, I have distinct memories of Margaret Forbes, Asher Christiansen, Norman DeWitt, Richard Cody and Robert Lindsay, whom I met on my arrival at the university, and 10 or 12 others, whom I met later.

They encouraged my pretensions to writing and scholarship. They loved to talk about politics, history, literature and journalism. I don't know that they were great scholars, such as might help put a university among the Synonymous or the One of the Five or Six, but they were awfully good talkers.

Two are dead now, but I'm sure their work goes on at the university. How we need it. How good to know that, while you and I are doing our work and keeping the world on its course, in some university classroom a teacher is talking about the Constitution of the United States as if it mattered, and another about Milton as if someone might want to read him now and then—there may even be someone who talks about journalism on the assumption that it has something to do with writing or telling the truth.

I'm not sure that such teaching will raise the university's reputation, but it might be of some small benefit to the people of Minnesota, assuming, of course, that Minnesota is where we are.

## ADDENDUM TO FINANCIAL STATEMENT

## HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I submitted a statement for the CONGRE-

SIONAL RECORD on page 11479. The amount of \$2,000 received from the Republican Congressional Committee for printing and mailing of public relations material, photographs, television and radio taping, and so forth was inadvertently omitted.

## SPECIAL OLYMPICS PROGRAM

## HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, I wish to salute the efforts of the many dedicated citizens who are taking part in the special Olympics program scheduled for May 4 in Milan, Mich. Some 440 youths are expected to participate in the program aimed at giving the handicapped an opportunity to compete in organized athletic events such as swimming, gymnastics, basketball, bowling, and various track and field activities.

This wonderful civic endeavor is sponsored principally by the Milan Jaycees and the Ann Arbor Civitan under the direction of cochairmen, Larry McCrea and Mrs. Sue Wilson. They and their associates have given unselfishly of their time to bring happiness to the children and their parents. Competitors may also win an opportunity to advance from the regionals at Milan to the State finals next month.

As an indication of the attraction this program has for these children, it is interesting to note that where 100 participated last year, 4 times as many are expected at the program this year. It is not hard to understand the growing interest in the special Olympics program which was pioneered by the Joseph P. Kennedy Foundation. For these young people, it is an opportunity to participate which is not usually extended to the handicapped. For their parents, it is a coveted chance to see their offspring enjoy friendly competition under close supervision in a spirit of good will and mutual respect.

Many hours of effort are going into this program. The Michigan State Police intend to send a patrol car to allow youngsters an opportunity to sit in a law enforcement vehicle—perhaps for the first time. Swimming events will be held at Milan High School while Paddock Elementary School will be the site of gymnastics. The Milan Clover Leaf lanes will be used for the bowling events and participants in track and field or basketball will utilize facilities at Milan Middle School.

Numerous volunteers will be giving of their time to make this event a success so that youngsters from Monroe, Washtenaw, and Livingston Counties will know the enjoyment of friendly sports participation. This is, indeed, a tremendous civic effort and I commend the many people who will contribute to its success.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## TIME TO END REVERSE RACISM IN UNIVERSITIES

## HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, there was a time in the history of American education when racial, ethnic, and religious prejudice helped to determine who would be hired to college and university faculties and who would be admitted to college and university student bodies. Those devoted to academic freedom and to the integrity of the university opposed such forms of prejudice and discrimination. They sought, quite properly, an institution which would be "color blind" and which would concern itself only with the qualifications of applicants as measured by objective criteria such as competitive examinations and academic records.

Now, we seem to have come full circle. While quotas based on race and religion were anathema to liberals during an earlier period, now they are considered important requisites of a free society. Nothing could be further from the truth. The best way to prove that racism is dead is to eliminate race as a basis of academic consideration and concern.

Recently, the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to consider one of the many challenges to the reverse racism of today. The challenge comes from a white graduate of the University of Washington, Marco DeFunis, Jr. In 1969, when he was a senior at the university, with a near-A average and on his way to a B.A. degree magna cum laude, he applied to law school. He was rejected. He discovered that 38 other applicants, all members of racial minorities with worse grades and law school aptitude test scores lower than his, had been admitted under the school's program to expand minority enrollment.

Mr. DeFunis charged discrimination, contending that the law school had two sets of admissions standards and that he was thus deprived of equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the 14th amendment.

Discussing this case, Michael J. Malbin, a staff correspondent for National Journal Reports and a teacher of constitutional law, writes that—

The university claims that there are at least two "compelling interests" that it could not have satisfied without its racial classification policy: creating an integrated student body and training more minority lawyers.

Mr. Malbin rejects this argument for two reasons. He declares that—

First, the university never offers any intelligible methods for distinguishing compelling interests and important-but-not-quite-compelling ones . . . when the university justifies the need for its program by pointing to the "lily white" character of its student body in the days before it had any affirmative action program at all, it is making an irrelevant comparison.

The second reason for rejecting this argument, Mr. Malbin writes, is that—

The question of the DeFunis case is not whether there is a compelling reason for using a racial classification scheme to achieve that end. There is not.

I wish to share with my colleagues the article, "The Court Ought To Decide for Mr. DeFunis," by Michael J. Malbin, in the New York Times of April 12, 1974, and insert it into the RECORD at this time:

THE COURT "OUGHT TO DECIDE FOR MR. DEFUNIS"

(By Michael J. Malbin)

WASHINGTON.—Some time this spring, the United States Supreme Court will decide the reverse-discrimination DeFunis case. If the Court decides the case on the merits at all, it ought to decide for Mr. DeFunis.

Marco DeFunis, Jr., is a white Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of Washington who was denied admission to that university's law school under its racially based two-tiered admissions policy. He did not have a constitutional right to be admitted to the law school, of course. Nor did he have a right to be judged by any particular set of numerical admissions standards. But he did have the right to be judged by a racially neutral admissions policy.

There should be no room in the law for a policy that puts racial characteristics ahead of individual ones, except perhaps in dire emergencies—the legal term is "compelling state interest." No such emergency exists in this case.

The issue has been presented as if there is no way to erase the effects of past discrimination without using some form of a racial classification plan. Friends of the law school's admissions policy try to argue that ending reverse discrimination would mean ending affirmative action.

This just is not so. There are racially neutral programs that would do the job almost as well for minority-group members, without freezing out poor whites, and without violating the Constitution.

The temptation that led the university to adopt its racial-classification plan is understandable. Few minority applicants to its law school were admitted in previous years, when the admissions policy was based almost solely on quantitative test scores and grades. This in turn led to a serious shortage of minority candidates for admission to the bar in the state of Washington.

The university decided that the only way it could address what it saw as a racial problem was to apply a racial solution. It did not look at the economic or cultural backgrounds of individual candidates, treating the children of black professionals as if they were disadvantaged, while treating the children of poor rural whites as if they were privileged. The university rejected the use of such categories as "underprivileged" and "disadvantaged" as being mere euphemisms for the racial classifications they were using openly.

The university certainly is right in thinking that many programs that claim to be open to all disadvantaged people are in fact programs designed for particular racial groups. In some types of programs—for example, in primary education—it is essential to take account of the particular language and cultural problems of the people the program is trying to help.

But there is no excuse for this in a law school admissions program. An honestly administered recruitment and scholarship program designed to reach poor prelaw students would provide assistance to many minority students without doing so because of their race. And there is no reason why such a program would have to stop at financial assistance. Neither compensatory education nor

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

April 24, 1974

special consideration in admissions would be unconstitutional if they were designed to reach disadvantaged individuals instead of racial groups.

Why is a racially based program unconstitutional? The Fourteenth Amendment says, in part, that "no state shall . . . deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." That clause does not create a different set of rights for whites and blacks, despite its Civil War origins. Nor does it distinguish "benign" from "invidious" discrimination. The clause says, quite simply, that people are to be treated equally under the law.

Of course, the amendment did not require states to treat all people identically. States may distinguish between criminals and innocent people, for example. The equal-protection clause permits most legal classifications, as long as they are rational. But there are some classifications that are, and ought to be, held to a higher standard—a "compelling interest" test. Included among these are ones based on race.

The university claims that there are at least two "compelling interests" that it could not have satisfied without its racial classification policy: creating an integrated student body, and training more minority lawyers. This argument is not persuasive for two reasons.

First, the university never offers any intelligible method for distinguishing compelling interests from important-but-not-quite-compelling ones. As Mr. DeFunis's attorneys point out, a goal may be desirable without being a compelling necessity. More important, when the university justifies the need for its program by pointing to the "lily white" character of its student body in the days before it had any affirmative action program at all, it is making an irrelevant comparison.

The relevant comparison, for constitutional purposes, is with a situation in which a racially neutral affirmative action program is in operation. Only that comparison can show whether a racial classification plan is essential or not.

The question of the DeFunis case is not whether we ought to have more minority lawyers. We should. The question is whether there is a compelling reason for using a racial classification scheme to achieve that end. There is none.

## H.R. 14013—PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS

## HON. MORGAN F. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on April 10 the House passed the supplemental appropriation bill containing the worthwhile public employment programs. Under this bill the program will receive \$250 million. An amendment to the bill added \$150 million to provide additional and much needed employment in public service jobs.

In 1973 the national unemployment figure was 4.9 percent and under the PEP 140,000 jobs were created. As a result of the energy crisis unemployment has continued to rise and it is suspected that the administration's projection of a 6 percent unemployment rate by the

middle of this year may only be a conservative estimate.

With PEP soon to expire we in Congress can ill-afford to let even a few months elapse without providing funds for this vital program. Since its inception last October, this program has given thousands the encouragement needed to do productive work and to keep their faith in the American system. Jobs created under this program have given the unemployed a new lease on life. These people are no longer statistics on the welfare rolls but are providing a meaningful service to their community.

With a January unemployment rate of 4.0 percent and a February rate of 4.1 percent, Illinois is not among those States having a 6.5 percent rate and over. However, Illinois' unemployment figure rose from 198,000 in January to 205,000 in February. With the passage of this amendment, funds will now be available to all areas of the country regardless of their unemployment rate. Under this bill Illinois will receive \$21,701,000.

As a result of the energy crisis unemployment has increased in certain areas thus money made available for jobs is surely a worthwhile investment. Jobs are needed that provide not only income but self-respect for the individual. I am pleased that the House took action to add funds for just that purpose.

## PUBLIC SAFETY OFFICERS BENEFITS ACT

## HON. WILLIAM H. HUDNUT III

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. HUDNUT. Mr. Speaker, while serving as a member of the board of public safety in Indianapolis, I worked closely with both the city and volunteer firemen, policemen, and the Marion County Sheriff's Department. I learned firsthand the threats to personal safety that the firemen and law enforcement officers face. They are dedicated and selfless men who put the public welfare above their own. For that reason alone, society has a commitment to offer them every protection it can and to do everything possible to bring any assailants to justice.

In 1973, a total of 131 local, county, and State law enforcement officials were killed in the line of duty as a result of criminal action. This figure is alarming when compared to the fact that 55 officers were killed just 10 years ago in 1963—according to the FBI's Uniform Crime Report. Though there are no exact figures on the number of firemen killed in the public service, the International Association of Fire Fighters estimates that 170 lost their lives in 1972.

During recent years, large numbers of public safety officers have died as a result of the premeditated design of violent dissenters who have chosen them as symbolic targets for demonstrating their dissatisfaction with society.

While I feel strongly that control of law enforcement and fire protection should be maintained at the local level, the Federal Government has proven that it can effectively provide financial assistance to the State and local governments. The success of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration in providing block-grant assistance to communities is evidence of this fact.

Even though these public safety officers daily risk their lives for the protection of society, many States have failed to provide sufficient death benefits for their survivors. This bill, which would provide \$50,000 to meet the immediate financial needs of the officers' survivors, would insure proper compensation for the families of these men and women who daily preserve the peace and protect the lives and property of others. I give it my full support and hope my colleagues will do likewise.

## VOTE OF CONFIDENCE

## HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of our colleagues the following vote of confidence of our President which has been so creatively stated by one of my constituents, Mr. William Ward:

DEAR SIR: I want everyone to know how much we think of President Nixon. Could you get this put in a Washington paper?

Thank you

MRS. WILLIAM WARD.

HEERON, IND.

According to all the magazines, T.V., and the press  
President Nixon put this country in an awful mess.

When elected didn't he promise to end the war?

Now they say, "Why didn't he do it before?"  
Many of his old friends, Senators, and Congressmen too,  
Now with his many problems want nothing to do.

In good times they wanted part of his cake  
When things get hot they won't help to bake.

The Unions and all workers want their pay elevation  
And they say blame Nixon for all this inflation.

When the shortages occur in gas, energy, or feeds

They cry, "This is another one of Nixon's deeds".

What ever happened to the courtesy and the respect  
That citizens should give to the President they elect.

I think all the comedians should blush with shame  
Just for a joke, to degrade our President's name.

They had inquiry after inquiry with no conclusion reached

But all they yell is, "He should be impeached."

Ervin, Baker, and all the rest of the staff Portray they are so pure, it makes one laugh.

Papers, magazines, and scandal sheets that don't even rate

Write page after page of nothing else but Watergate.

Isn't it time to forget Nixon's mistakes, so few And remember all the good things he did do.

I'm not looking for favors but sure am concerned.

For my country and criticism given Nixon, not earned.

I say to all citizens to save our land, Stand up for Nixon and lend him a hand.

—BILL WARD.

**SIXTH ANNUAL SPECIAL OLYMPICS IN SAN MATEO COUNTY, CALIF.**

**HON. LEO J. RYAN**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, on April 27, San Mateo County will hold its sixth annual Special Olympics for over 200 retarded children and adults from all over the county. The events include track, softball, swimming, and basketball. The winners of these events will go on to the State Olympics to be held in Los Angeles on June 28.

The Special Olympics are an important part of the community and indicate community support for retarded children. I applaud the efforts of the organizers of the Special Olympics: Mrs. L. Warren Price, Daly City; Mrs. Delores Jenkins, Burlingame; Mr. Glen Smith, director of the San Mateo County Department of Parks and Recreation. I include the proclamation of the San Mateo County Board of Supervisors at this point in the RECORD:

**PROCLAMATION**

(By the Board of Supervisors, County of San Mateo, State of California)

**PROCLAMATION URGING OBSERVATION OF THE SPECIAL OLYMPICS FOR THE RETARDED DAY**

Whereas, the Board of Supervisors of San Mateo County recognizes the significance of a Special Olympics; and

Whereas, an outstanding Olympic Games Program is being held at Mills High School in Milbrae; and

Whereas, the Special Schools in San Mateo County are participating in the Olympics; and

Whereas, the Board of Supervisors recognizes the contribution to the program by the Peninsula Association for Retarded Children and Adults, Girls Athletic Association of Mills High School, County Parks and Recreation Department, County School Department, and the San Mateo Union High School District Physical Education teachers; and

Whereas, Miss Marsha Dorsett of Burlingame has been proclaimed Special Olympics Queen for 1974:

Now, therefore, be it proclaimed that this Board of Supervisors hereby designates April 27, 1974, as Special Olympics Day in San Mateo County and encourages the public

**EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS**

to visit and view the Special Olympics at Mills High School.

Dated: April 9, 1974.

JEAN FASSLER, Chairman.

**CHICAGO-KANSAS CITY INTERSTATE ADVOCATED BY MANY GROUPS**

**HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, I believe the following article from the Monroe County Appeal is of interest to my constituency as well as my colleagues especially those from Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas:

**CHICAGO-KANSAS CITY INTERSTATE ADVOCATED BY MANY GROUPS**

In a hearing at Hannibal last Wednesday afternoon, held by the State Highway Department of Missouri with District Engineer Robert Patton presiding, many groups and towns in Northeast Missouri were represented and advocated construction of the interstate, giving their reasons why.

The majority of the large crowd of over 200 attending favored a route that would cross the Mississippi between Hannibal and Quincy, then run southwest to Kansas City, possibly somewhere to the north of U.S. Highway 36 near Sheibina or Shelbyville.

The exact route to be used will probably be determined after detailed studies of several proposed routes have been completed.

One group from Keokuk, Iowa wanted the interstate to cross the Mississippi River between Nauvoo, Ill., and Keokuk, Iowa, then run southwest to Cameron, Mo., and from here into Kansas City on existing Interstate 35, claiming it would save construction of whatever part of 35 is used. Others pointed out that route is already carrying a heavy north and south traffic load and should not be used at all.

St. Louis County interests that oppose construction of the proposed Interstate sent a representative to speak against the highway, claiming it is not needed, would be too costly, and would deprive the St. Louis area of considerable money now spent there by truckers and other traffic which now goes through St. Louis to get to or from Chicago or Kansas City. His arguments were termed purely selfish ones by several speakers, some of whom resented the interference of St. Louis in a matter that concerns North Missouri.

Paris was the smallest town represented at the hearing. A spokesman for this area presented a prepared statement asking that the Interstate be built, and that it come close enough to Paris on the north to be of benefit to the area as it now is, and to act when built as a four lane route into the Cannon dam and lake area later when they are completed.

The statement was authorized by Mayor Painter and the City Council of Paris, by the Monroe County Court and its three members, by the Paris Rotary and other civic clubs, by the Monroe County Appeal, and many individuals and other organizations in the Paris area.

The statement from the Paris area, which reiterated arguments that were also made by others from Northeast Missouri, said in part:

1. Paris and its area believe it may well be the orphan child of the Interstate Sys-

tem, with no such highway running through our section to give us quicker access to other parts of the nation and to encourage both industry and travelers to come into our area.

2. We support a route that will run southwest from Chicago to a point between Quincy, Ill. and Hannibal, Mo., and from that area southwest to Kansas City, because we believe this is the most direct route between the two cities.

3. We ask that such a route be selected, probably to the north of us, again because it is the most direct location for such a route.

4. Northeast Missouri has been steadily losing population because of its inaccessibility from interstate routes, a fact that discourages industry coming into the area. We believe building of the route we suggest will bring in industry and greatly benefit our area economically, as well as increase our population.

5. The route is 100 miles shorter than the present one through St. Louis, thus saving travel time, mileage on vehicle, gasoline and diesel fuel, manpower hours. We also believe it will result in lower truck freight rates for our section and all those to the east or west who ship on it. This we need here, as our rates are high.

6. Cannon dam and lake, now moving toward completion, is located in Monroe County. Millions of people, it is estimated, will come into the area when this 25,000 acre lake is completed within a short time. The route we suggest will cross our section along the northern perimeter of this giant complex, allow millions of people easy access to it, provide a national travel artery into which our local and state roads will feed. This is possibly the most important reason for adopting the route we urge.

7. While St. Louis interests in some cases object to the proposed route, we believe it will also benefit them in the end, by relieving some of their congestion problems, which have a deterrent effect on people from our area who have considerable business in St. Louis, but who now often hesitate to go there because of its heavy traffic, and instead travel farther to Kansas City or elsewhere.

A third hearing was held at Independence, at which representatives from both Kansas and Missouri were in attendance. At the three hearings, only one statement objecting to the proposed Interstate was filed, while there were several dozen favoring it.

Governor Robert Docking of Kansas has written the interstate committee endorsing the building of the highway. He emphasizes that the state of Kansas has a vital interest in the road, which will shorten the route to Chicago and the East. He pointed out that while it is only 400 air miles from Kansas City to Chicago, it is 543 miles by Interstate through St. Louis.

**ADDENDUM TO FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE**

**HON. ANGELO D. RONCALLO**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. RONCALLO of New York. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I submitted my financial disclosure for the year 1973. I find, however, that I inadvertently omitted from the list of my stock holdings, a 6-percent interest I hold in MRC, Inc., and I wish this item added to such list.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

April 24, 1974

## BLACK CAPITALISM

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, when Richard Nixon ran for the Presidency in 1968, there was much campaign rhetoric about minority capitalism. Nixon spoke of giving black businesses "a piece of the action." As in so many other areas, the Nixon administration has failed to convert campaign propaganda into working programs. The administration's minority enterprise offices are underfunded and often out of touch from the realities of the needs of the poor.

This is an area of major concern to the Congressional Black Caucus. In the Caucus' April newsletter, we reported on some of our recent efforts in this area:

## MINORITY ENTERPRISES

The Caucus is fortunate to be assisted by the women and men who serve as a "brain-trust" to the Subcommittee on Housing, Economic Development and Minority Enterprise. This group, made up of Economists, Enterprisers, Contractors, Manufacturers, Housing Experts, Bankers, Savings & Loans Representatives, Community Development Representatives, etc., meets approximately every six weeks in Washington. Travel expenses are borne by each individual. The meetings are primarily devoted to: (a) examination, from the Black perspective, of pending legislation which falls within the jurisdiction of the Subcommittee; (b) generating new ideas for legislation; (c) assessing new developments in Housing, Economic Development and Minority Enterprise with the end towards planning supportive or counter strategies to such developments; and (d) placing Blacks in key policy making positions in agencies related to Housing, Economic Development and Minority Enterprise.

Among the numerous notable accomplishments resulting from Braintrust input and cooperation are: (1) defeat of an amendment to the Small Business Act which would have had the effect of gutting the 8-A set aside from minorities in S.B.A.; (2) postponement of House action on the Housing and Community Development Act of 1972, which contained repressive and regressive sections aimed at the poor of the nation; (3) worked to defeat proposed S.B.A. regulations which would have spelled disasters for a significant number of Black businesses; (4) worked for the successful passage of an amendment to the Economic Stabilization Act which exempted the working poor, earning poverty level wages, from the wage freeze; (5) worked for the supplemental funding of S.B.A., which funds were integral to the ongoing minority programs of S.B.A.; and (6) successfully supported five Blacks who sought key policy making positions in government agencies related to Housing, Economic Development and Minority Enterprise.

I would also like to share with my colleagues in Congress an article by John H. Johnson, founder and president of the Johnson Publishing Co., the largest minority publisher in the United States. Mr. Johnson articulates many of the problems facing black businessmen today.

The article follows:

## NOT ENOUGH BLACK CAPITALISTS

(By John H. Johnson)

Our nation-wide efforts at stimulating minority enterprise have been very impres-

sive. Federal funding and loan guarantees for minority business development reached \$1.4-billion in fiscal 1973—up from \$212-million in fiscal 1969. Federal contracts and sub-contracts to minority businesses were raised from \$4-million in 1969 to \$523-million in 1973. The 1973 figure was an increase of 117 percent over the figure of \$242-million in 1972.

There exist 67 Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Companies with a total capital investment of \$28-million. And this amount can be forced up with Small Business Administration and bank financing to trigger more than \$500-million in loans and equity investments.

With such large capital resources available, one wonders why our minority economic development program is not more successful.

One answer might be that our government has moved too slowly in removing the economic consequences of centuries of racial injustice. Why else do we find blacks, who constitute 11 per cent of our total population, still owning less than 1 per cent of the nearly 5 million businesses in this country. Any number of foreign businesses are doing better in our country than we are.

Another answer might be that the infusion of public and private funds into the program has not stimulated the desired results. Have we missed something vital in our much-heralded "bootstrap programs," seed money, management and technical assistance programs? I believe that we have.

Success in business is a time-honored process involving hard work, risk-taking, money, a good product, maybe a little bit of luck, and most of all, a burning commitment to succeed. I do not believe that this overriding desire to succeed has reached the desired intensity in minority business.

It is interesting to note that our early black entrepreneurs and most of our large, successful black businesses "made it" by using traditional capitalistic methods. Practically all of these enterprises were launched on a need for the products and services offered. And most of them were developed using private capital and initiative.

I am impressed with all the efforts to promote black business in the last decade, but I am somewhat surprised that most of our major black businesses started before the government-assisted programs.

As necessary as capital is to business, it does not seem to be enough to spark a revolution.

What I believe was present in our early black business—and is needed now—is a total commitment to succeed by the minority entrepreneur. This must be an individual commitment.

I am familiar with the formation of the Supreme Life Insurance Company, which was incorporated in 1919. The organizers, led by the late Frank Gillespie, had two years to raise \$100,000 in order to satisfy legal reserve requirements. Stock salesmen and directors of the company called on thousands of people and near the end of the two-year period, had 5,000 stockholders and only \$75,000 of the needed \$100,000.

The directors of the company were then asked to purchase additional shares of stock . . . These men had used up all of their cash and . . . had to mortgage their homes and exhaust their life savings. However, they were so committed to the idea of starting a life insurance company that they made the personal sacrifices necessary.

A testimony to the rightness of their cause is that today, the Supreme Life Insurance Company, which got off to such a shaky beginning, has more than \$42-million in assets, more than \$1-billion of life insurance in force, and is the largest black business in the North.

I think that the reason that more of our

young people don't go into business is the fear of failure. But when we consider the fact that more than 80 per cent of all new businesses fail within the first five years, we readily see the risk-bearing nature of any business venture. White entrepreneurs have not ceased going into business because of the high risk involved. And neither should blacks!

But I don't believe that black America, as yet, has the necessary confidence in black business enterprise to invest substantially in its future. The black businessman must find ways to build greater confidence in minority enterprise.

With black college enrollment doubling in the last five years, why haven't more of our bright young people gone into business?

It was George Bernard Shaw who said: "He who can, does. He who cannot, teaches." It is no longer enough for our young blacks to go to school and learn how to operate businesses, only for the purpose of teaching others to operate businesses, who in turn will teach others and so on . . .

I have a deep respect for the many bright and idealistic young people who are now engaged in minority economic development programs. The role of the promoter, adviser and management consultant is indeed necessary. But I think that more of these young men and women should enter business for themselves.

An economic diagnosis of minority enterprise continues to reveal a hardening of the arteries of credit and insurance—a situation that is compounded by a lack of commitment to succeed. The prescription, written by this nation thus far, to encourage minority business has been mainly an injection of capital to act as a stimulant. Far too often, the prescription has treated the symptoms and ignored the patient.

Black economic development has been overly occupied with the creation of "black capitalism" to the neglect of the Black capitalist. And he is the key factor in the production of wealth. It is the brainpower of the entrepreneur who directs the utilization of all the factors of production for the purpose of making a profit.

Black economic development has always been treated as a separate and unimportant subsidiary outside the mainstream of American economic life. I think that the time has come for the minority businessman to direct his attention toward ventures aimed at the general economy. All other minority businessmen do this. All you have to do is look around the black community to see the diverse ethnic groups operating there. There is no reason why black businessmen shouldn't operate businesses in all-white areas. We have historic precedents for this.

In some periods of the 19th century, black men dominated the catering business and the teamster trade. They made fortunes in the white money markets of Memphis, New Orleans and Philadelphia. In the same years, black businessmen held their own in the open market as bootmakers, carpenters, contractors, merchants, tailors and liverymen. It was during the latter part of the 19th century that black businessmen lost their foothold in the market, largely as a result of discrimination and bias.

Bringing the minority American into the free enterprise system is both morally and economically essential for this country. But this can be done only by a nation that is committed to this goal. A program of this magnitude would cost no more than 4 per cent of our successful space program. It would cost only a fraction of the expense of maintaining 300,000 troops in Western Europe for nearly 30 years.

In the long run, we will fail at minority economic development if we permit ourselves to use short-run expediencies for the long-run solution that is needed.

Bright young blacks should continue to seek employment with our major corporations, but more of them should establish businesses of their own or seek employment with minority firms.

The fear of failure must never diminish our desire to go into business. A black man going into business today should first look for an opportunity to fill a need and then create a business that will satisfy this need. In the beginning, the black entrepreneur's base will probably be in the black community. But he should never limit himself to serving black consumers alone.

#### CONGRESSIONAL COUNTDOWN ON CONTROLS

#### HON. ALAN STEELMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. STEELMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have been quoting statistics and various studies of late in order to demonstrate the futility of wage and price controls. However, today I thought it might be more useful if I painted a portrait of what life is like today for the average citizen, 2½ years after the imposition of wage and price controls.

As U.S. News & World Report puts it in their April 15 issue:

For family after family, soaring inflation is forcing basic—often wrenching—change.

Wives are hunting for work. Husbands are moonlighting at second jobs. Nearly everyone is cutting back on food—buying less meat, substituting powdered milk for fresh, picking over discount items.

Cars, refrigerators, furniture are being repaired instead of replaced. Vacation hopes are being scuttled.

With some who have money, a "buy now to beat higher prices" psychology is taking hold.

For a picture of how Americans are coping with inflation, staff members of U.S. News & World Report talked with five families of different means in different parts of the country."

The interviews that follow are sobering in their impact.

Here is how our constituents express themselves:

#### NOT MIDDLE CLASS ANY MORE

DES MOINES, IA.—A few years ago, Chico Alcantar would have said without hesitation that he had "made it."

Mr. Alcantar, who grew up in poverty in El Paso's Mexican-American section, had met and married an Iowa farm girl, was father of four children and had a secure job as an automobile upholsterer. They had a nice house, two cars and money to spare for his major hobby—bowling.

Today, despite a substantial pay raise last autumn, despite his wife's taking two part-time jobs, and despite his free-lance upholstery work at night, the family is losing ground to inflation.

"We are in debt up to our ears, and the savings account is down to \$7.75 from \$700 a few years ago," says Mrs. Alcantar. "We don't live high, either. But you can't tell me how to save money with a broken-down car, a broken-down television and a \$25 increase in the mortgage installments."

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

For Mrs. Alcantar, grocery shopping has become a three-hour-a-week ordeal of price comparison and bargain hunting. The weekly food bill has risen from \$50 last summer to \$70 today.

"Every one of the eight staples I bought last week—things like flour, sugar, coffee, salt and pepper—had gone up 8 to 10 cents in price from the time before," she says.

The only meat Mrs. Alcantar ever buys is hamburger at 99 cents a pound.

She makes sack lunches for the two school-age boys, ages 10 and 7, because the 50-cent school lunches are considered too expensive. Her husband takes a sack lunch to work, and so does Mrs. Alcantar on days she works as a floor-walker for a large discount house. She got the \$40-a-week job last December.

A second part-time job for Mrs. Alcantar is selling cosmetics door-to-door.

#### HIGHER PAY, BUT

Thanks to a \$27-a-week raise last September, Mr. Alcantar now earns \$207 per week. But his raise was more than offset by extra taxes, the \$20-a-week increase in food costs and the higher payments on the house. So he also upholsters furniture and automobiles at night.

Except for his bowling, the family has cut back drastically on recreation and entertainment. When they do eat out, it is at a pizza parlor. "We rarely go to the movies," Mr. Alcantar says.

Last time they took a vacation was in 1968—to El Paso to see his family.

Mr. Alcantar even talks of curtailing his bowling:

"I go bowling twice a week. I probably spend \$30 a week this way. I'm going to have to give that up."

Only big purchase for the Alcantars this year may be a newer used car.

Mrs. Alcantar, sitting in the living room of the modest home on the south edge of Des Moines, sums up the impact of inflation in their lives this way:

"The truth is, we're not in the middle class any more. Instead, we're on the poverty line. Chico makes more than ever, but every step up the ladder is matched four times over by price increases. It doesn't come out right for us."

#### LOW INCOME, RISING COSTS

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Benefits under welfare and Social Security have increased recently for Eunice Ward, her children and her ailing mother—but inflation has raised their costs even more.

Mrs. Ward is a cheerful woman who worked as a waitress, cashier and night manager at a restaurant until three years ago. Now she is on welfare.

"My mother had to have full-time care," she explains. "It was hard to quit my job, but there wasn't any other way."

The welfare check for Mrs. Ward and the four of her six children still at home went up \$37 this month to \$322. With \$66 of this, she can buy \$168 in food stamps—up \$24 a month since last year. Her 74-year-old mother has a combined income of \$254 from a private pension and Social Security, including a \$10 increase in the current month's Social Security check.

However, in the past year:

Home-mortgage payments, taxes and insurance rose \$10 monthly to \$145.

The monthly gas bill is up \$7, to \$34, electricity by \$6, to \$18 monthly.

Food costs climbed at least \$80 per month.

"Since inflation got so bad, we had to eliminate a lot of things," says Mrs. Ward. "I can't remember the last time I had a chop. Neck bones, pigs' feet—all those kinds of Saturday food—we can't afford any more. We can still afford chicken and occasionally turkey. We just eat chicken, chicken, chicken—

every Sunday. Milk is so high, we use a lot of powdered milk now. We never used it before."

Shopping habits have changed, too:

"I used to go to the corner grocery store and charge it. I'd end up owing him my whole welfare check. Now I go to the supermarket. It's about a 10-minute bus ride. I don't shop as often, and prices are a lot cheaper."

#### MEDICAL CARE

The Wards' medical care is free under a special welfare program at George Washington University Hospital. Even bus fare is provided.

"My mother has two trips to the clinic every month—about \$12 in cab fare because she can't ride a bus," says Mrs. Ward. "She has extra medicine, elastic hose at \$8 a pair—it all runs up."

Inflation has had no great impact in some respects because the family never had much money for such things as entertainment, cars or new furniture.

Mrs. Ward's two grown daughters help with transportation in their cars, pay for the family telephone and provide the small color-television set that is the main source of entertainment.

"The children used to go to the movies about every Saturday," Mrs. Ward says. "Now they haven't gone for a long time."

#### AN EMPTY ROOM

One of the downstairs rooms in the two-bedroom row house is empty. "It used to be the dining room," explains Mrs. Ward. "We had good dining-room furniture until it burned up in a fire about eight years ago. The insurance didn't pay for new furniture. I'd like a bed for it so my oldest boy can sleep there. We just don't have the money."

For clothes, the Wards depend mainly on second-hand stores. "We can buy clothes very cheaply there," she says. "We make out pretty well with clothing. There is always somebody who is giving you something."

But, as with many another family on low income, the real pinch comes in buying food. Mrs. Ward says:

"It seems like the kids are getting more hungry than they used to. The free lunches they get at school just don't fill them up. They're hungry all the time."

#### YOU CAN'T GET AHEAD

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.—"We are always in the middle," says Mrs. Florence Wienholz. "We earn too much to get into programs to help the poor, but we don't earn enough to be able to pay for what we need."

So her 29-year-old husband, Edward works both as a plumber and as a commercial fisherman when there isn't work in his regular job. She takes care of their two children, Shane, 5, and Liza, almost 2, and cuts corners where she can.

"The price of everything is unbelievable," Mrs. Wienholz complains. "When you cash your check, you get so disgusted. All the money goes. You work hard, but you can't get ahead."

#### \$800 A MONTH

On the average, Mr. Wienholz earns about \$800 a month, working as a plumber for a private contractor. Recently, he saved up \$75 for a commercial fishing license. Now, his fishing trips down San Francisco Bay to the ocean provide extra money as well as extra food. Mr. Wienholz also does odd jobs and makes most of the family's furniture.

Inflation is threatening to undermine the family's recent move to a better house.

Two years ago, Mr. and Mrs. Wienholz swapped their equity in an old small house they had remodeled themselves for a down payment on a four-bedroom modern house.

"When we bought this house," says Mrs. Wienholz, "we knew we had to watch it."

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

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But we didn't count on inflation going so far and so fast."

For instance, gas and electric bills ran as little as \$5 a month two years ago in the little house. Now they come to \$35 a month, at the very least, and have gone as high as \$68, mainly because of inflation.

House payments are \$421 a month. Another \$94 per month goes to pay for the fishing boat.

## SHOPPING FOR VALUES

To stretch the remainder of the monthly income, Mrs. Wienholz buys food at a non-profit store. Customers weigh their own purchases and package them. Prices are sometimes one half to one quarter of those at nearby supermarkets.

Despite these savings, Mrs. Wienholz says she recently had to start stretching fresh milk for her children with the powdered variety.

This spring, she says, they are planting a garden. The family has begun buying clothing at garage sales.

The large family refrigerator recently went bad. They are using a smaller one, Mr. Wienholz says, explaining:

"We are waiting for our income-tax refund so we can pay cash for the refrigerator. We don't like interest charges."

Recreation now centers around the boat and the house, because of high costs. Mr. Wienholz explains:

"We have our entertainment at home now. We have friends over. Often, everybody brings something. We don't go to the movies very often. We used to love to run up to Lake Tahoe on a Friday night, just on the spur of the moment.

"We can't afford that now."

## WHAT LENIN SAID ABOUT EAST-WEST TRADE

## HON. ROBERT J. HUBER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Speaker, while some might argue that Lenin has been dead a long time, the prevailing philosophy in the Soviet Union is called Marxism-Leninism. His body, as everyone knows is preserved in a tomb in Moscow, and is visited as a sort of quasi-religious shrine and the children in the Soviet Union are taught to revere him as a deity. Therefore, what Lenin had to say on the subject of East-West trade is more than of passing interest, in my view.

The Russian artist, I.U. Annenkov in an article on pages 125-150 of the *Newyi Zhurnal*, No. 65, 1961, reports on pages 144-147 an instance in which, at a time shortly after Lenin's death, he had occasion to visit the Moscow Institute of V. I. Lenin to examine photographic material on the basis of which it was suggested he might wish to provide illustrations for a book about Lenin. At this time, he found also in the files offered him, a number of Lenin manuscripts consisting principally of short and fragmentary notes. Some of these notes seemed so interesting to Annenkov that he copied some of them. A pertinent section, on page 147 of the article, follows:

To speak the truth is a petty bourgeois prejudice. A lie, however, is often justified by the aim. The capitalists of the whole

world and their governments in their rush to conquer the Soviet market will close their eyes to the activity referred to above (various diplomatic subterfuges of the Soviet government) and will thereby be turned into blind deaf mutes. They will furnish credits which will serve us for the support of the Communist Party in their countries and, by supplying us materials and technical equipment which we lack, will restore our military industry necessary for our future attacks against our suppliers. To put it in other words, they will work on the preparation of their own suicide.

## BO GINN CUTS A WIDE SWATH ALONG THE OGEECHEE

## HON. DAWSON MATHIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. MATHIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in the Atlanta Journal last week an article written about my distinguished colleague from Georgia, Mr. GINN, that I would like to share with all Members of the House. As all Members know, Bo GINN has distinguished himself by his service in this body, especially within his committee. He has performed in the finest tradition of public service for his district, and I am proud of his outstanding devotion and performance. I look forward to serving with this outstanding Georgian for years to come. The article by my friend, Don Winter, follows:

[From the Atlanta Journal, Apr. 18, 1974]

## GINN CUTS A WIDE SWATH ALONG THE OGEECHEE

(By Don Winter)

MILLEN, Ga.—Standing on the banks of the Ogeechee in Levis, sportshirt and an orange baseball cap, U.S. Rep. Ronald "Bo" Ginn looked like he had found a good reason to come home.

In Washington, Georgia's 1st District congressman habitually turns out in suit and tie, and for entertainment, spends a lot of time at late-running sessions of the House of Representatives. It's what he gets paid to do, but as he pointed out a few weeks ago, it is only half his job.

One day earlier this week Ginn performed the other part, and though it is risky to assume too much from a politician's demeanor, he seemed to think it the better half.

During a day of receiving visitors in his office and making a quick trip and speech, Ginn heard the word "impeach" only once or twice, and nobody asked his considered opinion on the subject.

Not that Ginn ignored politics. The whole day was political, in the old-fashioned sense of people wanting help and calling on their friends to get it.

And Ginn finished early. At the indecent (for Washington) quitting time of 5:15 p.m., Ginn went home, changed clothes and drove to the property he had just purchased on the Ogeechee River to watch the afternoon wane in the company of his family and two staff members who, for the moment, acted more like family than employees.

The river was high and dark and promised good fishing and Ginn alternated between looking at it and talking about what changes he would be making on his land and how well refurbishing of the cabin on it was coming along.

He made a small joke: The Ogeechee is unspoiled and beautiful, maybe he will get a law passed to keep it that way. After a few minutes he decided that the reformer who suggested Congress work for three weeks and take off the fourth had a good idea.

Most congressmen say they enjoy being back in the home districts more than making the rounds in Washington. In Ginn's case the statement is especially strong, as his family still lives here in Millen and Ginn is a devoted member of the club that fills the air-lines' "Red Eye Specials" on Monday mornings.

Home life aside, the sort of work Ginn does in his Southeast Georgia district goes far toward explaining the attraction of getting out of Washington.

After a morning spent taking calls and talking to visitors in the storefront office that is both larger and plusher than the one Congress furnishes him on Capitol Hill, Ginn drove over to Sylvania to speak at ceremonies marking the town's status as the 1st District's second officially designated bicentennial city. Sylvania plans to restore the historic Dell-Gooldall House in honor of the nation's 200th birthday.

Ginn was warmly received, a pleasant sensation in light of the fact that the incumbent he defeated in 1972 is from Sylvania.

Then back to Millen and a delegation of six Jenkins County citizens who provide foster care for mentally retarded adults.

The six wanted to draw food stamps for their charges, who must be fed, clothed, and housed for \$175 a month. But the discussion went beyond that. As Ginn took notes and occasionally asked a question, the foster-care people swapped shop talk. One lady complained that \$175 a month didn't begin to cover all the extras her "children" wanted, and she told about the man who smoked three or four packs of cigarettes a day.

A second lady was scandalized. She lets her patients smoke one pack every two days, and that man ought to be made to stop, she said. Yes, the first lady agreed, he should, but just how do you get a 73-year-old to cut down?

Ginn laughed. He's trying to stop smoking, too, and he said he ought to let the second lady help him out.

Back to business. Ginn put in a call to the state Department of Human Resources, and when the boss, Richard Harden, was not in, Ginn left word for him to return the call.

Ginn saw no reason why foster care homes shouldn't get food stamps. They provide a good environment for the retarded at a cost cheaper than institutions can manage, and the people who make their homes available for foster care should be encouraged as much as possible. He might not persuade Harden, but the group of six left expressing more hope than they got from their own conversations with lower-level officials.

In quick succession four men came to see Ginn, one by one. The first was selling campaign stickers and such, and Ginn chatted with him about new styles and slogans. Ginn may not need many bumper stickers this year; the same day the salesman called, one of the congressman's two announced opponents withdrew and threw his support to the second, who threatens to become a perennial candidate after trying three different political parties and finally dropping his race altogether in 1972.

The second man wanted Ginn to put in a good word for him with the federal disability insurance agencies, which he found difficult to deal with himself. Ginn said he would.

A retired Army officer stopped by. Ginn made a phone call and promised to make another in order to help the man get a federal job so he could finish his 20 years of federal service, and to keep his National Guard slot from being abolished.

Finally, a post office worker needed help. He wants to become a farmer, and the Farm

Credit Administration had slapped an unrealistically low appraisal on some land he wanted to buy.

Ginn called Washington, the main office, and told the assistant to the administrator that farm land in Bullock County is worth a lot more than the appraisal stated, and that without a big appraisal, the man may not be able to borrow enough money to buy the farm. The call might not do any good, but the would-be farmer seemed grateful for Ginn's intervention.

All afternoon Ginn expected a price for his help.

He asked the foster home operators what changes they would like to see in national health care policies.

He asked the former Army officer about the state of the nation's infantry.

An aide watching the flow of visitors in and out of Ginn's office suggested half in jest that it was a scene from the "Godfather." The people come by and ask for Ginn's help, which he happily gives, and every two years, he asks for theirs.

Ginn might not agree with the metaphor, but he does believe service to constituents is a vital part of his job. So during Congress' Easter recess he is devoting most of his time to it, cutting red tape and for the moment putting aside the imponderables of the federal budget, impeachment and party rivalry.

There are probably other reasons involved, too. In Washington Ginn is one of 435 representatives—as he says, all the power a freshman really has is "a vote"—but on the banks of the Ogeechee, even in an orange baseball cap, a United States representative cuts a wider swath.

#### NORTHEASTERN OKLAHOMA COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION: ANOTHER OEO BOON DOGGLE

#### HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the Education and Labor Committee on which I serve is considering legislation which would extend the life of community action agencies and community development corporations. Any extension of these two OEO programs would be a serious mistake.

Millions of Federal dollars have already been poured into these programs. The results have been minimal. All too often taxpayer's dollars have been wasted without any real benefit to the community or to the poor.

One of the most tragic examples of this waste is the northeastern Oklahoma community development corporation, NOCDC. It was designed to establish business ventures which, implemented with Federal funds, would employ poor people while training them in a skill. NOCDC went through nearly \$4 million in 5 years—most of which was in the form of grants from OEO.

And what has NOCDC accomplished at the end of this 5-year span? According to the *Tulsa Tribune*—

Of the 11 ventures, some of which became working subsidiaries to employ the disadvantaged, only three remain today with any kind of production and only one is reportedly showing a profit.

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

That is not the end of this fiasco. A Federal grand jury is now undertaking a probe of NOCDC's activities.

It is ironic that OEO always considered NOCDC to be one of the best run of its community development corporations. If this is one of the best, I would hate to see one of the worst.

I have been notified by OEO that it has finally decided to discontinue support of the NOCDC grant. This action is so long in coming that it is almost laughable. The whole NOCDC disaster reflects a total lack of any meaningful supervision by OEO of its funded programs.

Following are articles from the April 11 and April 12 editions of the *Tulsa Tribune* regarding NOCDC. Also included is the letter I received from OEO concerning NOCDC and the Economic Opportunity Commission of Nassau County:

[From the *Tulsa Tribune*, Apr. 11, 1974]  
MUCH SPENT, LITTLE GAINED BY POVERTY  
UNIT

(By Don Hayden)

In what may go down as a poverty program boondoggle, nearly \$4 million has gone through the Northeastern Oklahoma Community Development Corp. sieve in less than five years.

And the intended beneficiaries of the bulk of the federally-financed program apparently have received only pennies by comparison.

Most of the money was in the form of grants from the national office of Economic Opportunity to NOCDC to provide capital to set up subsidiary businesses employing disadvantaged people in eight counties—Adair, Cherokee, Mayes, Muskogee, Nowata, Rogers, Sequoyah and Wagoner.

The community development corporation was one of many such programs spawned by OEO and was considered by the federal agency to be one of the best.

Basically, the concept, following OEO guidelines, was to set up a parent corporation, which would be run by shareholders, to investigate possible ventures and submit these to OEO for approval.

If approved, the ventures were to become subsidiaries which would be implemented with federal funds and employ poor people, while training them in a skill.

NOCDC was in existence under federal funds from June 6, 1969, to Jan. 31, 1974, when the OEO grant period ended.

Of the 11 ventures, some of which became working subsidiaries to employ the disadvantaged, only three remain today with any kind of production and only one is reportedly showing a profit.

The enterprise was fraught with dissension almost from the beginning. It probably would take a grand jury investigation to completely resolve allegations of mismanagement and misuse of federal funds by NOCDC and to determine exactly how many disadvantaged people were helped through the period.

By January 1972, all but one of the ventures had been approved by OEO to become subsidiaries and were implemented through an \$800,000 federal grant.

These included Community Manufacturing Co. (Com-ManCo) North at Allewe, Com-ManCo South and Triangle Transformer Co. at Chelsea, Boots Off at Claremore, Your Community Saddle Shop at Spavinaw, Your Community Upholstery Shop and the Reflections Boutique at Wagoner, Coweta Electronics, Tots Artistic Fun Toys at Taft and the Campo machine shops at Muskogee.

During a nine-day investigation by The Tribune, more than 25 people were interviewed, all of whom serve or did serve in some capacity with NOCDC.

Each of the subsidiaries was visited and reviewed. Many of those interviewed expressed complaints against NOCDC including some who have civil suits pending against the corporation.

These are some of the complaints lodged against NOCDC and subsidiaries.

Com-ManCo North:

A \$1.7 million bid submitted by NOCDC for construction of stowage gear for the Litton Ship Systems' Landing Helicopter Assault (LHA) contract to the U.S. Navy was underbid to insure contract award to NOCDC.

The bid was submitted when NOCDC owned no real facility to handle such a contract and did not have the necessary machinery or the expertise to handle such a contract.

The facility finally obtained for contract work was not located near gas lines, necessary for economic operation, including heating of the building.

NOCDC President Jack Mansfield who held the position of director of community development at the time of the contract said it was bid to break even.

He also stated the corporation had options on several pieces of property when the bid was made and defended the use of electricity as a source of heat as a wise decision in the face of the petroleum shortage.

Coweta Electronics:

A \$12 burglar alarm was produced when one was already on the market for \$1.49.

The employment of a few persons to strip insulation from scrap General Services Administration wire was used as a "training" program for a possible ship wiring harness contract for Litton which failed to be forthcoming.

Mansfield said the alarms ultimately were sold at cost to a broker and admitted that while no wiring contract was ever received, indicated the trainees had learned a skill.

Some 22,000 boot jacks were manufactured while less than 5,000 were ever sold.

A GSA contract for manufacture of desk trays was bid by NOCDC without prior knowledge of GSA's stringent specifications for the project, causing most finally to be rejected.

Mansfield claimed that the entire stock ultimately was sold at cost and stated he was not involved in the desk tray contract bidding.

Spavinaw Saddle Shop:

More than \$31,000 in OEO funds was spent to investigate alleged thefts of about six saddles and alleged threats to NOCDC personnel. No arrests were made.

Mansfield said OEO was cognizant of the threats and thefts and stated that Tom England, OEO program director, told NOCDC to handle the problem in its own way.

Upholstery Shop:

Nearly \$50,000 was pumped into the business which ran at a loss until it reverted to private ownership.

Mansfield said "in retrospect" we realize that this sort of operation is best handled by one or two people instead of the corporate structure of NOCDC.

Reflections boutique:

Area merchants charged that federal funds were used to operate a business constituting unfair competition.

Mansfield said NOCDC tried to avoid competing with local business by offering a type of clothing not available in Wagoner.

Campo Machine Shop:

An estimated \$2 million in GSA heavy equipment is lying rusting in an open field and was never used by NOCDC because no proper facility to house equipment was purchased.

Mansfield indicated that at one time it was believed a facility would be purchased to house the equipment.

Tots Artistic Fun Toys:

More than \$20,000 was spent by NOCDC and no facility is in operation to date.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

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Mansfield said NOCDC was working with the Taft city council to develop this acreage for use as a low-cost housing project and hoped to gain assistance through the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

## Mushroom project at Marble City:

About \$40,000 was spent by NOCDC to implement the project, although approval for the venture was never forthcoming from OEO.

Mansfield said he still believes that the project is a viable one and will be pursued with alterations in the future if private funds are forthcoming.

Complaints also concern administration of NOCDC, which has headquarters at Fort Gibson. They include:

The top paying jobs in NOCDC—salaries ranging up to \$20,000—had been filled by persons from outside the impact area.

The headquarters facility was purchased for nearly \$60,000 and subsequently renovated after it was appraised at \$39,000.

The facility was purchased from two men who held positions at a Muskogee bank where the bulk of OEO grant money was being held in account.

The outside premises of NOCDC is littered with GSA equipment that was never used.

A bulldozer was acquired from GSA and is being used in contract work not authorized as a venture under OEO guidelines. Area contractors claim the operation is unfair competition.

Mansfield defended the use of the dozer and said while it was only a small operation, it did employ two people and was made available for a Muskogee creek beautification project.

Four Ford Torinos were leased from a Muskogee auto agency when less expensive transportation in the form of OEO vehicles was available.

A spokesman for NOCDC indicated that the autos were leased because staff members using them traveled 40,000-50,000 miles annually and the "OEO vehicles were only good for about 200 miles weekly."

The year 1972 was one of conflict among shareholders of NOCDC—some were shadowed by detectives—resulting in several civil suits against the parent company.

Dissension and heated board meetings finally led to the firing of NOCDC president Troy Stilley and then director of community development Mansfield.

Mansfield subsequently was reinstated temporarily through a restraining order issued by Muskogee County Dist. Judge Bill Haworth. The NOCDC board of directors then voted to reinstate Mansfield who later was elected president.

Though the organization had its difficulties, NOCDC applied for and received a \$2.5 million grant from OEO in 1972 to expire in 1974, prompting remarks by former NOCDC officers that "no one can afford to lose money like OEO."

The main complaint was that NOCDC did not achieve its intended purpose.

NOCDC was spawned in early 1969 when a group of Northeastern Oklahoma Community Action directors sought a program to ease the high unemployment rate in the area.

After two planning grants of \$50,000 each were awarded by OEO in 1969, NOCDC got off the ground.

By August 1970, \$800,000 had been awarded to implement the program. At that time there were more than 7,000 unemployed persons in the impact area.

Only a small fraction of that number subsequently were hired through the 4½ year period NOCDC operated under federal funds.

Of the multitude of community development operations in the country, NOCDC was believed in Washington to be one of the best run.

During NOCDC's infancy several consultants were hired to assist the organization

and some remained to become officers in the corporation, including the current president Mansfield and Stilley.

It was decided that NOCDC become a shareholder-owned corporation and OEO set guidelines whereby at least 200 shares be sold in each of the eight counties. The minimum number of shares, 1,600, ultimately was increased to about 2,500.

According to Mansfield, the first 50 shares were not registered with the Securities Exchange Commission after a waiver was received and were sold at \$5 each to "representatives of the poor on the boards of directors of Community Action programs agencies in each of the eight counties."

The remaining 2,450 shares were sold as registered stock, which was non-transferable and could be sold only back to the parent company—NOCDC.

A shareholder was allowed to vote in board of director's elections and could determine how disbursement of any dividends from subsidiary profit would be made.

Shareholders in the eight-county area have exercised their first right, but to date have not seen any dividends.

Funds now will have to be sought, Mansfield said, from private enterprise for any further ventures and the parent company probably will be moved to the Aliewe facility later this year.

He indicated that when and if a substantial profit is achieved, the original shareholders still will be able to determine what portion will be held in reserve, what will go for capital expenditure and what will be distributed as dividends.

Exponents of NOCDC contend the day of dividends will be long in coming.

[From the Tulsa Tribune, Apr. 12, 1974]

## SIXTY CALLED IN PROBE OF NOCDC

MUSKOGEE.—The U.S. marshal's office here has been working to serve subpoenas on about 60 people expected to testify before a federal grand jury beginning Wednesday to probe activities of the Northeastern Oklahoma Community Development Corp.

U.S. Dist. Atty. Richard Pyle, who will be conducting the investigation, said all but about a half dozen prospective witnesses have been located or served with notice to appear.

It is expected the specially-called grand jury will recess after three days to continue in May during regular Eastern Oklahoma Federal District Court term.

Although it is believed few subpoenas have been returned to the U.S. District Court Clerk's office in Muskogee, several persons, including key NOCDC figures have been served.

These include NOCDC President Jack Mansfield, former president Troy Stilley, ex-director of business operations John Griffiths, corporation controller Merrill Johnson and NOCDC board chairman Felix Gay.

The corporation has been embroiled in controversy, mainly over allegations of mismanagement of government funds by NOCDC personnel.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY,  
Washington, D.C., April 16, 1974.

Hon. JOHN M. ASHBOOK,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ASHBOOK: Thank you for your recent letter about Northeastern Oklahoma Community Development Corporation (NOCDC) and the Economic Opportunity Commission of Nassau County (EOCNC). Efforts to reach a final decision on NOCDC dictated a delay in making a complete response to your inquiry.

By letter of April 5, OEO informed NOCDC of our plan to discontinue support of the NOCDC grant. OEO has named Mr. Robert Watson, General Counsel of the Kansas City

Regional Office as trustee for the implementation of a Disposition of Assets Plan. The plan calls for the disposition of remaining unexpended cash to liquidate outstanding debts and increase the equity of three operating ventures.

Recovery of federal money improperly spent by NOCDC will be accomplished through standard procedures. The final audits will be reviewed and all questioned items will be properly disposed. Possible criminal actions have been or will be referred to appropriate authorities.

The jobs at NOCDC are real. The preservation of those jobs, balanced against the interest of the government in face of obvious continuing management shortcomings, makes this decision to sever difficult. Over the past several months OEO had hopes a strengthened management at NOCDC would emerge. It hasn't. The most recent audit yields little hope of improvement. Further, civil litigation among board members is active.

What the situation at NOCDC reduces to is this: the shop-level management, that is, the producers of the products, is obviously good. The purchasers of the product, Litton, is glowingly satisfied (to the point they want to expand the present contract). However, the top management of the venture simply leaves too much to be desired to continue OEO support. Our only choice is to effect a disposition plan.

NOCDC is presently funded by OEO through May of this year; this funding is under the authority of the OEO Regional Office, Region II.

The march on Washington to which you referred was found by our auditors to have been financed by non-program funds. A serious question was whether the firing of eight employees on February 9, 1973, two days after the march, was politically motivated. NOCDC maintained that these firings were part of the reduction in force ordered by the then Director of OEO, Mr. Phillips, on January 29, 1973. Furthermore, NOCDC held grievance hearings before its personnel committee in the cases of three of these employees and in one of these cases that committee awarded the employee severance pay because it found that the employee had been fired without sufficient grounds or the notice otherwise required under NOCDC personnel policies.

OEO did send NOCDC a suspension letter on May 30, 1973, but the required hearing was postponed due to Judge Jones' decision of June 11, 1973 against the validity of Mr. Phillips' tenure. After this question was resolved, there was further correspondence with NOCDC, ending in a decision to drop the suspension proceeding.

The Region II OEO Office is seeking ways to remedy controversies between NOCDC and its sub-grantees.

OEO will continue to watch the action of NOCDC and take action where necessary.

If we can be of further assistance to you, please contact me.

Sincerely,  
LEIGHTON SATTLER,  
Acting Associate Director for Congressional Affairs.

## SUPPORT FOR THE PRESIDENT

## HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, I have received in my office the following nonpartisan petition, signed by 533 registered voters from 25 States. This petition has

been sent to me by Dr. E. Blanche Pritchett of Arlington, Wash., with the request that it be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The petition follows:

We, the undersigned registered voters, do hereby make proper demand that the House of Representatives pay heed to our admonition. We demand that justice prevail in all resolutions for impeachment of our President, Richard M. Nixon. We demand that partisan politics be severely criticized and rejected as a part of the considerations of the House Judiciary Committee and the whole House of Representatives. We demand justice. We demand truth in proceedings. We demand proper and true representation by our Congress. With the compliance of these demands, it is our considered opinion that no further support of President Nixon will be required in order to absolve him of all false charges and allegations. We believe that President Nixon has integrity and that justice will prevail. We pray for the power of God to intervene in all impeachment resolutions.

**CHECK DRUG LAWS BEFORE TRAVELING OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES**

**HON. LESTER L. WOLFF**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Martin E. Weiss, a columnist for the Westbury Times of New York, has written up a comprehensive statement about the drug laws of foreign countries and Americans who are now in foreign jails. I have introduced legislation which would direct the Attorney General of the United States to write a pamphlet on drug laws in foreign countries and to distribute this pamphlet to Americans traveling outside the United States. As Americans get ready to travel in the coming months, I believe it is important for each traveler to be informed of the consequences of being arrested in a foreign country for possession of drugs. Mr. Weiss' article speaks eloquently of the need to be informed about foreign drug laws, and I would like to share it with my colleagues at this point in the RECORD:

**ON THE WIRE**

(By Martin E. Weiss)

**DIAL TONE**

With summer not too far away—a time when many young Americans head for distant places—it is time to remember that some 1,000 U.S. citizens, most of them young, are presently in jails abroad on charges of the use, possession, sale or smuggling of drugs ranging from marijuana and hashish to cocaine and heroin.

As of January, reports from 107 U.S. diplomatic and consular posts showed that in 10 foreign lands alone—including Mexico, Spain, Japan and Morocco—765 Americans were under detention on drug charges.

In only 18 countries, in which 52 Americans were involved, was bail permitted. As a matter of fact, most foreign countries do not accept bail in cases involving drugs.

Despite the Department of State's intensive efforts to warn travelers of the severe penalties being invoked, many Americans seem to discount the possibility that they can't be protected by the U.S. government.

Well, they can't—and the lure of "easy money" in the erroneous belief that, if they

**EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS**

have the "know-how," they can transport illegal drugs and narcotics to the U.S., thus reaping enormous profits, has filled the jails abroad rather than the pockets of these misguided Americans.

Here are some facts to remember:

Foreign governments are not more tolerant of drug use than is the U.S., nor are they more permissive in their drug laws and enforcement. On the contrary, most other nations are more strict, and their judicial/penal systems differ greatly from the American and British—including the fact that many foreign countries do not provide for a trial by jury.

Pre-trial detention, which may involve solitary confinement for months under primitive conditions, is the rule rather than the exception.

Penalties for the possession of, or trafficking in, any kind of narcotics can mean a minimum of six years at hard labor, and a heavy fine, in most countries; in a few, it could mean a death sentence.

The protection of drug offenders is being intensified by other nations—and arrests are being made everywhere within their jurisdiction, including territorial waters and air space, as well as places of entry and exit.

U.S. laws do not protect Americans who violate foreign laws. They are subject to the same treatment, and the same penalties, as are nationals of the country in which they are arrested.

The role of the U.S. consular officials is highly limited in the event that detention does occur.

All they can do is make certain the detainee's rights are fully observed under local law, visit him (or her) as soon as possible after the arrest, inform him of his rights, provide him with a list of local lawyers from which to select defense counsel, contact his family or friends (if the detainee wishes) for financial or other aid, such as food supplements, and report the arrest, along with subsequent developments, to Washington.

A consular official, however, can not expend official funds for bail, legal fees or other expenses of a detainee—whether or not he has sources at home that might reimburse such outlays.

For those who scoff at the seriousness of the matter, here's a brief rundown:

In Mexico—334 Americans are presently detained on drug charges—with sentences ranging from two to nine years, plus fine, for possession; three to 10 years, plus fine, for trafficking; and six to 15 years for the importing or exporting of drugs. In addition, there is a minimum six to 12-month pre-trial confinement.

In Germany—101 Americans are incarcerated—and possession for trafficking draws a three-year sentence, along with a fine.

In Canada—87 Americans are in jail—and possession for trafficking draws a minimum sentence of seven years, with a maximum of life imprisonment.

In Spain—60 Americans are under detention—and possession of over 500 grams of cannabis (the source of marijuana and hashish), or the selling of any other drug, draws a minimum of six years, plus a heavy fine. There is, moreover, at least one year of pre-trial detention.

In Japan—39 U.S. citizens are in jail—and, in the Land of the Rising Sun, possession for trafficking means up to two months pre-trial detention and a maximum sentence of five years.

In Thailand—20 Americans are incarcerated—and the attempted import or export of drugs draws sentences of from six months to 10 years; the possession, purchase or sale of opium will put you in the clink from six months to 20 years; and the use of opium can put you behind bars for up to 10 years. Each offense also has a fine attached.

In France—15 Americans are in the hoosegow—and the sale, purchase or use of drugs

courts sentences ranging from three months to five years, plus a heavy fine. In addition, there's a pre-trial confinement of a minimum of three to four months.

Moreover, in some countries—Turkey and Iran among them—convicted traffickers face the hangman's noose or a firing squad.

**FINANCIAL STATEMENT**

**HON. DONALD J. MITCHELL**  
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. MITCHELL of New York. Mr. Speaker, I welcome the opportunity to join with my colleagues in the New York congressional delegation in submitting for the public record a financial disclosure statement.

My statement goes beyond the disclosure mandated by House rules, because I believe the public desires and deserves assurance that as an individual privileged to serve in elective office, I am not subject to any potential or actual conflicts of interest.

The New York congressional delegation established a special Committee on Financial Disclosure to give this matter the very careful consideration it deserves.

The committee, with my complete endorsement, reached the following conclusions with respect to the financial information that should be disclosed:

First, the sources of all noncongressional income whether for services rendered or not;

Second, the identity of the creditor of all indebtedness which is unsecured;

Third, the sources of all reimbursements for expenditures—other than from the U.S. Government;

Fourth, the identity of all stocks, bonds, and other securities owned outright or beneficially; and

Fifth, the identity of all business entities—including partnerships, corporations, trusts, and sole proprietorships; professional organizations—of a non-lobbyist nature, and foundations in which the Member is a director, officer, partner, or serves in an advisory or managerial capacity, and the position held in each instance.

Further, the committee concluded, again with my strong endorsement, that the public is entitled to know whether the members of the New York congressional delegation have paid appropriate Federal, State, and local income taxes.

My statement follows:

1973 source of income: U.S. Government—Congressional Salary; Mitchell-Bauer Optometrists, Herkimer, New York; and Rental Property, 301 N. Prospect Street, Herkimer, New York.

1973 income taxes paid:

Federal	-----	\$10,895.12
New York State	-----	4,281.15
Total	-----	15,176.27

Indebtedness:

Marine Midland Bank, Herkimer	-----	13,500.00
Herkimer County Trust	-----	4,595.00
Total	-----	18,095.00

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

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Stocks and bonds ownership: Resale value (February 14, 1974), \$3,996.70, and Securities with resale value of more than \$500.00: Mohawk Data Sciences and Graphic Sciences.

Sources of reimbursements for expenditures over \$100.00: (Other than Government and other than reported as campaign contributions): none.

Business or professional entities in which I hold a leadership (director, manager, partner) position: Mitchell-Bauer Optometrists, Herkimer, New York—partner.

Mr. Speaker, the New York congressional delegation's Committee on Financial Disclosure has addressed itself in a forthright manner to the financial disclosure question. I commend the committee for its conscientious work and I am pleased to be identified with this public reporting.

THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAS  
AND THE OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT CORPORATION

HON. GUY VANDER JAGT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, the Council of the Americas, a business association supported by the U.S. companies representing some 90 percent of total U.S. investment in Latin America, recently sent a questionnaire to its membership on the Overseas Private Investment Corp.

Because the House will be considering legislation to extend the authority for OPIC, I wish to share with my colleagues the results of this survey regarding the current and future interest of the Council of the Americas in OPIC. The questions and responses follow:

COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAS MEMBERSHIP  
QUESTIONNAIRE ON OPIC

1. Does your company have any OPIC insurance against political risks (expropriation, war/insurrection, inconvertibility) for investments in Latin America or other developing countries?

Of the respondents, 31 have manufacturing operations, 8 engage in mining or smelting, 9 in services, 2 in agricultural production/processing, and 1 in oil refining. (Multiple responses were allowed.) Of the total respondents, 33 (77%) have OPIC insurance somewhere in the world (26 in Latin America) on an investment while 10 do not.

2. Should U.S. Investors continue to have the opportunity to buy such long-term insurance against political risks on new investments in less-developed countries?

Forty (93%) of the respondents indicated that they believed that OPIC insurance should be made available to U.S. investors. The two companies indicating in the negative do not have OPIC insurance; both of them are engaged in manufacturing although one also is engaged in agribusiness. One company did not express an opinion.

3. Is political risk insurance, now provided by OPIC, important to your decision to invest in any less-developed countries of the following areas?

OPIC insurance was said to be an important factor in the companies' decisions to invest in all developing nations, with somewhat higher importance attached to insurance of investment in Asia than elsewhere.

	Number	Percent
Andean subregion	24	69
Central America	23	68
Other Latin America	26	65
Asia	24	73
Africa	21	68
Other	9	45

Only eight respondents (19%) indicated OPIC insurance was not an important factor in every region or every one except "other." Of the companies indicating OPIC insurance was not important, five were manufacturing concerns, two were service-oriented concerns, and one was a mining company.

4. From your knowledge, do OPIC services to an insured investor facilitate settlement of investment disputes which could otherwise result in inter-government confrontation?

Twenty-two of the respondents indicated that they believed OPIC services to an insured investor did facilitate dispute settlement, while only five indicated they did not believe so; sixteen said they had no knowledge or experience on which to base an answer or gave no answer. Thus, of those responding who thought they did have sufficient knowledge on which to base a definitive response, 81.5% said they thought OPIC services were helpful in dispute settlement.

Of the minority (5) who thought OPIC's services were not helpful in dispute settlement, four are insured and one is not.

Question No. 5: "A Senate Foreign Relations Committee report advocates turning the OPIC insurance program over to private insurance companies, backed by OPIC reinsurance. Would a predominantly or wholly private insurance service be [check one] more — or less — valuable to your company (in terms of costs of coverage, deterrence of the causes of loss, fairness in claims-handling, etc.) than the present OPIC program?"

The respondents were fairly unified in their beliefs. Twenty-seven companies (79% of those indicating) said they believed a predominantly or wholly private insurance program would be less valuable or useful to their companies than the present wholly public program. Only seven (21%) favored a private or predominantly private program. Eight of the forty-three indicated they could not respond to the question. There was little difference in the pattern of responses when analyzed by industry type, or even by insured versus uninsured respondents.

6. Would you continue to use OPIC insurance if there was a significant rise in premium rates for coverage of expropriation?

Expropriation premium increase	Continue to buy OPIC insurance					
	Yes		No		Undecided	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
25 percent	26	65	9	23	5	13
50 percent	9	23	20	50	11	28
100 percent	4	10	26	65	10	25
200 percent	0	0	27	68	13	33

Three companies which do not now have any investments insured by OPIC indicated that they "would continue to use" the insurance program even after a 25% premium increase, presumably if they should undertake investments in especially risky areas, and one company indicated the same for even a 50% increase.

Two companies added verbal responses to their answers which are of importance in evaluating the effectiveness of the OPIC program. These responses again indicate the case-by-case analysis many investors undertake in regard to the need for OPIC insurance and the importance of the insurance incen-

tive in particular decisions to invest. One diversified manufacturing, mining and oil refining company stated: "Usage of OPIC insurance at increased rates would have to be evaluated on a country by country, risk by risk basis. It is entirely possible that significantly increased rates could result in a decision not to invest in the project." Another manufacturing company similarly stated in part: "Recent OPIC contracts have incorporated significant premium increases. In general further premium increases would reduce the effectiveness of the insurance as a means of encouraging investment in developing countries."

7. A bill sponsored by Senator Church would terminate the OPIC insurance program unless the private insurance industry takes over the writing of investment insurance (gradually, by prescribed target dates), subject to OPIC reinsurance. A bill sponsored by Representative Culver directs OPIC to seek greater private participation in the program but does not require OPIC to turn over underwriting to private insurers. Which approach is desirable?

The companies clearly favor Congressman Culver's experimental approach to privatization instead of Senator Church's. Only one respondent indicated the Church proposal was desirable while 37 said the Culver approach was desirable. One company responded "no" to both approaches.

8. Should OPIC limit its insurance on financial participation in extractive industry projects to those in which the U.S. investment is in a joint venture with fade out provisions, management contract arrangement or production sharing agreement?

The respondents also heavily opposed limitations of OPIC's insurance of extractive projects to "new modes" of investment. Thirty companies (75%) indicated such a restriction should not be enforced while only four (10%) said it was a good idea. Six companies (15%) had no opinion.

SOVIETS GAIN TECHNOLOGY BY  
HOOK OR BY CROOK

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, Soviet efforts to gain Western technology continue unabated. The New York Daily News of April 22, 1974, tells how a neutron generator was sold by an American firm to an imaginary Turkish university. The strategic generator was diverted to Moscow.

At this point I include in the RECORD the article from the New York Daily News.

THE REDS ARE STILL AT IT

For years the Kremlin has used a variety of tricks to side-step U.S. trade bans against selling the Soviets strategic materials.

Recently, a Colorado firm sold a highly sensitive neutron generator to a nonexistent Turkish university. It was diverted en route through Vienna to London and on to Moscow.

The Commerce Department reports that from 12 to 15 such cases are turned up every year. It's anybody's guess how many more go undetected.

It is no secret that the only way Russia can keep pace with Western industrial development is to acquire U.S. know-how by hook or by crook.

This smuggling of sophisticated—and possibly strategic—equipment should be stopped pronto. At the very least, the government

ought to lay down tough "know-your-buyer" rules for American exporters and make examples of those who let banned goods slip through the Iron Curtain because of negligence or carelessness.

IS THE FEDERAL REGIONALISM CONCEPT CONSTITUTIONAL?

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, in a recent Chicago speech before the Council of State Governments, Archibald E. Roberts, director of the Committee To Restore the Constitution, discussed the constitutionality of Federal regionalism. The regionalism concept seems to be creeping rapidly across the country, changing the traditional State boundaries and creating new Federal regions.

Colonel Roberts asked the very timely question in his address, "Is the Federal Regionalism Concept Constitutional?" It is a question deserving of an answer, as well as, widespread public discussion. In order that our colleagues can have benefit of this additional "public input" in this issue, I include Colonel Roberts' speech following my remarks:

IS "THE FEDERAL REGIONALISM CONCEPT" CONSTITUTIONAL?

Political madmen in Washington have created economic chaos, shortages in food and fuel, the threat of war, confiscatory taxation, a crisis in education, and other diversions to condition Americans for a new kind of government.

The technique is as old as politics itself. It is the Hegelian principle of bringing about change in a three-step process: Thesis, antithesis and synthesis.

The first step is to create the problem. The second step is to generate opposition to the problem (fear, panic, hysteria). The third step is to offer THE solution to the problem—change which would have been impossible to impose on the people without the proper psychological conditioning achieved by stages one and two.

The objective of the resulting economic, social, and political convulsion is the establishing of regional government throughout the land.

"The Federal Regionalism Concept" seeks to dissolve county and state governments, transfer political power to a central authority in Washington, administer the affairs of U.S. citizens through a network of federal regions and state planning districts, seize control of the land and production facilities, change the form of government from one of elected officials to one of appointed controllers, and reduce Americans to the status of economic serfs on the land which once was theirs.

A sobering forecast of "The Federal Regionalism Concept" was voiced in 1971 by Governor John Vanderhoof of Colorado, himself an aspiring member of the administrator class. Vanderhoof, then lieutenant governor, told the Colorado Cattlemen's Association that there would be little decision-making left to the individual citizen by the year 1985, whether he be farmer, rancher, or urbanite. (Source: Colorado Springs (Colorado) Gazette Telegraph, 10 December.)

Inspired, no doubt, by blueprint for change provided the governor, lieutenant governor, and state legislators by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Relations, Vanderhoof predicted, and I quote:

"By 1985 only the governor and lieutenant governor will be elected officials. All other officers will be appointed by the governor and confirmed by the senate.

"In the State of Colorado," he continued, "there will be one major capitol and eleven smaller capitols. The smaller might be La Junta, Lamar, Colorado Springs, and so on. Their offices will be coordinated and computerized with the main office in Denver so that no individual in the state would venture from his own district in order to get a decision out of the state government." End of quote.

In actual fact, former governor John Love did divide the State of Colorado into twelve planning districts by Executive Order, in 1972. Denver, the capital city of Federal Region VIII, (designated by President Nixon's Executive Order No. 11647, 12 February, 1972) is the political control center for the former sovereign states of Colorado, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah and Wyoming.

Vanderhoof then went on to say, "Now we will talk about local government. How will local government be effected in 1985?

"Counties will be in the process of consolidation," he said. "There will be less than sixty-five counties, and in some year in the future may be down to only twenty counties. They will all be under home (Metro) rule. County commissioners will be a thing of the past.

"We will be electing five directors, you might call them, who will serve as policy-making directors. All other officers such as county managers, engineers, supervisors, etc., will be hired by those directors, as well as the sheriffs, assessors, and so on. Only the board of directors will be elected. All others will be appointed," Vanderhoof stated.

In this context the governor had reference to the training and placement of appointed public administrators produced by the Public Administration Clearing House here in Chicago, better known as "1313." This Rockefeller-financed center, or which the Council of State Governments is an integral part, has been responsible for the development of a new breed of public administrators who now control all levels of domestic government.

Vanderhoof then switched to theories on what would be changed in the educational system of the State.

"The most intensified education will be in the first four grades. If a child hasn't learned to read by the time he reaches fourth grade then he will probably never learn to read.

"By the time a child has reached the fourth grade he will begin to be involved in some type of career. These careers will largely be vocational and technical because, even today, more than eighty per cent of the jobs do not require a college education."

Vanderhoof, perhaps unknowingly, thus gave support to the predictions of the late John D. Rockefeller, Sr., who, in 1904, heralded a plan to mold an American peasantry through control of the educational process.

"In our dreams," said Rockefeller, "we have limitless resources and the people yield themselves with perfect docility to our molding hands. The present educational conventions fade from our minds and, unhampered by tradition, we work our own good will upon a grateful and responsive rural folk." (Source: "Occasional Letter No. 1," General Education Board—forerunner of today's ill-famed Rockefeller Foundation.)

Today, seventy years after Rockefeller's fantasy, the American dream has become a nightmare. A secret government of monetary power has seized control of the federal government. Madmen occupy the seats of political power. Our Constitution is over-

turned. Our form of government changed from a free republic to a centralized, corporate state. And, the descendants of the pioneers, the warriors and the engineers of this unique order are now economic serfs in an industrialized society, ruled by a self- anointed elite.

Further planning for a coordinated, computerized "animal farm" continues unchallenged.

A few weeks ago, at the Eighth Annual Conference of Regional Councils, sixteen-hundred experts on "regionalism" discussed new techniques and procedures for consolidating their control of federal agencies, and of infiltrating local governments, to advance the goals of "The Federal Regionalism Concept." Stressed were takeover plans for land, water, transportation, economic development, and human resources programs.

In the course of some fifty major conferences, some running concurrently, NARC revealed the thrust for 1974. The following headlines, extracted verbatim from the official program, are typical. (Source: "Annual Conference of Regional Councils," March 9-13, 1974, Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles, California.)

1. How to draft state legislation.

Components, techniques and strategies in drafting state legislation, particularly legislation for regional councils.

In actual practice, of course, "Sample Federalism Bills," and "Sample State Constitutional Amendments," are prepared by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, a Washington-based Rockefeller commission, financed in part by the Ford Foundation. Each year ACIR sends a bluebook of proposed legislation to the respective governors, lieutenant governors, and state legislators to implement regionalism goals for that year.

2. National land use legislation and programs.

Assessing the thrust of national policy on local governments and regional councils. What regional councils should be doing in land use and coastal zone management.

Transfer of private property to a central authority in Washington is seen as a major objective of the National Association of Regional Councils. The federal land control bill, "Land Use Policy and Planning Assistance Act," adopted by the U.S. Senate on 21 June, 1973, and the temporarily defected House bill on land control, H.R. 10294, provide the pattern for state and local land control regulations. Regional councils are to push for enactment at both levels.

3. The regional-State review and comment process.

How states and local governments can get the most out of the U.S. Office of Management and Budget A-95 Review and Comment Process on application for federal funds.

In simple terms, state and local governments will not receive revenue-sharing funds, or other allocations, if their programs do not meet regionalism guidelines. The desired standards, set out in "The Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1968," (Public Law 90-577) lead to consolidation of city with county, county with county, and state with state, so as to merge comfortably with the ten federal regions proclaimed by Nixon on 27 March, 1969. The A-95 Review System seeks to eliminate local, constitutional governmental bodies and strap "regionalism" as a way of life over all America.

4. The issues and negotiation of transportation agreements.

The issues, activities and funding that regional councils and state governments should negotiate under new provisions of the Highway Act of 1973 and U.S. Department of Transportation Multimodal Planning Guidelines.

Mass transportation as a means of controlling the movement of populations, intra-

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city and inter-region, is a long-range goal of regional planners.

## 5. Human resources programs.

The broadening range of human resources planning and programming opening up to regional councils and how councils can undertake these responsibilities.

The projection of a serf-society, to be paid at a rate determined by a self-appointed elite, a captive labor force which can be moved anywhere on the globe to exploit the resources of "developing nations" in an industrialized society, was incorporated in the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), and in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 1947.

## 6. The future of a national economic development program.

Actions of Congress and the Administration in public works and economic development legislation and the impact on regional councils and districts.

People-management and federal control over local production facilities were later incorporated in Executive Order #11490, "Assigning Emergency Preparedness Functions to Federal Departments and Agencies." (*FEDERAL REGISTER*, 30 October, 1969). Executive Order #11490 is a full-scale plan for imposing a dictatorship upon the American people in the name of "national emergency." Take-over powers include: Communications media; All electrical power, gas, petroleum fuels and minerals; Food resources and farms; All modes of transportation and control of highways, seaports, etc.; and Health, Education and Welfare functions. Provision is also made for the mobilization of civilians into work brigades, and grants authority to the Department of Justice to operate penal institutions. A better name might be concentration camps.

## 7. Regional water quality planning and programming.

Development in the water quality field, specifically the implementation of Section 208 of the 1972 Federal Water Control Act.

Water control, promoted under the guise of "environmental concern," is but an initial step in the ultimate control of water sheds and river basins (see "Potomac River Basin Compact"). Crushed between "Land Control Laws" and "Water Pollution Control Regulations" the independent, property-owning middle class will be squeezed out of existence, supplanted by the corporate state.

The society of 1985, predicted by Governor Vanderhoof of Colorado, has arrived in America in 1974!

"The Federal Regionalism Concept," born in the fetid dreams of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.; incubated in the Rockefeller-controlled Council on Foreign Relations; infused with a fraudulent "legality" by the Rockefeller-financed Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, and given mobility by the Rockefeller-directed Public Administration Clearing House, is today's political reality.

"The Federal Regionalism Concept," more accurately identified as a corporate state, is now promoted at municipal, county, state and federal levels of government, aided and abetted by elected officials. Government leaders no longer are responsive to the will of the people. They have become mere implementing agents for programs promulgated by and for the Rockefeller Dynasty.

"The Federal Regionalism Concept," however, has a feature which is never questioned by the press, by elected officials, or by the people. That flaw is this:

The Federal Regionalism Concept is unconstitutional!

Let us consider the events of March, 1969.

The White House, on 27 March, 1969, announced that the United States had been divided into ten federal regions—by presidential proclamation. In so doing, Nixon

and his controllers set in motion a series of pre-planned events which would, by 12 February, 1972, place virtually every facet of the lives of U.S. citizens under the domination of socialist planners.

Flouting the prohibitions of Article IV, United States Constitution, Mr. Nixon, in his statement, "Restructuring of Government Service Systems," purported to "streamline" the following grant-making agencies: The Department of Labor, The Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, The Office of Economic Opportunity, and The Small Business Administration by "establishing uniform boundaries and regional office locations."

Few Americans realized then, or comprehend now, that Mr. Nixon was establishing a new form of government which had, over the years, been covertly engineered to replace the city, county, state and school district system. Boundary lines of these familiar political subdivisions were to be phased out and a new set of geo-political lines established.

Under this new "Federal Regionalism Concept" there are now ten U.S. provinces, or federal regions. Each province has a designated "capitol" to handle all economic, social, and political matters within that province. Channels of communication and control lead to a central authority in Washington and New York.

An examination of the type of government proposed under "The Federal Regionalism Concept" reveals that it is a government by appointed rather than elected officials. Under this regional form of government disfranchised Americans are to be held in bondage, in perpetuity, as producers and servers for a self-appointed oligarchy.

In addition to its inherent immorality, the merging of sovereign states by executive order is, of course, a violation of paragraph 1, Section 3, Article IV, United States Constitution, which says:

"New States may be admitted by the Congress into the Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislature of the States concerned, as well as the Congress."

A self-declared objective of "The Federal Regionalism Concept," and those who support it, is the assumption of the power and authority which traditionally has belonged to municipal and county governments, and even to the sovereign states, and to by-pass these constitutional government bodies. Many respected authorities on government and constitutional law declare that the purpose of regional governance is to eliminate cities, counties, and states, and their elected officials, and usurp the rights and freedoms of individual citizens guaranteed by the Constitution. Such transformation of our republican, elective form of government to an appointed, federal form of government, is a gross violation of Section 4, Article IV, U.S. Constitution, which states:

"The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence."

An incorporated objective of "The Federal Regionalism Concept," is the transfer of the rights of private property to the jurisdiction of a central political authority in Washington, and to appointed agents at the federal regional capitols. Through the technique of so-called "land control laws" an outlaw administration seeks to cancel the rights of private property guaranteed to the people by the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States which declares:

"No person shall . . . be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation."

The most cursory examination of "The Federal Regionalism Concept" reveals its unconstitutionality, and its flouting of the most basic freedoms guaranteed to the people by the Constitution.

The law is very clear on the status of unconstitutional acts by law-making bodies. In *Sixteen American Jurisprudence*, 2nd Section, 177, the law states, and I quote:

"An unconstitutional statute though having the form and name of law, is in reality no law, but wholly null and void and ineffective for any purpose. It imposes no duty, confers no rights, creates no office, bestows no power or authority on anyone, affords no protection and justifies no acts performed under it. No one is bound to obey an unconstitutional statute and no courts are bound to enforce it."

In *Key Number 73, Miranda vs the State of Arizona*, 86 S. Ct. 1602 (1966), which is repeatedly quoted as THE authority for the protection of personal rights, the Court declared:

"Where rights secured by the Constitution are involved, there can be no rule-making or legislation which would abrogate them."

It is quite clear that individuals, both public and private, who promote or otherwise participate in the conspiracy known as "The Federal Regionalism Concept" are in violation of Section 2384, Title 18, United States Code, and must be held to answer for such crimes by the people and by the elected officials who represent the people.

For seventy years the structures of freedom, erected at such great cost in blood and treasure, have been under assault by a "secret government of monetary power."

Today, our Constitution is dismantled, our heritage denied, and our destiny turned to dust.

The stark truth is that America is passing from a constitutional republic to a totalitarian, corporate state.

The American people, of whatever economic persuasion, must now reject political con men, depose the madmen who hold public office, and preserve "The Safety of the State."

The mission of all conscientious citizens should be to inspire corrective action by the respective state legislatures, to challenge usurpation of constitutional authority, and begin the task of reversing the mindless march toward dictatorship.

Nothing less than the survival of the American civilization is at stake.

## WASHINGTON LOBBYISTS

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, in the April 15, 1974, issue of *U.S. News & World Report*, Mr. Howard Flieger has a most interesting discussion, based on a candid and lucid report by our distinguished colleague, BARBER B. CONABLE, JR., on the role of the Washington lobbyist.

In many areas of public and private life, respectable individuals are getting blanket blame for acts of a disreputable few. I believe Representative CONABLE has done a service to his constituents and Mr. Flieger to his readers by defining a frequently misunderstood and maligned profession. As part of my remarks, I insert the editorial:

**EVER MEET A LOBBYIST?**  
(By Howard Flieger)

As happens almost with the regularity of the change of seasons, Washington's "lobbies" are attracting headlines again—which leads to the perfectly natural question:

"What, precisely, is a lobbyist?"

A standard dictionary definition: "A person, acting for a special-interest group, who tries to influence the introduction of or voting on legislation or the decisions of government administrators."

But the public often gets a more colorful impression. Everybody is familiar with the caricature in political cartoons.

The lobbyist usually appears as a florid-faced, overweight bully, wearing a waistcoat embroidered with dollar signs and dangling legislators like puppets on a golden thread.

Or he is depicted as a sleazy sort with a false grin and shifty eye, plying public servants with bribes, booze, and the high life to coerce them into doing his evil will.

With this kind of typecasting—even though it be wrong for the most part—it takes a courageous politician indeed to speak up with a kind word about lobbyists.

Well, Rep. Barber B. Conable, Jr., a New York Republican, has done so. He told voters in his district not long ago that, after almost a decade of service in Congress, "my views about lobbying have altered considerably."

What changed his mind? The very nature of Congress, for one thing.

Petitions, proposals, legislation pour down on Congress in a torrent. They concern every topic under the sun. The fate of some of them can cost billions in tax money and literally change the course of history.

The vast majority of Congressmen know something about a lot of things but not everything about most. They frequently need—in fact, welcome—information from persons directly affected by the matters that come before them.

Enter the lobbyist. Of his role in the legislative process, Representative Conable says:

"I want to express the thought that the system couldn't work half so well without the hundreds of professional representatives of the various interest groups who make it their business to be sure a Congressman knows the implications and effects of the sometimes complicated technical legislation."

The Congressman thus puts into words what others have learned through experience.

A good lobbyist—and most of them are good, or they don't stay in business very long—presents the case for his client concisely, accurately and objectively. He is frankly an advocate, but he doesn't try any tricks.

To quote Mr. Conable again:

"If he misleads, he knows he will be no longer welcome. If he threatens, he polarizes rather than keeping all of his avenues of communication open. If he tries to buy, he either gets a dishonest ally who won't last or a jail term of his own. So most professional lobbyists are truthful, dispassionate and honest."

This is not to say that the system is perfect, that there is no room for improvement.

Under present regulations, the full registration of private-interest lobbyists—to identify them and their clients—is spotty at best. The public, members of Congress and other officials are entitled to know exactly what is being represented by whom.

Also, the tax laws often make it difficult for charitable and other nonprofit organizations to be as active on Capitol Hill as are the agents of industry and labor. If such organizations lobby "substantially," they risk losing their nonprofit, tax-exempt status.

These shortcomings are considerations, of course. But the almost universal tendency by the public to look with suspicion on lobbying is nonsense. Representative Conable said things that have needed saying for a long time.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### AFTER WATERGATE

#### HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include my Washington Report entitled "After Watergate":

#### AFTER WATERGATE

After a year of Watergate many thoughtful Americans are beginning to come forward with healthy responses. Rather than focusing on the abuses of Watergate, they are suggesting the direction for change which will make future Watergates less likely and improve the quality of government in this country. These persons believe that more important even than Watergate is how we react to it, what we learn from it, and what we do about it.

One of the responses is to encourage a presidency that is open, accountable, and constitutional. In recent decades the American political system has concentrated more power in the hands of the president than the Founding Fathers intended or democratic government requires.

There are many reasons for this concentration of power, including the passivity of the Congress, but whatever the reasons, the results are apparent and disturbing as presidents assert executive privilege to keep information from the Congress, claim the right to set national priorities by themselves through impoundment of funds, and commit American troops abroad without consultation with the Congress.

Based on a feeling that governmental power should be jointly possessed, a careful reassessment of the institution of the presidency is underway. Respect for the office of the president is obviously necessary, but with it must come a decline in awe and a determination to examine a president's proposals with care, intelligence and healthy skepticism. Along with that, the presidency must be kept open to the public, the Congress, and the press. A president must be surrounded by a strong cabinet and advisors of the ablest people in America, who represent a broad philosophical base, and who have an appreciation for the essentials and the demands of the political process. No one is suggesting a weakened presidency, but rather a strong presidency under the Constitution, and a presidency, not insulated or isolated, but always exposed to the political pressures of the day and operating with a firm understanding that the decisions of government should be shared decisions.

Another emerging response to Watergate is the necessity of a revitalized Congress, a Congress meeting its responsibilities and dealing with the chief obstacles to responsive government. Congress may not be able to provide the kind of dynamic, comprehensive leadership necessary to quickly restore the people's confidence in government, but it can take the lead in bringing greater openness to discussion and criticism and greater candor to the conduct of the public's business, and it can be more effective in keeping an eye on the Executive Branch. It can proceed to reform itself by passing two of the bills now pending in the Congress that may become the most significant, even though unpublicized, reforms of the Congress in this century. The two reforms are designed to keep spending under control and to redistribute more equitably the workload and the power among the committees of the Congress.

Congress can also take a whole new series of steps to protect the integrity of American

elections, including limitations on the size of gifts and expenditures, complete reporting of contributions and expenditures, tough enforcement, and the use of public financing, perhaps to match private contributions.

Strangely enough, a new appreciation for the role of the politician in society may also emerge as a result of Watergate. As John Gardner points out, worthy groups want mutually incompatible things in a country as big and diverse as America. Without the constant exercise of compromise and accommodation, which is the stuff of politics, this country would come apart at the seams. The role of the politician is to make the country work, providing stability, accommodating different points of view, developing a consensus, and meeting the needs of the people. People may come to better understand that although the political process does not provide perfect answers, it does provide suitable answers for a free people.

In the post-Watergate period, with people more aware that neither government nor governmental officials have a monopoly on information or wisdom, our commitment to freedom of inquiry and publication, and the value of the free press, may be reaffirmed, and the news media may become a more vigorous constraint on the abuse of power.

Citizens may also have been stabbled awake and aroused to action. Although there is much discussion today about people dropping out of politics because of their cynicism and despair, I find just the opposite reaction: a feeling that the vote and participation in the electoral process is more important than ever before. People are increasing their understanding and respect for the principles of a democratic system of government and beginning to understand more fully the demands it makes upon them.

There is, of course, no assurance that all or any of these suggestions will come to pass, and no fail-safe mechanism to forever insure honesty in government. We should not expect miracles, but we can take confidence from the healthy responses that are emerging from the tragedy of Watergate, and perhaps even give them a boost.

## THE CASE AGAINST THE SEAT BELT IGNITION INTERLOCK

### HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, our able colleague, Lou WYMAN, of New Hampshire, is principal sponsor of a bill to eliminate the mandatory requirement for automobile seat belts to be hooked into the ignition. Many of us have joined in cosponsoring this legislation.

We think it is wrong for the Department of Transportation, by regulation, to require this example of "big brotherism," especially when no such requirement has been specifically authorized by the Congress. Because the decision to wear a seat belt affects only the individual and has no impact on the safety of others on the public roads, DOT's arbitrary requirement is a blatant violation of the rights of citizens.

Our bill does not prohibit making the wearing of seat belts mandatory should an individual State require this. This is an area that is properly a matter for State determination. No Federal administrative body should arbitrarily presume

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to adopt regulations which preclude State action or impose such unreasonable costly and burdensome requirements.

Congressman WYMAN has outlined the pressing need to relieve consumers of this ill-considered aggravation in an article in the current issue of *Motor Trend* magazine. In view of the outcry being raised by the car buying public, this article merits the close attention of all Members:

THE CASE AGAINST SEAT BELT INTERLOCKS  
(By Congressman LOUIS WYMAN)

One of the most offensive invasions of the personal right of privacy to be dictated by the federal bureaucracy in recent years is the mandatory requirement imposed on all motorists in the country that seat belts across the front seat of every 1974 and later model car shall be tied into the automobile's ignition so the car cannot be started unless all the seat belts and harnesses across the front seat are first fastened.

The resulting imposition is not only an inconvenience bordering on a nuisance, but it also presents significant risk potential to certain operators under certain conditions.

Example No. 1: It's late on a wintry afternoon in New England. Snow driven by a rising wind is fast accumulating on icy roads. A 1974 ignition interlock equipped car crawls up a hill to cross a railroad track. Suddenly the car wheels spin on the icy surface and the driver gets out to see what's wrong, the buzzer blaring and light flashing as he unbuckles his seat belts. He reaches in to turn off the ignition, and then walks to the rear of the car to find his back wheels stuck across the tracks. Hurriedly, he opens his trunk and sands the area around the wheels from a bucket sagely kept available for just such difficulties in the winter. Then, he hears the whistle of an approaching train. Horrified, he jumps in his car, but the darned thing won't start. Ah! The sensors under the front seat! He must buckle up first! He fastens the lap belt, but can't get the harness to engage with the slot. Frantically, he tries again and again, the train getting closer with each attempt. Then the train appears around the bend—too close to stop. The driver runs from his car and watches helplessly while it is demolished. Cause: the seat belt interlock.

Example No. 2: A young woman is assaulted as she leaves her school on a summer evening. Breaking away from her attacker, she races to her car with the assailant in pursuit. Because the car windows are open, her only choice is to start the car and take off, but she can't start it in time because she has to fasten her seat belt and harness before the ignition will engage. Result: obvious. Cause clear: the seat-belt interlock.

So we have imposed on the nation by bureaucratic fiat a "safety" standard that's potentially hazardous. What about the inconveniences that each of us with an ignition interlock equipped car will have to put up with in our day-to-day travels?

Example No. 3: Leaving your house for an afternoon shopping in the city, you open your garage door, get in the car, buckle up the lap and shoulder belts, start the car, back out, unbuckle to the tune of a screaming buzzer, get out and close the garage door, get in the car and buckle up again. Finally you're on your way. You do your grocery shopping and place your two three-pound bags on the passenger side of the front seat, get in the other side, strap yourself in and turn the ignition. The car won't start. You forgot to buckle up—seat belt and harness—your groceries. Finally, you are on your way again, and stop at a gas station to have your oil and fan belt checked. You turn off the

car and get out while the attendant checks the oil. Then he asks you to start up again so he can check the fan belt. You've got a delicate "computer" under your seat, so before you can turn the car on, you must disengage the belt and harness around the groceries, then buckle again, and then strap yourself in. So you do that. "Okay," he says, "turn it off now." He works on the fan belt, and asks you to turn the car on again. So you unbuckle the groceries, buckle them up again, etc., etc., etc.

Basic to resolution of the interlock question is the right of the motorist and his front-seat passengers to wear or not to wear their seat belts. Unlike drinking while operating a motor vehicle, this is not an issue of the safety of others. In the case of seat-belt fastening, whatever the decision of the motorist, it will bear no relation to the safety of others. There is no question that in certain types of accidents, seat belts can save lives or help lessen serious injury, and certainly the government is within its duty to encourage the use of seat belts. But the final decision should be the motorist's. This is his right, or privilege, depending on how one views the operation of the car itself on a public highway as being a right or conditional, limitable privilege in the lexicon of constitutional law.

It is reported that 57,000 persons were killed on our nation's highways last year. Some estimate that the use of lap and shoulder seat belts by motorists could save as many as 10,000 lives, avoid numerous injuries and result in the saving of billions of dollars into the economy. But that wearing seat belts can save lives and should be mandatory is not at issue here. This wholly different issue is for the separate states to consider and determine within their respective jurisdictions by their legislatures. Mandatory seat-belt wearing does not prevent starting the car if the seat belts are not fastened. There's no ignition interlock under a mandatory seat belt plan, so enthusiasts for the mandatory requirement can still have their day in court, so to speak, but without the annoying extremism of the ignition interlock.

To go to such nonsensical lengths as to require that any package (or dog or child) in the front seat must be strapped in before you can even start your car is a blatant expression of the bureaucracy's irrational attempts to protect the people from themselves. They've created a system whereby failure to buckle up breaks the sensor coupling and transmits a "no start" command to the ignition system, and you're just plain stuck. And if there's a disengagement while the car is running (once started), the lights and buzzers flash and scream dramatically to the obvious distraction of the driver, who subsequently becomes a potential road hazard to others.

The ignition interlock, a flagrant example of bureaucratic extremism run riot, ought never to be imposed on the nation by regulation of a government agency. The requirement is not only an annoying invasion of privacy, but forces the motorist to pay for the highly technical sensor-controlled system. At approximately \$50 a car, the interlock will cost car buyers of 1974 model cars a total of nearly \$500 million, to say nothing of 1975 models being toolled up at this writing.

Automobile dealers will tell you that their 1974 model sales have been significantly discouraged due to the equipment requirement. They will tell you of sales lost and customers asking for 1973 models instead. This hurts the economy. They will also tell you that the engineers expect that about 3 percent of the cars purchased with this equipment just won't start. Ergo, the buyer is forced to accept the inconvenience, delay and perhaps even monetary burden of having the gadget

repaired when it goes haywire. Assuming that 10 million cars are purchased in 1974, we can estimate that some 300,000 individual car owners will be subjected to ignition malfunction this next year alone besides being required to pay on the order of an additional \$50 per car for the device.

It is almost incredible that a federal regulatory agency, created by the Congress to administer auto safety laws, should have slapped such a restraint on the motoring public without seeking legislative authorization from the Congress. But Congress now stands in the position of acquiescing if it fails to pass my bill (H.R. 10277) to rescind this unreasonable Department of Transportation regulation. There is little doubt, however, that Congress will pass it if we can get it to the floor for a vote, for almost nothing that has occurred in the regulatory field in recent years has annoyed and frustrated citizens more than the seat belt ignition interlock.

In the very near future, I intend to speed up the process of getting the bill on the House floor for vote by filing a petition to discharge the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee from consideration of the bill if it remains pigeonholed in Committee. When this is done, all members of Congress will have an opportunity to be recorded on this question.

Once the bill is passed, the seat-belt interlock system will remain an option, of course, and if anyone wants their car equipped with one of the shackling contraptions, they can order their car with it. But I think it's very safe to predict that not one driver in 100,000 will do this, for the seat-belt interlock is not just an expensive nuisance. It can be a menace to personal and public safety as well.

## A CALL FOR CONCERN

## HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a moving article by Alicia Escalante which appeared in the Los Angeles Times on April 5, 1974. It describes the pitiable fate of a young Chicano in my district, the victim of a drug overdose. Indirectly it also points to the deplorable, inhumane conditions in the barrio and exhorts all of us to try to remedy the social ills which cause such unfortunate occurrences.

The article follows:

[From the Los Angeles Times, Apr. 5, 1974]

## DEATH IN THE BARRO

(By Alicia Escalante de Gandara)

Johnny's dead. His 15-year-old wife cried when he died, but nobody was supposed to know.

I remember asking over the telephone, "Is it true?" "Yes," a neighbor answered. "Come right over."

I took the long ride to El Sereno and arrived in time to try comforting my sister—his mother—but she was still hysterical. "Why?" she asked. "Why?"

The drive to her housing project, so many people, the coroner's car, police officers all around. There he is on the floor. Oh, God, give my sister strength—God, give me strength. He died, we're told, of a drug overdose; a spoon and a half, given to him by someone he knew.

He was not a hard-core addict. In fact, it stunned us to know he'd been geezing at all.

He'd done it four or five times, he confessed to his brother. Why?

It seemed to us he should have been happy. He was only 18. He'd just gotten married. His wife was expecting any day. He was excited about the baby.

But he had been complaining about his feet. They hurt. He did pick-and-shovel work, and he had to wear those heavy boots. His job didn't pay much—it hardly paid anything at all. And he had a wife to support, and pretty soon a baby. So he had to keep at it. What else was available for a "poor" Chicano, anyway?

His nickname was "Negro" because of his beautiful dark color. He was the third of four children in his family. His mother (my sister) was from El Paso, his father from the east side of L.A. We are a generation that has now created a generation. As I look back across 22 years, I ask, what has changed for us?—for our kids? Where have we failed?

We know what it's like to be hungry, to be snubbed because you're using food stamps, to be harassed by the cops, to be shot at, to fight to survive. We recognize the enemy. But a friend gave him a spoon and a half?

In the past we had our principles, our code of honor. We still do within our family units. A friend gave him a spoon and a half?

Programs for drug abuse have popped up all over. Are they just a way to get federal funds? They don't stop the pusher from making a transaction. They don't stop a young Chicano from getting overdosed.

The people who run the drug programs are experts at the devil's game. They know who the dealers and pushers are. They're not doing enough about it. If they want support from the communities, they had better start cleaning things up.

Drugs are the No. 1 killer in the barrio. The kids themselves know who the pushers are, who the big dealer is. It's also said that the "narco's" are in it, too. Their ties help lead them to the rats, the finks, the informers.

But nobody is really all that concerned. After all, drugs are a big business—the biggest in the world. In my opinion, this country must either eliminate the drug trade or legalize it, but we're not going to do either, for that would cut off the profits. Also, then we'd have to take care of those social ills that drugs make bearable—poverty, housing projects, job discrimination, unemployment, welfare and so on.

No politician, no cop, no narco is going to clean up the devil's nest. No community agency funded by the government is going to risk its payroll to do anything about it. Only an organized, determined, positive, constructive effort of concerned parents can do it.

What, you may ask, can I do as a parent?

Open up your eyes. Open up your ears. Become aware. Get involved. Talk to your children about the evil drugs do—if you don't, the next victim may be your own child.

Johnny Villalobos was the name of my nephew. Vaya con Dios, "Negro."

IN MEMORIAM TO THE HONORABLE  
JOHN J. CROWLEY OF WAYNE, N.J.,  
OUTSTANDING STATESMAN, COM-  
MUNITY LEADER, AND GREAT  
AMERICAN

HON. ROBERT A. ROE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. ROE. Mr. Speaker, residents of my hometown of Wayne, Eighth Congressional District and State of New Jersey, are deeply saddened by the re-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

cent passing of one of our most distinguished citizens, good personal friend and neighbor, the Honorable John J. Crowley, whose exemplary stewardship of the parks program in my congressional district as director of the Passaic County Park Commission has truly enriched our community, State, and Nation. I know you and our colleagues here in the Congress will want to join with me in extending our most sincere condolences to his wife, the former Evelyn Van Riper; their daughter, Mrs. Richard (Judith) Tritschler of Pompton Plains, N.J.; his sister, Mrs. Edward (Anna) Gill of Dover, N.J.; his brother, Eugene of Cherry Hill, N.J.; and two grandchildren, Lara and Richard K. Tritschler.

Commissioner Crowley was born in Dover, N.J., October 17, 1907, and is a graduate of Dover High School. He attended City College of New York, Fairleigh Dickinson University, and Stevens Institute of Technology and has an outstanding record of achievement in his career pursuits on the staff of American Telephone & Telegraph Co. His standards of excellence and quality of leadership in public service as a prominent member of the Wayne Township and Passaic County government where he worked diligently and forcefully in pursuit of quality of life, cultural and community improvement for the citizens of our region of the State are applauded by all of us.

Jack was unanimously appointed director of the Passaic County Park Commission in May 1961 where he served for these past 13 years with the greatest devotion and dedication, ever mindful of the vital needs of the people of our highly urbanized communities for open space land conservation and recreational parks development to set aside a haven where individuals and families could visit and have an opportunity for recreation and enjoyment.

From 1956 to 1960 Jack Crowley was treasurer and court clerk of the township of Wayne. He has always been most active in statewide recreation and parks programming and was elected president of the New Jersey Recreation and Parks Association in 1973. Local residents will always remember him for his inspiring leadership, active participation, and purposeful endeavors which reached its height when he attained the building and dedication of the most historic Rifle Camp Park in West Paterson. Jack was a former officer of the Wayne Township Democratic organization; past treasurer of the Wayne first-aid squad; charter member and past treasurer of Wayne Elks Lodge 2181, and in 1966 was elected "Elks Man of the Year."

Mr. Speaker, mere words could never express the inner greatness of Jack Crowley, always a distinguished gentleman, whose single motivation was an overwhelming love and consideration for his fellowmen, ever desirous of helping to meet the needs of our people. His quiet unassuming manner was fired by the battle of righteousness for his fellow citizens. The inspiration of his good works and the warmth of his friendship kindled a spontaneous response of goodwill and confidence from all of us who had the

good fortune to know him and truly identifies him as an outstanding statesman, community leader, and great American.

His colleague and good friend, the Honorable D. Stanton Hammond, Passaic County Park Commission historian, eloquently portrays some of his quiet inner greatness that is the Jack Crowley we all knew and respected in a recent tribute that appeared in the Paterson News, one of New Jersey's most prestigious newspapers. I would like to have this epitaph inserted at this point in the RECORD where it will be forever lastingly etched in our historic journal of Congress. Mr. Hammond's statement is as follows:

JOHN J. CROWLEY: A TRIBUTE

(By D. Stanton Hammond)

The sudden passing of Director John J. Crowley on March 13 came as an unexpected shock to every worker associated with him in the county park system. For it was only at 4:30 the afternoon before at the Dey Mansion that he was planning with the curator for a proper Bi-Centennial program at our local Revolutionary War shrine. This writer, too, had an afternoon appointment in regard to land problems for the next day.

The news seemed unbelievable since Crowley was working hard, and looked fit just the afternoon before. It is necessary, however, for mortal man to recognize the inscrutable purposes of the Divine Providence; and not to be aggrieved because the Biblical three score years and ten have not been attained.

For 13 years John Crowley faithfully performed the duties and requirements of his directorship. And we can proudly proclaim no breath of wrong-doing—no scandal—nothing but faithful service (often beyond the call of duty) marks his career, so sadly and suddenly terminated.

In Mr. Crowley's 13 years of service, the county parks system nearly doubled in area, with Barbour's Pond, West Milford and finally Rifle Camp as the most prestigious and costly.

Rifle Camp Park is a glowing memorial for Mr. Crowley's efforts and work. He inspired all of it, enthusing the commissioners and the state and federal agencies as well as the county freeholders.

It was an interminable uphill battle to guide the project through the various channels—not all of which were enthusiastic supporters of the plan. The early strains of Rifle Camp operations, plus the huge financing and attendant land problems, constituted physical as well as mental burdens on Mr. Crowley. And this writer is quite persuaded these strains caused Mr. Crowley's first forced absence from duty over a year ago.

Coming back on the job slowly at first, he soon regained his gait and worked as usual—full steam ahead! And with the dedication of the first phase of Rifle Camp last fall, this writer joined Mr. Crowley in his jubilation. These two had a brotherly regard for each other beyond the call of commission responsibilities. State association meetings, invitations to visit and inspect other county park systems, New York World's Fair participation for Passaic County, scouting for new available areas for county park expansion, the possibilities of an Aquatic County Park at Pompton; the Historical Society Museum at Lambert Castle and grounds, state and federal highways 20 and 30, The Old Timers Hall of Sports Fame are all only high spots in the continuous flow of work, successes—and occasional failures that marked Mr. Crowley's leadership progress through the 13 years.

Some say 13 is unlucky, but being part Irish, Mr. Crowley's 13 must be truly con-

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sidered otherwise for all the good he was able to do or to have done. Surely for him personally, life must have been "the luck of the Irish."

Starting in the neighboring Morris County town of Dover, he finished the high school course. Later with the giant AT&T (the great Bell Telephone Company), he worked in technical constructions in both the Western and Eastern Hemispheres—even in Russia, Northern Canada, Newfoundland, during the war. He received technical training in two colleges for the Bell System. He met and married his wife, the former Evelyn Van Riper, then secretary to the president of the New Jersey Bell Company.

Stepping up the ladder of training and success, for several years he served Wayne Township in important administrative work until he became director of our county park system in 1961.

So Crowley's Irish Shamrock continued green in his love for "the ould sod" and he reverently loved the south of old Ireland farm where his father was born and where his ancestors had lived since the time the "Crollys" had first come over from France many, many years before.

So you see Mr. Crowley had much to tell in conversation and much to give in performance, and he produced in both fields in full measure.

Much more comes to mind about Mr. Crowley and his career in the park commission and elsewhere. But to end our retrospection, recall this admonition:

"Aye, there goes a man, go mark him well!" for John Crowley made more than two blades of grass grow where only one blade grew before.

"Hail and Farewell" and so let him go hence!

Mr. Speaker, as it is written, so shall it be. May I respectfully request that you and our colleagues here today join with me now in a moment of silent prayer to the memory of Commissioner John J. Crowley. I trust that his wife Evelyn, his daughter Judy, and other members of his family will soon find abiding comfort in the faith that God has given them and in the knowledge that Jack Crowley is now under His eternal care. May he rest in peace.

## I AM GLAD TO BE AN AMERICAN

## HON. EDWARD YOUNG

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. YOUNG of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I had the great honor recently to present a U.S. flag flown over the Capitol to the Wallace-Gregg Elementary School in Florence, S.C. The entire student body assembled around the flagpole for the program, which culminated an essay contest on the theme, "I Am Glad to be an American." The winning essay was read by the school principal, my good friend Eleanor B. Thomas.

Mr. Speaker, I am very proud of the wonderful spirit of patriotism displayed by the Wallace-Gregg students, and I want to share this essay with you:

## I AM GLAD TO BE AN AMERICAN

(By Sherri Johnson)

I have a key that opens the door to a treasure house. In it I will find precious jewels. These are the privileges, advantages

and freedoms of every human being, and I happen to be one of the lucky people with one of these keys.

In this treasure house we learn that every person is important and every kind of job is important. Even though a lot of people do not receive a large amount of money for doing their jobs, their jobs are still necessary in order that other people can do their jobs. The carpenters, electricians, repairmen and other tradesmen must do their work in order that doctors, lawyers and other professional people can do their jobs.

Even though my father is a carpenter, I still have the privilege of attending school and learning to be a doctor, lawyer or other type of professional person.

In this treasure house of free enterprise the only thing that is expected of me is that I try my very best. If I am good at my job and work hard, then I will be successful in my job.

If I am not successful on one job, I am free to pursue another job. Even though I am the daughter of the carpenter, I have the same rights to pursue my ambitions in life as if I were the daughter of the president. Other people are free to come to this treasure house. On the tablet of the Statue of Liberty is written the following words: "Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she with silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

I only hope that everyone is as proud of our Treasure House, which is the United States of America, as I am.

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## TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF LADIES AUXILIARY OF POLISH LEGION OF AMERICAN VETERANS OF ELIZABETH

## HON. MATTHEW J. RINALDO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. RINALDO. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, April 27, the Ladies Auxiliary, Chapter 91, of the Polish Legion of American Veterans of Elizabeth, N.J., will celebrate its silver anniversary. The event will be marked by a banquet in the Polish Legion of American Veterans, Post 91, in Elizabeth.

I would like to spread on the record a history of this outstanding chapter, and the names of some of the distinguished citizens who have served this fine organization.

The history follows:

## HISTORY

On February 13, 1949 six interested ladies met with Post members at the Polish Falcon's Hall, Elizabeth, N.J., and formed the nucleus for Elizabeth Chapter No. 91, Polish Legion of American Veterans. Three of these organizers are still members of the chapter. They are: Mrs. Helene Gawron, Mrs. Rosalie Misur and Mrs. Mary Wlazlowska. At that time the organizers chose Mrs. Wlazlowska temporary chairman for their group. Others were subsequently enrolled into membership and a charter was secured from the National Department of the Ladies' Auxiliary at Chicago, Illinois.

The first permanent officers were installed into office at a joint installation ceremony held with the Post in September of the same year. The newly-formed chapter immediately began to aid the Post in all its endeavors. The first ward party for hospitalized veterans was held on May 25, 1951 at Lyons Veterans Hospital.

In February, 1958, the chapter was accepted to the Veteran Administration Voluntary Services (VAVS) committee at Lyons Veterans Hospital. The chapter holds monthly ward parties at Lyons Veterans Hospital. Auxiliary members act as hostesses and distribute refreshments and cigarettes to the patients. The chapter participates in all activities at that hospital, including Christmas gift tallying, wrapping and distribution; the annual Carnival; Operation Cinderella shore dinners, etc. All this is made possible through the generosity of Elizabeth Post #91 which supplies the funds for the various activities. They also furnish the transportation and the drivers to transport Auxiliary members to and from the hospital. Quarterly ward Bingo parties are also held at East Orange Veterans Hospital since August 25, 1959.

Each year since December, 1951, children of the members of the Ladies' Auxiliary are feted and given gifts at the Children's Christmas Party. Chapter members also aid in the annual Post Christmas Party for members of the Post and Auxiliary. Each person attending this party brings a gift for an orphan child. Chapter members help gather these gifts and assist Post members in the delivery of the gifts to the Immaculate Conception Orphanage at Lodi, N.J.

In 1953, the Chapter formally organized a Gold Star Mothers group within the organization. This group presently numbers fifteen members. Gold Star Mothers place a wreath at the monument to Elizabeth's War Dead at Scott Park on Veterans Day and Memorial Day. They also place the wreath at the monument to the War Dead of St. Hedwig's Parish where the Post and Ladies' Auxiliary hold annual memorial services. The Gold Star Mothers are honored annually at a luncheon given on Gold Star Mothers Sunday (the last Sunday in September). The Post presents each Gold Star Mother with a cap denoting her status when she joins our Auxiliary.

In December, 1958 the Post purchased its own home at 648-652 Franklin Street in Elizabeth. Since then, the Auxiliary has contributed in many ways to that home. The Chapter has contributed money and purchased furnishings to help beautify the home. The Ladies also help at every affair the men sponsor.

Recognition should be accorded to Past Officers of this Chapter whose devotion to duty and performance on these duties helped to make each year a more successful one. Tribute should also be accorded to all members who dedicate their time and energy in furthering the activities of the Chapter.

## PAST PRESIDENTS

1949-1951—Veronica Misur; 1951-1953—Mary Wlazlowska; 1953-1954—Mary Simmons (Deceased); 1954-1955—Vera Kloza; 1955-1957—Wanda Starosciak; 1957-1959—Rosalie Misur; 1959-1961—Gertrude Polny; 1961-1963—Adele Lakatos; 1963-1965—Joan Androlowicz; 1965-1967—Anne Regit; 1967-1968—Blanche Miksiewicz; 1968-1969—Gertrude Polny; 1969-1971—Rosalie Misur; 1971-1973—Anne Regit; and 1973 to date—Catherine Kraus.

Since 1953, 19 mothers of veterans who were killed during World War II have participated in the activities of the chapter. They have been particularly active in the veterans hospital work.

They are:

The late Mary Anton, the late Honora Baran, Mary Fortuna, Michalina Germanska, Mary Kalinowska, the late Rose Kniazynska,

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Mary Kunka, the late Tekla Martowlos, Julia Ogonowski, the late Eleanore Piegdon, the late Mary Shershen, Aniela Stroz, Cecilia Sul, Stella Szopa, Caroline Turbak, the late Malwina Wlazlowska, the late Kazimiera Wolski, Stephanie Wojtowicz, and Caroline Zygmunt.

NAME GIBSON IPA TOP EDITOR OF THE YEAR

HON. ROBERT P. HANRAHAN  
OF ILLINOIS  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. HANRAHAN. Mr. Speaker, the Illinois Press Association recently named Marx A. Gibson, "Illinois Editor-of-the-Year." Mr. Gibson is the executive editor of Star-Tribune Publications in Harvey, Ill. I would like to insert my letter of congratulations to him and the newspaper article, "Name Gibson IPA Top Editor of the Year," for the interest of my colleagues:

NAME GIBSON IPA Top EDITOR OF THE YEAR

Marx Gibson, executive editor of Star-Tribune Publications in Harvey, was honored as the Illinois Editor-of-the-Year for 1973 by the Illinois Press Association (IPA) this past Friday night.

Curt Small, publisher of the Harrisburg Daily Register and chairman of the IPA award committee, presented a silver on ebony plaque to Gibson in a ceremony at the association's convention banquet in Champaign.

The IPA recognized Gibson for his "outstanding newspaper campaigns" in 1973, which dealt effectively with local problems.

The editor of three newspapers published twice-weekly in Harvey was selected from a field of five daily and 19 weekly newspaper editors who had been nominated for the award. From this group, the IPA award committee selected six finalists for final judging by the heads of the journalism schools in the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Southern Illinois University and Northern Illinois university.

Other finalists were Frank Dillett, Berwyn Life; Diana Diamond, Highland Park Life; Robert Seltzner, Chicago Daily Calumet; William Schroeder, Grayslake Times; and Dennis Wheeler, Tinley Park Star-Tribune.

Gibson's award was given for "outstanding journalistic achievement" during the calendar year of 1973. Editorials, stories, pleas for letter writing and photographs Gibson published were cited by the IPA as "important in helping Harvey leaders solve problems."

The 1973 award may have set a new precedent for the presentation since it was thought to be the first time that the honor had been given to an editor from a newspaper where a previous editor had also won the achievement. His predecessor, the late Alec Kerr, was Editor-of-the-Year in 1967 and a veteran of 35 years with the Harvey newspapers.

That fact was mentioned by the publisher of the Harrisburg Daily Register when he made the presentation at the Ramada Inn Convention center this past Friday.

Gibson is 33-years-old and he and his wife, Margie, are the parents of three children: Jorie, 5; Greg, 3; and, Amy, seven months. He attended the William Allen White School of Journalism at the University of Kansas and served four years in the Air Force. Gibson began his association with the Harvey newspaper in 1968 as a reporter and has served as city editor and assistant executive editor.

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In 1973, Gibson was selected as one of 10 "Outstanding Young Men" in Harvey by the Harvey Jaycees. He was listed in "Outstanding Young Men of America" in 1972 and he won the Harvey Jaycees "Distinguished Service Award" in 1970.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,  
April 12, 1974.

Mr. MARX A. GIBSON,  
Star Tribune,  
Harvey, Ill.

DEAR MARX: It was a pleasure to read about you being named "Editor of the Year" by the Illinois Press association at its annual spring meeting. I want to take this opportunity to extend to you my sincere congratulations.

Marx, your expression of interest and willingness to contribute to the community and to the news media is greatly appreciated. Please accept my best wishes for which success and personal satisfaction with this honor. If I can assist you in any way, don't hesitate to let me know.

With warmest regards,  
ROBERT P. HANRAHAN,  
Member of Congress.

STAFFING REFORM NEEDED IN HOUSE

HON. HAROLD V. FROEHLICH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. FROEHLICH. Mr. Speaker, recently I asked the Library of Congress to make a study of the average population of congressional districts within each of the 50 States. Last week I released the results of that study, which showed gross disparities in district populations across the country. Some Members represent more than 200,000 more people than other Members, and this means that some Members necessarily have a much heavier workload than others. Yet all Members have the same limitations on personal staff and the same allotment for staff salaries.

In short, equal staffing can be very unequal and highly unfair.

In order to begin a dialog on this overlooked aspect of needed congressional reform, I insert my news release of April 18 together with the study prepared by the Library of Congress.

[From the Library of Congress Congressional Research Service]

CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATIONS TO THE 93D CONGRESS RANKED IN ORDER OF SIZE OF THE AVERAGE POPULATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS IN EACH STATE

North Dakota*	617,761
Delaware*	548,104
Utah	529,637
Oregon	522,846
New Mexico	508,000
Connecticut	505,370
Maine	496,832
Nebraska	494,597
Alabama	492,024
Wisconsin	490,881
Tennessee	490,521
Maryland	490,300
Nevada*	488,738
Washington	487,024
Arkansas	480,424
New Jersey	477,878
Minnesota	475,634
Rhode Island	474,862
Massachusetts	474,098

Indiana	472,152
Pennsylvania	471,756
Iowa	470,840
Missouri	467,740
New York	467,725
Michigan	467,110
Texas	466,530
Virginia	464,849
California	464,026
Ohio	463,131
Illinois	463,082
North Carolina	462,005
Kentucky	459,902
Georgia	458,958
Louisiana	455,398
Florida	452,630
Kansas	449,814
Vermont*	444,732
Mississippi	443,382
Arizona	443,121
Colorado	441,452
West Virginia	436,059
South Carolina	431,753
Oklahoma	426,542
Hawaii	384,956
New Hampshire	368,841
Idaho	356,504
Montana	347,205
South Dakota	333,129
Wyoming*	332,416
Alaska*	302,173

\*Total State population; one Representative elected at-large.

Sources: Congressional District Data Book, 93rd Congress: A Statistical Abstract Supplement (Washington, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, 1973).

NEWS RELEASE BY REPRESENTATIVE HAROLD FROEHLICH

Rep. Harold V. Froehlich (R-Wis.) today released statistics showing gross disparities in the population of various Congressional districts throughout the United States.

Froehlich said that Rep. Mark Andrews (R-N.D.) represented about 617,000 people, according to 1970 census figures, while the two representatives from South Dakota, James Abdnor (R) and Frank Denholm (D), each represented about 333,000 people. Rep. Teno Roncalio (D-Wyo.) and Don Young (R-Alaska) represent even fewer constituents.

The Constitution provides that "Representatives ... shall be apportioned among the several States, according to their respective Numbers ... but each State shall have at least one Representative ..." House seats are reapportioned after each decennial census.

Froehlich said he had no quarrel with the constitutional requirement that each state have at least one representative, regardless of its population. But he noted that, "We ought to be thinking more about ways to equalize the representation of people who are mathematically under-represented in the House of Representatives."

Froehlich pointed to increased staffing for some House members as one means of alleviating the problem. "The Constitution does not require identical staffing for all Members," Froehlich said. It is neither logical nor fair for a Member who represents 617,000 people to be limited to the same staff size and staff salary allotment as a Member who represents 302,000 people. This is blatant discrimination."

The Republican lawmaker, who represents a large 14-county area in Northeastern Wisconsin, has over 490,000 constituents, about 21,000 more than the average Member who represents about 469,000 people.

The 12 States whose citizens are statistically most under-represented are North Dakota, Delaware, Utah, Oregon, New Mexico, Connecticut, Maine, Nebraska, Alabama, Wisconsin, Tennessee, and Maryland.

## WHAT DO YOU SAY TO AN UN-POLITICIAN?

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the RECORD an excellent article, "What Do You Say to an Un-Politician?" by Jack Colwell, political writer of the South Bend Tribune. The article, which was published on April 5, 1974, follows:

## WHAT DO YOU SAY TO AN UN-POLITICIAN?

(By Jack Colwell)

"I'm no politician," says candidate after candidate. "I don't really know anything about politics. I'm just going to listen to the people, do what the people want . . ."

Hogwash!

When some candidate starts using that line on you, tell the candidate to find out something about politics and then come back next election to ask for your vote.

There is little chance that somebody who knows or cares so little about politics—which is the science of government—will find out what the people want, or if he does, that he ever will be able to do a thing for the people in our governmental system.

The governmental system is based on politics.

Maybe having blue blood is all that would be needed if we had a monarchy.

Maybe having control of the ammunition plant is all that would be necessary if we had a military dictatorship.

But having knowledge of politics is needed in a two-party political system of government.

Yet, we find that many, many candidates now are citing ignorance of the field they seek to enter as their main qualification.

Saying you don't know anything about politics but want to serve in a political office is like saying:

I don't know which end of the bat to hold, but I'm going up to the plate.

I don't know how to swim, but I'm going off the high diving board.

I don't know how to fly, but I'm taking over the controls of this 747.

I don't know anything about nuclear energy, but I'm going to flip the dials at the nuclear power plant.

If you want to play baseball, you find out which end of the bat to hold. If you want to do high diving, you first learn how to swim. If you want to pilot an airliner, you learn how to fly. If you want to run a nuclear power plant, you learn something about nuclear energy.

And if you want to be an elected official, you really should find out something about politics, how government operates, how to get things done.

Some of the worst legislative and administrative officials I've ever seen are ones who claim that they don't get involved in politics but have some kind of magic formula for "doing what the people want."

They often wind up doing what some special interest wants, usually never realizing how they and the hopes of their constituents are being led down some primrose path.

Sure, some who profess that they are not politicians are indeed slick politicians. Knowing that politics has a bad image because of all the things we now lump under the name Watergate, they pretend that they are ignorant about politics.

Unfortunately, many of those who profess ignorance aren't pretending.

And on the subject of Watergate and politics, Vice-President Ford was right when he referred to the Committee to Re-elect the

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President as "CREEP" and said it was "an arrogant elite guard of political adolescents."

CREEP did creep around the regular party organization—the political pros—and did things no good politician ever would have contemplated.

As Ford said, the "fatal defect of CREEP" wasn't playing politics, but that it "violated the historic concept of a two-party system in America and ran roughshod over the seasoned political judgment and experience of the regular Republican Party organization in the 50 states."

What we need are more politicians, good politicians, not more creeps or more of those ignorant of politics.

So if any candidate comes to you with the appeal that he isn't a politician, tell him his appeal is "hogwash!" In fact, since you aren't writing for a family newspaper, use more appropriate terms, if that's your style.

Tell him he has lost your vote, but that you might give him a second chance in a future election—if he has taken the time and effort by then to find out about politics and how he really can do something for the people.

## AMERICAN FARMERS STILL NEED EFFECTIVE CONSERVATION PROGRAM

## HON. FRANK A. STUBBLEFIELD

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. STUBBLEFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I must rise and speak out at this time on behalf of the American farmers' need for the continuation of an effective conservation program particularly when the need for expanded agricultural production is so apparent. In fact, for 1974, America's farmers have received the call to pull out all the stops and aim for maximum production. This, of course, is being done to provide ample low cost food in the Nation's supermarkets and also to help the Nation avoid a balance of payments deficit in 1974.

No one needs to be reminded that the American consumer was faced with greatly increased food costs last year and this year as well. Corn prices are currently fluctuating between \$2.50 and \$3, soybeans between \$5.50 and \$6, and wheat is running between \$4.50 and \$5. With prices like these, it is not hard to understand the rumors that predict bread prices will reach \$1 per loaf this year. While I do not believe this will happen, the high grain prices and low supplies will have a very significant impact in 1974.

Last year, the agricultural trade surplus of \$9.3 billion wiped out a deficit of \$7.6 billion from nonagricultural trade. For the first time since 1970, the United States ended a year with a trade surplus amounting to \$1.7 billion in 1973. The balance of trade surplus has many beneficial side effects such as strengthening our international trade posture, stabilizing the dollar, and helping to pay the bill for much of our imported goods. What we must seek in 1974 and in future years is the delicate balance between having adequate supplies of food at home as well as being able to provide a significant amount of food for export purposes.

It is no secret that American farmers did well in 1973, with the realized net income increasing more than \$6 billion from 1972 to about \$26 billion. The prospects for this recurring in 1974, however, are dimmed by many facts which need to be taken into consideration. Using 1950 as the base year having an index of 100, 1973 saw the prices of farm inputs climb to an index of 313 for farm wage rates, 241 for farm marketing, 119 for fertilizer and 375 for farm real estate. I might add that these figures are the preliminary estimates for 1973 and probably are much higher today. In fact, in a recent issue of *Successful Farming*, I saw that farm real estate values shot up an average 21 percent last year on a national basis. This rate was exceeded only one time in our history when in 1920 the land values increased by 22 percent. And already in 1974, fertilizer prices have skyrocketed about 60 percent above the 1973 level for mixed fertilizers, and for nitrogen alone the price has about doubled. Prices for fuel have increased on a comparable basis. The supplies of both commodities are rather limited. All of these factors seem to indicate a lower realized farm profit for 1974.

This may have a very serious effect on the conservation effort currently underway in our country. Farmers are either not willing or will be financially unable to carry out all the conservation measures needed on their farms. The Congress recognized these same problems some 38 years ago when they passed the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act of 1936. That act established the agricultural conservation program which provided financial assistance to farmers in carrying out approved soil and water conservation measures. It is one of the few true partnerships remaining between the Government and the citizens. It is also one of the few programs remaining to help us protect our Nation's most valuable soil and water resources. Without the soil, agriculture's contribution to the balance of trade would be a very large negative factor. Without a productive soil, supermarket shelves lined with food would be a thing of the past.

Great efforts have been made by the administration and the Department of Agriculture to phase out the old agricultural conservation program which is currently called the *Rural Environmental Conservation Program—RECP*. Before that it was called the *Rural Environmental Assistance Program—REAP*. It was the 1973 REAP that the administration chose to abolish in late 1972. With the termination of the program came the termination of the conservation effort. Fortunately, the courts decided that the President and his subordinates had neither the power nor the authority to terminate a law of the land. They were forced to reinstate the 1973 REAP and run it concurrently with the 1974 RECP. They were also forced to operate the 1973 program at the financial level as passed by Congress—\$225.5 million. The administration is still impounding \$85 million for the 1974 RECP out of a total authorization of \$175 million.

The two programs running together provides a dramatic example of the intentions of the administration with respect to the conservation effort. The 1974 program has a multitude of regulations and restrictions not found in earlier programs. The 1973 program contained 31 separate conservation practices. The 1974 has only 14 individual practices. And the outlook for the 1975 program is no better.

It seems to me that this body should reaffirm its intent to have good conservation practices carried out on the land by legislatively requiring the USDA to return the authority for administering the program to the farmer-elected county committees which will result in an effective, viable program being operated on the land. While the administration has indicated it will no longer impound monies for various programs, we in Congress should make every effort to insist the administration release the \$85 million currently impounded from the 1974 program.

If American agriculture is to have a significant role in the national economy and the national well-being, and if this role is to continue for future generations, then a strong conservation effort on the land is paramount. We must not lose the productive capacity of our soils. We must not continue losing billions of tons of soil every year because of erosion. We must not allow our soils to become depleted and barren. An effective conservation program can accomplish these goals, and at the same time, the American farmer can accomplish the production goals with which he has been charged.

#### THE WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

#### HON. NORMAN F. LENT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. LENT. Mr. Speaker, April 19 marked the 31st anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, and I would like to take this opportunity to mark that occasion and salute once again those brave people who gave their lives for the principles of freedom and as defenders of the Jewish faith.

The story of the Warsaw Ghetto has been told, in fact and fiction, many times over. It is a story of a relative handful of individuals who rose in fury against their tormentors—to wage a war for their survival, knowing full well that their chances for victory were almost nonexistent. The Germans tried to quell the uprising, first with small arms, and later with the full force of their army, yet the Warsaw Jews continued to fight with a passion that astonished everyone. The Nazis even went so far as to promise future good treatment, but the password of the Warsaw Ghetto was "no surrender"—and on that principle the Jews of Warsaw perished, almost to the man.

Thirty-one years later, we have all hopefully learned the lessons of World War II. We have learned that diplomacy

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is far preferable to armed conflict. But we have also learned that in the face of a certain madness, there is no substitute for unselfish heroism as a lesson to the madmen of the future.

When we remember the Warsaw Ghetto, we should remember those who survived and went to Israel. We should remember that Israel symbolizes the culmination of what the Jews of Warsaw were fighting for—the right to be Jews, free from fear and terror. Let us not forget that the password of the Warsaw Ghetto—"no surrender"—lives on in Israel today, and let us join in a collective hope that it will never die.

#### PRESIDENTIAL IMPEACHMENT

#### HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the question of Presidential impeachment continues to confront us, undiminished in the amount of interest attaching to it.

As a nation nearly 200 years old we have had only one precedent in Presidential impeachment. Therefore our experience is not fully rounded.

Anything that helps to provide historical perspective should therefore be a welcome addition to our knowledge. Since our background of law and legal practices is predominantly a heritage from Britain, British experience in the field of treatment of the highest officials of government when these were charged with a variety of malfeasance in office, may be accepted as relevant experience for us.

The further perspective gained by the passage of time should be especially enlightening, because it is free of the prejudices and emotions that are characteristic of contemporary accounts.

O. R. Strackbein has written another brief paper on the high points of British experience with serious charges against high public officials, one a Prime Minister. The account he relates have the virtue of having been written as history a century or two after the fact. They are, therefore, free of the partisan prejudices that colored and distorted the judgment of the day when the charges were brought.

In a previous extension of remarks, April 10, I gave Mr. Strackbein's qualifications for writing on the subject, as a citizen concerned about avoidance of the regrettable errors that come so naturally and so easily when public emotions, highly stirred by partisan and philosophical trappings, are permitted to influence decisions. His concern is that we do not act in a manner in the matter of Presidential impeachment that will be deeply regretted in "after time" when cooler heads will come to prevail through the passage of time.

"The accusations which are brought against a public man in his own age are rarely those echoed in after time"—a quotation from Walter Bagehot, British historian and essayist—expresses Mr.

Strackbein's concern, and it invites full consideration by all who value the integrity and good name of democracy.

I insert Mr. Strackbein's paper, at this point, in the RECORD:

#### IMPEACHMENT AS A POLITICAL WEAPON

(By O. R. Strackbein)

Sir Robert Walpole (Later Earl of Oxford) was a Whig Prime Minister of England for a period of twenty years. He served under the first two Georges of the House of Hanover, 1722-42. The Tories, out of office, were hungry for return after such a prolonged drouth and wished to be rid of Walpole.

Macaulay, renowned British historian (1800-1859), writing a century after Walpole's prime, said that "though Walpole understood the true interests of his country better than any of his rivals, he never scrupled to sacrifice those interests in order to retain office". This is the account given by the Rt. Hon. J. M. Robertson, writing on Bolingbroke and Walpole early in this Century. He then further quotes Macaulay as saying of Walpole that his "governing principle was *neither* love of peace *nor* love of war, but love of power".

The Tory Journalism of the day "labeled him (Walpole) the Corrupter." Sir Robert Peel, Prime Minister a little over a hundred years later, around 1845, himself a Tory while Walpole had been a Whig, rejected the opinion of Lord Mahon who as historian, argued that Walpole had "succeeded mainly by corruption"; and "Mahon had the candor to make a retraction",—according to Robertson, above mentioned.

Robertson further observed: "The truth is that even those proceedings of Walpole's which are most obnoxious to the modern sense of political decency were in full conformity with the official ethic of this time". He adds that the battle was not over the mere control of public funds but "the control of affairs, the ambition of powerful men capable of such control and eager to command"; and then, "the only reform sought (by the Tory opposition) was to have Walpole out. Their invective against corruption was conventional declamation". This, it is well to keep in mind, was written about 150 years after the partisan battle, not in the midst of it. It should therefore be free of partisan bias.

According to Robertson "Walpole's political corruption had consisted, not in wholesale money payments, but in attaching a sufficient number of members to him by official and other preferments and advantages for themselves and their connections. . . . It was in the providing of rich sinecures for his own family, amounting in all to the annual value of £15,000 (approx. \$75,000) that Walpole approximated most nearly to what we today (early 20th century) consider personal corruption".

The system of sinecures, pensions, etc., dated in fact from William III (of Orange) "who had been driven to it by the anarchism of this Tories"; and to charge it upon Walpole, Robertson insists, "is to falsify history".

"In retrospect" said the same author (Robertson) "it is less a passion for office than a stoical persistence in thankless duty that seems to be his (Walpole's) outstanding quality. Indeed Walpole told the House of Commons that it would have been "easy enough" for him to find popularity by advocating war (with Spain), in which case the opposition would have become the champions of peace".

Robertson describes the rancor during Walpole's last parliament. They (the opponents) were eager "to denounce everything he (Walpole, Prime Minister) did, to thwart every measure, to harass him to exhaustion". He likened it to "a vision of

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a pack of hounds yelping at the heels of a wearied bull, sustained by the hope of having him down at last". Robertson notes that "in parliamentary courage he (Walpole) has never been surpassed; if courage be the name for an imperturbable confidence in himself".

The Tories succeeded in having a secret parliamentary Committee appointed (by a vote of 252-245) to inquire "into his (Walpole's) official conduct" during the previous ten years. This was in 1742, when our George Washington was a lad of ten.

Robertson notes that none of the much-desired incriminating evidence was found. "Paxton, the Solicitor to the Treasury, and Scrope, the aged Secretary, refused to answer questions, and Paxton was actually committed to Newgate" (prison).

"In desperation, the anti-Walpoleans actually introduced and easily carried through the . . . Commons, a bill promising to anyone who would give evidence against Walpole a remission of any penalties to which he might become liable by his disclosures. (We call it immunity). This bold bid for perjury was, however, thrown out by the House of Lords".

Continuing, Robertson notes, "In other directions, they (the opposition) seem to have been able to prove that for ten years Walpole had been spending £5,000 (some \$25,000) a year from the secret service fund on press writers, as other governments had done before him. . . . The mountain in labour had yielded a mouse of inculpation . . .".

The upshot is that, according to the Rt. Honorable H. M. Robertson, "the final Report procured only ridicule for the Committee, whose plea that they had been thwarted in their investigation found no sympathy". So nothing came of it. However, after 20 years in office Walpole's ministry came to an end in 1742, and he died in 1745. When he resigned the King (George II) raised him to the peerage as an earl and accorded him a pension of £4,000 (or about \$20,000) which in those days bought more than victuals and wines.

So did Walpole, as Lord Oxford, leave the world. He was accused, as is the wont in this country, by his political opposition; and, as Robertson says, "the pliability of average humanity to a current aspersion against any foremost public man is illustrated in every age. It is a normal baseness to speak evil of anyone commonly ill-spoken of, just because talk so runs". (Emphasis added)

Today, in this country, we have not only the political opposition in Congress to the President, which has indeed, with some exceptions, been quite temperate, but that of the press and television, which has been vehement.

These media have seemingly, through lusty growth and ambition, assumed a function that is the proper and historical province of the existing political parties and the economic and social forces of the country. The press indeed aspires to be the Fourth Estate of the commonweal—a veritable fourth branch of government, exercising tutelary functions, and not subject to the checks and balances of the three recognized and officially constituted branches, the legislative, executive and judicial.

The likelihood is sensibly meager that incited emotions, sensationalism, hatred and popular impatience thus aroused and fanned, can soon be lulled. Before the Constitutional processes are involved, public opinion will already have become crystallized; and in a democracy, under the circumstances, that is the ultimate risk against the triumph of justice.

It is desirable to recall the observation of Walter Bagehot (1826-77) British economist, biographer and essayist, who said "The accusations which are brought against a pub-

lic man in his own age are rarely those echoed in after time". This is a sage commentary on the fluidity of the vehemence that seizes a people when their emotions are stirred and fanned by the daily outpouring of the media.

The Duke of Marlborough had been given even rougher treatment than Walpole. During Queen Anne's reign he had become a national hero after his victory over Louis XIV's forces at Blenheim. An upset in the government led to his being charged with fraud, extortion and embezzlement. He was dismissed as Commander-in-Chief and repaired to the Low Countries (Netherlands) in disgrace.

After another upset in the government following Queen Anne's death, he returned to England and was widely acclaimed. When he died a few years later he was buried in Westminster Abbey (honored ancestor of Winston Churchill).

As we ponder in our day the issue of Presidential impeachment and trial we should take care that impeachment is not used as a political weapon; and that the accusations brought against our public men do not "echo in after time" in such a manner that it will require passage of a century or more of time before exoneration is spoken.

Whether we as a people can keep our head, bowing to the cool but difficult considerations that will move future historians to make fair assessments, is a question, indeed the acid test, of our democratic attainments. It is the more cogent when at the present time we are bombarded and battered by the forces of publicity, so much of it contrived, and so well known to history.

Have we as a democratic people progressed beyond the level of raw political passions of the time of Queen Anne and the Georges? No doubt the passions run as high today—the question is have we learned better how to curb them despite the endless incitation? Or are we invited by the big press and electronic media to revert to the ugliness of accusations, suspicions and animosities that our home teachings, our religion, our education and our culture combine to condemn and seek to moderate and to bring under restraint?

Are we to lay aside the efforts we so laboriously and not always hopefully make to the end that we may live and work together in greater harmony and satisfaction, with less irritation and abrasive provocation? Are we to succumb to the incivilities, rudeness and ill manners that in any case come so naturally to man if he is unrestrained?

Surely this is not to be the fruit of the First Amendment that guarantees freedom of the press! Are we to live daily by washing dirty linen in public for the delectation of the scandal hungry? Are we to become a media-ridden nation?

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REPORT OF INDIANA ATTORNEY  
GENERAL TO THE PLATFORM  
COMMITTEE FOR THE REPUBLICAN  
STATE CONVENTION

HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to pass along to my colleagues the text of a report by Indiana Attorney General, Theodore L. Sendak, to the Platform Committee for the Republican State Convention. Mr. Sendak has stated eloquently the goals and objectives that we all, Democrats and Republicans alike, should be concerned with and reminded of from time to time.

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The material follows:

REPORT BY INDIANA ATTORNEY GENERAL THEODORE L. SENDAK, APRIL 16, 1974, TO THE PLATFORM COMMITTEE FOR THE REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION

At your invitation, I am honored to be here to express my views with respect to a proposed Platform for the 1974 Indiana Republican State Convention, a Platform upon which the Republican candidates for the United States Senate, the Indiana General Assembly, the other state offices, and the county and local offices could successfully stand.

It is my considered opinion that America's enlightened self-interest guides most thinking, law-abiding Americans; and that should suggest the basis of our Platform.

To begin with, even though the Supreme Court of the United States has held that the Communists do not have to subscribe to a loyalty oath in order to be on the ballot, I urge the Republican Party to set an example in its 1974 Platform of voluntarily reaffirming its allegiance to the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Indiana, and disavowing any subversive connections, as it has consistently proclaimed in Republican Platforms throughout the years. The Republican Party is American in origin, cross-section of America in orientation, and patriotically American in service. It should therefore not be ashamed to take the lead in reaffirming its loyalty to our country and state.

The Republican Platform should include a strong plank in support of responsible national security as the ultimate guaranty of our rights and personal safety. We should denounce submission to blackmail or intimidation by any foreign power. We must keep the Panama Canal. We should emphasize research and development for United States facilities, and oppose the gift or sale or trade of military technology and weapons to America's sworn enemies. We should oppose the granting of any "most-favored-nation" benefits to the Soviet Union or other Communist tyrannies that are openly or covertly seeking to undermine the United States. We should wake up to the threat of the so-called SALT talks (Strategic Arms Limitations Talks) which play a propaganda lullaby while freezing the United States into a position inferior to the Soviets with respect to our self-defense. Page after page of objective world history witnesses that it is not possible to preserve one's freedoms, and one's free nation, by appeasing and strengthening one's enemies.

Our Platform should also urge the enforcement of existing federal laws, and new laws if necessary, to break up those conglomerates and multi-national corporations whose octopus-like operations owe no loyalty to the United States, no responsibility to its economy, no commitment to its laboring employees, and no concern for the very communities in which the plants are located. We should recall the disastrous war and defeat, unemployment and despair, which similar irresponsible cartels helped bring about in Japan, Germany, and Italy a generation ago.

We should remember, too, that the working majority of American citizens has never voted in any election, or even suggested vicariously in a Gallup Poll, to approve the underwriting with American tax funds of the Soviet Union's half-ownership of hundreds of American business operations on the basis of providing the Communists with American technical know-how in the machine-tool, chemical, computer, aviation, truck, and related war-making areas. Only a fool would believe that we can preserve peace by equipping our enemies with implements of war.

Our Platform should contain a pledge to deny tax exemption, tax subsidy, and postal subsidies to those charitable, religious, and educational foundations and trusts, of what-

ever high-sounding title, which are using sheltered money to promote political causes here and abroad, to manipulate the stock market, to invest in gambling and prostitution and kindred activities in Nevada and elsewhere, and to furnish supplies to America's enemies.

We must face up to three critical legal issues of concern to most people who have watched the Supreme Court in turn nullify the deterrent of capital punishment for professional killers and terrorists, encourage the opening of charnel houses of promiscuous abortion of innocent babies without due process of law, and stimulate discriminatory quota systems in defiance of all the principles of good will towards man. In any such area where the courts have usurped legislative and administrative powers, our Platform must honestly support legislation, and constitutional amendment if necessary, to restore the separation of powers by delineating the jurisdiction of the federal courts. One effective way would be to define the constitutional term, "good behavior," under which the tenure of all federal judges is determined; this could be implemented by requiring reconfirmation hearings before the Senate of every federal judge every eight or twelve years based on such a standard definition of "good behavior."

Our Platform should sing out loud and clear that we are proud of all American men and women who have honorably served, and all who are serving today, in the United States Armed Forces; and, as a minimum corollary to their sacrifices, we must oppose amnesty for criminals and fugitives from justice, including military deserters and draft-dodgers.

Our Platform would be untruthful if it failed to express a great pride in the day-to-day accomplishments of Republican officials at all levels of government as dedicated servants of the governed. Hoosiers of all persuasions rightfully expect a continuing high standard of morality to apply to all; and Hoosier politicians are no more responsible for the arrogance of a Haldeman or Dean than they are for the boozy drowning at Chappaquiddick or the major felonies of Otto Kerner in Illinois.

Hoosiers want strict enforcement of state criminal laws in all 92 counties. They represent escape hatches provided the criminal anywhere in the criminal justice system, whether provided by a cynical official or a coddling one. Multiple rapists and multiple murderers are habitual criminals who should be quarantined, not glorified or rewarded.

Recognizing that the main cause of inflation is the high cost of governmental spending, our Platform should advocate strict economy and retrenchment of government spending, and simultaneous encouragement for the free enterprise system and the development of more and more productive jobs in the private sector.

Every legitimate opinion poll I have seen indicates some weakening of support for both the Republican and Democrat parties as such, but considerable increase in support among rank and file Americans for conservative positions on the basic values of life. There is a hunger for forthright leadership, and a desire for de-fogging of the cloud of pragmatism. This suggests the attraction of a Platform which supports the good things in American life—the freedoms, the individual rights and responsibilities. Otherwise, if our Platform is full of platitudes, if we offer nothing better than an ad agency's carbon copy of what other parties and opposition candidates have to offer, we are inviting complete defeat in November, 1974.

But if, on the other hand, we use common sense, if we offer realistic principles, if we provide proper campaigning and candidates who honestly believe and practice the things they say about conserving the best values

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

of American life for all citizens, then and only then have we the prospect of victory.

It seems to me that the choice is clear. In 1974 politics, it's truth, or consequences.

Thank you.

### AID FOR INDIA NEEDED

#### HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, U.S. officials are anticipating a request soon by the Indian Government for financial aid. I hope that the United States will look favorably on a plea to help augment India's agricultural production. Because the world faces an impending food shortage, U.S. policies should be directed toward efforts to increase food supplies.

The United States has long felt an obligation to aid countries where many people are undernourished or starving. If India's fertilizer plants could be expanded and food production increased, India would be able to care for more of her own people. U.S. funds should be channeled into a program specifically designed to increase fertilizer capacity because it is critical that food supplies be increased.

Two recent editorials further expound on these subjects. The first, dealing with foreign aid to India, appeared in the April 15 Wall Street Journal. The second was published April 6 in the Houston Post and deals with the world food crisis. The articles follow:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Apr. 15, 1974]

#### FOREIGN AID FOR INDIA

Relations between the U.S. and India have been strained for several years now, but apparently this is about to change. Secretary of State Kissinger plans to visit India sometime this summer, and talks between the two governments about the possibility of restoring U.S. foreign aid will begin later this month in New Delhi.

Washington suspended aid in December 1971, at the height of the India-Pakistani war over Bangladesh. At the same time, New Delhi all but resolved to go it alone. But the recent oil shortage has sent prices skyrocketing; the price of imported wheat has tripled since last year, and the cost of fertilizer has more than doubled. Whatever progress India was making was all but wiped away by outside events. Moreover, there is real concern that a shortage of chemical fertilizers could lead to widespread famine in a couple of years.

So the government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has turned once more to the U.S., which has already given India more aid money than to any other nation. It can't be much fun having to swallow one's pride, but having to contemplate the consequences of famine no doubt makes it a lot easier to do. Contemplating those same consequences apparently was enough to cause a change in Washington's attitude also. Foreign aid is unpopular on Capitol Hill, generally for very good reasons, but there is talk about making money available for construction and expansion of India's fertilizer plants.

It's hard to see how Washington could turn down a relatively modest request earmarked specifically for agriculture. Limited assistance bears little resemblance to the traditional open-ended funding that al-

lowed India's planners to overemphasize industrialization and neglect agriculture, to divert scarce resources into wasteful and unnecessary projects, and to maintain a vast bureaucracy skilled in imposing restrictions responsible for delays and frustration.

The U.S. aid effort to India was so huge that Washington erected a sumptuous high-rise building on the outskirts of New Delhi to house the bureaucrats needed to oversee all the many aid projects. The multi-million-dollar complex, with its bowling alley, heated swimming pool and tennis courts, has since been donated to the Indian government and converted into a luxury hotel. U.S. Ambassador Daniel Moynihan wisely suggested that it serve as a lesson "to the next U.S. administration tempted by an edifice complex."

But the failures of the U.S. aid program were more fundamental than that. The emphasis on short-term solutions made it unnecessary for governments to come to grips with the deeper political and social reasons underlying their nations' economic woes. Congress is more realistic about such matters now, insisting that aid funds be used for agriculture, health services, population control and the like. India also seems to have learned that money alone isn't the answer.

Both are signs of maturity. And for those reasons, plus the impending famine, Washington should probably be encouraged to respond favorably to India's request. In fact the U.S. should always lend an ear to requests for aid that is truly essential. What it must guard against is the temptation to slip back into its old ways of voting foreign aid for showy but unnecessary projects.

[From the Houston Post, Apr. 6, 1974]

#### WORLD FOOD CRISIS FEARED

The world may move from energy crisis to food crisis...

In 1961 the world had enough grain in reserve to feed the world for 95 days. In 1970 the reserves could have lasted 69 days. Last year was a year of bumper crops, but now the Rockefeller Foundation estimates that the projected 1974 reserves are only enough to feed the world for 29 days. The bumper crop went not into feeding people but into the far more costly process of feeding cattle and pigs to enable the affluent nations to eat meat. It is a case of "the poor man's grain being siphoned off to feed the rich man's cow," in the words of Max Milner, director of the UN's Protein Advisory Group.

The specter of worldwide famine looms from two major changes in the world food situation: First, the great American farm surplus that could always be counted upon to prevent famines anywhere in the world has vanished. The surplus warehouses are empty, and fields once kept idle under government subsidy are back in use. Second, the rich nations have developed a growing appetite for meat, and grain production must grow much faster than population simply to keep abreast in an era when rich nations buy grain to feed livestock.

America once had land to spare. During the 1940s the U.S. government threw American farmlands into full production with the same galvanic efficiency that it geared American industry for war. In the destruction and chaos left by World War II, America fed the world. We supplied a staggering \$20 billion worth of food to countries in need under the Food for Peace act. As other nations grew self-sufficient, we cut back on production, let fields lie fallow under government subsidy, filled grain elevators and warehouses. We began to export food for cash rather than for peace. In 1973 the Soviet Union imported more food than any country ever has in history—much of it in American grain.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

But we also began to give up farmlands. In 10 years we have relinquished 54 million acres of farmland—3 million last year alone. Despite the drop in our own birthrate, the number of living Americans will continue to grow for another 75 years. Can we grow enough grain to feed enough livestock to keep all Americans on the high meat diet of today? And if so, what of the 1.8 billion of the earth's people who live in a perpetual state of hunger and near starvation?

The U.S. will face grave moral decisions on how much to restrict our exports to keep Americans replete while men, women and children are starving in Africa and India. And ultimately the U.S. will have to use all the powers of government to encourage farm production—as it did in the late 1940s. The UN will hold a world food conference in Rome in November, but many people will starve before the nations of the world can reverse this cruel trend.

## ENERGY CRISIS—CONCERN OVER SUPPLIES

## HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, the energy crisis, which has caught so many unprepared, has caused concern over our supplies of other natural resources besides fossil fuels.

A number of bills have been introduced to deal with this problem, including several I am sponsoring. However, it has been generally forgotten that the Department of the Interior has for several years compiled and published a survey of raw material resources, pursuant to the Mining and Minerals Policy Act of 1970.

The major flaw in this quite comprehensive compilation of data is that very few people read it, and thus some very important conclusions for our future are ignored.

Upon reading the 1973 report one conclusion becomes quickly obvious: The United States is becoming increasingly dependent on imports of raw materials because our demand for such materials has been increasing unchecked and, to put it simply, we are running out.

I believe the responsible approach to these developments lies in two basic directions:

## 1. CONSERVATION

We must reduce our demand through more responsible life styles, and we must increase our use of recycled materials. Three bills I am sponsoring would move in this direction.

First, legislation to create a Solid Waste Management Corp. This proposal would establish regional recycling centers and promote research on disposal and recycling techniques, both financed by a tax on the solid waste potential of a product at its source. This would also provide manufacturers with an incentive to reduce the solid waste potential of their product and its packaging. This proposal has been pending since 1971.

Second, legislation would create tax incentives for the use of recycled materials to counter existing antiquated tax

allowances on the consumption of new materials.

Third, legislation would end interstate freight rates that discriminate against recycled products and would maximize Government procurement of recycled products.

Such recycling efforts will not only save our raw materials, but will help us save substantial amounts of energy involved in the extraction of new materials and the manufacture of products from them and in many instances avoid additional energy loss in the transportation of raw materials.

## 2. TRADE

We must recognize our dependence on trade for the maintenance and growth of our economy, and we must understand that the continuation of an integrated world economy from which all can benefit depends on fair and open trading policies that do not seek to exclude products for narrow nationalistic reasons. Although they may provide shortrun satisfactions, trade controls are retaliatory and produce longrun costs that will become increasingly burdensome as world supplies of raw materials decline. The oil embargo has shown that the United States is not self-sufficient and independent economically. While we may be working toward self-sufficiency in energy, we will inevitably lose it in other areas, a circumstance for which we must be well prepared.

To demonstrate the seriousness of the situation I am inserting here important excerpts from the report, "Mining and Minerals Policy, 1973."

## MINING AND MINERALS POLICY, 1973

## ALUMINUM

Marginal reserves in the United States limit domestic mine production and unless economic methods are developed to utilize low grade domestic resources, increased raw material requirements must be imported.

## COPPER

The increased needs are expected to be met partly by expanded domestic production and partly by increased imports. Production capacity, supply and/or costs may be adversely affected by governmental efforts to lower smelter emissions, particularly sulfur dioxide, in order to improve air quality. Requirements for mined land restoration also may adversely affect operations and exert upward pressure on costs.

## NATURAL GAS

Domestic supplies currently make up about 95% of U.S. gas consumption, but dependency on foreign supplies will increase. Escalating natural gas prices will enhance the economics of coal gasification if coal prices remain reasonably constant.

## NICKEL

Domestic nickel demand is forecast to increase at an annual rate of 3%. The increased needs are expected to be met almost entirely by imports. There is only one domestic mine and smelter, but some nickel is recovered as a byproduct at copper and other metal refineries. The primary nickel industry of the United States employs about 68 men at the mine and 265 men at the smelter.

## PETROLEUM

Domestic product demand (including natural gas liquids) was almost 6 billion barrels in 1972. . . . The United States reached capacity crude oil production. Import quotas were increased to meet demand surges as petroleum became the predominant fuel to

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replace short gas supplies and high sulphur coal. Increases in petroleum demand in the 1970's will require accelerated imports. The United States has only 6% of the world oil reserves but consumes one-third of the world's production. About two-thirds of the world reserves are located in the Middle East and North Africa, 12% is in the U.S.S.R., and 5% is in South America and the Caribbean area.

## TIN

Domestic demand for tin is expected to grow at an annual rate of 4% through 1985. Reliance for supply is almost wholly upon overseas sources and from reclaimed scrap.

## URANIUM

An excess supply of uranium currently exists in domestic and world markets, a condition expected to prevail in the short term. Domestic demand, determined by the rate of expansion of the commercial nuclear power reactor program, is expected to double during the next 5 years and expand at an annual growth rate of 11% to 1985. Delays in licensing, construction, and operation of commercial reactors, due mainly to technical problems and environmental considerations, have placed nuclear power program behind schedule. A long-term shortage may develop for low-cost uranium.

## WHAT IS WRONG WITH WELFARE?

## HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. ROBISON of New York. Mr. Speaker, every city and county represented by the collective membership of the House has had a wide variety of problems with the welfare system. What, in theory, was intended to be a program of assistance to those in need has, in practice, largely become an administrative nightmare. Despite our lofty claims that we are helping the poor, disabled, and elderly, today's welfare system falls far short of addressing the problems with which these people must deal on a daily basis. Efforts to improve the system have had little impact on those problems. Deficiencies, inequities, and hardships characterize our present welfare programs. Reform remains a goal from which Congress must not retreat.

I would like to share with my fellow colleagues in the House three articles for the Sun Bulletin of Binghamton, N.Y., on the problems of the welfare system. This series was authored by Clarence H. Sackey—who has devoted his life to "helping human beings in trouble." His comments provide us with an inside look at the welfare system—invaluable reading for those who are truly concerned about the needy, and who wish to improve our programs of assistance:

## WHAT IS WRONG WITH WELFARE?—I

(By Clarence H. Sackey)

(NOTE.—Clarence H. Sackey has spent most of his working life in dealing with welfare services to people in need. A native of Binghamton, he first entered the social service field in 1936 with the County Welfare Department. His World War II Army service specialized in health and welfare, and he can claim experience in administering such help through both private and public agencies, and at community, county, state and federal

levels. He was Binghamton's welfare commissioner for six years and Town of Union commissioner for five. He helped engineer the merger of Broome's three social service agencies in January, 1973. He retired as county deputy commissioner Feb. 1 at the age of 62. He is married and lives with his wife on Smith Road in the Town of Chenango.)

(Misinformation, inefficiently run programs, mounting costs . . . these are among the problems plaguing the welfare system. This is the first in a series of articles offering an inside view on what is wrong with public welfare programs and what we, as citizens can do about changing them.)

I have spent a good part of my adult life helping needy people.

I was once the Binghamton welfare commissioner. Later, after a career as a personnel official at GAF, I was commissioner of social services of the Town of Union. Then, until I retired a few days ago as deputy commissioner of social service for Broome County, I was in charge of putting together the three welfare departments we used to have in this county.

I know the problems of welfare as a public official.

Because I have some feeling for people in need, I think I know, too, something about their problem—not as objects of public charity but as human beings in trouble.

I also am a taxpayer, and I have always wanted the taxpayers' money to be spent wisely, never wasted, never thrown away in useless diversions.

As I review this whole welfare picture in our community, our state, our nation, I find myself reaching the gloomy conclusion that it is pretty much the mess that most people think it is—but not for the reasons that many people think there are.

The public welfare program today is nothing more than a patchwork continuation of the relief programs that began in this country back in the Great Depression of the 1930s.

The only things that have been added, in all these years, is the Medicaid program and food stamps (which have now been taken away from old people, blind people and handicapped people now that they are under Social Security).

Basically, we have taken needy people and if they have passed the test of need we give them a handout and nothing much else.

The people who administer this program locally have been operating in a climate of constant change in managerial directions, new word from on high (whether that means Washington or Albany), lengthy bureaucratic memos that only serve to create havoc in the welfare offices.

For the last couple of years there has been at least one new administrative bulletin of some kind for each day of the year.

The people who are supposed to be working with other human beings find themselves instead, trying to keep up with the flow of words from distant officials for fear of losing their jobs or being accused of mismanagement, illegal behavior or who knows what other high crime or misdemeanor.

I think our philosophy today is that everybody is a cheat or otherwise no good, and our approach to people in trouble is a punitive one.

If somebody is in real trouble, we seem to have decided, the first thing to do is to punish him.

The first time such a person comes to any social services office for help, he or she must fill out a 12-page application that no middle-class person would put up with. They have to tell all about themselves, from where and almost why they were born to the details of their financial, private and family lives.

Those 12 bureaucratic pages are a pure

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

example of the kind of harassment that Alexander Solzhenitsyn might have used in describing the Soviet treatment of dissenters in "The Gulag Archipelago."

The basic trouble is that the federal and state governments have been insistent on showing that they understand the whys and wherefores of public assistance, but they show no recognition that they are dealing with people.

Compassion is not written into any of the government manuals.

It is never mentioned in the communications from Albany and Washington.

I have dealt with the people on the receiving end of public assistance. I know of the frauds and cheats, but I know that most of the people we have helped needed help. They needed compassion more than they needed the 12-page bureaucratic questionnaires.

The real causes of human need are sickness, accidents, disabilities, old age, death, unemployment, illiteracy, inadequate work skills, low income, absence of the bread-winner, bad housing, and discrimination.

You would hardly guess that to be the case when you look over the mass of papers that cross the welfare official's desk in Broome County.

### WHAT'S WRONG WITH WELFARE?

(By Clarence H. Sackey)

Probably more misinformation has been spread about the Aid to Dependent Children portion of public welfare than anything else.

People have visions of women of easy virtue dropping babies right and left in order to receive large rewards in the form of ADC checks. (In fact, they get \$35 a month for each child.)

This program started back in the Great Depression as a relief program for widows whose husbands had died.

The federal government undertook very early to pay the states 50 per cent of the costs of supporting such women and their children. It was an early version of revenue-sharing.

The states kept pressing Washington for a broader inclusion of mothers and children without personal means of support, in order to get more federal money.

Now it covers not only the widowed mother, but also the family where the breadwinner—the husband—is diseased, disabled, deserting, separated, or just plain absent.

Through the use of this kind of federal support, we have wound up encouraging the breakup of families.

Nearly 70 per cent of the mothers and children who receive assistance are under the ADC program.

Many of them feel their families are better off because they receive more income from ADC than if the husband and father were home earning some money in some unskilled job.

Most of the deserting parents are unskilled workers with poor work habits, limited education, and low pay.

Many of them have had no preparation for the responsibilities of marriage.

Moreover, the steady rise in the minimum wage works against these unskilled people because it reduces the number of jobs that they can fill.

The wages they are able to earn are in fact not enough to support themselves, let alone wife and children.

I believe we need a family subsidy program such as exists in Canada and the Scandinavian countries. It adds income to what the breadwinner earns.

It keeps families together. It encourages the head of the family to work. But it makes sure that the parents and children, taken

together as a family, receive enough income to keep body and soul together.

There has been a lot of talk about this in Washington, but each specific proposal is treated as if it carried the bubonic plague. Unless we are prepared to be serious about this matter, I believe we cannot eliminate the depressing cycle of dependency.

I also believe we must change the way we educate youngsters in the secondary school system.

We don't treat dependent children right in the schools. We harass them when we should help them, and as a result they drop out of school as soon as they can.

I remember hearing Dr. Leopold Eckler, who was head of the local GAF plant in Broome County, describe what the schools in Germany did after World War II.

They made sure that every student who was the equivalent of our high school graduate not only had a diploma for his general education but also had a marketable skill of some kind.

Our secondary schools ought to be more realistic and practical in terms of preparation for life.

We should teach youngsters how to buy and budget, and how to maintain interesting and permanent marriage relationships. We should give them more and better courses in sociology and family life.

One of the greatest incentives to women on ADC is that the first few dollars they earn, when they get a job, are waived and they continue to receive public assistance.

This means that they will not be, in effect, reducing their income when they get a job.

It is a good idea, and it is working, but the danger is that it creates a permanent subsidy for the ADC mother.

In other words, this subsidy to the ADC mother who moves from dependency to self-support ought to have some kind of cutoff date, such as six months or a year—after which she should be on her own.

This seems to me to be the equivalent of cutting the umbilical cord, bringing the dependent mother to full self-support and self-respect.

But the federal government refuses to buy the idea of a cutoff date, and for this reason we are doing the opposite of what we say we want—which is to break the need for dependency.

### WHAT'S WRONG WITH WELFARE?

(By Clarence H. Sackey)

Medicaid started in this state in 1966. It was controversial from the beginning. It has been criticized as too expensive.

It was considered a two-headed monster by the people who had to administer it. There were differences between the State Health Department and the State Social Services Department about who is entitled to Medicaid, about the standards and quality of the care they should get, and about how much should be paid for health care.

The State Health Department seems to be almost unconcerned about costs, and tries to put more people under Medicaid to save money and collect more federal money.

Doctors are not known as good administrators, and the ones who work for the Health Department are prime examples.

For one thing, they discharge long-term patients from state hospitals to put them on Medicaid and public assistance.

These poor souls have a hard time adjusting in any setting different from what they knew at the state hospital. Putting them back "in the community" may be the worst thing that could happen to them.

Not long ago the New York Times had an article about such people rummaging through garbage cans for food. Many of them simply do not know how to take care of themselves.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## WHY PROTECT ENDANGERED SPECIES?

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

One of the main objections to Medicaid is that it has become hospital-centered—which makes it too sophisticated and at the same time too expensive.

There is too much use of clinics and hospital emergency rooms with no follow-up care for people on Medicaid.

The elderly are becoming more and more institutionalized. In upstate New York, about 50 per cent of Medicaid costs go to nursing homes and "health-related facilities," a technical term for places where old people are put away as if they were TV dinners popped into the freezer.

Many old people live in dread of the day when they will be put in nursing homes themselves. They still want to be part of life.

They are treated like lonely castoffs, because that is the way public money must be spent on them.

Can we correct all this?

Yes.

We need an effective homecare program. We have to go back to the old days, when old people were still part of their families. Public money ought to be spent to encourage families to cherish their old people, instead of paying to cart them away.

In the same way, we must somehow make it worthwhile for physicians to visit and treat older people in their homes, instead of throwing them into a health assembly line that deprives them of their essential humanity.

One of the worst things in the administration of Medicaid is that there are so many classes of eligibility.

There are five such classes, which have to do with the degree of cost-sharing.

The system is an administrative nightmare; and, once again, more time must be spent on bureaucratic paper shuffling than on providing of good health care for people who cannot otherwise pay for it.

If this program is going to be administered right, we need an effective data processing system.

We have a system now, but it is not effective. You cannot use it to process eligibility for the payment of bills. In this state—the birthplace and home of the computer—we must still hand-process every bill from the pharmacist, the hospital, the physician, to decide whether it should be paid.

Moreover, we are not using the computer for analysis of the Medicaid program, so that we could spot and control abuses.

Medicaid ought to be administered by one department—not two state departments and one federal department.

Personally, I believe that a single national health care system has got to come, but it must be set up with proper controls.

Whether the Nixon or the Kennedy plans for national health are right for the country will have to be decided in the next few months. It will take a lot more explanation before most people will feel ready to make up their minds.

One thing I do know, though, is that the government has gone too far in relieving grown children of any sense of responsibility for their parents.

Not only are they relieved of any financial responsibility for the old people in their families, but they are not even expected to feel any emotional attachment.

It is a sad reflection on our national conscience that so many people have wiped their old folks out of their minds. They not only don't pay toward their support—they won't even bother to visit them in the institutions to which they have been consigned.

Unless we recapture the sense of humanity, no laws, plans, allocations of funds, bureaucratic paperwork, or public assistance can give our nation true health.

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who seek a refuge in wilderness for themselves and their children, but only arguably more sophisticated, is another rank of defenders of wild places. These people include both old-line conservationists and biologists of many descriptions. They see wilderness as a storehouse of components, and earnestly recite, Also Leopold's aphorism that the first principle of intelligent tinkering is to save all the pieces.

An American politician is reputed by his detractors once to have commented, "When you've seen one redwood, you've seen them all." The implication of this statement is clear: a very few representatives will suffice for the preservation of a species. Presumably no reader need be reassured here that on aesthetic grounds this utterance is palpable drivel. When you've seen one redwood, you have hardly seen any. More than that, the chance is slight that you can have seen many of the other plants and animals which make redwood forests distinctive. But on scientific grounds, it may be well to re-examine its merits, and the mistaken conclusions to which Leopold's dictum may lead the innocent.

The advance of biochemical technique has made it possible only in the last few years to understand the many differences among individual organisms which still represent the same species. And it is more recent still that understanding of biochemical progress has been integrated into the body of population genetics. Because both biochemists and population geneticists tend to speak calculus instead of English, no one yet has put this knowledge into terms simply comprehensible to the layman.

But the biochemist's or the population geneticist's arcane language should not be permitted to obscure his message—if he realizes he has one. It is perhaps ironic that interpretation of discoveries in the newest branches of biology should be made for the public by practitioners of its oldest branch, ecology, and more so that all should turn out to be using the common coin of biological understanding, the concept of organic evolution.

The biological communities of plants and animals which we can distinguish today were formed by the interactions of their members. No organism lives alone. The effect of one upon another is recognizable in the short term, in such relations as those of plants and herbivores or of predators and prey. Because individual plants and animals vary from others of their species, some are better able than others to resist the destructive effects upon them of different kinds of organisms, or to capitalize on their potentialities for use. Such competition is the basis for the survival of some animals or plants to produce offspring, and the failure of others.

But in the longer term this competition is also the basis for the evolution of differences among populations of organisms. These genetic differentiations permit different organisms to use different resources of the same environment, or alternatively to use the same resources in different ways.

Organic evolution is founded on genetic differences among individuals. Heritable variation is the permanent basis of genetic distinction which accounts for the apparently immutable differentiation of one sort of animal or plant from another. Evolutionary change in morphological or other characteristics of organisms result from greater reproduction by those which are more fit than by others of their species with which they compete. And it is this variability which permits populations to resist change in their environments. We now know that most genetic differences within a population are hidden as rather rare recessive potentialities in the heterozygous state, rather than being

The simple answer is also the correct answer: the loss of endangered species is a loss to mankind. In some respects, there are significant esthetic losses, and these are significant. In other respects, there are real losses in terms of a disappearing genetic heritage. These losses may contain answers to questions that we have not yet the wit to ask, and these could well be important questions indeed.

In an article in "The Living Wilderness," published by the Wilderness Society, Jon Ghiselin has written to discuss the question of the importance of endangered species. His article well states the case, and I believe that it merits widespread reading:

WILDERNESS AND THE SURVIVAL OF SPECIES  
(By Jon Ghiselin)

People who pride themselves on being thought of as practical often need to have practical reasons for preserving wild places and undomesticated plants and animals. Unless one can demonstrate a need for wilderness or any other of life's amenities, such unfortunates are apt to be unwilling to accept its cost in money or in preventing the development of a potentially profitable resource.

Practical people must have practical responses. The balance sheet must show something more than an idiosyncrasy of the intellectual. And such cavils are in fact not wholly without basis. Many people seek to preserve wilderness only for their souls' sake; they think that bargain enough. But practical people are often sturdier folk, and want some weightier cause.

So the list of benefits has lengthened, as advocates and apologists for wilderness sought for practical justifications. And there is money to be had from a wilderness. It is not too esoteric to calculate the value of a watershed. It is certainly not impractical to assess game range, or to reckon up the outside money a wilderness brings into the area surrounding it. But few have stated in simple terms the practical need of all mankind for preserving wilderness as a vital hedge against overdevelopment, overmanipulation, over civilization.

At a level of understanding perhaps a bit more elaborate technically than that of those

manifested immediately as dominant traits. This is the chief reason for the frequent observation that some characters seem to skip generations. Though the most recent work shows that the morphological integrity of each species is both protected and reinforced by such other genetic mechanisms as balancing or normalizing selection, it still appears that the hidden trove of recessive genes borne by every population is responsible for its genetic adaptability in the face of environmental change.

A population buys such adaptability at no slight price. Sometimes this price may be to harbor genes whose bearers are less than optimally fit to survive in competition with others of their species. It is because these traits are recessive, and revealed only when both an organism's parents bear them (though neither need manifest them), that they survive at all. But they represent stock of variability which can be brought into play, sometimes within a single generation, when a change in the environment makes the old order less well fit to compete than some new one. Such replacement of a successful, established strain by a new one can be accomplished only at a horrendous cost in the numbers of its population. In a truly catastrophic change of environment, it is to be expected that almost every individual will die. Only a very few will survive, and it is only from these few that the ancestors of a new population can come. The smaller the population, the less variability it can preserve in its genes. This is simply a consequence of the limited number of genes, and it is inescapable that this should be so. (We need not concern ourselves here with more subtle mechanisms having much the same effect.)

Extinction happens not to individuals but rather to populations of interbreeding plants or animals. Yet extinction of a population results from the failure of individuals to reproduce. Just as death is inevitable for every individual, so extinction is inevitable for every population. But there is a difference, and understanding this difference is vital to understanding the need for preserving more than representatives of species in the hope that the species themselves will survive.

Extinction can take place in two fundamental ways. The first of these is the failure of individuals to replace themselves. The result is disappearance of a kind of organism from the earth. This can happen to what seem to be inexhaustibly numerous species. The passenger pigeon is a prominent enough example.

Extinction of the second category seems less cataclysmic, because it characterizes every species successful enough to escape the first. By continuing adaptation, which results in and from differing reproductive success among different populations within it, a species can evolve itself out of existence. Every successful species, including our own, represents some two billion years of evolution during which countless ancestors did just that. Each of us is the survivor of an intense competition among our forebears which is no less intense today.

It should therefore be clear that extinction of less favored forms is the cost of survival for a few. Each population of plants or animals must meet the competition of others if it is to survive. When a plant or animal fails the test, its competitor benefits. What, then, do the redwoods matter?

Life has been evolving on land for hundreds of millions of years. During that time, communities of organisms have evolved which are adapted to living with each other. Some of these adaptations are so basic that one can imagine alternatives to them only with difficulty. If there were no flying insects such as bees, for example, there would be no

advantage for a plant to spend its substance in producing a showy flower. If there were no bees, there would be no competition among the flowers for pollination by the bees. But if there were no flowers, there would be no hummingbirds; there would be no spiders whose shapes mimic those flowers in marvelously exact detail; and though there might be farmers, there would surely be no florists.

Adaptations of one sort of organism to another having such impressive implications as these can arise only slowly. This is so because evolution is not directed; it works through chance, and the chance is heavily weighted for biological conservatism. When a relationship between two species results from thousands of generations' adjustment of the physiology and the behavior and the ecology of the one to the similarly complex qualities of the other, only the rarest change is apt to be for the better. Such a beneficial change is unlikely to persist unless some change has occurred in the other species which gives an advantage to the new development. Most natural experiments will therefore fail. The fate of the native Hawaiian fauna illustrates paradoxically how disrupting such relationships by introducing exotic competitors can result in sudden extinction of many species.

Because evolution of new species of animals or plants takes so many generations, it is in the practical interest of mankind to insure as much as possible that the extinction of no species be hastened through ill-considered or unconsidered alterations of natural communities. Biologists can point to several "new" subspecies which probably evolved to distinctness in the last two or three centuries. But we can point sadly to far greater numbers of full species of animals and plants that have become extinct because of the activities of man. Some such extinctions, of course, were overdue in a sense. Few of us will argue that some moral stigma should attach to the extermination of large carnivores by early hominids. But "practically"—aesthetics and ethics aside—this insight into the pace of extinction has important consequences for the preservation of wilderness.

Wilderness areas protect habitats which have been modified little from the conditions under which their biotic communities evolved. No ecologist yet can judge the totality of consequences of destroying the habitat of a single species, and hence of destroying that species. We simply do not know enough. Because of the importance which change has in directing the course of evolution (though as we have seen that direction is a random one), we cannot predict the consequences of such irrevocable decisions. Yet we can predict safely that to eliminate any genetic variation must necessarily be to eliminate options, many of which we cannot recognize.

But since bits of most major communities have been preserved now, and their development prevented by restrictive and protective legislation, is this not enough?

No.

Reducing the size of a population below a critical level will inevitably result in its elimination, and we do not know the critical level for any species. But we do know that reducing the population of any species to very small numbers reduces also the genetic variation which is essential if the species is to adjust genetically to meet new demands of an environment changed by unpredictable influences. We can hardly identify today the DDT of tomorrow. But prudence suggests surely that we should provide best we can now to meet whatever assault may come.

The rarity of species is relative. In biological terms, a species is dangerously rare if its population is so localized that signifi-

cantly many individuals could be destroyed by a single event, or if the population is so widely dispersed that not all its members can reproduce because not all can meet potential mates. Some animals have always been rare. The rarity of the black-footed ferret has been noted almost since its description in 1851. The eastern cougar was thought to have become extinct in 1899, although last year the federal government acknowledged recurrent reports of sightings by giving this subspecies at least a nominal place in its list of rare and endangered wildlife. The American ivory-billed woodpecker's status is highly uncertain, but reports in recent years from Louisiana, Texas, Florida and South Carolina has suggested that the species may survive.

Yet even where such remnants of larger populations linger, they are probably destined ultimately to disappear. They will disappear because their populations are too small to maintain the rare genes which would permit genetic recombination to meet environmental challenges not as yet foreseen. The same pessimistic prediction can reasonably be made about some species which seem to be increasing from perilously low levels. There are more whooping cranes now than a few years ago, and there is greater hope now than then that this rare bird will survive. But the population was so reduced that we can be sure its variability is severely diminished.

Genetic variability accumulates slowly through continuing mutation. Some genes are more prone to mutate than others, but all are subject to eventual mutation to alternate forms. Thus the variability stored in a population's gene pool can ultimately be restored. The protection against change such variability gives can be rebuilt given time.

But too little time exists for many populations to accumulate this protection. If they are to be saved, they must in most cases be saved together with the habitats in which their adaptations were formed. Though protection in zoos and encouragement to reproduce in captive-breeding programs help to prevent the total elimination of species, they cannot substitute forever for restoration of individuals to the original habitat. This is because populations of organisms adapt to the environment of captivity in precisely the same way, and by the same genetic mechanisms, that they adapt to any other change in their surroundings: those better fitted to survive in captivity will produce more offspring than those better fitted to survive in the wild, unless the two conditions should somehow impose the same requirements. Captivity by no means turns off evolution. As proof one need cite only the dainty Pomeranian and the slavering wolf with which it still could interbreed—if Pomeranians were let out and wolves not kept away. The longer captivity continues, the more the protection against environmental change which is given by genetic variability will continue to deteriorate.

The ability of any population to rebound from a catastrophic reduction in numbers depends on several related reproductive constants. The maximum number of offspring, the frequency of reproduction, the age at first mating and the duration of the reproductive period all impose absolute limits on the rate at which a population can recover. But beyond those intrinsic restraints on growth there are extrinsic limits. These environmental limits include accidents and famine and predation, but most important among them is the availability of habitat. Doggedly to foster production of young by an endangered species is meaningless if they have no place to go.

We can neither understand fully an

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organism's niche—its functional place in nature—in a static sense nor predict except grossly the changes in that niche which must surely result from evolutionary adaptation of the population better to survive in an altered role. Nonetheless we can comprehend the vital safeguard which organic diversity represents for our own overabundant species, perhaps more than for many other forms which seem less favored by the bounty of nature. Certainly wilderness can be preserved only by human action. It is logical then for all human beings to consider what the benefits of wilderness may be in this regard, and whether on balance it is practically worthwhile to commit land in perpetuity to this use.

The price of domestication is inevitably reduced variability. The developers of hybrid corn, for example, or new rice strains, or superpigs, all achieve their success by reducing as much as humanly possible the variability of the stocks with which they work. They have sacrificed the long-term advantages of variability for the immediately overriding benefit of genetic uniformity and predictability. For the most part the geneticists responsible for the agricultural revolution know the price they have paid for their success, and "primitive" strains are cherished by agronomists in several centers throughout the world. (Despite this, and especially with regard to animals, we must remember the genetic dangers of captivity.)

But not all the species which might be adapted to man's benefit have yet been recognized. Genetic ingenuity has not yet been applied to each of some two or three billion species. But even if it were possible to know the genetic endowment and potentialities of every plant and every animal, it would not be possible to predict what changes the future may bring to each species and to each community of interacting organisms.

The function of wilderness as a reservoir of genetic variability, a resource which can last only so long as it is not subjected to practical tinkering, thus becomes obvious. Wilderness is an investment in a biological currency we cannot specify, a hedge against a biological need we cannot name.

In this discussion, though, we must understand wilderness in the broadest sense. The maintenance of diversity among communities need not be read to suggest that the natural communities to be preserved can only be those which developed at the end of the Pleistocene, and indeed the phrase is misconstrued if it be read in any such limiting way.

Evolution is a complex process not subject to prediction. No one can forecast with confidence the effect of eliminating any species. Exotic species may adapt in unpredictable ways to utilize resources formerly used by native forms they replace. We must preserve enough wild lands to assure that plants and animals will maintain populations large enough to meet changing conditions. By so doing we may perpetuate much that gives our world its meaning and fascination.

## PITY THE POOR MOGULS

## HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, judging from the lamentations that went up, enactment late last summer, of the bill partially lifting the blackout of telecasts of pro football home games was tantamount to killing the American dream.

As it turned out of course, the selfless

gentlemen who control this "sport" had little to worry about. The 1973-74 season was the most profitable ever.

One of the more penetrating commentaries on the hardship cries of the National Football League owners appeared in yesterday's editions of the San Diego Evening Tribune.

Columnist Steve Casey asks why Congress should take sides one way or the other in the current tug-of-war between cable and conventional broadcast forces over rights to air football games and other professional sports attractions.

To Mr. Casey, it does not make much sense for Congress to join the fray on the side any of the private, profitmaking interests involved.

As Mr. Casey makes clear, the NFL owners are sometimes not all that concerned about doing right by the sports-minded public which ultimately must pay all the bills. We need not shed too many tears over the hardship stories, including the difficulties the NFL is having now with the new World Football League. A little competition never hurt.

Mr. Casey's column follows:

## NEWS ITEMS BY STEVE CASEY

You remember the professional sports leagues.

They are the fellas who predicted doom if Congress did away with football home-game television blackouts—and then, according to a recent Federal Communications Commission report, went on to enjoy their biggest season ever after the black-outs were lifted.

And the fellas who have taken to jumping baseball franchises all over the country like nimble 10-year-olds in a hopscotch tournament.

Well, the Big Time Sports Traveling Medicine Show is on the road again and, as usual, it promises naught but ill for the poor little sports fan who is asked to pay outrageous prices for tickets, to give unquestioning, undying loyalty to his local gladiators and to talk daily with God.

And probably advise Him.

The aim this time is to strip just about all sports programming from cable television in hopes of making turnstiles at the nation's sports palaces spin around a few more times.

And to keep the airwaves from committing overkill on sports coverage.

It is a logical plan, for if the fan is offered a wide variety of sports events on television, he might decide to stay home and watch the tube, rather than truck on down to the local stadium.

But before turning a lecherous eye on cable television, the sports leagues and perhaps the government ought to take a look at why people can be persuaded to stay away from the stadium.

All things being equal, most folks would rather watch a game in person than at home before the screen. But all things are not equal.

To begin with, with ticket prices rising faster than the national debt, it's bloody expensive to take a wife and couple kids to, say, a National Football League game.

And if mom and dad want a beer and the kids want hot dogs and pop, somebody in that happy little clan often has to be ready to stand in line for a half hour or better.

But the primary objection to the proposed copyright law which would all but ban sports events on cable, or the FCC rule which would do much the same thing, is not that sports should first put its own house in order, is not that the proposed law and rule would blatantly discriminate against cable in favor of broadcasters, and is not that thousands of people would be denied a chance to see tele-

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vised major league games if they live in a town where a minor league team plays.

It is, instead, that a profitmaking industry is attempting to use its clout to get the government to act as its agent in a battle with another profit-making industry.

Despite the sanctimonious simperings of organized sports—which would have you believe love of the NFL is synonymous with love of country—sports is a profit-making entertainment industry.

Like the movie studios of Hollywood's heyday, Big Sports controlled—until the advent of cable—the labor, production and distribution of its entertainment product.

Players are challenging its tight control over labor, and cable is challenging its control of distribution.

Rhetoric from sports organizations would lead you to believe that the very survival of the leagues depends on their beating back the insurgents and maintaining their death-grip on all facets of their business.

Said one shoot-from-the-lip cable lobbyist, "they are trying to put an iron curtain around it."

"Hey," he said, "Iron curtain. That's pretty good. They're a bunch of Bolsheviks."

Bolsheviks they aren't. But it's a very strange form of private enterprise that is based on the notion that cities should supply expensive playpens for the teams, citizens have some civic duty to ensure the teams' well being and the government should help this one industry, even at the expense of another.

Heck, who wouldn't like to run a business like that?

## 1973 FEDERAL INCOME TAX RETURN

## HON. WILLIAM LEHMAN

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 24, 1974

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. Speaker, in keeping with my belief that elected officials should fully disclose their sources of income, I am inserting my 1973 Federal income tax return in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The return follows:

1973 U.S. INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAX RETURN  
(Form 1040)

Name (if joint return, give first names and initials of both) William and Joan Lehman.

Present home address (Number and street, including apartment number, or rural route) 2269 N.E. 163rd Street.

City, town or post office, State and Zip code: North Miami Beach, Florida 33162.

County of residence: Dade.

Occupation:

Yours: Congressman.

Spouse's: Self-Employed.

Filing Status—check only one:

2. Married filing joint return (even if only one had income).

Exemptions:

6a. Yourself.

b. Spouse.

8. Presidential Election Campaign Fund.—Check  if you wish to designate \$1 of your taxes for this fund. If joint return check  if spouse wishes to designate \$1.

Note: This will not increase your tax or reduce your refund. See note below.

## INCOME

9. Wages, salaries, tips, and other employee compensation. \$38,722.

10a. Dividends: \$8,912. 10b. Less exclusion \$140, balance: \$8,772.

11. Interest income: \$12,521.

12. Income other than wages, dividends, and interest (from line 38): \$22,048.

13. Total (add lines 9, 10c, 11, and 12): \$82,063.

14. Adjustments to income (such as "sick pay," moving expenses, etc. from line 43): \$3,082.

15. Subtract line 14 from line 13 (adjusted gross income): \$78,981.

## TAX, PAYMENTS AND CREDITS

16. Tax, check if from: x Schedule D: \$23,067.

21a. Total Federal income tax withheld (attach forms W-2 or W-2P to front): \$10,077.

22. Total (add lines 21a, b, c, and d): \$10,077.

## BALANCE DUE OR REFUND

23. If line 20 is larger than line 22, enter balance due IRS: \$13,304.

Note: 1972 Presidential Election Campaign Fund Designate.—Check x if you did not designate \$1 of your taxes on your 1972 return, but now wish to do so. If joint return, check x if spouse did not designate on 1972 return but now wishes to do so.

Preparer's signature (other than taxpayer): Coopers & Lybrand, 1200 1st Nat'l Bank Bldg., Miami, Florida 33131.

Penalty for underpayment: \$314.

## PART I. INCOME OTHER THAN WAGES, DIVIDENDS, AND INTEREST

28. Business income or (loss) (attach Schedule C): (\$8,129).

29. Net gain or (loss) from sale or exchange of capital assets (attach Schedule D): \$26,073.

31. Pensions, annuities, rents, royalties, partnerships, estates or trusts, etc. (attach Schedule E): \$39.

37. Other (state nature and source), Honorarium—\$250; Articles and newsletters—\$3,185: \$4,065.

38. Total (add lines 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, and 37). Enter here and on line 12: \$22,048.

## PART II. ADJUSTMENTS TO INCOME

41. Employee business expense (attach Form 2106 or statement): \$3,082.

43. Total adjustments (add lines 39, 40, 41, and 42). Enter here and on line 14: \$3,082.

## PART III. TAX COMPUTATION

44. Adjusted gross income (from line 15): \$78,981.

45. (a) If you itemize deductions, enter total from Schedule A, line 41 and attach Schedule A. (b) If you do not itemize deductions, enter 15% of line 44, but do not enter more than \$2,000. (\$1,000 if line 3 checked): \$15,950.

46. Subtract line 45 from line 44: \$63,031.

47. Multiply total number of exemptions claimed on line 7, by \$750: \$1,500.

48. Taxable income. Subtract line 47 from line 46: \$61,531.

## PART V. OTHER TAXES

58. Minimum tax. Check here x, if Form 4625 is attached: None.

61. Total (add lines 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, and 60). Enter here and on line 19: None.

## SENATE—Thursday, April 25, 1974

The Senate met at 11 a.m. and was called to order by Hon. DICK CLARK, a Senator from the State of Iowa.

## PRAYER

The Reverend John D. Raymond, Belle View Baptist Church, Alexandria, Va., offered the following prayer:

O God, we acknowledge Thee as the God of our fathers, whose grace and mercy are broader than man can measure. As thoughtful men, we pause to reassess life's directions in the light of Thy glory; and to refresh our spirits by Thy power.

With deep humility we thank Thee for our heritage as Americans. Let us never surrender the noble dreams of our Founding Fathers, but with infinite patience, weave them into our highest hopes for a better world.

We ask Thy blessing on those in this body, who, by Thy providence, have been given great responsibility in the affairs of state. May wisdom and courage from on high be theirs, so that as a nation we may fail neither man nor Thee.

Hear our prayer, Father, for it is offered in the name of Jesus of Nazareth. Amen.

## APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. EASTLAND).

The second assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,

PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,  
Washington, D.C., April 25, 1974.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate on official duties, I appoint Hon. DICK CLARK, a Senator from the State of Iowa, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

JAMES O. EASTLAND,  
President pro tempore.

Mr. CLARK thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

## MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the following bills of the Senate, each with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

S. 15. An act to amend the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 to provide a Federal death benefit to the surviving dependents of public safety officers; and

S. 628. An act to amend chapter 83 of title 5, United States Code, to eliminate the annuity reduction made in order to provide a surviving spouse with an annuity, during periods when the annuitant is not married.

The message also announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 12799) to amend the Arms Control and Disarmament Act, as amended, in order to extend the authorization for appropriations, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

## HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H.R. 12799) to amend the Arms Control and Disarmament Act, as amended, in order to extend the authorization for appropriations, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

## THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, April 24, 1974, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees may be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider nominations on the Executive Calendar.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nominations on the Executive Calendar will be stated.

## DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

The second assistant legislative clerk read the nominations in the Department of Justice, as follows:

Nathan G. Graham, of Oklahoma, to be U.S. attorney for the northern district of Oklahoma.

Clinton T. Peoples, of Texas, to be U.S. marshal for the northern district of Texas.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

## U.S. POSTAL SERVICE

The second assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Robert Earl Holding, of Wyoming, to be Governor of the U.S. Postal Service for the term expiring December 8, 1982.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

## DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The second legislative clerk read the nominations in the Department of State as follows:

Alfred L. Atherton, Jr., of Florida, to be an Assistant Secretary of State.

Webster B. Todd, Jr., of New Jersey, to be Inspector General, Foreign Assistance.

Leonard Kimball Firestone, of California, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Belgium.