

Increases the estate and gift tax marital deduction. Allows the executor of an estate which includes real property used for farming, or in a trade or business, to value the property at its current use rather than at its fair market value determined on the basis of its best use. Provides a carryover basis for property acquired from a decedent.

H.R. 14845. July 26, 1976. Ways and Means. Amends the Internal Revenue Code to establish graduated corporate income tax rates. Increases the estate tax exemption and establishes a new rate schedule for the estate tax. Increases the gift tax exclusion and exemption and establishes a new gift tax rate. Provides special treatment for the sale of stock in a closely held corporation when sold to pay estate taxes. Redefines a subchapter S corporation. Allows tax credits for the hiring of new employees. Redefines section 1244 stock (small business stock, losses on which are treated as ordinary losses).

H.R. 14846. July 26, 1976. Armed Services. Authorizes the Secretaries of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Defense to establish or develop specified military installations and facilities. Authorizes the Secretary of Defense to acquire or construct military family housing.

H.R. 14847. July 26, 1976. Post Office and Civil Service. Directs the Postmaster General to issue a special postage stamp in honor of Doctor Martin Luther King, Junior.

H.R. 14848. July 26, 1976. Banking, Currency and Housing. Amends the Federal Reserve Act to extend the authority of Federal Reserve banks to purchase United States obligations directly from the Treasury.

H.R. 14849. July 26, 1976. Education and Labor. Amends the National Labor Relations Act to require that an employer who assumes the ownership or operation of a business must honor the terms and conditions of an existing collective bargaining contract.

H.R. 14850. July 26, 1976. Interior and Insular Affairs. Amends the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act to direct the Secretary of the Interior to withdraw 70,000 acres of public lands in order that the Village Corporation for the Village of Klukwan may select 23,040 acres.

H.R. 14851. July 26, 1976. Judiciary. Authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to reimburse State and local governments for expenditures made at the request of the United States Secret Service for the protection of any person the Service is authorized to protect.

H.R. 14852. July 26, 1976. Post Office and Civil Service. Permits employees of either the Federal or District of Columbia government to elect to receive a lump-sum payment for accumulated and current sick leave upon separation from service. Prohibits employees electing to receive such payment from taking accumulated and current sick leave into account in determining eligibility for or the amount of any retirement annuity.

H.R. 14853. July 26, 1976. Interior and Insular Affairs. Directs the Secretary of Agriculture to review as to suitability for preservation as wilderness specified lands in the Sam

Houston National Forest, the Sabine National Forest, and the Davy Crockett National Forest, Texas.

H.R. 14854. July 26, 1976. Agriculture. Directs the Secretary of Agriculture to provide financial assistance through loan guarantees and interest payment reimbursement to farmers for loans to restock their livestock herds and for meeting operational expenses in the event of a natural disaster or emergency. Authorizes the Secretary to make loans to farmers in areas which have been declared natural disaster or emergency areas two or more times since January 1, 1971.

H.R. 14855. July 26, 1976. Ways and Means. Amends the Internal Revenue Code to require the Internal Revenue Service to audit all income tax returns filed by Members of Congress.

H.R. 14856. July 26, 1976. Judiciary; Education and Labor. Prohibits the requirement of quotas, goals designed to establish quotas, or programs to expand applicant pools in affirmative action programs required of Federal grantees or contractors.

Prohibits findings of discrimination (1) based solely on composition of work or membership, and (2) unless based upon an act of discrimination.

Prohibits court or agency ordered relief for discrimination to enforce quotas or goals which establish quotas.

Prohibits Federal instrumentalities from requiring the collection of data relating to race, color, religion, national origin, or sex, by employers, labor organizations, or Federal grantees or contractors.

H.R. 14857. July 26, 1976. Ways and Means. Exempts from Federal income taxation, under the Internal Revenue Code, a corporation organized and operated for mutual purposes and without profit for the purpose of providing, either or both, reserve funds for, and insurance of, shares and deposits in credit unions which have no capital stock and are organized and operated for mutual purposes and not for profit.

H.R. 14858. July 26, 1976. Education and Labor. Amends the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to authorize a program of grants to States for preschool educational programs for migratory children.

H.R. 14859. July 26, 1976. Banking, Currency and Housing. Directs the Administrator of the Energy Research and Development Administration to assist communities in developing solar energy community utility programs. Establishes a revolving fund for continued financing of such program.

H.R. 14860. July 26, 1976. Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Amends the Solid Waste Disposal Act to prohibit the issuance of solid waste management regulations with respect to the sale or distribution of beverage containers at Federal facilities.

H.R. 14861. July 26, 1976. Interior and Insular Affairs; Merchant Marine and Fisheries. Directs the Secretary of the Interior to make payments based on a specified formula to each unit of local government in which are located lands within the National Wildlife Refuge System. Directs that additional payments be made for five fiscal years with re-

spect to lands acquired by the United States for addition to the National Wildlife Refuge System after December 31, 1970, which were subject to local real property taxes within five years preceding such acquisition.

H.R. 14862. July 26, 1976. Merchant Marine and Fisheries; Public Works and Transportation. Establishes a fund for the purpose of paying for otherwise uncompensated losses resulting from oil pollution.

Imposes, within certain monetary limits, joint, several, and strict liability on the owners and operators of each pollution source. Requires petroleum facilities and certain vessels to maintain evidence of financial responsibility in an amount equal to applicable liability limits.

Sets forth procedures for identifying and publicizing pollution sources.

H.R. 14863. July 26, 1976. Judiciary. Directs the Secretary of the Treasury to pay a specified sum to a certain individual in full settlement of such individual's claims against the United States based on injuries received in a bus accident while employed by the United States Government.

H.R. 14864. July 26, 1976. International Relations. Authorizes a certain retired military noncommissioned officer to accept employment with the Government of Saudi Arabia.

H.R. 14865. July 26, 1976. Judiciary. Permits a certain individual to file a claim with the Comptroller General of the General Accounting Office with respect to the unpaid portion of combat pay incident to such individual's service with the United States Army.

H.R. 14866. July 27, 1976. Public Works and Transportation. Amends the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to allow air carriers to offer reduced-rate transportation on a space-available basis to persons who are 65 years of age or older or 21 years of age or younger, to handicapped persons, and to attendants of such handicapped persons.

H.R. 14867. July 27, 1976. Ways and Means. Amends the Internal Revenue Code to exclude from the definition of a private foundation an organization which is federally chartered and which is organized for the purpose of honoring the memory of a former President of the United States.

H.R. 14868. July 27, 1976. Ways and Means. Amends the Internal Revenue Code to establish graduated corporate income tax rates. Increases the estate tax exemption and establishes a new rate schedule for the estate tax. Increases the gift tax exclusion and exemption and establishes a new gift tax rate. Provides special treatment for the sale of stock in a closely held corporation when sold to pay estate taxes. Redefines a subchapter S corporation. Allows tax credits for the hiring of new employees. Redefines section 1244 stock (small business stock, losses on which are treated as ordinary losses).

H.R. 14869. July 27, 1976. Education and Labor. Authorizes appropriations for the continuation through fiscal year 1977 of specified grants under the Indian Elementary and Secondary School Assistance Act, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and the Adult Education Act.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

STUDENT WRITES EDITORIAL ABOUT HELEN MEYNER

HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Ms. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, recently, a student from Trenton, N.J., sent me this

editorial which he had written for his school newspaper about our colleague, HELEN MEYNER.

In it, the student—Daniel Popkin—states his faith in government, based on the responsiveness and sensitivity of our colleague from New Jersey. It is a moving and delightful comment on the way in which Representative MEYNER deals with her constituents:

[From the George School News, May 1976]

POLITICS

(By Dan Popkin)

In the United States, there is a group of people who are constantly complaining that politicians don't give a damn about the peoples' beliefs. They assert that politicians are not responsive to the people and that they are all corrupt. Unbelievably, these are the very same people who disagree with every bill that comes out of Congress and off the President's

desk. Instead of writing to their Congresspersons and presenting their opinions, or finding out the other side of the issues, these complainers only grumble about the politicians' indifference toward the people they represent. What they do not realize is that it is their own indifference that causes this continuing gap between government and the people.

It has been my observation that our elected officials do care and will listen to their constituents. It came to my attention, recently, that the United States tuna fishermen are killing thousands of dolphins and porpoises each year, while they are fishing for tuna in the sea. I wrote a letter to my Congresswoman, Helen Meyner, and asked her what was being done about this problem. Several days later she sent me a personal note explaining the entire situation, including past, present and future legislation on the issue. She also informed me that she would vote for any decent legislation to save the fish, and thanked me for voicing my opinion.

Another issue that came to my attention was the Robert Sikes affair in Congress. Even though Congressman Sikes is clearly involved in many conflicts of interest, the House Ethics Committee decided not to investigate his case. I noticed that a petition was started in the House of Representatives to begin an investigation, but that only 44 of the 435 House members signed it. This put my pen in motion again, and I mailed a letter to Mrs. Meyner asking her opinion of the issue. She responded that she had not voted for the petition because she "didn't feel adequately informed about the nature of the accusations against him" but that it appeared to her "that some sort of inquiry into this matter is in order." An inquiry wasn't enough for me, because the more I read about the case and the man, the more eager I became to persuade her to sign the petition. I was successful, because in response to my third letter on the subject, she informed me that she had just voted for the petition, and that she fully supported an investigation.

This is a proof to me that government can be responsive to the people. I am convinced that I had some influence on Mrs. Meyner's final decision.

In my most recent correspondence with her, I suggested the idea of a tollfree Public Pressure Hotline which would be connected directly to the Capitol Building, or to the Congressman's district office, whereby people could voice their opinions or inquire about issues. She indicated interest in the idea and invited me down to her office in Washington to discuss the idea in greater detail.

I think it is very important for people in the United States to realize the power that they have, and to use it to the fullest. After all, the job of each Congressperson is to represent the consensus of the constituents he represents in his district, and it is the voting record of each elected official that determines whether or not he will be reelected. In the words of Plato:

"The punishment suffered by the wise who refuse to take part in the government, is to live under the government of bad men."

**SHE COMFORTS THE AFFLICTED
AND AFFLICTS THE COMFORTABLE:
TRIBUTE TO DOROTHY
DAY**

HON. JOHN G. FARY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. FARY. Mr. Speaker, during this past recess I had an opportunity to visit with many of my constituents in my dis-

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trict, and on one of these visits met with my dear friend Monsignor Joseph L. Mroczkowski, pastor of St. Turibius Church, who had just returned from the meeting of the Eucharistic Congress recently held in Philadelphia.

Monsignor Mroczkowski talked at length of a very delightful lady he had read about through the years, and of her many acts of charity in behalf of the poor. His meeting with Dorothy Day was one of the highlights of the Eucharistic gathering of over 1 million pilgrims from throughout the United States who traveled to Philadelphia for spiritual renewal.

The life story of this gracious lady of the Catholic Workers movement in New York City slums is so filled with compassion and love that we should try to emulate her in our daily pursuits.

I know you and my colleagues would like to know more about this unselfish and dedicated woman:

Dorothy Day, editor and publisher of the Catholic Worker and cofounder of the Catholic Worker movement, will be 79 years old this November. Although she is not listed in "Who's Who," she is perhaps the most influential lay person in the history of American Catholicism, and she will certainly be numbered among the outstanding Christians of the twentieth century.

Born in the Bath Beach section of Brooklyn, Miss Day has spent all her life in New York. In the 1920's, she worked as a journalist, for radical periodicals and causes of the time. Among her friends were Eugene O'Neill, Max Bodenheimer, John Reed, Mike Gold, Emman Goldman, Hart Crane and Sinclair Lewis—the Greenwich Village literary-social avant-garde of her day. When she was 30, she surprised her associates by embracing Roman Catholicism. Some of her friends at first looked upon her conversion as a kind of sell-out, a turning away from the poor and oppressed and radical causes. They could not have been more wrong.

Actually, Miss Day outdid them all in the steadfastness of her devotion to the poor, her inexhaustible outrage with the injustices in American life, her opposition to war, and contempt for materialistic values.

While other erstwhile radicals moved uptown, she remained with the poorest of the poor. When others enthusiastically endorsed war against Hitler and Franco, she remained a dedicated pacifist. For herself, she has never sought power or celebrity. She urged her followers to heed St. Paul, and be "fools for Christ." Jesus, she insists, is to be found among the poorest of His brothers.

She speaks with the authority of one who has acted on her own words for so many years that even the severest critics are silenced. She has proven her devotion to the poor by being poor herself. She has demonstrated her dedication to peace, time and again, by going to jail. She has strengthened the cause of women, not by haranguing men, but by actually leading them, by example in her life, in her work, and within the Roman Catholic Church itself.

In 1972, Notre Dame University awarded Dorothy Day its prestigious Laetare Medal, in recognition of her work as editor of the Catholic Worker, leader of the movement that developed among readers of the paper, and director of the house of hospitality and communal farm, where society's hopeless, broken and rejected are welcomed, comforted and cared for. On that occasion, the Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame, commended her for a lifetime spent "comforting the afflicted and afflicting the comfortable."

It was a perfect summing-up. Dorothy

Day's courageous example has touched and changed the lives of countless persons. She has truly lived her faith: "Insomuch as ye have done it unto these, the least of my brethren, ye have done it unto Me."

**INTRODUCTION OF COST-SAVING
LEGISLATION ON DURABLE MEDICAL
EQUIPMENT**

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation which mandates an end to the delays caused by HEW in implementing more economical means of utilizing medicare durable medical equipment by requiring the Secretary to enter into lease-purchase agreements for durable medical equipment in cases where purchase is obviously more economical than prolonged leasing.

Testifying before the Ways and Means Oversight Subcommittee on May 17, 1976, Mr. Gregory Ahart, Director of the Manpower and Welfare Division of GAO, described studies conducted by GAO which strongly supported the purchase, rather than rental, of durable medical equipment for patients who will need it on a long-term basis. In its report, issued to Congress in 1972, entitled "Need for Legislation To Authorize More Economical Ways of Providing Durable Medical Equipment Under Medicare," GAO found that for 13,000 patients covered by 5 medicare carriers in 4 States, a savings of \$234,000, including the patients' share of \$47,000, could have been realized had the equipment been purchased when the extended period of need had been anticipated. At a sixth carrier, in a fifth State, with 7,000 patients, \$763,000, including the patients' share of \$153,000, could have been saved.

Mr. Ahart expressed his disappointment with HEW's failure to develop research projects in the area of durable medical equipment. He explained that by the time HEW awarded a contract—and that was expected to be this summer—and the time the experiment was completed:

At least 7 years will have passed since the enactment of Section 245 of Public Law 92-603 before the reimbursement improvements envisioned in that legislation are implemented.

He continued:

We believe that our 1972 report demonstrated the economic benefits available from the use of lease-purchase agreements for durable medical equipment.

Mr. Ahart stated flatly:

It seems to us, Mr. Chairman, that the issues involved here are relatively simple. I think at this point in time we question whether there is a need to get involved in a rather lengthy and complicated experiment. There is legislation before the House which would give the authority necessary to go ahead without experimentation, and we would endorse that legislation, and cut down the time for bringing in the benefits that are available here at an earlier time.

I agree. Why should we stand idly by while HEW conducts a useless experi-

ment to provide us with information we already have—that is, the purchase of durable medical equipment can effect a savings? Patients and HEW will only lose out on substantial savings during the period of experimentation. In order to decrease the unnecessary delays, I am introducing legislation today as a member of the Health Subcommittee, identical to H.R. 8717, a bill originally introduced by our colleague from Rhode Island (Mr. ST GERMAIN). I hope that this simple but potentially significant legislation can be enacted in the near future.

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE JOHN M. MURPHY TO ACCOMPANY A HOUSE RESOLUTION ON THE BREACH OF THE U.S.-U.S.S.R. TRADE AND SHIPPING AGREEMENT BY THE SOVIET UNION

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a House resolution which calls upon the President to terminate the so-called wheat deal between the United States and the Soviet Union if the Russians persist in their refusal to abide by the agreement's shipping terms.

Under the 1972 agreement, Soviet vessels have access to some 40 American ports. At the same time, it was agreed that the national flag vessels of each country should carry equal and substantial amounts of the ocean-borne commerce between the two countries. Regrettably, the Soviet Union has resorted to various devices to deny the U.S. vessels their fair share of the cargo covered by the agreement, which is one-third of total tonnage shipped.

My resolution will urge the President to terminate the 1972 agreement upon 90 days notice unless he can notify Congress that the U.S.S.R. has indicated a willingness to honor the express terms of the agreement.

I have asked the chairman of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries to schedule hearings immediately on this matter so that the unemployed merchant seamen in this country can hear representatives of the executive branch explain their apparent inability to hold the Soviet Union to a standard of commercial reasonableness.

During this month alone some 360,000 tons of cargo are to be shipped under the trade agreement, and, as of this moment, the U.S. merchant marine is not scheduled to carry a single pound. Of the 30.6 million metric tons of grain already shipped to Russia only 22 percent, or less than 7 million tons, has been shipped by the American merchant fleet.

Whatever diplomatic advantage there may be in placating the Soviet Union with respect to this matter is more than outweighed by the penalties which this approach imposes on the American maritime industry. The figures speak for themselves and are stark reminders that it is high time that the Soviets live up

to their agreements—or pay the price for breaching them.

My resolution will simply hold the Soviets to the standard of honesty and decency which most other nations find easy to attain. If that standard is impossible for them to attain, then the United States should exercise its right to deal appropriately with a party in breach of a clear agreement by terminating that agreement.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION

Whereas in 1972 there was executed the "Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Regarding Certain Maritime Matters", which provides that Soviet vessels have access to forty designated United States ports and also that the national-flag vessels of each country will carry equal and substantial amounts of the ocean-borne commerce between the two countries;

Whereas said agreement was extended and modified and agreed upon again, effective January 1, 1976; and

Whereas the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has taken full advantage of the access of its national-flag vessels to United States ports, but through various devices is denying the national-flag vessels of the United States their right to carry an equal and substantial share of the ocean-borne commerce between the two countries: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives, That unless the President notifies the Congress that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has ceased denying the national-flag vessels of the United States their right to carry an equal and substantial share of the ocean-borne commerce between the two countries, the President shall notify the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of the intention of the United States to terminate the agreement upon ninety days notice, pursuant to the terms of the agreement.

THE HOLY TRINITY LUTHERAN CHURCH IN BELLEROSE

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, the perpetuation of customs and tradition, the teachings of faith and citizenship, are characteristics that must be recognized. Such were the goals of the Holy Trinity Lutheran Church when it was founded. Fifty years hence, the parish hall in Bellerose stands as a shining and guiding light to young and old alike. Today, I ask my colleagues to join with me and the Holy Trinity Lutheran Church congregation in celebration of their 50th anniversary.

Among its services to the community, the church provides inspiration to Boy and Girl Scout troops that congregate within its halls. Sunday school, confirmation classes, adult groups, the youth groups, and the youth ministry group, all under the supervision of the esteemed and devoted Pastor Howard E. Funk, play an important role in perpetuating the tenets of the faith.

It is my privilege to have the opportunity to publicly recognize such a fine organization. The people who will be leading the activities for the coming year are:

ACTIVITIES OF GROUPS AND PEOPLE

WOMEN'S SERVICE GUILD

Mrs. Lillian Evers, president.
Mrs. Jean Matthei, vice president.
Mrs. Helen McEvoy, recording secretary.
Mrs. Caroline Deringer, corresponding secretary.
Mrs. Charlotte Hohorst, financial secretary.
Mrs. Ursula Prescht, treasurer.

WOMEN'S MISSIONARY GUILD

Mrs. Gertrude Muller, president.
Mrs. Ann Hipwell, vice president.
Mrs. Annetta Diekroger, corresponding secretary.
Mrs. Florence Mayer, recording secretary.
Mrs. Ana Angevine, financial secretary.
Mrs. Katherine Yake, treasurer.

ALTAR GUILD

Mrs. Thelma Meyer, president.
Mrs. Dorothy Corell, vice president.
Mrs. Marjorie Snyder, secretary.
Mrs. Maria McDougall, treasurer.

PUBLICITY COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN

Mr. Walter O'Neill.

The Holy Trinity Lutheran Church in Bellerose deserves recognition for its invaluable service to the social and religious welfare of the community. It is organizations such as this one that are the spiritual and moral backbone of this great country.

DR. LEON KEYSERLING RESPONDS TO CRITICISM OF HAWKINS-HUMPHREY FULL EMPLOYMENT BILL

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I and many others have been distressed by the distorted treatment of the Hawkins-Humphrey full employment bill in some of the media, and especially by their unwillingness to carry rejoinders to criticisms of the bill. As an example of both, I ask to have inserted in the RECORD an article submitted by Dr. Leon Keyserling on June 14, 1976 to the New Republic in response to criticism of H.R. 50 by Dr. Melvin J. Ulmer published in that journal on June 12. I believe Dr. Keyserling's article contains correct and necessary information about this vital legislation, and the failure of the New Republic to publish it raises questions about whether it is fulfilling its responsibilities to inform in a balanced way its audience on the most pressing issues of the day. I have long valued, and still do, the quality of the New Republic and its essentially liberal thrust, and am sorry to have to note its departure in this instance from what I regard as its usually fair journalistic practice.

The article follows:

A BRIGHTER VIEW OF HUMPHREY-HAWKINS

(By Leon H. Keyserling*)

Dr. Melvin J. Ulmer's article on Humphrey-Hawkins in *The New Republic* of June 12 expresses "a dim view" of the bill. A brighter view is sound and just. My comments apply equally to an article containing similarly erroneous criticisms of the bill by Dr. Charles L. Schultze in the *Washington Post* of June 7.

*Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers under President Truman. President, Conference on Economic Progress.

However, the quotations I cite are from the Ulmer article.

These critics regard the bill as wildly inflationary. Dr. Ulmer implies that wage rates for Government-financed last-resort jobs would be so high as to draw 10 million workers from the private sector. The last-resort jobs would pay the same wages as received by other workers doing the same type of work for the same employer; anything else would be patently unjust and unworkable. But the bill and its Congressional history thus far make it clear that up to three-quarters of the 10-12 million additional jobs needed between end of 1976 and end of 1980 would be conventional private jobs, and that many other new jobs would be high priority private jobs with marginal Federal assistance. The Congressional Budget Office has estimated peak last-resort jobs of less than one million, and the bill contains almost airtight prohibitions against movement from private to last-resort jobs. As these jobs, when started two years after enactment, would be only about one percent of about 95 million total employment, and as most public jobs pay less than comparable private jobs, not more than 100,000 at most of the last-resort jobs would be paid more than comparable private jobs. It is thus fantasy to assert that last-resort jobs would inflate total wages. Besides, the wage lag has been serious. From first quarter 1975 to first quarter 1976, real wages and salaries rose about 2.3 percent, while real G.N.P. rose about 7 percent.

Nor is it true that the bill provides no assurance that public employment would be "carefully directed toward those high priority needs that still remain unfulfilled." The bill mandates that priority programs (preponderantly private and some public) shall be budgeted in accord with economic and social needs, inter alia energy, transportation, food, environmental improvement, health, education and training, day care, and housing.

As the bill proposes fiscal and monetary policies to restrain "inflation when total demand threatens to exceed the nation's capabilities at full employment" (the proper role for such policies), Dr. Ulmer asserts that the bill neglects inflation arising long before full employment. Not so. To deal with such inflation, the bill includes micro-economic measures such as countercyclical, regional and structural, and youth employment. Other creative features, also mainly unmentioned by Dr. Ulmer are: goals to reduce unemployment to 3 percent, instead of permitting Administrations to accept and even contrive rates ranging from 5 to more than 9 percent; provisions to bring the Federal Reserve into line with national goals and needs; more constructive Federal Budget policy; recognition that concern with price trends per se must not blot out primary attention to resource allocation and income distribution; and new mechanisms to substitute coordinated and long-range policies for disjointed and improvised policies.

It is mistaken for Dr. Ulmer to urge that taxes be increased immediately to cover the full cost of any additional public employment. This proposal confuses (a) when fiscal policy should be tightened to curb excessive aggregate demand during full resource use (tightening it when unused resources are now tremendous simply aggravates this condition) and (b) when selective micro-economic policies should be used to combat inflation during a very slack economy.

As to price and wage movements, these (like taxes and monetary policy) are but means to attainment of the ultimate ends of full resources use, attention to priorities, and social justice. The prevalent obsession about inflation, instead of balanced attention to it, has abandoned these ultimate objectives, and also intensified inflation.

Regarding a wide gap between the rate of overall unemployment and the rate among youth, women, and minority groups as a structural cause of inflation, high unemploy-

ment widens this gap, and vice versa. For example, during 1951-1953, when overall unemployment averaged 3.1 percent, unemployment among women averaged 3.8 percent. The provisions in this bill for structural programs and against discrimination would reduce these gaps much further.

During stagnation or recession, real wage rate gains sometimes exceed repressed productivity. But the reverse is almost always true during movements toward full employment, thus working against wage-push inflation. From the first quarter 1975 to first quarter 1976, productivity rose 5.2 percent, while real wages and salaries rose only 2.3 percent. And Humphrey-Hawkins, far from encouraging excessive wage increases, specifies real wage rate gains in accord with productivity gains.

Dr. Ulmer's statement that Humphrey-Hawkins in its present form would "probably stimulate a more spectacular price advance than that of World War II" is almost inexplicable. The inflationary pressures then were not because unemployment was brought so low. They occurred because we were burning up almost half of G.N.P. in fighting the war, and this yielded no civilian goods, while civilian incomes were equal to total G.N.P. No such situation could possibly occur under Humphrey-Hawkins.

There is scant empirical support (and none appears in the Ulmer or Schultze articles) for asserting that fuller employment augments inflation, and that this in turn brings on recession. The Great Depression, several earlier depressions, and the recessions of 1953, 1957, and 1960, were preceded by very moderate price trends. The unusually severe recession of 1973-75 was preceded, during 1970-1972, by average annual price increases of less than 4 percent. It is rather misallocations of resources and incomes that mainly explain the cycle, and at times these have occurred under falling, stable, or rising prices because prices alone are only one factor among many, and relationships among prices and incomes are far more important. Humphrey-Hawkins stresses correcting these misallocations.

Nor does less unemployment usually bring more inflation. During 1947-1953, when I served on the Council of Economic Advisers, unemployment averaged low and was reduced to 2.9 percent in the last year; inflation averaged low, and was reduced to 0.8 percent in the last year. The low inflation was not primarily due to controls (which were hardly used in late 1952, and not used in 1953). It was because we gave top priority to full employment and production, remedying shortages, and breaking bottlenecks, and integrated planning policies adjusted to quantitative goals. Humphrey-Hawkins stresses these approaches (without controls, because current and foreseeable conditions are not analogous to the Korean war period).

During 1955-1958, including a serious economic recession and with unemployment rising from 4.4 percent to 6.8 percent, inflation averaged annually several times as high as during the immediately preceding years. From 1958 to 1966, with unemployment reduced to 3.8 percent in the last year, the average annual rate of consumer price inflation was only 1.5 percent.

The quickening of inflation during 1966-1969 was not due to a slight further reduction in unemployment, but to unwise delay in lifting taxes with vast acceleration of the Vietnam war. From 1969 to 1975, unemployment rose from 3.5 percent to 8.5 percent, and inflation rose to 9.1 percent by 1974-1975. Recently, with the severest economic downturn since the Great Depression, double-digit inflation was the highest since the Civil War. Only about half of this was due to Arab oil actions and crop failures; besides, these events would have had only minor effects if the long-range planning and priority programs under Humphrey-Hawkins had been in effect. Still more recently, a very

sharp decline in inflation has accompanied substantial though inadequate reduction of unemployment.

Thus, the thrust of Humphrey-Hawkins toward a full economy is the first and foremost weapon against inflation. Nonetheless, and unmentioned by Drs. Ulmer and Schultze, the bill provides numerous other anti-inflationary weapons: action against shortages and bottlenecks, structural improvements, improved anti-trust and pro-competition measures, etc. For reasons already stated, the bill does not now call for price-wage controls. And even those who still cling to the discredited "trade-off" admit that unemployment under the bill would not get low enough to call for controls until at least two years after enactment. It is prudent to adopt a wait-and-see attitude on controls, not saddle the bill prematurely with extremely controversial provisions which would hurt changes of passage.

Finally, it is unwise to disparage the bill as "political." The political process shapes national policies, and it is fortunate that the Democratic Party and its next nominee for President are espousing all basic features of Humphrey-Hawkins—albeit with some improvements which its sponsors are now developing.

BUSINESS SHOWS FAITH IN NEW YORK

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, on August 6, 1976, the Freeport Minerals Co. announced its determination to maintain its corporate headquarters in New York City. Chairman Benno C. Schmidt, in a brief but eloquent statement, explained why his company has concluded New York is "the finest place in the world * * * to conduct business." I wish to congratulate Mr. Schmidt on his statement and on his company's decision.

Mr. Schmidt's statement follows.

BUSINESS SHOWS FAITH IN NEW YORK

Freeport Minerals Company will continue to maintain its world headquarters in New York City. Freeport has had its head offices in New York City since 1912 and it is our intention to keep them here. We have just signed a new, long-term lease to consolidate all of our top executive offices in one location in the Pan American building. We will have in excess of 200 employees at this headquarters location.

New York City is the finest place in the world, in our opinion, to conduct business. The best banks, the best lawyers, the best investment bankers, and the best service facilities of all kinds are available here. It is also, in my opinion, still the best place in the world to live. No other city can match its attractions.

There is no denying that New York City, like many other cities, has its problems. These problems are serious and they must be solved if New York is to retain its pre-eminence. However, I believe that the fact that New York's problems have surfaced in so vivid a way is an encouraging sign. The problems of New York, like those of many other American cities, are now understood and it is up to the City, with the cooperation of the State and Federal governments to find solutions to these problems. I am convinced that solutions will be found and that New York will remain the great city that we have known. If the first step in

the solution of our problems is the recognition, definition and understanding of those problems, then we are already on the road to a better New York.

Freeport is casting its vote on the side of confidence in the ability and determination of New York, with the cooperation of the State and Federal governments, to solve its problems.

SPEAKING WITH TWO VOICES ON SOVIET MILITARY PREPARATIONS

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Eugene Rostow, Sterling Professor of Law at Yale University and former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, stated in the spring 1976 issue of *Strategic Review* that—

The United States and its allies are in danger, and the danger is increasing with every passing day. The growing imbalance of military forces is one stark measure of the danger. There are others, evident in the climate of politics and the character of events from Lebanon and Angola to the pressure on South Korea.

It is a disturbing political and psychological phenomenon, as the Assembly of the Atlantic Treaty Association noted in Paris last October, that "although the Soviet threat to the Alliance has increased, the perception of it in Western opinion has diminished." We have witnessed no such flight from reality since the thirties, when prevailing opinion throughout the West dithered and hesitated, until it was too late to prevent World War II.

Mr. Speaker, far too much is being done to keep knowledge from the American people that the United States and its Allies are increasingly in peril, and far too little is being done to get the facts out. There seems to be no end of apologists for the Soviet military buildup. It is amazing to hear how some people explain away the facts.

Fortunately, the American apologists for the Soviet military buildup are contradicted by what the Soviets are themselves saying. The Center for Advanced International Studies at the University of Miami, under the leadership of Foy Kohler, former American Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., has published in the August 15 issue of *Soviet World Outlook* an analysis of the Soviet press which shows that the Soviets openly stress the "building up of Soviet armaments on a huge scale" as well as the massive Soviet civil defense program.

I believe we should all feel indebted to the Center for Advanced International Studies for the energy and courage with which it attempts to get the facts out. I am certain that an informed American public opinion will demand that the United States take the necessary steps to protect our peace and freedom.

I believe the Soviet press is a good antidote to the wishful thinking that has done so much damage to our foreign policy and defense posture. I include the Center's analysis in the *RECORD* at this time:

SPEAKING WITH TWO VOICES ON SOVIET MILITARY PREPARATIONS

Moscow is attempting to undercut the growing attention being given in the US and Western Europe to the massive Soviet civil defense program, which has been sustained for many years and which has been significantly escalated since SALT I, and to the asymmetry resulting from the Soviet program in respective capabilities of the USSR and the US to survive a nuclear attack. Thus Pravda on July 11, in a rare attempt at humor, gave prominence to an article entitled "Trouble with Moles" which focused on recent hearings of the Joint Congressional Committee on Defense Production on the US-Soviet civil defense situation. Characterizing the hearings as "a molehill on Capitol Hill," it charged that "political moles" had quickly emerged to blurt out "some curious things" and to fill the Capitol "with squeaking and squealing" regarding the need for added civil defense efforts by the US.

"Participants," the article said, "stated zealously brandishing the hackneyed bugbear of the 'Soviet threat.' They have been diligently citing the falsifying book of a certain Leon Gouré with the indigestible title 'War Survival in Soviet Strategy.'" The object, according to the article, was "to intimidate ordinary Americans, drag them back into the holes and bunkers of the cold war and bar the way to détente with molehills." However, the organizers "forget what year it is. They also forget that, in contrast to purblind moles who cannot see present-day realities, Americans are acquiring better and better vision and are striving for peace and light."

(See *Soviet World Outlook* No. 4, March 1976, p. 12 for a descriptive announcement of the Gouré book to which Pravda referred. The book was published by the University of Miami's Center for Advanced International Studies in March of this year. As noted in the announcement, Leon Gouré is a Professor and Director of Soviet Studies in the Center who has specialized for some twenty-five years on research and analysis of Soviet civil defense, and is the recognized foremost western authority on this area of Soviet military activity and its place in overall Soviet strategy. The book, which includes a sobering foreword by Ambassador Foy D. Kohler, a co-editor of *Soviet World Outlook*, is now in a second printing and can be procured from the Center's Director of Publications. The softback price is \$6.95).

OPEN STRESS ON USSR CIVIL DEFENSE

In contrast to Soviet disdain of American concern over the civil defense situation, direct open evidence is currently being provided by highly authoritative Soviet spokesmen that civil defense not only continues to occupy a central place in Moscow's strategic preparations but that it is being treated as increasingly crucial in those preparations. Thus, Army General V. Kulikov, Chief of General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and First Deputy Minister of Defense of the USSR, wrote in the May, 1976 issue of *Voennye Znaniia*:

"Modern war requires a carefully thought through and organized system of measures for insuring the stability of the functioning of the national economy and the reliable protection of the population throughout the country's territory. A particular role in the implementation of this task is played by Civil Defense, which now has become a factor of great strategic significance in assuring the viability of the state."

Backing up the Kulikov generalization, the July 1976 issue of *Voennye Znaniia* contained 18 separate articles on various specific aspects of civil defense enterprises and activities. Similarly, Red Star, Soviet Armed Forces' daily, contained special reports on civil defense exercises in various localities in its issue of July 1, July 2, and July 14. The

last, devoted to an exercise at the "Rodolsk Production Combine," said that this was "a part of complex exercises held in Nikolaev Raion of the Lvov Oblast: In it participated all enterprises and collective farms in the raion, institutions and organizations and educational institutions."

The main journal of the Soviet military establishment, Communist of the Armed Forces, carried major articles emphasizing civil defense in its May, June and July issues. The thrust is indicated by the article in May entitled "The XXV Party Congress Concerning the Strengthening of the Defense Capability of the Country, the Combat Might of the Soviet Armed Forces." In this it was stated: "Together with the army and navy there continues the perfecting of the Armed Forces' Rear Services and of the Civil Defense of the country. They are at the level of the requirements of a modern war."

The newspaper *Sovietskii Patriot* of July 14, 1976 contained reports on civil defense activities in Rostov-on-the-Don, Leningrad, and Moscow. The report on Leningrad noted that at the Pioneer Camp at "Lada," near the city, shelters and fallout covers have been built for the "training of Pioneers," i.e., eight through fourteen year olds. The same periodical on June 30 examined the complexities of civil defense exercises and training as revealed in the program for Monchegorsk, and on June 9 carried on article, "When the Siren Has Sounded," in which it was reported that: "During the complex enterprise exercises which have been conducted in the Moscow oblast, the personnel of the non-military [civil defense] formations, the majority of the workers and employees have received a firm practical knowledge in conducting rescue and emergency repair and restoration work. This has made possible conducting complex exercises on the scale of cities and raions with the participation of all inhabitants."

The attention currently being given by Red Star to civil defense is far greater than at any time in the past. The exhortative motivation is well demonstrated by an article in its July 3 issue entitled "The Director Sets the Tone." Centering on the situation at the Kaluga Electrical Machinery Plant, which was characterized as "first among the raion's enterprises in terms of the standard of organization of civil defense," the article said that "a clear plan of civil defense measures has been elaborated at the plant. Its fulfillment is under the constant control of the directors. Civil defense questions are regularly examined at weekly operation conferences of shop and section leaders." The plant party committee also does a great deal for civil defense and civil defense competitions are held. "The plant director is in constant contact with the enterprise civil defense staff. The work of the director and the civil defense staff is efficient and coordinated. These qualities were displayed in the preparation for the last comprehensive exercise." In this exercise:

"A 'nuclear' strike in the region of the plant produced devastation, obstacles and fires. The immediate liquidation of danger which had arisen began at once. Reconnaissance scouts rushed to the center of the destruction. They were followed by a rescue detachment under the command of the communist, V. Ninchev. He was given first-aid teams and mechanized subunits with bulldozers, mobile cranes, a compressor unit and other equipment. People worked in unison. Some put out flames, others cleared obstacles, others rescued the 'wounded' and administered first aid. . . . All services and formations operated with precision at the comprehensive exercise, to whose preparation and holding the plant director devoted great attention."

An important point to consider is that Soviet stress on civil defense activities and their importance is within the context of a prevailing Soviet line that in a nuclear war

the Soviet Union will emerge victorious. Indeed, Soviet leaders are the only ones who speak of "victory" in a nuclear war. For example, Brezhnev pledged in 1967 that in the event of a war "the Soviet Union would win a victory worthy of our great people." In 1973, USSR Minister of Defense Grechko asserted that "we are firmly convinced that victory in this war would go to us—to the socialist system," and a year later again claimed that "if the imperialist aggressor risks encroaching on our country, he will be beaten everywhere." In May 1974 Grechko wrote that "the fundamental impact of the military content of Soviet military doctrine consists in ensuring the complete defeat of any aggressor." More recently, other Soviet spokesmen have used similar words, as for example, the Commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, who wrote in February 1975: "Let everybody know that in a clash with any aggressor, the land of the Soviets will achieve victory worthy of our great people." It is also frequently asserted in echo of Grechko that Soviet military doctrine "elaborates" the "conditions and means of insuring victory in a war."

CONTRADICTORY POSTURES ON MILITARY EXPENDITURES

Meanwhile, it should be emphasized that Moscow speaks with the same two voices regarding its overall military efforts as for its civil defense program.

Continuing to show great sensitivity over sharply increased western estimates of the size and rate of growth of Soviet military expenditures (See Soviet World Outlook, No. 6, June 15, 1976, pp. 7-8) USSR spokesmen liturgically repeat at every opportunity Brezhnev's statement at the June, 1976 Berlin Conference of European Communist Parties that "the Soviet Union is the only great power which does not increase its military spending from year to year."

At the same time, however, Soviet authorities not only stress the recent phenomenal growth and qualitative improvements in USSR military capabilities but also the decisive role which its military gains as against the US is playing in a claimed accelerating shift in its favor in the overall correlation of world forces. Kommunist, most authoritative of Soviet journals, indicated the sweep of Soviet advances in an article signed by First Deputy Minister of Defense General Kulikov in its May, 1976 issue,

"If one summarized all the changes in the army and navy following the 24th [1971] Congress, then the main fact is that the successes in the development of the socialist economy, science and culture permitted the implementation of basic qualitative changes in all fields of military affairs."

The top journal of the Soviet Navy, Morskoi Sbornik, spoke in more concrete terms in its May issue: "The process of really revolutionary changes in the army and navy continued in recent years. All branches of the armed forces and types of troops received the newest weapons, military equipment for various purposes, automated complexes, and highly effective means for command and control." The article continued with a tick-off of major accomplishments and with a portrayal of the great weight given to military requirements in close link with Soviet economic planning and activity:

"The current stage of development in military affairs is characterized by the expansion of material expenditures for the production of military equipment and arms, the increase in the requirements for their quality. Only during the last 10-15 years second and third generations of missiles, radioelectronic systems, naval craft and airplanes were replaced among us and abroad. All this means that for supporting the Armed Forces on a contemporary level a developed industry, advanced science and technology, trained cadres, a significant amount of raw materials and equipment are needed. The Party's eco-

nomical strategy adopted at the 25th [Party] Congress will permit creating the necessary prerequisites for successfully fulfilling these tasks."

Communist of the Armed Forces for June 1976 developed the same themes:

"The defense power of socialism is a vital necessity. Therefore the [XXV] Congress approved the party line on the strengthening of the defense capability of the country and the perfecting of the Armed Forces. . . . The defense might of the country . . . must be such that the aggressor understands the inevitability of the defeat of his political and military goals in the military actions which he has planned; and that one can foil his criminal intentions at their birth, and, if the armed attack becomes a fact to decisively crush any aggressor. . . ."

An even more revealing account of Soviet military expansion was provided by an editorial article in Communist of the Armed Forces for May 1976:

"One must again emphasize that the problem of strengthening the defense capability of the country is constantly at the center of attention of the Communist Party and its Central Committee. . . . The Party outlines and carries out all necessary measures which ensure the further strengthening of the defense might of the Soviet state, and for raising the combat capabilities and combat readiness of the Armed Forces. As a result of the successes in the development of the socialist economy, the utilization of the achievements of science and technology, there took place serious qualitative changes in all aspects of military affairs."

The article then ticked off details respecting provision of all branches of the Armed Forces with "the most modern weapons and military equipment: The Strategic Military Forces; the Ground Forces; the Air Forces' Rear Services; Civil Defense; the Navy. "The combat capabilities of all," the article said, "have been immeasurably increased." The article continued with a promise of more to come:

"The successful development of the economy will allow the Soviet Union to systematically further strengthen its defense capability. In the solution of this question important significance is attached, as is known, not only to the rapid growth of industrial production, but also to those qualitative changes which are occurring in our industry at the present stage. [In the 10th Five-Year Plan] large measures have been outlined for the further improvement of the structure of industry, the raising of the share in the total volume of production of those sectors which determine technological progress. Thus, the output of machine-building and metal-working equipment will increase in the five-year plan by approximately 1.6 times. In line with this primary progress, growth will occur in the atomic, metallurgical and chemical machine building and also in a number of branches of the electric, electronic, lathe building industries and in instrument building. By these means will be created the bases for qualitative changes in the development of all branches of the economy. All this is not only of enormous significance for the economy but also is quite important for defense. . . ."

"However, we communists cannot rest on what has been achieved, because to stop means to fall behind. Therefore our achievements in all spheres of military building must be seen only as a step towards the further raising of the combat might of the Armed Forces."

MILITARY GAINS TILT "CORRELATION OF FORCES"

The growth in the military prowess of the USSR, Soviet spokesmen continue tirelessly to contend, has been the prime factor in, as the journal USA put it in July 1976, "changes in the correlation of forces in the world arena as a result of the strengthening of the forces of peace and socialism, changes in the

military balance between the biggest states belonging to the two systems—the USSR and the US." Red Star asserted on June 10, 1976:

"In our ear the correlation of class forces in the world has definitely and irreversibly changed in favor of socialism."

"Imperialism is obliged to consider the new correlation of forces in the international arena and realistic statesmen and politicians in the capitalist countries are obliged to consider this in shaping and pursuing their foreign policy and in elaborating practical measures in the field of detente. . . . Under these conditions the consolidation of the defense capability of the Soviet state is an objective necessity. Our military cadres . . . devote all their knowledge, energy and creative initiative to insure that the readiness [of the forces] to deal a crushing rebuff to an aggressor and to defeat him at any moment are improved and perfected."

Along the same lines, Communist of the Armed Forces of May 1976 said that, "The Party and the Soviet people take into account that in agreeing to negotiations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries the imperialists were forced to do so first of all by the change in the correlation of forces in the international arena in favor of socialism, which is expressed in the economic and defense might of world socialism and foremost of those if its main link—the Soviet Union."

To the Chinese communists, if not to others who observe the Soviet scene, Soviet affirmations that the USSR does not increase its military spending from year to year raises a difficult problem in logic in light of Moscow's revelations of "building up of Soviet armaments on a huge scale." Thus, Radio Peking puzzled on July 15, 1976:

"One would ask: Has the Soviet Union found any secret method to far surpass Western arms expansion without increasing its national defense expenditure and bring about 'a new balance of force in the world'?"

LET THE BELLS TOLL

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following: During this Bicentennial Year numerous tributes have been made which have acclaimed this country as the greatest experiment in democracy ever attempted and successfully achieved.

I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the writing of one of my constituents, Mr. Jesse I. Fuchs of West Palm Beach, Fla., whose poem entitled, "Let the Bells Toll," reiterates some of the thoughts and ideas felt by all Americans as they celebrate this Nation's Bicentennial. It is my pleasure to include this poem at this point:

LET THE BELLS TOLL

(By Jesse I. Fuchs)

Let the bells toll throughout the land.
Let the bells ring with pride
In memory of the freedom won
With liberty sanctified.

Our Founders struggled with one aim in view,
To build a great and glorious land,
So that we might carry on their wish,
This nation respected and truly grand.

In all the troubles and woes today
Across our land from East to West,
Our country continues to prosper;
It's still the very best.

Though some in high places, in greed have faltered,
We'll not let them hide behind our flag.
Who dare challenge the test of time.
We're still the mightiest nation—liberty's the tag.

ERDA ANNOUNCES PROPOSALS FOR SOLAR ENERGY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

HON. MIKE McCORMACK

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the Energy Research and Development Administration—ERDA—has announced that it has received 20 proposals, acceptable for comprehensive evaluation, for a manager-operator for the Solar Energy Research Institute—SERI. I am pleased to inform my colleagues in the House that this Nation's Solar Energy Research, Development and Demonstration and the plans to establish the SERI are moving forward in an orderly manner, and at an accelerated pace. We expect that the difficulties encountered in initiating the Solar Energy Heating and Cooling Demonstration program have been overcome and that the ERDA will reach the goals established by Congress to have 2,000 demonstration units for solar heating on the line by the end of calendar year 1977 and, in addition, 2,000 more combined heating and cooling solar demonstration facilities by the end of 1979, provided that a practical and economically competitive solar energy air conditioning unit is developed in time.

The Solar Energy Research, Development and Demonstration Act of 1974 established the SERI to perform "such research, development, and related functions" in the area of solar energy, as determined necessary by ERDA to support the solar energy program.

The proposals will be evaluated by a Source Evaluation Board made up of ERDA personnel. Dr. Robert C. Seamans, Jr., Administrator of ERDA, is the source selection official who has responsibility for the final selection.

The initial role of SERI will be the performance of analysis, assessment, information dissemination, research activities in specific aspects of the solar energy program, and support of international cooperative programs.

SERI's future role could include increased research, development and related activities in support of ERDA's solar energy program.

ERDA estimates that the cost of the contract for the first year of performance will be between \$4 and \$6 million.

Through a phased-growth approach both in terms of organizational and site size, SERI could evolve into ERDA's lead solar energy laboratory, subject to several criteria including performance and availability of funds.

The following organizations submitted proposals acceptable for comprehensive evaluation, prior to the deadline of 5 p.m., July 15, 1976. The address of a proposer does not necessarily indicate the location of the proposed site for initial and/or future operation.

Battelle Memorial Institute, teamed with the State of Arizona, 505 King Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43201.

Corporation for Solar Energy, sponsored by the California Energy Resources, Conservation & Development Commission, 633 University Hall, Berkeley, California 94720.

State of Georgia for Solar Consortium, Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, Georgia 30332.

Goodrich-Bartlett & Associates, 1105 Gardner, Las Cruces, New Mexico 88801.

Icarus Corporation, sponsored by The City Council, City of Wilkes-Barre, City Hall, Room 21, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania 18701.

Purdue University in cooperation with the State of Indiana, West Lafayette, Indiana 47907.

Solar Research Management Corporation, Lockheed Missiles & Space Company, Inc., in cooperation with the State of Florida, Lockheed Palo Alto Research Laboratory, 3251 Hanover Street, Palo Alto, California 94304.

Midwest Research Institute, in cooperation with the State of Colorado, 425 Volker Blvd., Kansas City, Missouri 64110.

Michigan Energy and Resource Association, teamed with Bendix, Lansing, Michigan 48933.

National Solar Energy Research Consortium, Inc. (NSERC, Inc.), 2101 L Street, NW., Suite 801, Washington, D.C. 20037.

National Solar Energy Research Institute, Inc., P. O. Box NSERI 365, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401.

Nebraska Energy Research Corporation, State Capitol, Lincoln, Nebraska 68509.

State of New Jersey, State House, West State Street, Trenton, New Jersey 08625.

Solar Energy Research Institute, on behalf of The States of Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island & Vermont, 1031 Statler Office Bldg., Park Square, Boston, Massachusetts 02116.

Southwest Research Institute, 8500 Culebra Road, P. O. Drawer 28510, San Antonio, Texas 78284.

Stanford Research Institute, teamed with the State of New Mexico, 333 Ravenswood Avenue, Menlo Park, California 94025.

System Development Corp., teamed with the El Paso Regional Solar Energy Task Group, 2500 Colorado Avenue, Santa Monica, California 90406.

Thermo Electron Solar Huntsville, Corp., P. O. Box 5837, Huntsville, Alabama 35807.

University City Science Institute, 3624 Science Center, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104.

Department of Natural Resources, State of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah 84112.

DIFFERENT BILLS

HON. HELEN S. MEYNER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Ms. MEYNER. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced legislation, along with 17 co-sponsors, to exempt most farm vehicles from the highway use tax. A similar bill, H.R. 6521, will be considered by the House of Representatives on Tuesday.

There are some important differences between these bills, however. My bill seeks to relieve farmers of the burden of the highway use tax. H.R. 6521 seeks to relieve farm trailer manufacturers of the burden of the Federal excise tax. These manufacturers have virtually admitted that they have been absorbing the cost of this tax. There is no guarantee whatsoever that passage of this bill will result in any savings for the purchasers of these trailers. I urge the Members of this body to carefully consider the merits of

this bill before going along with this revenue-reducing legislation.

I am pleased to report that Senator RUSSELL LONG, the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, has promised Senators McGOVERN and DOLE that he will schedule hearings on farm vehicle tax relief this fall. I am hopeful that these hearings will provide the impetus necessary to carry this legislation through to final passage.

SWINE FLU LEGISLATION

HON. JOSEPH L. FISHER

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement relating to the swine flu immunization bill which was passed by the House on the day before our recent recess and explaining my vote in support of this legislation.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT ON S. 3537, THE SWINE FLU LIABILITY LEGISLATION

Mr. Speaker, on August 10, the day before the Congressional recess, the House passed by a vote of 250 to 83 a Senate-passed bill (S. 3735) to expedite the swine flu immunization program by giving the Federal government a directed role in the indemnification process for product or professional liability litigation arising out of the program. This action by the House cleared the legislation for approval by the President.

Because of the well-reported differences this program, and because the legislation was passed under an extraordinary legislative procedure, I should like briefly to explain the situation and the reasons for my vote in support of the bill.

Earlier this year the Congress passed legislation authorizing Federal funds to underwrite the costs of manufacturing and distributing a new vaccine to provide public protection in the event of a threatened outbreak of swine flu. Despite some initial delays, the production phase of the program is well advanced, and some 100 million units of the vaccine have been produced. In recent weeks, however, a new threat to the program developed when the insurance carriers which normally provide liability coverage for the drug firms refused to extend protection to the companies with respect to this particular program. Their refusal was not based, they said, on any indication that this is a dangerous vaccine, but rather on their fears that such a large-scale program might stimulate a large and costly volume of liability litigation. Without insurance coverage the manufacturers felt they could not continue their program efforts. Hence, with the normal influenza due to begin in September or October, we faced a major program breakdown.

To avoid such a breakdown the Administration submitted new legislation to authorize the Federal government to fill the liability insurance gap on an emergency basis. The bill passed by the Congress differs somewhat from the Administration proposal, but it employs the same approach.

There is far from unanimous agreement in the Congress on the details of the new legislation—or, indeed, on the desirability of having the Federal government fill the insurance coverage gap. Most of us in the Congress concluded, however, that we had to act fast and affirmatively to make sure that the program we had earlier approved would not collapse. That explains the strong vote of

support in both the House and the Senate.

It should be clearly understood, however, that this new legislation does not represent a Congressional position on the scientific controversy over what groups in the population should be vaccinated. When the Congress passed the original enabling legislation for this program, we left to the Secretary of HEW and his expert advisors the determination of what groups within the total public should ultimately be inoculated. Whatever differences of scientific opinion there may be on this score, they are not differences which the Congress should resolve. What the Congress decided was that the Federal government should underwrite the costs of producing enough vaccine to implement whatever ultimate coverage is determined to be necessary. I believe we acted wisely then, and I also believe we needed to act again to make sure that this authorization would not be thwarted by the surprising reluctance of the insurance industry to play its customary role in this undertaking.

Although the critical program support legislation has now been passed, I hope there will be further legislative exploration—by one or more congressional committees—into some of the broader implications of the insurance industry's role in indemnity coverage in the future. Such an exploration should not necessarily be limited to immunization programs, but might well cover other facets of product and professional liability in the health field.

I am not suggesting that the Federal government should take responsibility for the whole field of health liability insurance. Until there is more expert agreement and more actual program experience relating to liability problems I would not like to have any national mandates being issued from Washington. In view of the Federal government's present and expanding responsibilities relating to health services and to the containment of spiralling health costs, however, I doubt that Congress can stay completely out of the picture. My thought is that the Congress might first explore the possibilities of relatively limited supportive or collaborative roles which the Federal government might play to guard against program or system breakdowns while the states are developing and testing more basic approaches to the whole liability insurance problem.

Much of the debate regarding medical liability insurance seems to be focused on pinning the blame on some identifiable villain group—the health professions, the legal profession, the insurance industry, or those consumers of health services who seek risk-free medical miracles. There may well be enough blame for all to share, but I would rather interrupt this debate for a little remedial action, even if the action may at first have to be aimed at selected problems only.

The bill that we passed on August 10 represents this kind of action, but it had to be passed in such a hurry that we did not really have a chance for a careful definition of future Federal roles and policies. That job remains to be done, and I hope it can at least be begun before the end of the present session of Congress.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, on roll-call No. 625, I am recorded as being absent.

I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "aye" on the motion that the House resolve

itself into the Committee of the Whole for the consideration of H.R. 13372.

EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY OF B'NAI B'RITH MESSENGER

HON. HENRY A. WAXMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. WAXMAN. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues and of the public a noteworthy journalistic event which will take place in my district on September 17, 1976. On that date, publisher-editor Joseph Jonah Cummins will mark the 80th birthday of the B'nai B'rith Messenger by issuing a special Jewish New Year Keepsake Edition. The Keepsake Edition will focus on the history of the Jewish community in southern California from the first settlers in the 19th century up to the present day. This theme is in keeping with the role the Messenger has placed over the years in increasing the information, awareness and pride of the local Jewish community in our historical roots.

Since 1929, Joseph Cummins has been the publisher, editor and driving force behind the B'nai B'rith Messenger. During the past 47 years the Messenger has not only borne the clear mark of Mr. Cummins' journalistic genius but also has reflected every facet of the complex man's commitment to the United States of America, to the State of Israel, and to a diverse and dynamic Los Angeles Jewish community.

Joseph Cummins' concerns with our own community have never reduced his vital interests in the State of Israel. A lifelong Zionist, Cummins dedicated his paper first to the establishment of a Jewish state, and after the founding of Israel in 1948, to the safety and survival of the embattled Jewish nation. His readers came to cherish the B'nai B'rith Messenger as one of the most comprehensive and reliable sources of news in the world not only about events within Israel but also about the Middle East in general and about American and world affairs of consequences to Israel.

In many respects, the B'nai B'rith Messenger has helped Los Angeles Jews exist as a true community rather than a mere population concentration.

With more than a half million souls in the general southern California area, adequate communications could not possibly be maintained by word-of-mouth or organizational newsletters. Certainly, the meager coverage the metropolitan press has seen fit to give Jewish community events could not sustain an authentic community. Rather, community publications such as the Messenger have done the job. It is to the Messenger that every group within the community—Zionist organizations, cultural and fraternal societies, synagogues, temples, educational institutions, charitable and benevolent institutions, political, and recreational groups—have turned for coverage. Readers have long relied heavily on the Messenger not only for news and in-

formation but also for numerous entertaining features, inspirational columns, and especially, outspoken editorials reflecting Joseph Jonah Cummins' deepest personal commitment as an American, as a Jew and as a journalist.

Among the institutions indebted to the Messenger perhaps none owe more than the Jewish schools of Los Angeles. Without regard to such denominational distinctions as Reform, Conservative, Orthodox or Orthodox Chassidia, Joseph Jonah Cummins has always given news on Jewish education top priority. He has also devoted editorial space, time after time, to praising the local Jewish day-schools and urging citizens to support the schools financially and to give them every consideration as the educational setting for their own children.

Joseph Jonah Cummins during his 47 years stewardship has raised the Messenger to the highest level of ethnic journalism. The Messenger has helped maintain and develop the Jewish community and enhance the unique cultural and religious values on which it rests.

Joseph Jonah Cummins well deserves the praise and good wishes he will be receiving as the B'nai B'rith Messenger marks its 80th anniversary.

JUDGE LAVERNE DIXON HONORED IN RETIREMENT

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, one of my longtime friends, Judge LaVerne A. Dixon, Circuit Court Judge of the 19th Judicial Circuit of Illinois, has announced his retirement from the bench. Following a long and successful career as an attorney practicing in the State and Federal courts, Judge Dixon has served as Circuit Court Judge of the 19th Judicial Circuit for 14 years during the reform period of the Illinois court system. Until recently he was the Chief Circuit Judge which demanded not only active judicial service, but an overall administration of the courts in the 19th Circuit.

Judge Dixon has been far more than a judicial officer. His service has included many civic and community activities in his home town of Gurnee, Ill., as well as in Lake County. His earlier active participation in Republican politics involved him as a political leader who influenced events and candidacies of many who have served in public office in Lake County and in the State of Illinois.

Mr. Speaker, I should recall also the faithful and devoted work of Judge Dixon's wife, Ruth, who has given steadfast support to his career and who in her own right has been a public and political leader during the years of Judge Dixon's distinguished service.

Mr. Speaker, many public figures, as well as family and personal friends of Judge Dixon, will gather at the Holiday Inn, Gurnee, on Thursday evening, August 26, for a retirement party and tribute to Judge Dixon. While it is my

hope that I can be present, I take this occasion nevertheless to recall to you, Mr. Speaker, and all my colleagues in this body the honorable and important service of a leading figure of the Bar and Bench of Lake County and the State of Illinois, His Honor, LaVerne A. Dixon, Judge of the 19th Circuit Court of Illinois.

My wife, Doris, joins in extending to Judge Dixon and his devoted wife, Ruth, our heartfelt congratulations and good wishes for many happy and healthy years together.

THE SOUTHWEST SEWER DISTRICT

HON. THOMAS J. DOWNEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. DOWNEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on June 2, 1976, the Amityville Chamber of Commerce sponsored a public forum to discuss the controversial Southwest Sewer District in Suffolk County, N.Y. This meeting gave the people a much-needed opportunity to express their views and grievances on this important issue.

At this time I would like to share my comments on the Southwest Sewer District with my colleagues. The following is a copy of the written statement I submitted to the meeting.

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN THOMAS J. DOWNEY ON THE SOUTHWEST SEWER DISTRICT

I am sorry that I am not able to be with you tonight as you consider one of the most serious and controversial issues facing the people of my congressional district and all of Suffolk County. Unfortunately, the House of Representatives is in late session all this week and I do not leave Washington when there is a chance that I will miss legislative votes. Indeed, we are considering legislation that would increase Federal funding of sewer projects across the country, including our own District, and I expect passage of the bill in the next few days.

However, I do want to bring you up to date on some of our activities regarding the Southwest Sewer District. I am grateful that the Amityville Chamber of Commerce has provided this opportunity for public consideration of the Sewer issue, and for accepting my written comments.

My office has been working in four areas to make some sense out of the sewer mess and to help ease the unconscionable burden imposed on our taxpayers by this massive project.

First, as one of my initial actions as a Congressman after I was sworn in last year, I introduced legislation that would permit taxpayers subject to such special taxing authorities as the Southwest Sewer District to deduct the amount of their assessments on their income tax. This bill has been referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, and Chairman Al Ullman has assured me that it will be considered when the committee takes up comprehensive tax reform. If passed, this deduction could produce significant tax savings for residents of the sewer district, and could reduce average sewer tax payments as much as 25%.

Second, I have been in close and constant contact with the Governor's office and the State Department of Environmental Conservation about the possibility of obtaining money for the construction of lateral lines. We have been successful in convincing the

state of the importance of channeling this federal money to the sewer district, and in the state's priorities, we are now near the top of the list. I am hopeful that the State will be acting within a matter of weeks to release these funds, which will be in the millions of dollars.

Third, I believe that we must make every conceivable effort to determine whether improper or illegal acts have been committed by any of the governmental or private entities with authority over the Sewer District. As your Congressman, I have initiated an investigation by the General Accounting Office of the federal role in the sewer project, which will focus primarily on the action or non-action by the Federal Environmental Protection Agency, which has the ultimate federal jurisdiction in sewer questions. The GAO will determine whether EPA was negligent in its oversight capacity, and how much responsibility it must bear for the mess we are in today.

Fourth, and finally, I am working very closely with our neighboring Congressman, Jerry Ambro, who, as a member of the House Public Works Committee, is spearheading a comprehensive investigation of the Sewer Project in his Subcommittee on Investigations. The subcommittee is looking into all aspects of the sewer project and has already sent investigators up here, and because of the extensive federal role in the project, a report will be issued detailing what went wrong and where, if anywhere, there has been a misuse or inefficient use of federal dollars.

As your Congressman, I stand ready to take any appropriate action within my power to aid in dealing with the sewer crisis. I welcome any suggestions regarding other proper federal action, from Suffolk County officials and from the general public.

Thank you for including my remarks in your meeting.

DOCTOR FAIL-SAFE

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, during the past year, I have had the opportunity of several discussions with Dr. Henry Damm concerning the work of his professional organization, Damm & Associates, in measuring the quality of medical care and helping medical institutions improve their service to the public. Dr. Damm has developed unique standards by which to judge the existence of malpractice and improper procedures. During this time in which we so desperately need to reduce the costs of medical care and malpractice, Damm & Associates are able to offer statistically proven ways of improving care and thus reducing malpractice claims.

Recently the work of Damm & Associates, which is located in my congressional district, was discussed in the July 26 issue of Newsweek. I commend the article to my colleagues, since it indicates that there may, indeed, be some hard answers to the hard questions of medical costs.

The article follows:

DOCTOR FAIL-SAFE

When a manufacturer is plagued by complaints from customers, he can hire a quality-control consultant to inspect his plant and find the glitches on the assembly line that are causing defects in his product. The same kind of troubleshooting is now being

used by hospitals to reduce the risk of malpractice suits. For a fee, a highly specialized Cleveland consulting firm will go over a hospital from emergency room to pathology lab to uncover medical accidents that are waiting to happen.

"Malpractice isn't just a matter of incompetence," says Henry C. Damm, 42 founder of Damm & Associates. "Eighty to 90 per cent of the cases arise in the hospital—usually because of a failure to observe fail-safe standards that are on the books." A Ph.D. in endocrinology and biostatistics, Damm entered the field of hospital "risk management" after completing a teaching stint at Cleveland's Case Western Reserve University Medical School and writing a classic text on standards for clinical laboratories.

At first, Damm worked for insurance companies and attorneys, reviewing malpractice claims to find out what had gone wrong. From analyzing many cases of this sort, Damm and his colleagues amassed a huge data bank of potential trouble spots in hospitals, and are now using it as the basis for preventing malpractice occurrences. The firm, which employs seventeen full-time specialists in clinical procedures and hospital administration, conducts detailed on-scene surveys of client hospitals, makes recommendations to correct deficiencies and offers periodic return visits to monitor progress. The charge is \$30 to \$50 a bed for smaller hospitals and up to \$80 per bed for larger institutions.

To preserve confidentiality, Damm is understandably cautious about discussing his findings. But one hospital survey recently uncovered 40 danger spots that Damm considers typical. Among them: improperly functioning temperature controls in a lab refrigerator, which could lead to inaccurate test results; emergency-room personnel who were lax about washing their hands; failure to conduct routine blood typing in the obstetrics ward to detect possible Rh problems; improperly functioning monitors and alarms in the coronary-care unit.

RECORDS

He also discovered that the hospital's committees met informally, if at all, and that the pharmacy committee had no records of adverse drug reactions or improperly filled prescriptions. As a result of Damm's findings, the deficiencies have been cleared up.

In general, the biggest danger spots in the hospital, says Damm, are in the emergency room, the intensive-care unit and the post-surgical recovery room. "The more things you have going on at one time," he says, "the more chance you have of getting into trouble." Large teaching hospitals, where the more complex and sophisticated procedures are carried out, face a higher risk than do the small community institutions.

With family approval, many hospitals post "do not resuscitate" lists of patients who are terminally ill. Damm warns against the practice on the grounds that it may be legally indefensible and that it amounts to euthanasia in the eyes of many courts.

Risk management as a method of preventing malpractice problems is a new concept. But with the rise in malpractice premiums and the recent trend for hospitals to join together to underwrite their own malpractice coverage, Damm expects a busy future—and is planning a fivefold increase in his staff.

AID PROGRAM AND REPRESENTATION IN HAITI

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. HAMILTON. I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues some

correspondence I had recently with the Agency for International Development regarding a Jack Anderson column of August 4, 1976 concerning our economic aid program in Haiti and contrasting the lifestyle of our AID employees with conditions of extreme poverty that exist in that small country.

While AID's response addresses the article's sharp criticisms of the living standards of AID personnel and aspects of our aid effort in Haiti, some questions remain concerning whether or not our aid program is well organized for trying to relieve the severe problems of poverty and unemployment in the rural areas of the country.

Following are copies of the Anderson column, my letter to AID of August 4 and AID's response of August 17:

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 4, 1976]

AMERICAN LUXURY, HAITIAN POVERTY

(By Jack Anderson and Les Whitten)

Nestled high on the hills above Port-Au-Prince are fashionable, walled villas, equipped with sparkling swimming pools and staffed by gracious servants.

This is where the U.S. Agency for International Development officials reside, with their families. They came to Haiti to administer American aid. Their mission is to help develop the impoverished nation and feed its hungry people.

A generous portion of the U.S. offering goes to maintain the AID administrators in the high style they have adopted. They live in luxury; they are waited on by servants; they belong to exclusive private clubs, they attend lavish cocktail and dinner parties.

Yet believe it or not, they collect extra hardship pay of about 15 per cent for enduring the rigors of Port-Au-Prince. They are also granted two extra weeks of stateside vacation, on top of their normal leave, to recuperate from the hard life.

They draw a generous housing allowance to help pay the rent on their fancy villas. They make biweekly flights to Guantanamo Bay to pick up inexpensive American food from the U.S. commissary. They can claim a generous "educational allowance," too, to help with their children's education.

After hundreds of thousands of dollars have been squeezed out of the AID budget for the care and comfort of the administrators, the rest of the money is usually turned over to the Haitian government to distribute. Additional amounts are diverted into the pockets of Haitian officials. Grain intended for the poor, for example, has been stolen and sold by corrupt customs officials.

We sent our reporter, Hal Bernton, to Haiti to find out whether any of the aid reaches the people it was intended for. With a knapsack on his back, he traveled to the most desolate, drought-stricken region of the tiny Caribbean country. He lived for more than a week with the people in a remote village.

He saw naked children too weak from hunger to play, their bellies bloated by malnutrition. The villagers subsisted largely on mangoes. But the last mango would soon be devoured. The people didn't know what they would eat after that.

The American AID officials are usually too busy planning and partying in Port-Au-Prince to visit the villagers. Those who do usually drive through on jeeps. Most are too tied up with paperwork to leave their desks.

During the fiscal year that ended on June 30, the American taxpayers donated nearly \$18 million in foreign aid to Haiti. A tiny trickle of food-for-work has reached the remote village that Bernton visited.

In the past, American aid has also helped to build hospitals, construct roads, tap water

and distribute food. This has saved lives and alleviated suffering. But it's the AID officials who are the most comforted, the Haitian officials who are enriched.

Bernton inspected a road construction project, that is partially financed with U.S. development funds. He found 240 peasants slowly building a road to their village, which was located on top of a high mountain plateau. With picks, shovels and wheelbarrows, they moved the road ahead.

The men were gaunt, lean and angry. For more than two months they had toiled without a penny in pay. The Haitian government had promised them 50 cents a day. But the money had never made it through the sticky fingers of the Haitian officials.

The ragged workers gathered around Bernton. In broken Creole French, they pleaded: "We have almost nothing left to eat now. We have only one meal a day of cornmeal. Get us our money."

Not only Haitian but American officials are depriving the hungry workers. The great need in the Haitian hinterland is for jobs. But American officials have stipulated that most of a \$5 million road construction loan must be spent on heavy machinery purchased from United States firms.

The field experts told Bernton that the new machines will soon join other bulldozers and tractors littering the Haitian countryside. The best way to build roads in Haiti, no matter how inefficient it may seem, is with manpower. And the people desperately need the work.

Bernton spent some time in an impoverished village where the people had no jobs and little land that could be cultivated. Each day, they would scale the steep hillside in search of wood that could be burned into charcoal. After they laboriously produced a few sacks of charcoal, they would trek 10 miles to the nearest market to exchange the charcoal for mangoes.

But they couldn't produce enough charcoal to buy the food they needed. Their children, weak from hunger, sat around listlessly. It was an agonizing contrast to the villas in the Port-Au-Prince hills.

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., August 4, 1976.

HON. DANIEL PARKER,
Administrator, Agency for International Development,
Department of State, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PARKER: I enclose a copy of the Jack Anderson column of August 4, 1976 commenting on aspects of our AID mission's activities and programs in Haiti.

I would like a detailed response by the agency to the charges made in the article.

I appreciate your consideration of this matter.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

LEE H. HAMILTON,
Chairman, Special Subcommittee on
Investigations.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, AGENCY FOR
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT,
Washington, D.C., August 17, 1976.

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON,
Chairman, Special Subcommittee on Investigations,
Committee on International Relations,
House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Your letter of August 4 requests a detailed response to the charges made in the Jack Anderson column which appeared in the Washington Post that day. Dan Parker has asked me to provide that response and to express his thanks for the opportunity to respond to the column and to provide further information about the U.S. Government assistance program in Haiti.

Anderson: "... fashionable, walled villas, equipped with sparkling swimming pools and

staffed by gracious servants . . . where the U.S. Agency for International Development officials reside, with their families."

Comment: The living standards of A.I.D. personnel in Haiti are comparable to those of employees of other U.S. Government agencies, international organizations and the official representatives of other nations. In Haiti, as in developing countries throughout the world, there is a very small middle class. Most of the population live in poverty. As a result, there is almost no housing available for rent in Haiti that is comparable to middle class housing in the United States. U.S. Government employees in Haiti receive a housing allowance as they do in other countries. They make individual arrangements to rent their accommodations. For 15% of the employees in Port-au-Prince, the housing allowance currently covers their housing costs. For the remaining 25%, the allowance falls short of their costs by 10% or more. Currently, allowances range from \$4,600 to \$6,900 per year.

Most houses available for rent to U.S. personnel in Port-au-Prince have walls at the edges of the property, as is the case in many countries. Those employees who have swimming pools pay personally for their operation and maintenance.

Americans living in Haiti usually employ servants. Inadequate kitchen and laundry facilities, lack of U.S. style foods and lack of child care facilities are some of the factors that make the use of servants necessary to maintain living standards similar to those in the U.S. The cost of servants is borne by individual employees, except for the A.I.D. Director who receives partial reimbursement for costs of operating his official residence.

Anderson: "A generous portion of the U.S. offering goes to maintain the A.I.D. administrators in the high style they have adopted."

Comment: The cost of salaries and benefits (including housing allowances and all other employee allowances) for all A.I.D. employees in Haiti amounts to about 3% of the cost of our assistance program there. The word "offering" is misleading as applied to our assistance. The program is described later.

Anderson: "[A.I.D. employees] belong to exclusive private clubs . . ."

Comment: There are no public swimming pools in Haiti, no public tennis courts and no public golf courses. Americans in Haiti who want to participate in these popular American activities must either provide their own facilities or join private clubs. The clubs available to A.I.D. employees are also available to Haitians and to other foreigners living in Haiti.

Anderson: "[A.I.D. employees] attend lavish cocktail and dinner parties. . ."

Comment: Key A.I.D. officials do attend receptions and dinners given by the representatives of other countries and international agencies. Partly because of the lack of recreational facilities, Americans in Haiti tend to do a good deal of entertaining in their own homes. Except for an occasional official function, they entertain at their own expense and do so as lavishly, or as simply, as they might in the U.S.

Anderson: "[A.I.D. employees] collect hardship pay of about 15 percent. . ."

Comment: The U.S. Government, along with other governments, international agencies and private businesses, offers "hardship allowances" in certain overseas posts. One hundred forty-four different factors are considered in determining allowance for any given post. In Port-au-Prince the allowance is 15% of salary. It is subject to U.S. income tax as ordinary earned income. The most important consideration in determining this allowance for Haiti is the prevalence of a variety of communicable diseases not found in the U.S. and the inadequate facilities available in Haiti for their treatment. Service in Haiti exposes all employees and their families to several diseases endemic to Haiti,

including malaria and dengue fever. Among the 40 employees of A.I.D., the State Department and the U.S. Information Agency in Haiti, four have been evacuated in the last three months for emergency medical treatment. Two of these have dengue fever. Other recent evacuees have suffered hepatitis and pneumonia.

Anderson: "[A.I.D. employees] are also granted two extra weeks of stateside vacation, on top of their normal leave. . . ."

Comment: A.I.D. employees in Haiti do not receive any leave beyond that earned by all U.S. Foreign Service career employees. While serving abroad, such employees earn one month of home leave at the end of a two year tour of duty.

Anderson: "[A.I.D. employees] make bi-weekly flights to Guantanamo Bay to pick up inexpensive food from the U.S. commissary."

Comment: There is a U.S. military flight between Guantanamo Bay and Port-au-Prince every other week. During the past six months A.I.D. employees and dependents made a total of 120 trips on this flight. Over half of these were for medical appointments with U.S. doctors at Guantanamo. When space is available, some employees and dependents travel to Guantanamo to obtain U.S. goods unavailable at reasonable prices in Haiti. In addition, a cooperative commissary organized by U.S. Government employees in Port-au-Prince obtains its supplies via the Guantanamo flight. Passengers who are physically fit load and unload the plane. The cooperative stocks about 200 grocery items (compared to the 10,000 items in a typical U.S. supermarket) and sells them to its members at prices slightly above those prevailing in the U.S. One result of this self-financed activity is that no cost-of-living allowance is required for Port-au-Prince.

Anderson: "[A.I.D. employees] can claim a generous 'educational allowance'. . . ."

Comment: Education allowances are provided for all foreign service employees abroad with children of kindergarten through high school age. The amount of the allowance is determined by the tuition cost at a school that provides the approximate equivalent of U.S. public education. Extra costs, including some supplies, are borne by the parents. The result is that the foreign service family abroad incurs about the same cost per child for education through high school as it would in the U.S.

Anderson: "After hundreds of thousands of dollars have been squeezed out of the A.I.D. budget for the care and comfort of the administrators, the rest of the money is usually turned over to the Haitian Government to distribute. Additional amounts are diverted into the pockets of Haitian officials."

Comment: The 3% of U.S. assistance which is allotted to employee salaries and benefits is not "squeezed out" of the development funds in A.I.D.'s budget. It is separately appropriated by Congress in addition to the program funds made available. No funds are turned over to the Haitian Government to distribute, nor to any individual Haitian official. A.I.D. funds are normally vouchered and paid directly by A.I.D. to the suppliers of goods and services (mostly in the U.S.) or are reimbursed to the Government of Haiti on the submission of detailed vouchers after it has spent its funds for stipulated purposes. Moreover, A.I.D. uses careful procedures for audit. During the past year the Haiti program has been the subject of an A.I.D. audit, two State Department inspections and an audit by the General Accounting Office of the Congress. None of these has found any evidence of misappropriation of U.S. Government funds.

Anderson: "Grain intended for the poor . . . has been stolen and sold by corrupt customs officials."

Comment: Although there have been food losses experienced in the past in the Food for Peace programs administered by U.S. voluntary agencies, recent expanded use of containerized shipments has reduced these losses in Haiti to about 1 percent, a level below those at most ports. Contrary to the impression provided in the column, there has been no evidence of dishonest diversion of A.I.D. relief food by customs officials. During the 1975 drought when some of the food supplied by non-U.S. donors was stolen from customs, the Haitian Government reacted promptly with an investigation of the Customs Service. Some employees were imprisoned and others dismissed. Much of the food which had been stolen was subsequently recovered and distributed to the intended recipients.

Anderson: "The American A.I.D. officials are usually too busy planning and partying in Port-au-Prince to visit the villages."

Comment: Key A.I.D. staff are regularly in the countryside visiting and monitoring each A.I.D.-supported project. About half the Americans funded by A.I.D. in Haiti are permanently stationed at project sites outside Port-au-Prince.

Anderson: "During the fiscal year that ended on June 30, the American taxpayers donated nearly \$18 million in foreign aid to Haiti."

Comment: For the year ended June 30, 1976, U.S. assistance to Haiti included \$4.2 million in grant-funded technical assistance, primarily for improving public health and increasing small farm production. A loan of \$5 million, repayable in dollars, was made to assist in building unpaved all-weather roads to isolated farming areas throughout Haiti. An estimated rural population of 349,000 will benefit from this loan. \$4.1 million of food was donated, all of which was distributed in Haiti by three U.S. voluntary agencies: CARE, Church World Service and Catholic Relief Services. Over \$1 million of this food was used to avert starvation among the families hit hardest by a drought which lasted more than 9 months. During the year, over 250,000 hungry Haitians received food aid in A.I.D.'s continuing programs, in addition to the 146,000 who received emergency food supplements during the drought. A loan of \$5.2 million, also repayable in dollars, was made for the purchase of wheat. Thus, the total of grants (donations) was \$8.3 million and the total of loans was \$10.2 million.

Anderson: "Bernton inspected a road construction project that is partially financed with U.S. development funds. He found 240 peasants slowly building a road to their village . . . For more than two months they had tolled without a penny in pay."

Comment: No A.I.D. funds were involved in the project cited. Concerning the alleged failure of the Haitian Government to pay peasants constructing a road to their village, delays in paying workers in outlying districts unfortunately do occur. Eventually, however, they usually receive their money as, in fact, they did on this project.

Anderson: "The great need in the Haitian hinterland is for jobs. But American officials have stipulated that most of a \$5 million road construction loan must be spent on heavy machinery purchased from United States firms."

Comment: The issue of human labor versus machines for road construction is misrepresented in the column. A.I.D. recently signed a \$5 million loan as part of an \$11 million project to help Haiti reconstruct 583 miles of rural secondary roads. The project was carefully designed to provide for the maximum feasible use of hand labor for road construction. The \$3 million in heavy construction equipment to be ordered will be utilized for such work as moving large quan-

titles of heavy, embedded shale rock. The loan also finances a pilot study to improve efficiency of existing labor intensive maintenance and construction techniques with the objective of providing a model for labor intensive programs throughout Haiti at the village level.

Such loans are included in the program of assistance the United States provides to Haiti as part of an international effort. The program has been developed in response to requests from the Government of Haiti and in close collaboration with the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, the Organization of American States, Canada and other donors.

A.I.D.'s program focuses on assisting the rural poor through projects in agriculture, maternal and child care, nutrition, family planning, and a malaria control program that has benefitted more than 1.5 million Haitians. A.I.D. also helps to finance voluntary agencies such as CARE, Catholic Relief Services and Church World Service. These provide U.S.-supplied food to school lunch programs, maternal and child health programs and a variety of food-for-work projects.

Thank you for this opportunity to provide information on one of our A.I.D. programs.

Sincerely yours,

DENIS M. NEILL,
Assistant Administrator,
for Legislative Affairs.

AFL-CIO JOINS FIGHT AGAINST THE ARAB BOYCOTT

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, on July 19, the executive board of the AFL-CIO issued a statement calling upon the Congress and the administration to "move swiftly to enact legislation and to take such other measures as necessary" to end the—

Imposition of (the Arab) boycott on Americans, American-owned businesses, or on any transactions occurring on American territory.

I applaud this action which reaffirms the AFL-CIO's traditional commitment to the principle of open competition. Several businesses with extensive dealings with the Arabs have supported cooperation with the boycott on the ground that it preserves jobs. I daresay that no institution is more concerned with saving jobs than the AFL-CIO. Yet they have now joined the dozens of major corporations, political spokesmen of every persuasion and numerous of our colleagues in urging an end to this affront to American ideals and sound business practice.

The House International Relations Committee, of which I am a member, will consider shortly an extension of the Export Administration Act which expires on September 30. Together with several colleagues, I will be offering an amendment outlawing all U.S. cooperation with the Arab boycott.

In remarks before the committee—reproduced in the RECORD at page 17585, June 10, 1976—I discussed my belief that strong U.S. action against the boycott

would not cause a severe or long-term disruption of American/Arab trade. Briefly, I cited the following evidence: Commercial relations between the United States and the Arabs have survived other political vicissitudes, that is, Iraqi anti-Americanism; numerous Arab businessmen have expressed private misgivings about the boycott as their need for sophisticated U.S. equipment and services grows; recent Commerce Department regulations prohibiting U.S. firms from complying with Arab demands involving religious, racial or sex discrimination have had no discernible adverse affect upon our Mideast trade.

Not surprisingly, the Commerce Department and industry groups doing business with the Arabs are the most vigorous protestors of the risk to American jobs of a strong antiboycott stance. Since 1965, the Commerce Department has been under a statutory mandate to oppose compliance with the boycott. During this period, the number of firms reporting cooperation with the boycott has soared. In the last 2 years, 637 U.S. exporters sold at least \$352.9 million and as much as \$781.5 million in compliance with boycott conditions. Until last year, the Commerce Department actively promoted among U.S. businesses contract offers requiring boycott cooperation. Had the Commerce Department done its job of enforcing the 11-year-old U.S. policy against the boycott, the strong action now required might have been unnecessary.

The opposition of certain industry groups is even easier to understand. Edwin L. Jones testified on behalf of the Associated General Contractors of America that opposition to the Arab boycott could cost hundreds of thousands of U.S. jobs. Mr. Jones' company has \$400 million in contracts with Arab firms. He is naturally reluctant to support legislation that could pose even a minimal risk to some of this business. Moreover, the end of the boycott would mean the elimination of the artificial schism among U.S. competitors where some can trade with the Arab world and at least 1,500 others, those on the Arab blacklist, cannot. Some American businessmen may not be pleased about this prospect which could mean more vigorous domestic competition for lucrative Arab contracts.

I hope my colleagues on the International Relations Committee will give some thought to these wider implications of the AFL-CIO Executive Board's statement. The text of the statement follows:

STATEMENT BY THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON THE ARAB BOYCOTT, JULY 19, 1976, WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Arab boycott raises issues which go far beyond those of Israel's rights as a free nation. By imposing secondary and tertiary boycotts, the Arabs have put at issue America's willingness to defend its own principles and sovereignty. Not only do the Arab nations refuse to deal commercially with Israel, they also demand that American firms which wish to do business with them refrain from transactions with Israel. They demand that American firms practice religious discrimination in hiring, promotion, job assignment, selection of corporate officers and in dealing with other American firms

The boycott attempts to impose upon the American people practices of racial and religious bigotry which violate American belief and law, and to make American firms the agents of hostile acts against a friendly nation. This constitutes a repugnant intrusion into American domestic life, and an unacceptable effort to coerce American foreign policy. The American people will not tolerate this dictation.

The Executive Council believes that the imposition of this boycott on Americans, American-owned businesses, or on any transactions occurring on American territory must end now. We call upon the Congress and the Administration to move swiftly to enact legislation and to take such other measures as necessary to achieve this goal.

THE HELSINKI ACCORD 1 YEAR LATER—OPPRESSION CONTINUES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I rise to bring the attention of my colleagues to a statement published by the Council of Free Czechoslovakia on the Communist failure to implement the final act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Personally, I was opposed to the signing of this act by the United States, because I felt that our Nation should not give official recognition to the conquests of the illegal and immoral Communist dictatorships in Eastern Europe.

However, the bill I cosponsored to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe to monitor compliance with the act is now public law, and I am hopeful that this Commission, along with systematic public exposure of the record, will encourage all participating states, especially the Communist states, to take seriously the pledges they have made by signing this document.

The statement follows:

FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE STRUGGLE FOR THE MEANING OF THE FINAL ACT

The communists make no secret about the necessity to suppress any criticism of the party and socialism (*Rude Pravo*, 8 June 1976).

The first anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki declaration offers us an opportunity to draw a partial balance sheet of what has been achieved and, more importantly, of what kind of atmosphere the Final Act helped to create on the international scene.

There seems to be a general consensus that the existing detente has produced more liabilities than assets. Europe, and West Germany in particular, feel the increased international tension more than the United States. East European leaders and mass media, of course, blame the West for this state of affairs and Czechoslovakia leads the way. The Czechoslovak press and mass media have staged a concerted campaign which may be briefly characterized as a "struggle for the meaning of the Helsinki Declaration." The purpose is obvious: to mount an offensive against the West in preparation for the conference to be held in Belgrade next year to evaluate the impact of the Helsinki meeting.

The strategy of the Czechoslovak mass

media is to blame the West for placing too much emphasis on the so-called Third Basket and neglecting the other provisions of the Final Act. Instead, the Czechoslovak press is stressing the significance of the first two sections of the Helsinki declaration, namely, the section on the preservation of the status quo of the existing borders and its change by peaceful means only, and the section concerning the expansion of scientific, technological and economic cooperation.

The truth is that, contrary to communist assertions, the West has always honored the first two sections of the Final Act. Nobody here in the West wants to change the European territorial status quo by force. And as far as cooperation in various fields is concerned, the Czechoslovak press itself admits that the Prague government was able to enter into a number of international agreements regulating scientific, technological, and economic cooperation after the Helsinki meeting. Indeed, East-West trade has expanded rapidly and the sagging economy of the communist bloc has been kept alive by huge Western credits surpassing 30 billion dollars.

Czechoslovakia alone runs a trade deficit with the West of more than a billion dollars. Rightly, Western governments and bankers are questioning whether their credits have not been over extended and whether the communist states will ever be able to repay their debts. It is becoming increasingly evident that the communist call for detente is nothing more than a desperate attempt to avoid an economic collapse of the very system which not long ago had promised to "bury" the West.

But ideology, not the well-being of the people, comes first in the communist countries. Any move toward ideological detente is regarded by the communist governments as subversive and directed against the 'socialist system.' Contrary to the Western view—which is shared by most of the people in Central and Eastern Europe—that an international detente would improve the lot of the common man, the Prague regime calls for government-controlled exchange and cooperation within the sphere of arts and science, and government-controlled contacts between citizens of East and West. Those points in the Third Basket which benefit human rights without governmental interference are considered by the Czechoslovak rulers as unimportant or plainly subversive.

And so we find that nothing has changed in the life of the Czechs and Slovaks. Oppression and political tension have not subsided. The antireligious campaign continues despite Prague's signature of the Final Act.

The Czechoslovak government continues to persecute scientific and cultural workers who refused to be 'normalized' and 'consolidated.' University professors, writers, artists, journalists, scientists and priests dismissed from their professional positions continue to work in menial jobs, if they are lucky to find one. Nothing has been done to implement the provisions of the Third Baskets. Permission for the reunification of families was granted in just a few cases. Bureaucratic red tape impedes visits of relatives to and from Czechoslovakia, exactly as before the Helsinki conference.

One of the most recent illustrations of Prague's unwillingness to implement the exchange of information as stipulated in the Third Basket has been the attitude of the Czechoslovak press toward the European Communist Conference in East Berlin. In reporting the speeches of Tito, Berlinguer, Marchais and Carillo, Czech and Slovak newspapers carefully omitted all their demands for independence for their parties from Moscow's domination, all their calls for a pluralistic system of government, and their emphasis on the need for their individual roads to socialism. The East Berlin con-

ference was pictured in the Czechoslovak media as a model of unity under the leadership of Moscow.

If the Czechoslovak government is unwilling to tell the truth about developments in the international communist movement how can one expect that the Czechoslovak communists will be ready to facilitate an exchange of information between the countries of the West and the East?

All well-intentioned statements in an international declaration concerning human rights are meaningless when confronted with the oppressive laws in the communist countries. This is the true lesson of the Helsinki Declaration.

The struggle for the meaning of the Helsinki Declaration will continue and will intensify as we approach the time of the Belgrade conference. Consequently, it is necessary for the West to be prepared to counter false accusations and have material ready to prove that it was the Soviet Union and its satellites which have not altered their repressive policies since the declaration was signed. For this reason the Council of Free Czechoslovakia welcomes the creation of a Congressional watch-dog committee whose purpose is to supervise the implementation of the Final Act.

Below are excerpts from the Czechoslovak press illustrating the situation we have just described:

... one has always to bear in mind the fact that the defense of socialism is, in the nature of its law, a collective concern, and that the defense of the Central European area must be organized in a complex form which, among other things, is predetermined by a future war if the imperialists should wage it. In other words, it means that the defense of the socialist world is not just a concern of the individual countries, but is an international obligation of the entire socialist community. The unprecedented development of warfare in the period following World War II, especially its destructiveness and totality, has created completely different conditions and different criteria for military actions in a potential war. What in the past was possible within the framework of a single country must today be organized within the framework of an entire coalition. ... Socialist states as a group will not tolerate any country of the socialist system being threatened by direct or indirect aggression or subversion. The resolute action undertaken by the socialist countries in 1968 and their assistance rendered to the Czechoslovak people is the best example. ... (*Slovansky Prehled*, No 5, 1975.)

The document adopted in Helsinki generated a whole set of unjustifiable illusions about relations between capitalism and socialism within the ideological sphere. As expected, such illusions have offered a welcome opportunity for Western propaganda centers and individual publicists to circulate once again the already discredited appeals for "ideological coexistence," "reconciliation of ideologies" and "de-ideologized" cultural contacts between capitalist and socialist countries. The main interest of the Western writers has concentrated on the so-called Third Basket of the Helsinki Declaration, namely, the provisions on the exchange of information and cultural contacts between East and West. Bourgeois propagandists are divorcing these provisions from the rest of the Final Act. They demand a free flow of information on the one hand but a suppression of the ideological content of information on the other, depending on whether such information comes from the West or the East. ... (*Nove Slovo*, No 23, 1976.)

Even before the ink dried on the signatures of the Final Act the Western press began to publish articles arguing that the Helsinki Declaration was worth less than

the paper on which it was written. Western journalists asserted that the signature was an act which did not possess the character and validity of an international agreement and that, consequently, it did not bind anybody and anything.

But the bourgeois press quickly abandoned this line and went over to another extreme, namely, it put itself into the role of an interpreter of the Final Act and narrowed the defense of the Helsinki principles to a single topic: problems related to international cooperation in humanitarian and related areas . . . to problems known as the Third Basket which can be put into effect . . . only in the atmosphere of peaceful coexistence and mutual understanding when we all manage to establish the rule of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries.

Western media intentionally disregard such a goal and argue that the socialist countries owe something to the "democratic society of the West" because they do not facilitate a "free exchange of people, ideas and information."

We are realists and we know that agreements are one thing and their implementation another . . . The socialist community is powerful enough . . . to put into effect the provisions of the Helsinki Declaration even in spite of the attempts of certain "liquidators" who distort the ideas of the Third Basket. (*Tribuna*, No. 22, 1976.)

An exchange of ideas should not be understood as their harmonious coexistence or their mechanical acceptance by both systems. Our dialogue will have the character of an ideological struggle and may sometime be very sharp. But both sides must not use inadmissible forms, that is, denunciation and disinformation. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries observe this rule whereas the Western countries are far from doing so . . .

The events of recent months have clearly proved that the bourgeoisie is extremely alarmed by the social consequences of the process of detente. . . . The Western countries come forward therefore with theories that peaceful coexistence should mean some kind of a social status quo, a "ban" on the revolutionary aspirations and the struggle of nations against imperialism, against the rule of the monopolistic capital . . . The influence of the socialist countries on the development of world events is steadily increasing . . . and will grow further in the future . . . Our fraternal parties in the capitalist countries . . . are learning the Leninist art of applying . . . the principles of communism to the problems peculiar to their countries and their special conditions . . . The logic of a merciless class struggle against a powerful adversary teaches them to appreciate unity and international solidarity . . . (*Rude Pravo*, 20 March 1976.)

Comrade Gustav Husak declared in Moscow in June 1969: "Because of Marxist-Leninist principles the Czechoslovak Communist Party regards the Soviet Union and its Communist Party as the main pillars of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement . . . The attitude towards the Soviet Union has been and always will remain the main criterion for distinguishing progressive forces from reactionary ones, a determining factor of the proletarian internationalism. The history of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations has proved that those who do not understand and do not wish to understand the historical role and significance of the Soviet Union, or even deny it, are perforce against not only Marxism-Leninism and the interests of the working class, but also against the highest national interests of their own country . . . The

renewal of our national and state independence, the very existence of the Czechoslovak state, the whole past period of building socialism in our country, have proved the unrefutable truth that no freedom, no independence, no socialism can exist for the nations of Czechoslovakia without the closest fraternal union with the Soviet Union." (*Spolecenske Vedy ve Skole*, No. 4, 1975.)

SOVIET BUSTED THOUGH FEW HAVE NOTICED

HON. LARRY McDONALD

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. McDONALD. Mr. Speaker, it was painfully apparent when East-West trade started busting out all over late in President Johnson's last term that eventually, it was all going to have to be very limited, due to the eternal hard currency shortage of the Soviet Union. Lacking a convertible currency, the Soviet Union has to sell gold to make purchases, or as they sometimes do now, sell Eurodollars, but even this has limits. Basically the problem is that the Soviets need to buy so much more than they have to sell and on top of this have come the continual grain shortages requiring additional funds. Neither of these problems is liable to go away. This is not to say that the Soviets have not taken measures to correct the situation. They are frantically digging out their gold and such fields as Kolyma are the center of constant attention by the Red bureaucracy, but this measure has been blunted by weakening world gold prices. Increased capital investment has been poured into Soviet agriculture, but the stubbornness of the peasantry, shortages of machinery, and uncooperative weather have blunted these efforts.

Elliot Janeway, in an article which appeared in the Washington Star on August 8, 1976, now points out that the Soviets are in serious difficulty as regards its balance of payments and is becoming known as "slow money" in the world financial market. Moreover, if one takes into account inflation, the real increase in East-West trade is largely an illusion, the propaganda from our Departments of State and Commerce, notwithstanding.

The article follows:

SOVIET BUSTED, THOUGH FEW HAVE NOTICED

(By Elliot Janeway)

Revolution by repudiation is a novel possibility—still too novel to have been stated as a formal political concept. The textbook alternatives to this threat of capitalist collapse are limited to the various apocalyptic projections of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin. Their warnings range from defeat in war to collapse into depression.

The standard Communist ideology regards capitalism as on the wane and Communism as on the rise. It assumes that the eventual outcome is a foregone conclusion; only the timing and the circumstances of the revolution are admitted to be open to question. It

is an article of faith that the inherent weakness and progressive disintegration of capitalism is responsible for its vulnerability to Communist takeover.

The Communist prophets never suspected that the shoe might wind up on the other foot; that is, that a serious threat to the very foundations of the capitalist structure might develop as a result of the acute weakness of the Communist system. Yet this is the very trick which financial history is now playing on political philosophy.

The fact is that during this decade, Moscow has engineered a worldwide cover-up to conceal this weakness. It began exactly three years before it surfaced at the time of the great Moscow grain steal of 1973. Since then its very conspicuousness has protected the cover-up; the obvious is always obscure until the economics of crisis forces recognition. While the process of recognition has begun, it is far from complete. Russia's food shortages and gold sales are making headlines, but few people understand their significance: Russia is busted—and no one has really noticed.

Familiarity with the history of Communist theology sharpens the contrast between Marxist expectations and admissions. Of the "big three", Marx himself was the most realistic; partly because he was the only one of them who had the benefit of an education, and who commanded a cultural reach. Marx envisioned the revolution beginning with the insurrection of the proletariat in an advanced industrial country—most probably Germany. He missed his mark by little more than a generation, which is not too bad for a millennial thinker.

Marx's famous failure to foresee that Russia would be the first important country to go Communist is offset by one of his less publicized insights. As I showed in my *Economics of Crisis*, Marx himself originated the theory of "American exceptionalism," which Stalin later declared to be heretical and punishable by death. Marx based the exemption he gave America on his recognition that this was a new world enjoying a fresh start. To paraphrase the send-off given the Bolshevik Revolution by John Reed, the idealistic American reporter whose ashes are embedded in the Kremlin Wall, Marx had seen the future, and it worked. He foresaw the rise of American agripower as the key to world power that it is now.

Marx's political judgments have actually stood the test of time better than his economic pronouncements. His politics were his own; but his economics—by his own admission—were borrowed from the classical English economists, whose models were limited to the relationships between industrial employers and their workers. While the work of Ricardo and his fellow pioneers offers a remarkable preview of the spectacle of Russia selling gold reserves to finance emergency purchases of corn, the problems and the potential of modern agriculture were beyond their ken. This a major limitation of Marx's work as well.

Lenin, the second of the "big three," mobilized the Bolshevik Revolution behind a three-ly slogan: "Bread, land and peace." Apologists for Lenin have intellectualized about this appeal as offering something to all the downtrodden; the proletariat as consumers, the peasantry as producers and the military as victims. On scrutiny, however, this three-pronged appeal breaks down into demagogic camouflage and focuses on the peasants. Bread could come only from what the peasants produced; land was offered to them as an inducement to produce more grain; and they served as cannon-fodder in the Russian army.

The original Soviets were officially designated as councils of workers and peasants. When Stalin took over, he projected a gran-

diose scheme for "proletarianizing" the peasantry. His other gamble was on "socialism in one country." These bets assumed that Russia could both feed herself and find the processed fuels needed to develop a modern agricultural system, especially in a cold modern climate.

Stalin himself was too ignorant to grasp the interrelated ramifications of food and fuel technology. In his primitive view, the way to produce food was to produce tractors. He had no conception of the magnitude of the investment in fuel, chemistry and transportation necessary to develop farm productivity from tractor availability. Today Russia is helplessly behind in her food production—but she has all the tractors she needs. Stalin's slogan of "socialism in one country" would be perfectly workable if Russia could depend on America to underwrite her glaring deficiencies in grains, gas transportation, technology and, above all, dollars.

It is the financial squeeze on Russia which has earned her the title of "Typhoid Mary" in the world's credit markets. Only yesterday Moscow was basking in the glory of financial respect. Her most carefully guarded secret was the size of the Kremlin's gold reserve. Her most self-serving fantasy was of finally cashing in gold chips at the expense of the American investing public. Her most impressive boasts were that import bills were paid promptly, that her credit rating was top notch, and that she never needed to borrow. Her most imaginative achievement had been the move which created the Euro-dollar market.

Now Russia has worn out her welcome there. Until 1970, she loomed as the modern equivalent of a merchant prince in Europe's financial markets. In a few years since, even the most indulgent bankers have discovered that she is a pauper, and are treating her accordingly. The major New York bank with the biggest portfolio of dubious overseas loans has just decided that Russia is no longer entitled to advances—this with Russia still exploiting her shadowy role behind the more rambunctious members of the oil cartel, and squeezing more profit out of the present oil price structure than any of them.

The figures on Russia's borrowings are horrendous. Combined with the forced borrowings of her European satellites, they amounted to \$35-37 billion by the end of last year, as opposed to only \$2 billion in 1970. The only reason why 1976 may not prove to be Russia's biggest borrowing year yet is that the lenders are running out of both confidence and money, while she is running out of plausibility. At 7 percent, just the annual interest bill on \$40 billion (a very conservative estimate for 1976's total of Russian and satellite country borrowings) would approximate the entire principal outstanding in 1970.

Russia is no longer making any bones about passing her distress on to her satellites. She is forcing them to overborrow so that she can step up her bleeding of them. For example, in 1970 Poland owed only \$770 million to Western creditors; but by the end of 1975, her floating debt to capitalist banks was up to \$6.8 billion. The comparable figures for East Germany are \$990 million and \$3.7 billion.

The plight of Hungary is equally symptomatic of the gathering crisis. Russia had been shipping oil to Hungary for 40 percent under the cartel price. She has just rescinded the discount and stepped up her food requisitions. Historically, Hungary has been the granary of Central Europe; now it is seething with food riots.

Suddenly, "debt rescheduling" is an issue whose time has come. Until Moscow ran out of willing lenders, only the over-borrowed debtors of the Third World have been pressing for a moratorium in one form or another.

Now she is beginning to fear it may be necessary.

The sparring between the Third World prodigals and their capitalist angels is an ominous reminder of the pragmatic definition of bankruptcy: "when you can no longer borrow the interest." In the climactic preliminaries to the formalization of bankruptcy, when lenders are under pressure to engineer a credit Watergate and borrowers have nothing to lose by resorting to blackmail, forced borrowing is accelerated. But none of the cash generated by borrowing flows through the system of the sick borrower. The frightened lender needs all of it recycled into interest payments to protect the credit coverup.

Russia's distress is genuine. There's no doubt that she wants to fight a rear-guard action against the increasing inevitability of debt rescheduling. But there's no way that Russia can tide herself or her creditors over the brewing crisis without admitting that her bullying will not save her from bankruptcy, that her squandering of resources on armaments will not save her from austerity, and that her distress gold selling won't begin to pay her interest—let alone raise new money. It has taken this trip to the brink of bankruptcy to force the Kremlin to recognize, however grudgingly, the common interest which now binds Communist mendicants to capitalist benefactors.

"Kto kuo"—who will conquer whom?—was Lenin's most menacing battle cry. The Kremlin is now too far gone to revive it. Russia has dissipated the sinews of war; but while she is not about to conquer any one she can still drive her creditors to the brink with her. This means that the contributions Russia and the satellites have been making to worldwide business activity with their borrowings is in for a drastic shrinkage.

Gradually, the calamitous implications of a forced rescheduling of Russian and satellite debts are recalling the meaning of the moratorium that triggered the last Depression. But America has the means to save the world financial structure from Russia's weakness. Hopefully, the presidential campaign will focus on the strategy of strength needed to buy the time and sell the resources America has been wasting.

VOTING RECORD OF HON. MARTHA KEYS

HON. MARTHA KEYS

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mrs. KEYS. Mr. Speaker, because I think it is important that voters be aware of the actions taken by their elected officials, I am committed to making my positions on proposals before the Congress readily available to all of my constituents. I therefore have compiled a list of all the votes taken during the 94th Congress up through the recess for the Republican Convention and have indicated how I voted on each of these.

The votes are categorized by date in chronological order. Following a brief description of each vote is recorded its outcome, an [X] or an [O] denoting passage or failure, respectively. On those few votes for which I was unavoidably absent I have recorded the position I inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD following the absence. Such votes are indicated by an *.

The voting record follows:

Proposal	My vote	Proposal	My vote	Proposal	My vote
MAY 20, 1975		JUNE 4, 1975		JUNE 13, 1975	
H.R. 5247. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 4481. On overriding the President's veto of a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1975 to stimulate employment. [O]	Yea.	H.R. 6860. On an amendment to increase the tax credit for installation of residential solar energy equipment. [X]	No.
H.R. 5247. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations for local public works projects. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 6219. On an amendment which would have excluded persons whose dominant language is English from "language minorities" included in the special remedies of the Voting Rights Act. [O]	No.	H.R. 6860. On an amendment which would have reduced the funds earmarked for an energy conservation and development trust fund by the cost in revenue of the tax incentives in the bill. [O]	No.
H.R. 6674. On an amendment which would have prohibited the flight testing of maneuverable re-entry vehicles (MARV) on ballistic missile systems. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 6219. On an amendment to substitute the word "citizens" for "persons" in language outlining conditions necessary to trigger coverage under the Voting Rights Act. [X]	No.	H.R. 6860. On an amendment which would have required that at least 25 percent of the energy trust fund be allocated for research and demonstration projects in local and regional transportation systems. [O]	No.
H.R. 6674. On an amendment which would have reduced the number of U.S. troops stationed overseas by 70,000. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 6219. On an amendment which would have expanded the definition of language minority to all persons whose principal spoken language is other than English. [O]	No.	JUNE 16, 1975	
H.R. 6674. On an amendment which would have provided 5,000 additional civilian personnel for the Department of Defense. [O]	No.	H.R. 6219. On passage of a bill to extend the Voting Rights Act through 1985. [X]	Aye.	H.R. 1607. On passage of a bill to provide newspapers with an exemption, equivalent to that provided to radio and television stations, from laws prohibiting the publication of lottery information. [X]	Yea*
H.R. 6674. On an amendment to the following amendment which would have substituted language directing the Secretary of Defense to instead study the feasibility of establishing a separate academy to train women for careers in the Armed Forces. [O]	No.	JUNE 5, 1975		H.R. 7222. On passage of a bill to increase from one-third to one-half the Federal Government's contribution to the cost of employee group life insurance. [O]	Yea.
H.R. 6674. On an amendment to permit women to enter the U.S. Army, Air Force, and Naval Academies on the same basis as men. [X]	Aye.	H.R. 4485. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill providing temporary emergency assistance to subsidize mortgages on housing purchases by middle income persons. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 7767. On passage of a bill increasing the rates of disability compensation for disabled veterans and the rates of dependency and indemnity compensation. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 6674. On an amendment which would have reduced the ceiling on the authorization for procurement and R. & D. of new weapons systems from \$26.54 billion to \$24.64 billion. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 4035. On an amendment which would have allowed the Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act to expire on Aug. 31, 1975, instead of extending it until Dec. 31, 1975. [O]	No.	On accepting the resignation of Representative Lucien N. Nedzi (Democrat of Michigan) as chairman of the House Select Committee on Intelligence. [O]	Yea.
H.R. 6674. On an amendment which would have required the Secretary of Defense to submit to Congress every 30 days a list of defense contracts, subcontracts and grants. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 4035. On passage of a bill to extend from Aug. 31, 1975 to Dec. 31, 1975 the expiration date of the Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 7545. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 6674. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for Department of Defense weapons procurement and research and development programs. [X]	No.	H.R. 4925. On a motion to recommit the bill to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. [O]	Nay.	H.R. 7545. On an amendment which would have made the increase in the debt limit permanent rather than temporary. [O]	No.
MAY 21, 1975		JUNE 9, 1975		H.R. 7545. On an amendment to increase the debt ceiling to \$599.9 billion instead of to \$616.1 billion. [X]	Aye.
H.R. 25. On a motion to postpone consideration of the President's veto of the bill. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 5899. On a motion that the House disagree with a Senate amendment to the conference report that appropriates \$175 million for a rail rehabilitation program, thereby reaffirming a House amendment appropriating \$5 million for administrative planning of rail assistance programs. [X]	Yea*.	H.R. 7545. On passage of a bill increasing the temporary debt ceiling, pursuant to a Treasury Department request, to \$599.9 billion through Mar. 31, 1976. [O]	Nay.
H.R. 6950. On an amendment which would have prohibited the use of funds in the bill to pay for increases in Members' allowances approved by the House Administration Committee on May 20, 1975. [O]	No.	H.R. 6860. On ordering the previous question on the rule, thus ending debate [X]	Yea*.	JUNE 17, 1975	
H.R. 6950. On an amendment which would have limited the authority of the House Administration Committee to increase Members' allowances in fiscal 1976. [O]	No.	S. 818. On passage of a bill to authorize funds for the U.S. share of expenses of United Nations peacekeeping forces in the Middle East. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 4723. On a motion to instruct House conferees to insist on a House amendment to provide for congressional review of all NSF grants. [O]	Nay.
H.R. 5727. On passage of a bill restructuring the U.S. Parole Board as the U.S. Parole Commission within the Justice Department. [X]	Yea.	JUNE 10, 1975		H.J. Res. 499. On passage of a resolution to make continuing appropriations of fiscal 1976 funds for various departments and agencies. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 6900. On passage of a bill extending unemployment benefits to unemployed persons who had exhausted regular benefits or who were previously ineligible. [X]	Yea.	HR. 25. On overriding the President's veto of a bill setting minimum Federal standards for the regulation of surface mining and the reclamation of strip mined lands. [O]	Yea.	H.R. 6860. On an amendment which would have deleted language establishing an Energy Conservation and Conversion Trust Fund. [O]	No.
MAY 22, 1975		H. J. Res. 492. On passage of a resolution making appropriations in fiscal 1975 for summer youth employment programs. [X]	Yea.	JUNE 18, 1975	
H.R. 5899. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill making supplemental fiscal 1975 appropriations. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 6860. On an amendment which would have made the Federal Government the sole purchasing authority for imported oil. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 6799. On an amendment to give the prosecutor rather than a judicial officer the authority to determine whether a summons or a warrant should be issued, thus conforming the rule to current practice. [X]	No.
H.R. 5899. On a motion that the House concur in a Senate amendment reaffirming congressional consent to construction of a locks and dam project on the Mississippi River at Alton, Ill. [O]	Nay.	H.R. 6860. On an amendment to delete a provision empowering the government to start a voluntary program of foreign oil purchases to stabilize prices and supplies. [X]	No.	H.R. 6799. On an amendment which would have deleted the provision that would require the prosecutor to reveal to the defendant before trial the names and addresses of Government witnesses. [O]	No.
H.R. 5899. On a motion that the House concur in a Senate amendment appropriating funds to repair railroad facilities. [O]	Nay.	H.R. 6860. On an amendment which would have deleted a provision establishing oil import quotas of 6 million barrels a day in 1975 and 1976, 6.5 million in 1977, 6 million in 1978, and 5.5 million in 1979 and thereafter. [O]	No.	JUNE 19, 1975	
S. Con. Res. 42. On a resolution providing for the conditional adjournment of Congress from May 22 to June 2, 1975. [X]	Yea.	JUNE 11, 1975		H.R. 7950. On an amendment which would have reduced the amount of the authorization for the Federal Election Commission from \$7.8 million to \$2.6 million, and the term of the authorization from 18 months to 6 months. [O]	Nay.
JUNE 2, 1975		H.R. 6860. On an amendment to increase oil import quotas in 1979 from 5.5 million to 6 million barrels a day, and in 1980 and thereafter from 5.5 million to 6.5 million barrels a day. [X]	No.	H.R. 6860. On an amendment which would have made investments in solar energy manufacturing facilities eligible for rapid 5-year tax depreciation schedules. [O]	No.
H.R. 5899. On an amendment to a Senate amendment to the conference report appropriating \$5 million of the funds in the bill for administrative planning of railroad assistance programs. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 6860. On an amendment which would have required that petroleum import quotas be raised by amounts determined by the Federal Power Commission to be necessary to compensate for natural gas curtailments. [O]	No.	H.R. 6860. On an amendment to delete a section providing a 10-percent investment tax credit for the purchase of recyclable materials and recycling equipment. [X]	Aye.
JUNE 3, 1975		H.R. 6860. On an amendment to delete the additional Federal gasoline tax of up to 20 cents per gallon. [X]	Aye.	H.R. 6860. On a motion to recommit the bill to the Ways and Means and Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committees. [O]	Nay.
H.R. 6219. On an amendment which would have applied coverage of the Voting Rights Act only to jurisdictions where minorities comprise more than 5 percent of the voting population and where less than 50 percent of minority voters voted in the previous general election. [O]	No.	H.R. 6860. On an amendment to delete the additional gasoline tax of 3 cents per gallon in 1976 to raise revenues for an energy development trust fund. [X]	No.	H.R. 6860. On passage of a bill to promote energy conservation through tax incentives, establish oil import quotas, and create an energy conservation trust fund. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 6219. On an amendment which would have exempted from coverage of the Act states and political subdivisions where (1) 60 percent of minority voters voted in the previous federal election; (2) the jurisdiction is taking affirmative action to encourage participation of minority voters; and (3) the jurisdiction was free of voting rights violations for the previous 5 years. [O]	No.	JUNE 12, 1975		On a motion that the House meet at 10 a.m. on June 20, 1975, instead of at noon. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 6219. On an amendment which would have repealed provisions of the Voting Rights Act under which a state in violation of the act must obtain prior approval of election law changes from the Department of Justice. [O]	No.	H.R. 6860. On an amendment which would have imposed a per-car excise tax on fuel inefficient autos beginning in model year 1977. [O]	Aye.	JUNE 20, 1975	
H.R. 6219. On an amendment which would have provided a 10-year extension of the ban on literacy tests rather than a permanent ban. [O]	No.	H.R. 6860. On an amendment which would have prohibited the importation or manufacture of cars which fail to meet Federal fuel efficiency standards. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 3474. On an amendment which would have deleted \$92 million in funding for long leadtime items for the Clinch River breeder reactor demonstration project and to limit the authorization for the reactor to 1 year. [O]	Aye.
H.R. 6219. On an amendment which would have deleted Title II, which expands protections to cover Spanish Americans, Asian Americans, American Indians and Alaskan Natives. [O]	No.	H.R. 6860. On an amendment which would have phased out the excise tax on radial tires by 1980, instead of repealing it immediately. [O]	No.	H.R. 3474. On an amendment which would have deleted \$804 million for nuclear warhead production and testing. [O]	Aye.
H.R. 6219. On an amendment which would have deleted Alaskan Natives from the definition of language minorities. [O]	No.	H.R. 6860. On an amendment which would have deleted tax credits for installation of insulation in one's permanent residence. [O]	No.	H.R. 3474. On passage of a bill to authorize appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for the Energy Research and Development Administration. [X]	Yea.

Proposal	My vote	Proposal	My vote	Proposal	My vote
JUNE 20, 1975—Continued		JULY 8, 1975		H.R. 5901. On a motion that the House insist on House language prohibiting the Department of HEW from issuing regulations requiring integration by sex in physical education classes, fraternities, and service organizations. [X]	
H.R. 7001. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 5608. On passage of a bill to extend the Wetlands Loan Act through fiscal 1983. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 5897. On an amendment to delete the section which would have prohibited the Internal Revenue Service from denying tax-exempt status to schools and organizations who had not proved that their policies were nondiscriminatory. [X]	Nay.
H.R. 7001. On an amendment which would have prohibited the export of nuclear fuel or nuclear technology to countries not signers of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty or which do not place their nuclear facilities under international nuclear safeguards. [O]	Yea.	H.R. 49. On an amendment which would have retained military control of the naval petroleum reserves and the oil produced therefrom for military purposes. [O]	No.		
H.R. 7001. On an amendment which would have prohibited the transportation of plutonium by air until the Nuclear Regulatory Commission certified to Congress that a rupture proof container had been developed. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 49. On passage of a bill to transfer control of naval petroleum reserves to the Interior Department and create a national petroleum reserve on lands owned by the Federal Government. [X]	Yea.	JULY 17, 1975	
H.R. 7001. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. [X]	Yea.*			H.R. 8597. On an amendment which would have reduced the funds for the Council on Wage and Price Stability from \$1.5 million to \$500,000. [O]	Aye.
JUNE 23, 1975		JULY 9, 1975		H.R. 8597. On an amendment which would have prohibited the use of White House funds to pay employees detailed from Government agencies to the White House for full-time service. [O]	Aye.
H.R. 6799. On passage of a bill revising the rules governing federal criminal cases. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 6706. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 8597. On passage of a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for the Treasury Department, U.S. Postal Service, the Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 6676. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Aye.	S. 555. On passage of a bill to extend the program of emergency loans for farmers, ranchers, and certain other victims of natural disasters. [X]	Yea.	H. Res. 591. On an amendment which would have reduced the size of the new Select Committee from 13 members to 7. [O]	No.
H.R. 6676. On passage of a bill to require the Federal Reserve Board to obtain periodic reports from a sample of the Nation's 200 largest federally insured banks on the amount of funds they were lending. [O]	Yea.	H.R. 7567. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976-77 to fund operations of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. [X]	Yea.	H. Res. 591. On an amendment which would have allowed Members presently belonging to the House Select Intelligence Committee created on Feb. 19, to become members of the new committee authorized by this resolution if they so choose. [O]	Aye.
H.R. 5358. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter to implement the Federal Railroad Safety Act and the Hazardous Materials Transportation Act. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 5884. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976-77 for the Council on International Economic Policy. [X]	Nay.	H.R. 4035. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill extending to Dec. 31, 1975, the expiration of the Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 7500. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976 for the Department of State. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 6706. On an amendment which would have maintained the number of high level White House staff jobs at 54 instead of increasing the number to 95. [O]	Aye.		
H.R. 6434. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for the Peace Corps. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 6706. On an amendment which would have provided for control over the size of White House staff through the Congressional appropriations process instead of establishing statutory limits on the numbers the President may employ. [O]	No.	JULY 18, 1975	
JUNE 24, 1975		JULY 10, 1975		H.R. 5901. On a motion that the House agree to the Senate deletion of a House amendment to prohibit the Department of HEW from issuing regulations to require integration by sex in physical education classes, fraternities, and service organizations. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 8070. On an amendment which would have deleted all funding for the sec. 8 rent subsidy program. [O]	No.	H.R. 8365. On an amendment which would have prohibited the use of funds for operations of supersonic aircraft within the United States. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 7014. On an amendment which would have provided that contingency plans for gasoline rationing and energy conservation would become effective if neither House of Congress disapproved them within 60 days. [O]	Aye.
H.R. 8070. On an amendment which would have reduced federal subsidies for sec. 8 housing. [O]	No.	H.R. 8365. On passage of a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for the Department of Transportation and related agencies. [X]	Aye.		
H.R. 8070. On passage of a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for the Department of Housing and Urban Development and independent agencies. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 7108. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for the research and development programs of the Environmental Protection Agency. [X]	Yea.	JULY 21, 1975	
H.R. 8030. On passage of a bill increasing the temporary debt ceiling, pursuant to a Treasury Department request, to \$577 billion through Nov. 15, 1975. [X]	Yea.			H.R. 6971. On passage of a bill to repeal Federal antitrust law exemptions which allowed States to legalize certain instances of price fixing. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 8122. On an amendment which would have deleted \$1 billion appropriated to the Energy Research and Development Administration for nuclear warhead development. [O]	Aye.	JULY 11, 1975		H.R. 8240. On passage of a bill to allow the Veterans' Administration to increase the salaries to its doctors and dentists above the basic pay ceiling. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 8122. On an amendment which would have increased the appropriation for solar energy research and development. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 5546. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 8598. On passage of a bill to modify the program scheduled to go into effect Aug. 1, 1975, for the collection of child support payments from parents who deserted their families. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 8122. On an amendment which would have deleted the \$1.45 million appropriated for the Dickey-Lincoln School hydroelectric project in Maine. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 5546. On an amendment to require health professions students either to repay the Federal Government the amounts the school received on their behalf, or practice in a medically underserved area for as many years as their schools received assistance on their behalf. [X]	Aye.		
H.R. 8122. On an amendment which would have prohibited the use of funds for the Trinity River project in Texas. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 5546. On an amendment to delete the provision that would have limited the number of residency positions to 125 percent of the number of U.S. medical school graduates, establish a mechanism to distribute residencies geographically, and encourage residencies in the primary care specialties. [X]	No.	JULY 22, 1975	
H.R. 8122. On passage of a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for public works, water and power development, and energy research and development. [X]	Aye.	H.R. 5546. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976-78 for Federal health manpower, public health, and allied health programs. [X]	Yea.	S.J. Res. 23. On passage of a bill to posthumously restore the full rights of citizenship to Gen. Robert E. Lee. [X]	Yea.
JUNE 25, 1975		JULY 14, 1975		H.R. 6950. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for operation of the legislative branch, the Library of Congress, and related agencies controlled by Congress. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 4485. On overriding the President's veto of a bill to provide temporary emergency assistance to subsidize housing purchases by middle income persons. [O]	Yea.	H.R. 8561. On an amendment to increase by \$250 million the appropriation for the Farmers Home Administration revolving loan fund to help small farmers meet federal water pollution control standards. [X]	Aye.	H. Res. 605. On a resolution disapproving the proposed plan of President Ford to phase out price controls on domestic oil. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 8069. On an amendment which would have prohibited the use of funds by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration to issue penalties for 1st violations of Federal job safety rules by firms employing 25 or fewer employees. [O]	No.	H.R. 8561. On an amendment which would have deleted \$3 million for Cotton, Inc., an organization to promote cotton sales and research activities. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 7014. On an amendment which would have provided a gradual decontrol of domestic oil prices, with a price ceiling of \$11.28 a barrel on new oil. [O]	No.
H.R. 8069. On an amendment increasing the appropriation for maternal and child health programs. [X]	Aye.	H.R. 8561. On a motion to recommit the bill to the Agriculture Committee. [O]	Nay.	JULY 23, 1975	
H.R. 8069. On passage of a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for the Departments of Labor, HEW, and related agencies. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 8561. On passage of a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 8773. On an amendment to increase funding for the acquisition of wetlands as a habitat for migratory birds. [X]	Aye.
JUNE 26, 1975		JULY 15, 1975		H.R. 8773. On passage of a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for the Department of the Interior and related agencies. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 8121. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 7014. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.*	H.R. 7014. On an amendment which would have reworded the windfall profits tax condition for the decontrol program. [X]	No.
H.R. 8121. On an amendment to prohibit the use of funds in the bill to negotiate the relinquishment of any U.S. rights in the Panama Canal Zone. [X]	Aye.	JULY 16, 1975		H.R. 7014. On an amendment which would have decontrolled the price of domestic oil by 1980, contingent upon the enactment of a windfall profits tax. [O]	No.
H.R. 8121. On an amendment to increase the appropriation for the Justice Department's Antitrust Division. [X]	Aye.	H. Res. 591. On an amendment which would have abolished the House Select Intelligence Committee. [O]	No.	H.R. 7014. On a motion to limit debate on the following amendment. [X]	No.
H.R. 8121. On an amendment which would have increased the appropriation for the Immigration and Naturalization Service. [O]	Aye.	H. Res. 591. On an amendment which would have abolished the House Select Intelligence Committee and create a permanent House-Senate Joint Committee on Intelligence. [O]	No.	H.R. 7014. On an amendment to delete the oil pricing provisions which would have rolled back the price of new domestic oil to \$7.50 per barrel, and slightly increased the price of old oil. [X]	No.*
H.R. 8121. On passage of a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies. [X]	Yea.*	H. Res. 591. On a motion that the committee rise. [X]	Aye.		
		H.R. 5901. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for various education programs. [X]	Yea.		

Proposal	My vote	Proposal	My vote	Proposal	My vote
JULY 24, 1975		H. Res. 653. On agreeing to consider the resolution. [X]		SEPT. 5, 1975	
H.R. 8714. On passage of a bill to increase unemployment and medical benefits for railroad workers. [X]	Yea.	H. Res. 653. On agreeing to a resolution that the House agree to Senate amendments to H.R. 2559 (a bill authorizing a work-safety program for postal workers) providing for an automatic cost-of-living pay increase for Members of Congress and top officials of the executive and judicial branches. [X]	Nay.	H.R. 8674. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.
S. 846. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 6799. On a motion to recommit the conference report on the bill with instructions to the conference committee. [O]	Yea.	H.R. 8800. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976-80 for an electric vehicle research and demonstration project. [X]	Yea.
S. 846. On passage of a bill to partially lift the embargo on the shipment of United States arms to Turkey. [O]	Nay.	H.R. 7014. On a resolution making it in order for the House to consider an amendment containing the President's oil decontrol plan. [X]	Nay.	H.R. 8674. On passage of a bill declaring a national policy that the United States convert to the metric system of weights and measures on a voluntary basis. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 5900. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 7014. On an amendment in the form of a substitute to the subsequent amendment to set ceiling prices of \$5.25 a barrel for old oil, \$7.50 for most new oil, and \$10 a barrel for high-cost oil. [X]	Nay.	SEPT. 8, 1975	
JULY 25, 1975		H.R. 7014. On an amendment, as modified by the previous amendment, that would set ceiling prices on the cost of oil. [X]	Aye.	H.R. 6673. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.
S. 555. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill to extend the program of emergency loans for farmers, ranchers, and certain other victims of natural disasters. [X]	Yea.	H. Res. 641. On a resolution disapproving President Ford's plan for the gradual decontrol of the price of domestic oil over a 39-month period. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 8650. On passage of a bill to assist low-income persons in winterizing their dwellings and to encourage states to adopt conservation standards for new buildings. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 5900. On an amendment which would have exempted union and nonunion employers not primarily engaged in the construction industry from the common site picketing allowed by the bill. [O]	No.	JULY 31, 1975		H.R. 6673. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976-8 to create an American Folklife Center in the Library of Congress. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 5900. On an amendment to disallow common site picketing where State laws require direct and separate contracts on State or municipal projects. [X]	Aye.*	S. 1849. On passage of a bill to extend from Aug. 31 until Mar. 1, 1976, the Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act, thus continuing the authority of the Government to control the price of "old" domestic oil. [X]	Yea.	SEPT. 9, 1975	
H.R. 5900. On an amendment which would have prohibited common site picketing on all direct and separate contracts. [O]	No.*	H. Con. Res. 198. On agreeing to a concurrent resolution expressing the opposition of Congress to any change in the present method of providing financial support for military commissaries through appropriations to meet their payroll costs. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 5901. On overriding the President's veto of a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for various education programs. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 5900. On an amendment to prohibit common site picketing designed to force a boycott of products used at a site. [X]	Aye.*	H.R. 8731. On an amendment which would have deleted provisions giving the Council power to subpoena business records and required periodic reports. [O]	Yea.	S. 331. On passage of a bill to return the commemoration of Veterans' Day to Nov. 11, effective in 1978. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 5900. On an amendment which would have exempted residential structures of three stories or less without an elevator from common site picketing provisions. [O]	No.*	H.R. 8731. On passage of a bill extending the authority of the Council on Wage and Price Stability through Sept. 30, 1977. [X]	Yea.	SEPT. 10, 1975	
H.R. 5900. On passage of a bill to amend the National Labor Relations Act to make it legal for a construction union with a grievance against its contractor to picket at the construction site. [X]	Yea.*	H.R. 7014. On an amendment which would have prohibited joint ventures by major oil companies in developing oil, natural gas, coal, or oil shale resources on federal lands. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 9005. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.
JULY 28, 1975		H.R. 7014. On an amendment which would have prohibited the leasing of Federal mineral lands—other than those where oil is located—to vertically integrated oil companies and the leasing of oil lands to such companies if they own or control interests in competing energy sources. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 9005. On an amendment to deny aid to countries that consistently engage in "gross violations of the internationally recognized human rights" of their citizens. [X]	Aye.
S. Con. Res. 35. On a resolution expressing congressional approval of a bilateral agreement giving Romania most-favored-nation trade status. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 7014. On an amendment which would have suspended until May 1, 1976 all lease sales in frontier waters of the Outer Continental Shelf. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 9005. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976, the transition quarter, and fiscal 1977 for foreign economic development, disaster relief, and food aid. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 6219. On a Senate amendment to the Voting Rights Act to extend the act for 7 years instead of 10 years. [X]	Yea.	S. 2230. On a motion that the House adjourn. [O]	Yea.	SEPT. 11, 1975	
S. Con. Res. 54. On a resolution providing for a conditional adjournment of Congress from Aug. 1 to Sept. 3, 1975. [X]	Yea.	S. 2230. On a motion that the House adjourn. [O]	Yea.	H. Res. 335. On passage of a resolution to establish a House select committee to investigate U.S. servicemen missing in action in Indochina. [X]	Yea.*
H.R. 5210. On an amendment to delete \$562,000 for construction of facilities at Pine Bluff, Ark., to produce binary nerve gas munitions. [X]	Aye.	S. 2230. On a motion that the House adjourn. [O]	Yea.*	H.R. 8150. On an amendment which would have deleted provisions extending the life of the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention. [O]	Nay.
H.R. 5210. On an amendment which would have deleted \$65 million for construction of the military medical school at Bethesda, Md. [O]	Aye.	S. 2230. On a motion that the House adjourn. [O]	Yea.*	H.R. 8150. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976-8 for various drug abuse prevention programs. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 5210. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for military construction and family housing. [X]	Yea.	S. 2230. On a motion that the House adjourn. [O]	Yea.*	SEPT. 17, 1975	
H.R. 6844. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	S. 2230. On a motion that the House adjourn. [O]	Yea.*	H.R. 7014. On an amendment which would have deleted the oil price control provisions setting price ceilings of \$5.25, \$7.50, and \$10 per barrel on old, new and high-cost oil, respectively. [O]	No.
JULY 29, 1975		AUG. 1, 1975		H.R. 7014. On an amendment which would have deleted the sections requiring the President to restrict and allocate domestic gasoline supplies. [O]	No.
S. 66. On overriding the President's veto of a bill to authorize appropriations in fiscal 1976-78 for health revenue sharing and health services, the National Health Service Corps, and nurse training programs. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 4723. On agreeing to the rule under which the conference report on the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 7014. On an amendment to delete the requirement that industrial energy consumers comply with energy saving guidelines established by the Federal Energy Administrator. [X]	No.
H.R. 3130. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill to clarify Federal and State roles in the preparation of environmental impact statements, making such statements prepared by State officials legal under certain conditions. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 4723. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976 for the National Science Foundation. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 7014. On an amendment which would have deleted a provision authorizing the President to act as the exclusive purchasing agent for oil imported into the United States. [O]	No.
H.R. 7217. On an amendment which would have reduced the level of funding by changing the formula for distributing grants to the States for the education of handicapped children. [O]	Nay.	H.R. 7014. On a motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for consideration of the bill. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 7014. On an amendment which would have deleted the requirement that auto manufacturers attain a 28 miles per gallon fleetwide average by 1985. [O]	No.
H.R. 7217. On passage of a bill providing educational assistance to all handicapped children. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 7014. On a motion to limit debate on the following amendment. [X]	Aye.	H.R. 7014. On an amendment which would have required that Government owned or leased vehicles use, where feasible, fuels that were a blend of gasoline and gasoline substitutes. [O]	Aye.
H.R. 5272. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976, the transition quarter, and fiscal 1977 for noise control programs administered by the Environmental Protection Agency. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 7014. On an amendment which would have struck the provision exempting small refiners from the requirements of the entitlements program. [O]	No.	SEPT. 18, 1975	
H.R. 6844. On an amendment which would have allowed the Consumer Product Safety Commission to regulate defective firearms and ammunition. [O]	Aye.	SEPT. 3, 1975		H.R. 4222. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill to expand school lunch and breakfast nutritional programs and to extend the special supplemental food program for pregnant women, infants, and children. [X]	Yea.
JULY 30, 1975		H.R. 4415. On an amendment to delete the extension of the authorization for the Federal Government to pay some of the cost of programs to strengthen State and local government personnel systems. [X]	No.	H.R. 7014. On an amendment to designate the Federal Trade Commission, rather than the Department of Commerce, as the agency to administer energy efficiency standards and labeling requirements for appliances. [X]	Aye.
H.R. 6674. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for Department of Defense weapons procurement and research and development programs. [X]	Nay.	H.R. 4415. On an amendment which would have deleted the section which authorized grants to public employee unions under certain conditions. [O]	No.	H.R. 7014. On an amendment which would have deleted provisions requiring mandatory standards for appliance energy efficiency. [O]	No.
H.R. 8597. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for the Department of the Treasury, the U.S. Postal Service, and the Executive Office of the President. [X]	Yea.	SEPT. 4, 1975		H.R. 7014. On an amendment which would have deleted the provisions granting the Federal Energy Administrator the authority to prohibit power plants from using natural gas as a boiler fuel. [O]	Aye.
H.R. 8597. On agreeing to a Senate amendment to the conference report that appropriates \$5 million to the revolving fund in the U.S. Postal Service which is used for payments to U.S. air carriers who cannot collect from foreign governments fees owed them for carrying mail pursuant to international agreements. [X]	Nay.	H.R. 3884. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 7014. On an amendment which would have provided \$750 million a year for loans to companies to begin the liquefaction and gasification of coal. [O]	No.
		H.R. 3884. On passage of a bill to establish new procedures for the declaration and termination of national emergencies. [X]	Yea.		

Proposal	My vote	Proposal	My vote	Proposal	My vote
SEPT. 19, 1975		OCT. 2, 1975		H.R. 8841. On an amendment which would have required concurrence of the Department of Agriculture for major Environmental Protection Agency regulations relating to pesticide control. [O]	
H.R. 6227. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 9861. On an amendment which would have prohibited the use of funds in the bill to close any military installation named in the amendment. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 8841. On an amendment to permit the Environmental Protection Agency to require completion of a training program by private applicators of restricted use pesticides. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 5397. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 9861. On an amendment which would have prohibited the use of funds in the bill to relocate the National Oceanographic Office. [O]	Yea.	H.R. 8841. On passage of a bill to extend the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act through Sept. 30, 1976. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 5620. On passage of a bill increasing the authorization for the construction of new mint facilities in Denver. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 9861. On passage of a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for the Department of Defense. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 200. On an amendment which would have permitted the President to suspend the enforcement provisions if it is deemed in the national interest. [O]	Aye.
SEPT. 23, 1975		H.R. 7656. On passage of a bill to allow cattle producers to establish, finance, and administer a program of beef research and promotion of beef products. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 200. On passage of a bill to extend the U.S. fishing limit from 12 to 200 miles. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 7014. On an amendment to authorize the General Accounting Office to conduct verification audits of energy information reported by oil and gas producers to Federal agencies. [X]	Aye.	S. 2230. On an amendment which would have limited United States arms shipments to Turkey to the amount contracted to Turkey before the arms embargo took effect and so long as the President certified that progress had been made regarding the plight of refugees on Cyprus. [O]	Aye.	OCT. 20, 1975	
H.R. 7014. On an amendment to prohibit the use of gasoline or diesel fuel to transport schoolchildren, other than one's own, to a school other than the public school closest to the student's home. [X]	Nay.	S. 2230. On an amendment which would have provided that 60 days after the President reported to Congress on the Cyprus situation as required in the bill Congress could, by nonvetoable resolution, terminate the arms sales authorized in the bill. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 9924. On passage of a bill authorizing funds to organize and convene a National Women's Conference in 1976. [O]	Yea.
H.R. 7014. On a motion to recommit the bill to the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. [O]	Nay.	S. 2230. On passage of a bill to partially lift the embargo on U.S. arms shipments to Turkey. [X]	Yea.	H. Res. 780. On passage of a resolution to disapprove a proposed regulation of the Federal Election Commission that would have required House and Senate candidates to file campaign finance reports first with the FEC rather than with the Clerk of the House or the Secretary of the Senate. [O]	Nay.
H.R. 7014. On passage of a bill extending price controls on domestic oil, establishing a mandatory gasoline allocation program, setting fuel efficiency standards for domestic automobiles, and preparing for national emergencies. [X]	Yea.	OCT. 3, 1975		H.R. 7988. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976-77 for heart, lung, and blood research programs. [X]	Yea.
SEPT. 24, 1975		H.R. 8070. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for the Department of Housing and Urban Development and several independent agencies. [X]	Yea.	S. 584. On a motion to recommit the bill to the Post Office and Civil Service Committee. [O]	Nay.
H.R. 8121. On a motion to recommit the conference report with instructions to the conference committee. [O]	Nay.	H.R. 8070. On a motion to concur in a Senate amendment to require that 50 percent of the contract authority for the sec. 8 rental subsidy program be used for new construction. [X]	Yea.	OCT. 21, 1975	
H.R. 8121. On a motion that the House agree to Senate language (replacing a House restriction on the use of funds to negotiate the relinquishment of U.S. rights in the Panama Canal Zone) stating that in negotiating a new canal treaty the vital interests of the United States must be protected. [O]	Yea.	H.R. 8070. On a motion to concur in a Senate amendment to prohibit the Environmental Protection Agency from implementing proposals to tax, limit, or regulate parking. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 8617. On an amendment which would have permitted Federal employees to seek election or engage in political activities only on the local and State level. [O]	No.
H.R. 6844. On an amendment to prohibit the Consumer Product Safety Commission from including product sampling plans as part of mandatory product safety standards. [X]	Aye.	H.R. 841. On an amendment which would have given the Secretary of Agriculture veto power over EPA decisions to ban or restrict the use of a pesticide. [O]	No.*	H.R. 8617. On a motion to recommit the bill with instructions to the Post Office and Civil Service Committee. [O]	Nay.
SEPT. 25, 1975		H.R. 8841. On an amendment which would have extended without amendment the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act through fiscal 1976. [O]	No.*	H.R. 8617. On passage of a bill to give Federal employees the right to participate in partisan political campaigns and to run for local, State, or Federal office, and to protect such employees from improper political solicitations. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 1287. On an amendment which would have included products containing chromium in any form in the prohibition on importation of steel mill products containing Rhodensian chrome. [O]	No.	OCT. 6, 1975		H.R. 7222. On passage of a bill to increase from one-third to one-half the Federal Government's contribution to the cost of employee group life insurance. [O]	Yea.
H.R. 1287. On passage of a bill to amend the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 and bring the United States into compliance with the U.N. sponsored boycott of Rhodesia. [O]	Yea.	H.R. 9576. On passage of a bill terminating veterans education benefits for persons entering the military after Dec. 31, 1975. [X]	Nay.	OCT. 22, 1975	
SEPT. 26, 1975		H.R. 9968. On passage of a bill to grant tax-exempt status to development bonds used to construct dams used substantially for irrigation purposes. [X]	Yea.	H. Res. 780. On agreeing to the rule under which the resolution would be considered. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 6844. On a motion that the committee rise. [X]	Aye.	OCT. 7, 1975		H. Res. 780. On passage of a resolution to disapprove a proposed regulation of the Federal Election Commission that would have required House and Senate candidates to file campaign finance reports first with the FEC rather than with the Clerk of the House or the Secretary of the Senate. [X]	Nay.
H.R. 8841. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 4222. On overriding the President's veto of a bill expanding the school lunch and breakfast nutritional programs and extending the special supplemental food program for pregnant women, infants, and children. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 6844. On an amendment which would have deleted a provision to authorize the Consumer Product Safety Commission to choose, on a case-by-case basis, which of the 4 major laws it administers to use in regulating a product. [O]	No.
H.R. 9524. On passage of a bill extending the Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act to Nov. 15, 1975. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 8121. On agreeing to compromise language in the conference report regarding the Panama Canal Zone. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 6844. On an amendment to allow the House or the Senate to disapprove within 30 days any rule of regulation promulgated by the Consumer Product Safety Commission. [X]	No.
H.R. 8841. On a motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 200. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 6844. On an amendment which would have allowed private parties to bring civil suits against the Commission. [O]	No.
H.R. 8841. On a motion that the committee rise. [X]	Aye.	H.R. 9500. On passage of a bill establishing within the Department of Labor a committee composed of labor and contractor representatives to assist in negotiating new contracts in the construction industry. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 6844. On a motion requesting a call of the House. [X]	Yea.
On agreeing to a motion that the House adjourn. [X]	Yea.	OCT. 8, 1975		H.R. 6844. On an amendment to delete a provision of the bill authorizing the Consumer Product Safety Commission to conduct its own civil litigation, rather than using Justice Department attorneys. [X]	Nay.
SEPT. 29, 1975		H.R. 10029. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 6844. On a motion to recommit the bill with instructions to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. [X]	Nay.
H.R. 8603. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H. Con. Res. 424. On passage of a rule providing for the conditional adjournment of Congress from Oct. 9 to Oct. 20, 1975. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 6844. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976-8 for the Consumer Product Safety Commission. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 8603. On an amendment to require the Postal Service to go before Congress each year for authorization and appropriations of its total budget. [X]	Aye.	H.R. 10029. On an amendment which would have deleted \$64.9 million for construction of a military medical school at Bethesda, Md. [O]	Aye.	OCT. 23, 1975	
SEPT. 30, 1975		H.R. 10029. On passage of a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for military construction and family housing for military personnel. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 8672. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 9861. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.J. Res. 683. On an amendment which would have limited to 2 years the President's authority to commit U.S. technicians to the Sinai early warning stations. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 8672. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations to provide unemployed railroad workers with jobs repairing and rehabilitating railroad roadbeds and facilities. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 9861. On an amendment which would have increased funding for Army recruiting counseling services. [O]	No.	H.J. Res. 683. On passage of a resolution to provide for the assignment of up to 200 American civilian technicians to man the Sinai early warning stations. [X]	Nay.	OCT. 28, 1975	
H.R. 9861. On an amendment which would have restored \$15.6 million for Army recruiting activities. [O]	No.	OCT. 9, 1975		H.R. 6227. On passage of a bill to allow Federal civilian employees under investigation for misconduct which could lead to their suspension, removal, or reduction in pay, the right to have representation of their choice during questioning. [X]	Yea.
OCT. 1, 1975		H.R. 7706. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill to suspend the duty on imported natural graphite, to delay enforcement of staffing standards for federally funded day care centers, and to make explicit the confidentiality of records of alcoholics and drug addicts covered by the Social Security Act. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 8835. On passage of a bill to require companies leasing consumer goods to disclose fully the terms and costs of the lease. [X]	Yea.
H. Res. 688. On a motion to table (and thus kill) a motion which would have discharged the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service from further consideration of a resolution disapproving the President's proposed 5 percent pay increase for Federal employees. [X]	Nay.				
H.R. 9861. On an amendment which would have required disclosure of funds appropriated for activities of the Central Intelligence Agency. [O]	Aye.				
H.R. 9861. On a motion to limit debate on the following amendment. [O]	No.				
H.R. 9861. On an amendment which would have deleted funds for research and development of the Navy F-18 fighter aircraft. [O]	No.				
H.R. 9861. On an amendment to prohibit the use of funds in the bill to relocate the National Oceanographic Office. [X]	Aye.				

Proposal	My vote	Proposal	My vote	Proposal	My vote
OCT. 28, 1975—Continued		NOV. 7, 1975		S. 2114. On passage of a bill to extend until June 30, 1976, the authority to pay bonuses to nuclear-qualified officers in the Navy and to extend entitlement to special pay to optometrists and veterinarians in the uniformed services. [X]	
S. 2195. On passage of a bill to establish a National Center for Productivity and Quality of Working Life. [X]	Nay.	H.R. 9019. On a motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for consideration of the bill. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 8089. On passage of a bill to increase from \$25 to \$35 per day the maximum amount authorized for per diem expenses for members of the military traveling on official business. [X]	Nay.
OCT. 29, 1975		H.R. 9019. On passage of a bill to extend the health maintenance organization program through 1980 and to ease the requirements which HMO's must meet in order to be eligible for Federal assistance. [X]		H.R. 9573. On passage of a bill to limit to 60 days the total cumulative entitlement to payment for unused accrued leave for the military services. [X]	
H.R. 10049. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 1753. On passage of a bill to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to provide a tabulation of population statistics, upon request, for use by individual States to facilitate the apportionment of State legislatures. [X]	Yea.	NOV. 18, 1975	
H.R. 10049. On passage of a bill increasing the temporary debt ceiling, pursuant to a Treasury Department request, to \$597 billion through Mar. 31, 1976. [O]	Nay.	H.R. 6346. On passage of a bill to extend through Sept. 30, 1977 the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to conduct title V rural development and small farm research and development programs. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 10029. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for military construction and family housing for military personnel. [X]	
OCT. 30, 1975		NOV. 10, 1975		S. 1517. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976 for the Department of State, the foreign buildings program, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. [X]	
H.R. 8603. On an amendment which would have deleted a previously adopted amendment requiring the Postal Service to go before Congress each year for authorization and appropriation, and instead require annual congressional authorization only when the existing automatic authorization is exceeded. [O]	No.	H.R. 10035. On passage of a bill to establish an annual judicial conference to improve the operation of the justice system in the District of Columbia. [X]	Yea.	S. 6. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill to provide educational assistance to all handicapped children. [X]	
H.R. 8603. On an amendment which would have repealed the statutes which grant the Postal Service a monopoly on processing first-class mail. [O]	No.	H.R. 4287. On passage of a bill authorizing funds for an additional law clerk for each of the 9 judges of the D.C. Court of Appeals. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 8841. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill authorizing appropriations through Mar. 31, 1977, to implement the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act. [X]	
H.R. 8603. On a motion to recommit the bill with instructions to the Post Office and Civil Service Committee. [O]	Nay.	H.R. 9958. On passage of a bill to authorize the transfer of certain Federal property in the District of Columbia to the D.C. Redevelopment Land Agency. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 30. On passage of a bill to establish the Hells Canyon National Recreation Area in Oregon, Idaho, and Washington, and to deauthorize the construction of a dam. [X]	
H.R. 8603. On passage of a bill to require the U.S. Postal Service to go before Congress each year for authorization and appropriation of its total budget, and to reduce the proposed first-class rate from 13 cents to 12 cents. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 10041. On an amendment to retain the federal enclave within the District of Columbia and to empower the President to appoint a National Capital Service Area director. [X]	Nay.	NOV. 19, 1975	
OCT. 31, 1975		H.R. 6461. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976-80 for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 8578. On passage of bill to increase the Federal share of funding for community action agencies serving the poor to 80 percent through fiscal 1977. [X]	
H.R. 10024. On an amendment to delete provisions that would have allowed negotiable order of withdrawal accounts to be offered nationwide. [X]	No.	NOV. 11, 1975		H.R. 3992. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill authorizing appropriations through fiscal 1978 for programs assisting the elderly under the Older Americans Act and for senior volunteer programs run by ACTION. [X]	
H.R. 10024. On an amendment which would have deleted provisions requiring lenders in metropolitan areas to disclose the number of mortgage loans made and the amount of money lent. [O]	No.	H.R. 8365. On a motion to recommit the conference report with instructions to the conference committee. [O]	Nay.	DEC. 1, 1975	
H.R. 10024. On an amendment which would have applied the mortgage disclosure requirements to 20 metropolitan areas selected by the Federal Reserve Board, instead of from every standard metropolitan area. [O]	No.	H.R. 8365. On a motion to agree to a Senate amendment limiting obligations for certain highway construction programs to \$9 billion in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 10727. On passage of a bill to revise procedures for holding hearings on previously denied applications for benefits under several social security programs. [X]	
H.R. 10024. On passage of a bill to extend until Dec. 31, 1977, the authority of Federal bank regulatory agencies to set ceilings on the amount of interest paid on savings accounts, and to require lenders in metropolitan areas to disclose the number of mortgage loans made and amount of money lent. [X]	Yea.	H. Res. 855. On passage of a resolution condemning the United Nation's approval of a resolution which equated Zionism with racism. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 7782. On passage of a bill to allow the Federal Government to insure foreign art works and artifacts while on display in the United States. [X]	
NOV. 3, 1975		NOV. 12, 1975		S. 267. On passage of a bill to designate 235,230 acres in Colorado as national forests. [X]	
H.R. 9915. On passage of a bill to make minor technical revisions in the Federal Rules of Evidence and Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure. [X]	Yea.	H. Con. Res. 466. On an amendment which would have set outlays at \$301.8 billion. [O]	No.	DEC. 2, 1975	
S. 24. On passage of a bill to implement the provisions of the Patent Cooperation Treaty. [X]	Yea.	H. Con. Res. 466. On an amendment to set outlays at \$373.9 billion. [X]	No.	H. Res. 864. On passage of a resolution expressing the sense of the House that the United States should continue its nonrecognition of the annexation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania by the Soviet Union. [X]	
NOV. 4, 1975		H. Con. Res. 466. On passage of a budget resolution setting ceilings in fiscal 1976 of \$374.9 billion in outlays and a floor of \$301.8 billion in revenues. [X]	No.	H.R. 10481. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	
H. Res. 732. On passage of a resolution to authorize the voluntary withholding of state income taxes for Members of Congress and congressional employees. [X]	Yes.	H.R. 10585. On ordering the previous question on the rule. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 10481. On passage of a bill authorizing Federal loans to help New York City avert default. [X]	
H.R. 10339. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations for a program to be administered by the Department of Agriculture to encourage direct marketing of agricultural products from farmers to consumers. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 10585. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	NOV. 13, 1975	
H.R. 10355. On passage of a bill to provide an 8 percent increase in veterans' and survivors' pension rates. [X]	Yea.	NOV. 13, 1975		DEC. 3, 1975	
NOV. 5, 1975		H.R. 10585. On passage of a bill increasing the temporary debt ceiling, pursuant to a Treasury Department request, to \$595 billion through Mar. 15, 1976. [X]	Yea.	S. 1537. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill extending the Defense Production Act through fiscal 1977. [X]	
H.R. 7575. On an amendment to exempt businesses with less than \$1 million in net assets or 25 or fewer employees from the requirement to answer interrogatories issued by the Agency. [X]	Aye.	H.R. 10647. On an amendment which would have prohibited food stamps for individuals and families whose gross income exceeded the official poverty level. [O]	No.	H.R. 10612. On ordering the previous question on the rule. [X]	
NOV. 6, 1975		H.R. 10647. On passage of a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for various federal departments and agencies. [X]	Yea.	DEC. 4, 1975	
H.R. 7575. On an amendment to transfer to the Agency for Consumer Protection programs and activities of each Federal agency which would be duplicative of or performed more appropriately by the Agency. [X]	No.	NOV. 14, 1975		H.R. 10612. On an amendment deleting the provision permitting individuals with capital losses in excess of \$30,000 in any year starting in 1974 to carry them back to offset taxes paid on capital gains in 3 previous years. [X]	
H.R. 7575. On an amendment which would have deleted provisions exempting from the Agency purview suits under the Norris-LaGuardia Act, proceedings before the National Labor Relations Board, and assistance in the negotiation of labor agreements by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. [O]	No.	H.R. 5512. On passage of a bill to require that the National Wildlife Refuge System be administered through the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. [X]	Yea.*	H.R. 10612. On a motion to strike the enacting clause. [O]	
H.R. 7575. On passage of a bill to create an independent Agency for Consumer Protection to coordinate Federal consumer protection activities and represent consumer interests before other Federal agencies and the courts. [X]	Nay.	H.R. 10031. On passage of a bill to extend the Defense Production Act for 2 years. [X]	Yea.*	H.R. 10612. On an amendment which would have applied the limitation on artificial losses rule on real estate on a property-by-property basis so that artificial losses from 1 real estate venture could not be used to reduce income from another real estate venture. [O]	
H.R. 10230. On passage of a bill to establish an Office of Science and Technology Policy in the Executive Office of the President. [X]	Yea.	NOV. 17, 1975		H.R. 10612. On an amendment strengthening the minimum tax by increasing the number of tax preference items subject to the minimum tax and by eliminating completely a deduction for 50 percent of regular Federal income taxes. [X]	
H.R. 6346. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.*	S. 2327. On passage of a bill to modify provisions of the Real Estate Settlement Procedures Act of 1974, specifically repealing provisions requiring disclosure of closing costs to home buyers. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 10612. On an amendment which would have established a minimum taxable income schedule instead of the limitation on artificial losses and minimum tax provisions in the bill. [O]	
		H.R. 10561. On passage of a bill to prohibit sellers from imposing surcharges made with credit cards, and to strike out the 5-percent limitation on discounts for paying cash. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 10612. On an amendment to delete provisions eliminating the existing 30 percent withholding tax on dividends and interest earned by foreign portfolio investments in the United States. [X]	
		H.R. 9691. On passage of a bill to make certain disability retirement determinations by the Secretaries of the military departments subject to review by the Secretary of Defense. [X]	Yea.		

Proposal	My vote	Proposal	My vote	Proposal	My vote
DEC. 4, 1975—Continued		DEC. 12, 1975		DEC. 19, 1975	
H.R. 10612. On an amendment which would have shortened from 5 years to 3 years the grace period provided in provisions limiting the amount of export income of a domestic international sales corporation eligible for deferral of Federal taxes. [O]	Aye.	H.Con.Res. 466. On agreeing to the conference report on a resolution setting a budget ceiling for fiscal 1976 of \$374.9 billion in outlays and a floor of \$300.8 billion in revenues. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 8235. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1977-78 for Federal-aid highway programs and for construction of interstate highways. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 10612. On a motion to recommit the bill with instructions to the Ways and Means Committee. [O]	Nay.	H.R. 8122. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for public works projects. [X]	Yea.*	H.R. 9771. On an amendment to limit the use of funds for development of airport terminals. [X]	No.
H.R. 10612. On passage of a bill cutting individual and business income taxes, establishing a limitation on artificial losses, strengthening the existing minimum tax, and closing other tax loopholes. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 9861. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for the Department of Defense. [X]	Yea.*	H.R. 9771. On an amendment to prohibit for 6 months the landing of supersonic aircraft at federally funded airports. [X]	Aye.
H.R. 8069. On a motion to recommit the conference report to the conference committee. [O]	Nay.	DEC. 15, 1975		H.R. 9771. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976-80 from the Airport and Airway Trust Fund for airport development and other aviation activities. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 8069. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for the Departments of Labor, HEW, and related agencies. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 11016. On passage of a bill to extend through June 30, 1976, the authorization for the Renegotiation Board. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 10284. On a resolution to agree to a Senate amendment to the bill, but deleting a Senate provision which would have allowed persons aged 60 to 64 to "buy-in" to the medicare program. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 8069. On a motion which would have amended a Senate amendment to the conference report so as to prohibit the transportation of any student to a school other than the nearest or next nearest to the student's home. [O]	Yea.	H.R. 3035. On passage of a bill to require the payment of interest on certain funds of the United States held in deposit in commercial banks. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 10727. On a resolution to agree to Senate amendments to the bill which revises procedures for holding hearings on previously denied applications for benefits under several social security programs. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 8069. On agreeing to the Senate amendment to the conference report to prohibit the Department of HEW from using funds in the bill to require school districts to transport students beyond the school closest to their homes for the purpose of school integration. [X]	No.	H.R. 11070. On passage of a bill to make permanent the 1973 ban on television blackouts of certain professional sports events if sold out 72 hours in advance of game time. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 8069. On a motion to postpone consideration of the President's veto of the bill. [X]	Yea.
DEC. 8, 1975		H.R. 10647. On a motion to recommit the conference report with instructions to the conference committee. [O]	Nay	H. Res. 939. On a resolution making it in order by simple majority vote to consider reports from the Rules Committee on the same day the reports are ordered reported for the remainder of the 1st sess. of the 94th Cong. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 8631. On an amendment which would have removed the \$560 million limitation on the liability of the nuclear power industry for damages resulting from a nuclear power accident. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 10647. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill making supplemental appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for several Federal departments and agencies. [X]	Yea.	H. Res. 945. On a resolution providing that for the remainder of the 1st sess. of the 94th Cong. the House would meet only on Tuesdays and Fridays of each week. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 8631. On an amendment which would have given the public the right to challenge the constitutionality of the \$560 million liability limit in court. [O]	Aye.	S. 622. On a motion to delete from the conference report an authorization of \$130 million for advanced automobile technology. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 9968. On agreeing to Senate amendments to a previously passed House bill to provide for a 6-month extension of 1975 tax cuts. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 8631. On passage of a bill to extend for 10 years the Federal program to pay claims arising from a nuclear accident, up to \$560 million, and limiting the liability of the nuclear power industry to that amount in event of accident. [X]	Nay.	S. 622. On ordering the previous question on the conference report. [X]	Yea.	S. 2718. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill authorizing financial assistance to the Nation's railroads. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 9721. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	S. 622. On agreeing to the conference report on the Energy Conservation and Oil Policy Act. [X]	Yea.	JAN. 19, 1976	
DEC. 9, 1975		H.R. 7656. On a motion to recommit the conference report on the bill. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 7897. On an amendment to provide that school districts would only be reimbursed for the actual costs which they have incurred in providing the necessary supplementary educational services for Indochina refugee children. [X]	Aye.
H.R. 9721. On a motion to recommit the bill to the Banking, Housing and Currency Committee. [O]	Nay.	DEC. 16, 1975		H.R. 7897. On passage of a bill to authorize funds for assistance to local educational agencies for the education of Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 9721. On passage of a bill authorizing funds for U.S. shares in various funds of the Inter-American Development Bank and for a U.S. contribution to the African Development Fund. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 8529. On an amendment which sought to continue acreage allotments for rice production, delete the target price concept, and authorize a loan level of 60 percent of parity or \$8 per cwt, whichever is greater. [O]	No.	JAN. 20, 1976	
H.R. 9005. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill authorizing appropriations through fiscal 1977 for foreign economic development, disaster relief, and food aid. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 8529. On a motion to recommit the bill to the Agriculture Committee. [O]	Nay.	H.R. 10537. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations for the construction of 2 irrigation projects in Wyoming and South Dakota and modification of the spillway of 2 existing dams in North Dakota and Oregon. [X]	Nay.
H.R. 10624. On an amendment which would have retained present bankruptcy provisions with regard to cities of less than 1 million persons. [O]	No.	H.R. 8529. On passage of a bill to suspend marketing quotas for the 1976 and 1977 crop years, remove restrictions on production by new producers, and establish an \$8 per cwt target price and a \$6 per cwt loan level for rice. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 3710. On passage of a bill authorizing the 101st Airborne Division Association to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 10624. On passage of a bill establishing a procedure for Federal court supervision of settlement and adjustment of debts between a municipality and its creditors. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 5559. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill extending 1975 tax cuts through June 30, 1976. [O]	Yea.	H. Con. Res. 527. On passage of a resolution vacating previous House and Senate action on the conference report on S. 2718 and recommitting the bill to the conference committee. [X]	Yea.
DEC. 10, 1975		DEC. 17, 1975		JAN. 21, 1976	
H.R. 9924. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 5559. On ordering the previous question on the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 6721. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.
S. 95. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 10979. On an amendment which would have deleted provisions creating an Office of Rail Public Counsel in the Interstate Commerce Commission. [O]	No.	H.R. 6721. On an amendment prohibiting coal mining in any area of the National Park System, the National Wildlife Refuge System, the National Wilderness Preservation System, the National System of Trails, and the Wild and Scenic Rivers System. [X]	Aye.
H.R. 9924. On passage of a bill authorizing funds to organize and convene a National Women's Conference in 1976. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 10979. On an amendment to delete provisions allowing freight forwarders who specialize in less than carload shipments to contract with railroads. [X]	Aye.	H.R. 6721. On an amendment which would have eliminated the provision requiring that a logical mining unit be limited to 25,000 acres. [O]	No.*
S. 95. On passage of a bill to assure American citizens who live abroad the right to vote in Federal elections. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 10979. On a motion to limit debate. [X]	No.	H.R. 6721. On a motion to recommit the bill to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. [O]	Nay.
DEC. 11, 1975		H.R. 10979. On an amendment which would have cut Federal subsidies to commuter rail services from 75 to 50 percent. [O]	No.	H.R. 6721. On passage of a bill to amend the Mineral Leasing Act to revise procedures governing the leasing and development of coal deposits on Federal lands. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 5900. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill to make it legal for a construction union with a grievance against its contractor to picket at the construction site. (The report included the provisions of H.R. 9500, which provides a framework within which labor and management in the construction industry could work to resolve collective bargaining disputes). [X]	Yea.	S.J. Res. 121. On agreeing to the conference report on a resolution to increase the dairy price support to 85 percent of parity with quarterly adjustments. [X]	Yea.	JAN. 22, 1976	
H.R. 8773. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for the Department of the Interior and related agencies. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 6461. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976-80 for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 10807. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 3474. On a motion to delete from the conference report the authorization of up to \$6 billion in Federal loan guarantees for the construction of commercial demonstration facilities for synthetic fuels. [X]	Aye.	DEC. 18, 1975		H.R. 10807. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations through fiscal 1977 to establish and enforce certain Federal auto standards. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 3474. On a motion to delete from the conference report language authorizing the Energy Research and Development Administration to select a tract of public land and conduct an underground oil shale demonstration project there in cooperation with a private company [X].	Yea.	H.R. 5559. On overriding the President's veto of a bill extending 1975 tax cuts through June 30, 1976. [O]	Yea.	JAN. 27, 1976	
		H.R. 8235. On an amendment which would have deleted the \$750 million discretionary fund to be used by the Secretary of Transportation to complete gaps in the Interstate Highway system. [O]	No.	HR. 8069. On overriding the President's veto of a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for the Departments of Labor, HEW, and related agencies. [X]	Yea.
		H.R. 8235. On amendments which would have required that the cost of highway projects rejected for mass transit be based on 1972 estimates, the mileage withdrawn from one State's highway system be available in another, and right-of-way sales proceeds be returned to the Government. [O]	No.	H.R. 9861. On a motion to concur in a Senate amendment to the conference report to prohibit use of any funds under the bill for direct or indirect military aid to any of the factions fighting in the Angola civil war. [X]	Yea.
		H.R. 8235. On an amendment which would have reduced the maximum allowable weight for trucks on interstate highways from 80,000 to 73,280. [O]	No.		
		H.R. 8235. On an amendment which would have permitted local officials in urban areas to submit plans directly to the U.S. Department of Transportation under certain conditions. [O]	Aye.		

Proposal	My vote	Proposal	My vote	Proposal	My vote
JAN. 28, 1976		H.R. 11645. On passage of a bill authorizing additional appropriations for the completion of the Library of Congress Madison Memorial Building. [X]		H.R. 12203. On passage of a bill making appropriations for foreign economic and military assistance programs in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter. [X]	
S. 2718. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill authorizing financial assistance to the Nation's railroads. [X]	Yea.	FEB. 18, 1976		MAR. 9, 1976	
JAN. 29, 1976		H.J. Res. 801. On passage of supplemental appropriations enabling the U.S. Railway Association to purchase Conrail debentures and preferred stock over a 4-year period. [X]		H.R. 6516. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill amending the Equal Credit Act adding age, race, color, religion and national origin to sex and marital status as categories under which no creditor may discriminate against an applicant for credit. [X]	
H.R. 5247. On a motion to strike Title II from the conference report on the bill. (Title II provides aid to states and local governments to maintain basic services during high unemployment). [O]	Nay.	FEB. 19, 1976		H.R. 11124. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	
H.R. 5247. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill authorizing appropriations for public works projects. [X]	Aye.	H.R. 5247. On overriding the President's veto of a bill authorizing appropriations for public works projects. [X]		S. Con. Res. 98. On passage of a resolution which would have provided for a 25-Member congressional delegation to travel to England to pick up a copy of the Magna Carta for display in the Capitol. [O]	
H.R. 10680. On an amendment which would have extended the Renegotiation Board for 5 years rather than making it permanent, and would have struck all other parts of the bill. [O]	No.	H. Res. 1042. On a motion to refer the resolution to the Rules Committee. [O]		H.R. 11124. On passage of a bill requiring the Secretary of HEW, with the assistance of medical and scientific specialists, to classify all medical devices intended for human use into regulatory categories. [X]	
H Res. 982. On an amendment to provide that if the final report of the Select Committee on Intelligence contained classified information it must be released as a classified document unless the President gave prior certification that it would not be damaging to U.S. intelligence activities. [X]	Nay.	FEB. 24, 1976		MAR. 11, 1976	
FEB. 3, 1976		H.J. Res. 811. On passage of a resolution appropriating additional funds for completion of the Library of Congress Madison building. [X]		H.R. 3981. On passage of a bill authorizing funds for a coastal energy activity program that would assist coastal States experiencing adverse impacts as a result of Outer Continental Shelf activity and other energy facility siting. [X]	
H.R. 9464. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	No.	FEB. 25, 1976		H.R. 11481. On an amendment which would have increased the cadet student subsidy at the 6 State maritime academies from \$600 to \$1,200 per year. [O]	
FEB. 4, 1976		H.R. 11893. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]		H.R. 11481. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations for maritime programs conducted by the Maritime Administration within the Department of Commerce. [X]	
H.R. 9464. On an amendment deleting provisions that end Federal Power Commission authority to reduce price ceilings on gas still under Federal regulation. [X]	Aye.	H.R. 11893. On passage of a bill increasing the temporary debt ceiling, pursuant to a Treasury Department request, to \$627 billion through June 30, 1976. [X]		MAR. 15, 1976	
H.R. 9464. On an amendment which would have allowed the FPC to set varying 5-year ceilings instead of a single national ceiling on prices for offshore natural gas. [O]	Aye.	FEB. 26, 1976		H.R. 12188. On passage of a bill making technical and conforming changes in the Community Services Act of 1974. [X]	
FEB. 5, 1976		H. Res. 868. On passage of a resolution amending House rules to provide that no committee report, bill, resolution, or conference report may be considered on the floor of the House unless copies of such have been available to Members at least 2 hours prior to consideration. [X]		H.R. 7743. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations through fiscal 1978 for the implementation of the Pennsylvania Avenue Corporation development plan. [O]	
S. Con. Res. 92. On passage of a resolution providing for a conditional adjournment of the House from Feb. 11 to Feb. 16 and of the Senate from Feb. 6 to Feb. 16. [X]	Yea.	MAR. 1, 1976		MAR. 16, 1976	
H.R. 9464. On an amendment which would have included industrial users that needed natural gas in the manufacturing process in the first order of priority along with agricultural users. [O]	No.	H.R. 11700. On passage of a bill providing that the actions of five New York City pension plans in purchasing city obligations under the agreement of Nov. 21, 1975, would not be considered violations of the exclusive benefit rule or the prohibited transaction rules of the Internal Revenue Code. [X]		H.R. 12455. On passage of a bill to allow all elderly persons, regardless of income, to continue to receive services at Federal senior citizens centers. [X]	
H.R. 9464. On an amendment in the nature of a substitute to deregulate prices of all independent gas producers with sales of less than 100 million mcf per year, while continuing controls on sales by major producers but with a more flexible and incentive-oriented FPC pricing formula. [X]	Aye.	MAR. 2, 1976		H.J. Res. 857. On passage of a bill making continuing appropriations in fiscal 1976 for various departments for which regular appropriations bills had not yet been enacted. [X]	
H.R. 9464. On a vote affirming the previous vote. [X]	Aye.	H.R. 10760. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]		H.J. Res. 280. On agreeing to the rule under which the resolution would be considered. [X]	
H.R. 9464. On a motion to recommit the bill to the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. [O]	Nay.	H.R. 10760. On an amendment which would have deleted a provision which permitted survivors of miners killed in mine accidents prior to 1971 to receive black lung benefits. [O]		MAR. 17, 1976	
H.R. 9464. On passage of a bill to deregulate the prices of all independent gas producers with sales of less than 100 million mcf per year while continuing controls on sales by major producers. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 10760. On passage of a bill providing black lung benefits for miners (and their widows and dependents). [X]		H. Con. Res. 580. On an amendment which would have reduced the size of the proposed delegation from 25 to 5, and place a limit of \$10,000 on the expenses of the delegation. [O]	
FEB. 9, 1976		MAR. 3, 1976		S. Con. Res. 98. On a motion to strike all the language in the resolution and substitute the language contained in H. Con. Res. 580. [X]	
H.R. 5808. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H. Res. 1054. On ordering the previous question on the resolution. [X]		MAR. 18, 1976	
H.R. 5808. On an amendment which would have made violations of the bill subject only to State criminal enforcement. [O]	No.	H. Res. 1054. On passage of a resolution giving to the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct subpoena power in its investigation of the publication of the final report of the Select Committee on Intelligence. [X]		H.R. 8532. On an amendment which would have limited fluid class recovery to those instances in which there was an agreement to fix prices in willful violation of the antitrust law. [X]	
H.R. 5808. On an amendment to prohibit the use of interstate facilities for the purpose of cockfighting. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 11963. On an amendment which would have extended the committee prohibition on arms sales to Chile to include Government-backed cash arms sales and commercial arms sales. [O]		H.R. 8532. On an amendment which would have allowed private attorneys to be contracted for on a contingency fee basis by State attorneys general. [O]	
H.R. 5808. On passage of a bill establishing new protections for animals during shipment and prohibit the use of interstate facilities to promote dog and cockfights. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 11963. On an amendment which would have struck the provision of the bill permitting trade with North and South Vietnam. [O]		H.R. 8532. On a motion to recommit the bill to the Judiciary Committee. [O]	
FEB. 10, 1976		MAR. 4, 1976		MAR. 22, 1976	
H.R. 11665. On an amendment which would have approved the President's proposed impact education aid rescission. [O]	Nay.	H.R. 12203. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]		H.R. 12226. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1977 for the Peace Corps. [X]	
H.R. 11453. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 12203. On an amendment which would have restored a proposed cut in funds to be used to assist voluntary organizations in running programs and shipping materials overseas. [O]		H.R. 12046. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations for earthquake disaster relief and rehabilitation activities in Guatemala. [X]	
H.R. 11453. On an amendment which would have struck language in the bill and instead continue at existing funding levels Title IV of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act through fiscal 1977. [O]	No.	H.R. 12203. On an amendment which would have deleted funding in the bill for the United Nations Development Program. [O]		H.R. 12453. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1977 for NASA. [X]	
H.R. 11453. On an amendment which would have changed the criterion for distribution of pt B funds to a 50-50 formula under which 50 percent of the funds would be allocated to areas of highest unemployment and the remainder to prime sponsor areas with over 4½ percent unemployment. [O]	Yea.	H.R. 12203. On an amendment to prohibit the use of any funds in the bill for planning or carrying out of assassinations, or direct or indirect financing or influencing any foreign election in peacetime. [X]		MAR. 23, 1976	
H.R. 11453. On passage of a bill authorizing funds to maintain public service jobs through the end of fiscal 1977. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 12203. On an amendment which would have reduced the \$1.5 billion ceiling on foreign military credit sales of arms to Israel to \$1.3 billion. [O]		H.R. 9803. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	
FEB. 17, 1976		H.R. 12203. On an amendment to prohibit aid under the bill to any nation in default on an obligation to the United States for over a year, if the debt had not been disputed prior to enactment of this prohibition. [X]		H.R. 9803. On a motion to recommit the conference report with instructions to the conference committee. [O]	
H.R. 11233. On passage of a bill extending the authorization for the Library Services and Construction Act for 5 years. [X]	Yea.			H.R. 9803. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill postponing until July 1, 1976, the effective date of the requirement that day care centers meet Federal staffing standards. [X]	
H.R. 11455. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations for the acquisition of an additional 4,340 acres for the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore. [X]	Yea.				

Proposal	My vote	Proposal	My vote	Proposal	My vote
MAR. 23, 1976—Continued					
H.J. Res. 280. On an amendment that would immediately provide the District of Columbia with 1 elected representative in the House of Representatives and allow further representation in the House or Senate subject to majority vote of the Congress. [X]	Aye.	H.R. 12406. On passage of a bill reconstituting the Federal Election Commission, limiting the size of political contributions, and strengthening congressional control of the FEC. [X]	Yea.	H. Res. 1032. On passage of a resolution disapproving President Ford's proposed deferral of funds appropriated for the Soil Conservation Service's emergency watershed repair work. [X]	Yea.
H.J. Res. 280. On an amendment which would have provided voting representation for the District of Columbia in the House of Representatives only. [O]	No.	H.J. Res. 606. On agreeing to the rule under which the resolution would be considered. [O]	Yea.	H. R. 7988. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976-77 for prevention and control of heart and lung diseases. [X]	Yea.
H.J. Res. 280. On passage of a resolution to amend the Constitution to provide for representation of the District of Columbia in Congress. [O]	Yea.	APR. 2, 1976		APR 13, 1976	
H.R. 10799. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 12572. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 13172. On an amendment providing additional appropriations for education for the handicapped and for grants to students under the basic educational opportunity grant programs. [X]	Aye.
MAR. 24, 1976		H.R. 12572. On an amendment which would have required the federalization of the grain inspection system at export points. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 13172. On passage of a bill providing supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for various departments and agencies. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 10799. On passage of a bill permitting the Legal Services Corporation to use part of its annual appropriation for contracting for research and training, technical assistance, and clearinghouse activities. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 12572. On passage of a bill requiring the U.S. Department of Agriculture to inspect and weigh grain at export locations. [X]	Yea.	H. Res. 1135. On passage of a resolution to disapprove the President's exemption of residual fuel oil from price and allocation controls. [O]	Yea.
H.R. 11598. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for the U.S. Information Agency. [X]	Yea.	APR. 5, 1976		S. 644. On a motion to recommit the conference report to the conference committee. [O]	Nay.
MAR. 25, 1976		H.R. 11722. On passage of a bill expanding Federal jurisdiction to prohibit all Government supervisors from threatening employees with dismissal if they do not contribute to a political party. [X]	Yea.	APR. 26, 1976	
H.J. Res. 801. On agreeing to the conference report on a resolution providing supplemental appropriations in fiscal 1975 enabling the U.S. Railway Association to purchase Conrail securities. [X]	Yea.*	H.R. 11140. On passage of a bill authorizing the establishment of a national cemetery at the Marine Corps base in Quantico, Va. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 12838. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations through fiscal 1980 for the Arts and Humanities Endowments. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 12566. On an amendment which would have required the Director of the National Science Foundation to respond to written requests for information from Members of Congress within 15 days. [O]	No.*	H.J. Res. 670. On passage of a resolution designating Apr. 13, 1976, as Thomas Jefferson Day. [X]	Yea.	APR. 28, 1976	
H.R. 12566. On an amendment which would have shifted funds from precollege curriculum programs to summer training programs for elementary and secondary school science teachers. [O]	No.*	S.J. Res. 35. On passage of a resolution authorizing the President to declare the 2d week in March, 1977, as "National Employ the Older Worker Week." [X]	Yea.	S. 2662. On a motion to recommit the conference report to the conference committee. [O]	Yea.
H.R. 12566. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1977 for the National Science Foundation. [X]	Yea.*	S.J. Res. 101. On passage of a resolution authorizing the President to issue a proclamation designating that week in November which includes Thanksgiving Day as "National Family Week." [X]	Yea.	S. 2662. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for the International Security Assistance and Arms Export Control Act. [X]	Nay.
MAR. 29, 1976		H.R. 5446. On passage of a bill implementing the 1972 Convention on the International Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea. [X]	Aye.	H. Con. Res. 611. On an amendment increasing the veterans function target ceiling to cover a possible extension of the expiration date for the utilization of educational benefits under the GI bill. [X]	Aye.
H. Res. 1097. On a motion to recommit the resolution with instructions to the Committee on House Administration. [O]	Nay.	H.R. 11670. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations for the procurement of Coast Guard vessels and aircraft and construction of facilities. [X]	Yea.	H. Con. Res. 611. On an amendment increasing the veterans function target ceiling to cover increases in veterans' entitlement programs indexed to the cost of living by law. [X]	Aye.
H. Res. 1060. On passage of a resolution providing funds for the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct for its investigation of the publication of the final report of the Select Committee on Intelligence. [X]	Nay.	H.J. Res. 890. On passage of a resolution providing an emergency supplemental appropriation for a nationwide influenza immunization program. [X]	Yea.	H. Con. Res. 611. On an amendment which would have reduced the defense spending target. [O]	Aye.
H.R. 12262. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations for the Board of International Broadcasting in fiscal 1977. [X]	Yea.	APR. 6, 1976		APR. 29, 1976	
MAR. 30, 1976		H.R. 12388. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for the Energy Research and Development Administration's weapons research and development testing. [X]	Nay.	H.R. 8617. On overriding the President's veto of a bill permitting Federal employees to participate and run in local, State, and Federal election campaigns. [O]	Yea.
H.R. 8617. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill giving Federal employees the right to participate and run in local, State, and Federal election campaigns. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 3863. On an amendment which would have redefined the boundaries of the wilderness areas so as to exclude 6,270 acres known as East Meadow Creek. [O]	No.	H. Con. Res. 611. On an amendment which would have reduced the defense spending target and redistributed the budget authority between various domestic programs. [O]	Aye.
H.R. 200. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill extending the U.S. fishing limit from 12 to 200 miles. [X]	Yea.	S. 1941. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill establishing new protections for animals during shipment and prohibiting the use of interstate facilities to promote dog and cockfights. [X]	Yea.	H. Con. Res. 611. On an amendment which would have deleted from the resolution's targets startup funds for the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill and national health insurance legislation. [O]	No.
H.R. 12406. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	APR. 7, 1976		H. Con. Res. 611. On an amendment which would have deleted from the resolution's targets startup funds for the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill [O]	No.
MAR. 31, 1976		H.R. 10686. On passage of a bill providing for the transfer of decennial census population records to the National Archives no later than 50 years after the census date. [X]	Yea.	H. Con. Res. 611. On an amendment which would have reduced the budget target for the food stamp program. [O]	No.
H.R. 12406. On an amendment which would have struck the section of the bill requiring that all Federal Election Commission advisory opinions become regulations which are subject to the approval of Congress. [O]	No.	H.R. 11337. On an amendment providing for a mid-decade population census and for the removal of penalties for refusing to answer census questions. [X]	No.	H. Con. Res. 611. On an amendment which would have set outlays at \$399.9 billion. [O]	No.
H.R. 12406. On an amendment to restore the requirement that candidates and committees file duplicate reports with secretaries of state. [X]	Aye.	H.R. 12678. On a motion to recommit the bill with instructions to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. [O]	Nay.	H. Con. Res. 611. On an amendment which would have set outlays at \$363 billion. [O]	No.
H.R. 49. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill establishing a National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior. [X]	Yea.	APR. 8, 1976		H. Con. Res. 611. On passage of a resolution setting fiscal 1977 budget targets of \$415.4 billion in outlays and \$363 billion in revenues. [X]	Nay.
APR. 1, 1976		H.R. 12438. On an amendment which would have placed in escrow \$960.5 million in procurement funds for 3 B-1 bombers until Feb. 1, 1977. [O]	Aye.	APR. 30, 1976	
H.R. 12406. On an amendment which would have required labor unions and corporations to report all funds spent on internal communications with their members or employees advocating the election or defeat of a candidate for Federal office. [O]	No.	H.R. 12438. On an amendment which would have deferred any expenditure of funds for a new nuclear aircraft carrier pending completion of a congressional study of future carrier usefulness. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 12987. On an amendment which would have earmarked 1 percent of the funds under Title IV for public service jobs for unemployed or underemployed artists. [O]	Yea.*
H.R. 12406. On an amendment to strike the provision which would have allowed either the House or the Senate to terminate the authority of the Federal Election Commission after Mar. 31, 1977. [X]	Aye.	APR. 9, 1976		H.R. 12987. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter to maintain public service jobs. [X]	Yea.*
H.R. 12406. On a motion to limit debate on the following amendment. [X]	No.	H.R. 12438. On an amendment which would have prohibited the overland testing of terminal-guidance, high-accuracy MARV nuclear warheads. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 366. On an amendment which would have required that all payments in the bill must be paid through general revenue sharing funds. [O]	Nay.*
H.R. 12406. On an amendment which would have provided for public financing of congressional elections on a matching fund basis beginning in 1978. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 12438. On an amendment which would have reduced the number of U.S. active forces stationed overseas by 47,000 persons. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 366. On passage of a bill providing a \$50,000 payment by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration to the spouses or eligible dependents of law enforcement personnel who die as a result of injury sustained in the performance of duty. [X]	Aye.*
H.R. 12406. On a motion to recommit the bill with instructions to the House Administration Committee. [O]	No.	H.R. 12438. On an amendment which would have required 3 years notice for base closings if such closings would reduce operations at the installation or facility by over 50 percent from the level which existed as of Mar. 15, 1976. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 365. On passage of a bill providing a \$50,000 payment by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration to spouses or eligible dependents of firefighting personnel who die as a result of injury sustained in the performance of duty. [X]	Yea.*
		APR. 12, 1976		MAY 3, 1976	
		H.R. 12132. On passage of a bill to extend for 1 year the District of Columbia Medical and Dental Manpower Act of 1970 to assist private nonprofit medical and dental schools. [X]	Yea.	S. 3065. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill reconstituting the Federal Election Commission and placing limitations on political contributions. [X]	Yea.

Proposal	My vote	Proposal	My vote	Proposal	My vote
MAY 3, 1976—Continued		MAY 11, 1976		H.R. 12679. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in the transition quarter and fiscal years 1977-79 for the National Center for Health Services Research, the National Center for Health Statistics, and the National Library of Medicine. [X]	
H.R. 7656. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill allowing cattle producers to establish, finance, and administer a program of beef research and product promotion. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 12835. On passage of a bill extending the authorization for the Vocational Education Act of 1963. [X]	Yea.	MAY 24, 1976	
H.R. 5523. On passage of a bill establishing uniform standards for the enforcement of fish and wildlife laws under the jurisdiction of the Departments of Interior and Commerce. [X]	Yea.	MAY 12, 1976		H.R. 13121. On passage of a bill directing the Law Revision Counsel of the House to prepare and publish the District of Columbia Code. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 11505. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1977 for the Environmental Protection Agency's ocean dumping regulation programs and to the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 12851. On an amendment which would have deleted a provision requiring that when appropriations for student aid exceed \$2.5 billion, an amount equal to the excess would have to be appropriated for community services, continuing education and facilities. [0]	No.	H.R. 11009. On passage of a bill providing that the Comptroller General enter into contracts for design and implementation of financial planning, reporting, and budget control systems for the District of Columbia government. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 13035. On passage of a bill extending for 1 year the sea-grant program. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 12851. On an amendment to prohibit the use of funds for the teaching of "secular humanism". [X]	No.	H.R. 6810. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 11920. On passage of a bill closing the loophole by which wealthy individuals join together to diversify their stock holdings and redistribute their stock market risks while continuing to postpone tax on the unrealized gains on the stock they pool together. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 12851. On an amendment which would have exempted professional fraternities and sororities from Title IX provisions. [0]	No.	H.R. 6810. On passage of a bill providing for an additional Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Congressional Affairs. [0]	Yea.
H.R. 12168. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations through fiscal 1977 for the Office of Pipeline Safety Operations. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 12851. On passage of a bill extending for 1 year the expiring provisions of the Higher Education Act including the student assistance programs and Title VI of the National Defense Education Act. [X]	Yea.	MAY 25, 1976	
MAY 4, 1976		MAY 13, 1976		H.R. 10138. On passage of a bill creating the Young Adult Conservation Corps as a year-round complement to the existing summer-only Youth Conservation Corps. [X]	
H.R. 9803. On overriding the President's veto of a bill postponing until July 1, 1976, the effective date of the requirement that day care centers meet new Federal staffing standards. [X]	Yea.	S. Con. Res. 109. On agreeing to the conference report on a resolution setting forth a fiscal 1977 budget ceiling of \$413.3 billion in outlays and a floor of \$362.5 billion in revenues. [X]	Nay.	H.R. 12945. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 12216. On passage of a bill extending the authorization for the Domestic Volunteer Service Act through fiscal 1978. [X]	Yea.	S. 2498. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill easing funding for the acquisition of pollution control equipment by small business and liberalizing provisions of the Small Business Investment Act. [X]	Yea.	MAY 26, 1976	
H.R. 12704. On an amendment providing that regulations promulgated under the Environmental Protection Agency Act be subject to congressional disapproval. [X]	No.	H.R. 12972. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations through the end of fiscal 1977 for grants to State and local governments for local public works projects. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 13965. On passage of a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for the District of Columbia. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 12704. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations for the research and development programs of the Environmental Protection Agency. [X]	Yea.	MAY 17, 1976		H.R. 12945. On an amendment to strike from the bill set-asides for new construction, publicly owned housing projects, and modernization of public housing, and instead allow the Department of HUD to use the moneys as it sees fit. [X]	Aye.
MAY 5, 1976		S. 2679. On passage of a bill establishing a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. [X]	Yea.*	H.R. 12945. On an amendment to provide that social security benefit increases occurring after May, 1976, would not be included in the computation of income of tenants in public housing. [X]	Aye.
H.R. 12234. On an amendment which would have reduced the authorization in the bill. [0]	No.	H.R. 10210. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [0]	Yea.*	H.R. 12945. On an amendment which would have created a new direct housing loan program to make mortgage loans directed at middle-income home buyers. [0]	No.
H.R. 12234. On an amendment which would have decreased the level at which the bill's revised state allocation formula would be triggered. [0]	No.	MAY 18, 1976		H.R. 12945. On passage of a bill extending and amending existing housing and community development programs. [X]	Aye.
H.R. 12234. On an amendment to strike from the bill a provision allowing fund moneys to be used for shelters for swimming pools and ice skating rinks. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 13308. On passage of a bill extending until May 7, 1977, the authority of the Secretary of Transportation to issue aviation war risk insurance to air carriers that have contracts with the Defense or State Departments. [X]	Yea.	MAY 27, 1976	
H.R. 12234. On passage of a bill increasing the authorization level of the land and water conservation fund. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 13724. On passage of a bill increasing the maximum direct Federal housing loan to veterans and the Federal share of mobile home loan guarantees. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 12169. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Nay.
H.R. 8410. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 13172. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill providing supplemental funds for fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for various departments and agencies. [X]	Yea.	JUNE 1, 1976	
MAY 6, 1976		MAY 19, 1976		H.R. 12169. On an amendment to delete funding for the Office of Conservation and the Environment. [X]	No.
H.R. 12384. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 13350. On an amendment which would have reduced funds for solar energy. [0]	No.	H.R. 12169. On an amendment to provide that whenever the FEA submits a decontrol submission, the decontrol of allocation and decontrol of price must be submitted separately. [X]	Aye.
H.R. 9043. On an amendment striking from the bill the requirement that all Federal agencies establish a flexible or compressed work schedule for employees. [X]	No.	H.R. 13300. On an amendment to the subsequent amendment which redistributes solar energy funds between solar heating and cooling programs and other solar energy programs. [X]	No.	H.R. 12169. On an amendment providing for congressional review of new rules or regulations that are likely to have a substantial impact on the economy. [X]	Aye.
H.R. 9043. On an amendment would have required that for workers represented by unions the waiver on payment of overtime in the case of a flexible work schedule must be part of the written labor agreement between the union and the Federal agency. [0]	No.*	H.R. 13350. On an amendment (as amended by the previous amendment) distributing solar energy funds in the bill between various solar research projects. [X]	Aye.	H.R. 12169. On an amendment that provides for an 18-month extension of the FEA. [X]	Aye.
MAY 7, 1976		H.R. 13680. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 12169. On an amendment requiring that hearings regarding complaints about any rules or regulations be conducted in the geographic area where the complaint originates. [X]	No.
H.R. 12384. On an amendment which would have changed the criterion for requiring Department of Defense justification to Congress of any proposed closings or transfers affecting military bases. [0] (A repeat with wrong vote).	Aye.	MAY 20, 1976		H.R. 12169. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1977 for the Federal Energy Administration. [X]	Nay.
H.R. 12384. On an amendment which would have extended the wage protections of the Davis-Bacon Act to certain non-advertised military construction contracts. [0]	No.	H.R. 9721. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill authorizing increased U.S. participation in the Inter-American Development Bank. [X]	Yea.	JUNE 2, 1976	
H.R. 12384. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations for military construction projects and for family housing for military personnel. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 13350. On an amendment which would have deleted funds for nuclear weapons activities from the bill. [0]	Aye.	H.R. 13680. On an amendment to strike language that limited security assistance to South Korea to \$290 million for fiscal years 1976-77. [X]	No.
MAY 10, 1976		H.R. 13350. On an amendment which would have required that utilities in the Clinch River breeder reactor joint venture pay certain percentages of cost overruns. [0]	Aye.	H.R. 13680. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations for foreign military and security assistance in fiscal 1976-77. [X]	Nay.
H.R. 10451. On agreeing to the resolution under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 13350. On an amendment to require that the Nuclear Regulatory Commission make a determination to assure public health and safety during construction of the Clinch River nuclear plant, but prior to operation. [X]	No.	JUNE 3, 1976	
H.R. 10451. On passage of a bill increasing the pay incentives available to the Navy to enable it to attract and retain qualified officers to serve on nuclear vessels. [X]	Nay.	H.R. 13350. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1977 for the Energy Research and Development Administration. [X]	Nay.	H.R. 13655. On an amendment to provide that funds for fiscal 1977-81 be included in the annual authorizations for the Energy Research and Development Administration for those years. [X]	NAY.
H.R. 12387. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1977 for the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. [X]	Yea.	MAY 21, 1976		H.R. 10930. On passage of a bill terminating government funding for Cotton, Inc., and permitting increased producer assessments for cotton promotion. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 12934. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 12453. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1977 for NASA. [X]	Nay.	H.R. 9560. On an amendment limiting dredging and fill material permit regulation to navigable waters and adjacent wetlands and excluding normal farming operations from regulation. [X]	Aye.
H.R. 12934. On passage of a bill making the terms of the Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board coterminous with that of the President of the United States and expanding the size of the Board of Directors of the Federal banks. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 12677. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 9560. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations for water pollution control programs. [X]	Aye.
H.R. 12851. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 12677. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in the transition quarter and fiscal years 1977-79 for the Federal effort to meet the problems of alcoholism. [X]	Yea.	JUNE 4, 1976	
		H.R. 12679. On a motion to recommit the bill with instructions to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. [0]	Nay.	H.R. 6218. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.

Proposal	My vote	Proposal	My vote	Proposal	My vote
JUNE 7, 1976					
H.R. 13567. On passage of a bill providing for a number of changes in programs administered by the Small Business Administration. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 14261. On an amendment which would have mandated an unspecified 5 percent cut in total new budget authority in the bill. [O]	No.	H.R. 13589. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1977 for the United States Information Agency. [X]	Yea.
JUNE 8, 1976					
H.R. 5621. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations for the establishment of the Valley Forge National Historical Park in Pennsylvania. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 14261. On an amendment which would have prohibited funds appropriated to the IRS from being used for the compilation and making public of records of contacts made by a Member of Congress with regard to matters pending before the IRS. [O]	Nay.	H.R. 14239. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 2177. On passage of a bill exempting from duty certain aircraft components and materials installed in the United States in aircraft previously exported from the United States and reimported without having been advanced in value or improved in condition while abroad. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 14114. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 14239. On an amendment which would have increased funding for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. [X]	Aye.*
H.R. 13500. On passage of a bill permitting charitable organizations exempt from Federal income taxation to replace the "substantial part of activities" test with specific expenditure limits for efforts to influence legislation. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 14114. On passage of a bill increasing the temporary debt ceiling, pursuant to a Treasury Department request, to \$700 billion through Sept. 30, 1977. [X]	Nay.	H.R. 14239. On a motion to recommit the bill with instructions to the Committee on Appropriations. [O]	Nay.*
H.R. 9549. On passage of a bill providing for the establishment of the Old Ninety-Six Star Fort National Battlefield in South Carolina. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 6218. On 3 amendments en bloc, all technical in nature. [O]	No.	H.R. 14239. On passage of a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1977 for the Departments of State, Justice and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies. [X]	Yea.*
JUNE 9, 1976					
H.R. 13367. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 6218. On an amendment which would have deleted language specifically requiring the Secretary of the Interior, before leasing a tract of the Outer Continental Shelf, to give the Attorney General and the FTC the information they need to determine whether the leasing was inconsistent with antitrust laws. [O]	No.	JUNE 21, 1976	
H.R. 13367. On a motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for consideration of the bill. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 6218. On an amendment which would have revised the procedure by which Outer Continental Shelf lands are leased. [O]	No.	S.J. Res. 203. On passage of a resolution extending the guaranteed student loan program and the Emergency Insured Student Loan Act through fiscal 1977. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 13179. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	JUNE 15, 1976			
H. Res. 1274. On passage of a resolution authorizing the testimony and presentation of evidence by officials of the House before the Federal grand jury regarding the investigation of the Representative Wayne Hays' case. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 14236. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 14299. On passage of a bill increasing the rates of disability compensation for service-connected disabled veterans and the rates of dependency and indemnity compensation for widows and children. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 13589. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 14236. On an amendment which would have deleted funding for the next major feature of the Garrison diversion irrigation project in North Dakota. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 14298. On passage of a bill extending the "interim" 8 percent increase in pension benefits to veterans and survivors through the end of 1976. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 13490. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 14236. On an amendment which would have mandated an unspecified 5 percent cut in new budget authority in the bill. [O]	No.	S.J. Res. 49. On passage of a resolution clarifying certain provisions of the flag code as to the proper use and display of the U.S. flag. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 13601. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 14236. On passage of a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1977 for water and power development, the Energy Research and Development Administration, and independent power agencies. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 9689. On passage of a bill permitting translator broadcast stations to originate limited amounts of local programming, and authorizing FM radio translator stations to operate unattended. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 11804. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	JUNE 16, 1976			
JUNE 10, 1976					
H. Res. 1260. On agreeing to the rule under which the resolution would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 14237. On an amendment which would have limited the peanut subsidy program for the 1977 crop to no more than \$59 million. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 13711. On passage of a bill making permanent the authorization for the Horse Protection Act of 1970. [X]	Yea.
H. Res. 1260. On passage of a resolution amending the Rules of the House to allow all expenses of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct to be obtained directly from the contingent fund of the House. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 14237. On an amendment which would have reduced funds for the food stamp program. [O]	No.	JUNE 22, 1976	
H.R. 13367. On an amendment that strikes out provisions for supplemental fiscal assistance, modernization of State and local governments, and the provisions applying the Davis-Bacon prevailing wage rates to State and local government construction projects. [X]	Aye.	H.R. 14237. On a motion to recommit the bill with instructions to the Appropriations Committee. [O]	Nay.	H.R. 8125. On passage of a bill eliminating the present bracket system of taxing large cigars on the basis of the intended retail price and replacing it with a flat tax on the wholesale price. [O]	Nay.
H.R. 13367. On an amendment which would have earmarked 20 percent of the revenue sharing funds for local property tax relief. [O]	No.	H.R. 14237. On passage of a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1977 to the Department of Agriculture and related agencies. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 10051. On passage of a bill preventing the imposition of a special tax on amounts inadvertently distributed by a life insurance company from the policyholders' surplus account, provided that the amount distributed is returned to the company no later than the time prescribed by law for filing the company's return for the taxable year in which the distribution was made. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 13367. On an amendment which would have provided that when localities were identical in terms of their power and duties they would be treated identically under the formula. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 12384. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1977 for military construction projects and family housing for military personnel. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 12254. On passage of a bill extending the suspension of duty on certain bicycle parts from Dec. 31, 1976 to June 30, 1978. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 13367. On an amendment which would have extended the entitlements provisions for 2 years and then make revenue sharing subject to annual appropriations after fiscal 1978 on a forward-funded basis. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 14235. On an amendment which would have mandated an unspecified 5 percent cut in total new budget authority in the bill. [O]	No.	H. Res. 1216. On passage of a resolution expressing the sense of the House that the U.S. Postal Service shall not close or suspend the operation of any post office, unless there is a clear and compelling need to do so. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 13367. On an amendment which would have extended Davis-Bacon prevailing wage rates to all construction projects using any revenue sharing funds. [O]	No.	H.R. 14235. On passage of a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1977 for military construction and family housing for military personnel. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 13955. On passage of a bill amending the Bretton Woods Agreement providing for floating exchange rates and abolishing the fixed price of gold. [O]	Yea.
H.R. 13367. On passage of a bill extending the general revenue sharing program through Sept. 30, 1980. [X]	Aye.	JUNE 17, 1976			
JUNE 11, 1976					
H.R. 11804. On a motion to resolve into the Committee of the Whole for consideration of the bill. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 14262. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.*	S. 2853. On passage of a bill increasing the accountability of food stamp vendors. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 11804. On an amendment which would have authorized the Secretary of Transportation to use penalty fees for railroad safety improvements. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 14262. On an amendment restoring funds to the Army budget and deleting funds from the Navy budget so that the Defense Department could proceed with its plan to consolidate undergraduate helicopter pilot training. [X]	Aye.	H.R. 14394. On passage of a bill extending the Federal Energy Administration until Sept. 30, 1976. [O]	Yea.
H.R. 11804. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1977-78 for the Federal Railroad Safety program. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 14262. On an amendment deleting funds for the 1 percent add-on to retirement pay for military personnel. [X]	Aye.	H.R. 13680. On a motion to recommit the conference report with instructions to the conference committee. [O]	Nay.
H.R. 13490. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations for the construction of facilities for the 1980 Winter Olympic Games at Lake Placid, N.Y. [X]	Nay.*	H.R. 14262. On an amendment which would have deleted funds for long leadtime procurement for a new Nimitz-class attack carrier. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 13680. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill authorizing appropriations for foreign military and security assistance in fiscal 1976-77. [X]	Nay.
H.R. 9291. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.*	H.R. 14262. On an amendment which would have deferred until Feb. 1, 1977, \$948 million for the production of 3 B-1 bombers. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 14233. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.
JUNE 14, 1976					
H.R. 14261. On an amendment which would have prohibited the Internal Revenue Service from using funds for its informer program. [O]	No.	H.R. 14262. On passage of a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1977 for the Department of Defense. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 14233. On a motion to recommit the bill with instructions to the Appropriations Committee. [O]	Nay.
JUNE 18, 1976					
JUNE 23, 1976					
JUNE 18, 1976					
H.R. 13179. On an amendment which would have inserted language more strongly asserting a desire to maintain the exclusive use of the rights of sovereignty to the Panama Canal Zone. [O]	No.	H. Res. 1344. On passage of a resolution electing Representative Thompson as chairman of the House Administration Committee. [X—			
H.R. 13179. On an amendment in the nature of a substitute to the following amendment that specifies that any new Panama Canal treaty must protect the vital interests of the United States in the Panama Canal Zone. [X]	Aye.	S. 3201. On agreeing to the rule under which the conference report on the bill would be considered. [X]			
H.R. 13179. On an amendment as amended by the previous amendment. [X]	Aye.	S. 3201. On a motion to delete Title II of the conference report, which authorizes cyclical grants for local public works projects for State and local governments. [O]			
H.R. 13179. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations for the Department of State in fiscal 1977. [X]	Yea.	S. 3201. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill authorizing appropriations through the end of fiscal 1977 for grants to State and local governments for public works projects. [X]			
JUNE 23, 1976					
H. Res. 1344. On passage of a resolution electing Representative Thompson as chairman of the House Administration Committee. [X—					
S. 3201. On agreeing to the rule under which the conference report on the bill would be considered. [X]					
S. 3201. On a motion to delete Title II of the conference report, which authorizes cyclical grants for local public works projects for State and local governments. [O]					
S. 3201. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill authorizing appropriations through the end of fiscal 1977 for grants to State and local governments for public works projects. [X]					
H.R. 14232. On an amendment increasing funds for the summer youth employment and training assistance program. [X]					
H.R. 14232. On a motion that the committee rise. [X]					

Proposal	My vote	Proposal	My vote	Proposal	My vote
JUNE 24, 1976					
H.R. 14232. On a motion to limit debate. [X]-----	No.	H.R. 14260. On an amendment which would have prohibited funds from being used by any international financial institution for the purpose of extending loans for the production of palm oil to be exported to the United States. [O]	No.	H.R. 13218. On passage of a bill permitting the S.S. United States to be used as a floating hotel on navigable waters in the United States. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 14232. On an amendment to the following amendment which would have prohibited the penalizing of any farming operation of five or less employees for violations of sec. 17 of the Occupational Safety and Health Act, unless the violation is willful, repeated, or serious. [O]	No.	H.R. 14260. On passage of a bill making appropriations for foreign economic and military assistance programs in fiscal 1977. [X]	Nay.	H.R. 13720. On passage of a bill amending the Consumer Protection Act to regulate debt collection practices. [O]	Yea.
H.R. 14232. On an amendment exempting farm operations employing 10 or less individuals from the regulations of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA). [X]	Aye.	S. 3168. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill authorizing appropriations for the Department of State, the U.S. Information Agency, and the Board for International Broadcasting, in fiscal 1977. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 10210. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 14232. On an amendment prohibiting funds to carry out the issuance of first instance citations for OSHA violations against small business firms employing ten or fewer persons. [X]	Aye.	S. 268. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill designating the Eagles Nest Wilderness, Arapaho and White River National Forests in the State of Colorado. [X]	Yea.	JULY 20, 1976	
H.R. 14232. On an amendment which would have increased funding for development and population research within the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development. [O]	Aye.	H.R. 13555. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 14311. On passage of a bill reducing the interest payment which the Panama Canal Company annually pays to the U.S. Treasury. [X]	Nay.
H.R. 14232. On an amendment increasing funding for new community health center startups and mental health research. [X]	Aye.	JUNE 30, 1976			
H.R. 14232. On an amendment increasing the appropriation for multipurpose senior citizen centers. [X]	Aye.	S. 3625. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 12224. On passage of a bill amending the Internal Revenue Code to provide that gain or loss on closing transactions shall be treated as capital gain or loss. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 14232. On an amendment prohibiting funds in the bill to be used for abortions or to promote or encourage abortions. [X]	No.	H.R. 12438. On agreeing to the rule under which the conference report on the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	S. 2447. On passage of a bill making it clear that Members of Congress may not, for purposes of State income tax laws, be treated as residents of any State other than the State from which they were elected. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 14232. On an amendment to the following amendment which would have insured that the proposed cut would not reduce funding for any item below fiscal 1976 levels or the amount requested by the administration for fiscal 1977, whichever is higher. [O]	No.	S. 3625. On passage of a bill extending the Federal Energy Administration until July 30, 1976. [X]	Nay.	H.R. 14291. On passage of a bill authorizing a plebiscite in which the voters of American Samoa will vote on the question of whether they want an elected Governor and Lieutenant Governor. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 14232. On an amendment which would have mandated an unspecified 5 percent cut in total new budget authority in the bill. [O]	No.	S. 3295. On a motion to recommit the conference report on the bill to the conference committee. [O]	Nay.	H.R. 14231. On ordering the previous question on a motion to recede and concur in Senate Amendment No. 54 to the conference report. [X]	Nay.
H.R. 14232. On an amendment increasing the appropriation for summer youth employment and training assistance programs. [X]	Yea.	S. 3295. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill extending and amending existing housing and community development programs. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 10210. On an amendment that would have deleted language which requires coverage of State and local government employees. [O]	No.
H.R. 14232. On an amendment prohibiting funds in the bill from being used to pay for abortions or to promote or encourage abortions. [X]	Nay.	H.R. 14261. On a motion to recede and concur in a Senate amendment to the conference report that restricts the authority of the General Services Administration to purchase stainless steel flatware from a nondomestic supplier. [X]	Nay.	H.R. 10210. On an amendment reducing the taxable wage base to \$5,000. [X]	Aye.
H.R. 14260. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered [X]	Yea.*	H.R. 14261. On a motion to recede and concur in a Senate amendment to the conference report that restricts the authority of the General Services Administration to purchase stainless steel flatware from a nondomestic supplier. [X]	Nay.	H.R. 10210. On an amendment that would have added language requiring States to pay a weekly benefit equal to 50 percent of the claimant's weekly wage, up to at least two-thirds of the statewide average weekly wage in covered unemployment. [O]	No.
JUNE 25, 1976					
H.R. 14231. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.*	H.R. 9771. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1976-80 from the airport and airway trust fund for airport development and other aviation activities. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 10210. On passage of a bill to extend coverage under the permanent Federal-State Unemployment Compensation Law, increase employer-paid unemployment compensation taxes, modify the trigger mechanism for the Federal extended benefit program, and establish a National Commission on Unemployment Compensation. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 14231. On an amendment increasing funding for energy conservation programs in the Energy Research and Development Administration. [X]	Aye.*	H.R. 12438. On a motion to recommit the conference report on the bill to the conference committee. [O]	Yea.	JULY 21, 1976	
H.R. 14231. On a motion to recommit the bill with instructions to the Appropriations Committee. [O]	Nay.*	H.R. 12438. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill authorizing appropriations in fiscal 1977 for the procurement of new weapons systems. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 6218. On an amendment that would have made it optional for the Coast Guard to mark for navigation and oil drilling rights in the Outer Continental Shelf. [O]	No.
H.R. 14231. On passage of a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1977 for the Department of Interior and related agencies. [X]	Yea.*	S. 586. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill authorizing appropriations for a coastal energy activity program that would assist coastal states experiencing adverse impacts as a result of Outer Continental Shelf activity. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 6218. On an amendment which would have permitted suspension of leasing activities only after the interested parties had had an opportunity to correct the claimed errors and had an opportunity for a hearing. [O]	No.
JUNE 28, 1976					
H.R. 14234. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 14239. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1977 to the Departments of State, Justice and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 6218. On an amendment allowing a 5-year suspension period prior to the cancellation of any lease or permit. [X]	Aye.
H.R. 14234. On an amendment which would have prohibited commercial flights of supersonic aircraft to U.S. airports that do not meet established noise standards. [O]	Aye.	H. Res. 1302. On a motion to discharge from the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee (thus giving the full House a chance to vote on) a resolution disapproving the proposed exemption of No. 2 heating and No. 2-D diesel fuel from the mandatory petroleum and allocation and price regulations. [O]	Yea.	H.R. 6218. On an amendment that would have left the authority for issuing safety regulations applying to the construction and operation of offshore oil rigs to the Coast Guard. [O]	No.
H.R. 14234. On an amendment which would have prohibited commercial flights of supersonic aircraft to the John F. Kennedy International Airport in New York unless such flights can comply with established noise standards. [O]	Aye.	JULY 1, 1976			
H.R. 14234. On an amendment striking the obligation ceiling of \$7.2 billion on the Federal-aid highway and related mass transit programs. [X]	Aye.	H. Res. 1368. On a motion to recommit the resolution with instructions to the Committee on Rules. [O]	No.	H.R. 6218. On a motion to recommit the bill with instructions to the Ad Hoc Select Committee on the Outer Continental Shelf. [O]	Nay.
H.R. 14234. On passage of a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1977 for the activities of the Department of Transportation and related agencies. [X]	Yea.	H. Res. 1368. On passage of a resolution establishing a Commission on Administrative Review in the House of Representatives. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 6218. On passage of a bill amending the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act of 1953 by providing specific statutory guidelines, standards, and procedures for the development of OCS oil and gas. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 12203. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter for foreign economic and military aid. [X]	Nay.	H. Res. 1372. On agreeing to the rule under which the resolution would be considered. [X]	Yea.	JULY 22, 1976	
JUNE 29, 1976					
H.R. 14236. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1977 for public works projects and energy research and development. [X]	Yea.	H. Res. 1372. On a motion to recommit the resolution with instructions to the House Administration Committee. [O]	Nay.	S. 3201. On overriding the President's veto of a bill authorizing appropriations through the end of fiscal 1977 for grants to State and local governments for local public works projects. [X]	Yea.
S. 3184. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill authorizing appropriations in the transition quarter and fiscal 1977-79 for the Federal effort to meet the problems of alcoholism. [X]	Yea.	H. Res. 1372. On passage of a resolution requiring the full House to approve House Administration Committee decisions to fix and adjust allowances. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 12384. On overriding the President's veto of a bill authorizing appropriations for military construction projects and for family housing for military personnel. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 14237. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies in fiscal 1977. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 14235. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1977 for military construction and housing for military personnel. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 13777. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 14260. On an amendment which would have reduced the funding for the International Development Association in fiscal 1977. [O]	No.	H.R. 12455. On agreeing to the rule under which the conference report on the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 13777. On an amendment which would have given Congress review and possible veto of only those land withdrawals exceeding 25,000 acres. [O]	Aye.
H.R. 14260. On an amendment which would have mandated an unspecified 5 percent cut in total new budget authority in the bill. [O]	No.	H.R. 12455. On a motion to recede from disagreement and concur in a Senate amendment to the conference report on a bill extending the maximum period during which certain social security recipients can defer implementation of Federal day care standards. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 13777. On a motion to recommit the bill with instructions to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. [O]	Nay.
JULY 19, 1976					
H.R. 12939. On passage of a bill making technical changes in the Coast Guard Law. [X]	Yea.	JULY 26, 1976			
H.R. 13326. On passage of a bill extending until Nov. 1, 1983, the existing exemption of the steamboat Delta Queen from certain fire regulations. [X]	Yea.	H.R. 7743. On an amendment which would have terminated the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation in one year. [O]	Yea.	H.R. 7743. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations for the operation and administration of the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation in fiscal 1976-78 and its plan to redevelop part of Pennsylvania Avenue. [X]	Nay.

Proposal	My vote
MAY 26, 1976—Continued	
H.R. 11743. On passage of a bill providing for an additional Assistant Secretary of Agriculture to coordinate and disseminate information related to agricultural research and establishing a 22-member National Agricultural Research Advisory Board. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 10133. On an amendment that would have upgraded the position of Administrator, Food and Nutrition Service. [O]	Aye
H.R. 10133. On passage of a bill upgrading and augmenting certain top-level administrative positions in the U.S. Department of Agriculture. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 13955. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.

JULY 27, 1976

H.R. 13955. On a motion to resolve into the Committee of the Whole for consideration of the bill. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 13955. On passage of a bill amending the Bretton Woods Agreement providing for floating exchange rates in place of fixed exchange rates and abolishing the fixed price of gold. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 14233. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1977 to the Department of Housing and Urban Development and independent agencies. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 13720. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea
H.R. 13720. On passage of a bill amending the Consumer Credit Protection Act to regulate debt collection practices. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 13555. On an amendment which would have retained the functions of the Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration within the Department of the Interior. [O]	No*

JULY 28, 1976

H.R. 13555. On an amendment which would have included independent contractors within the term "operator" as defined for the purposes of the bill. [O]	No.
H.R. 13555. On passage of a bill transferring administration of both coal and noncoal health and safety from the Department of Interior to the Department of Labor and authorizing a variety of health safeguards and prevention programs. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 11656. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 11656. On an amendment requiring that reason and statutory authority be set forth when an agency deletes material from transcripts. [X]	Aye.
H.R. 11656. On an amendment clarifying the definition of meeting to include only those meetings called for the purpose of discussing agency business. [X]	No.
H.R. 11656. On an amendment deleting the verbatim transcript requirement and replacing it with a requirement that minutes be recorded and retained by the agency. [X]	No.
H.R. 11656. On an amendment which would have deleted the language providing that any person can bring suit against any agency for violation of the requirements of the bill. [O]	No.
H.R. 11656. On an amendment clarifying the provisions of the bill and its effect upon existing statute criteria of the Freedom of Information Act. [X]	No.
H.R. 11656. On passage of a bill requiring that meetings of federal regulatory and other agencies be open to the public. [X]	Yea.

JULY 29, 1976

H. R. 1421. On agreeing to a resolution reprimanding Representative Robert L. F. Sikes. [X]	Aye.
H. Res. 14514. On an amendment in the nature of a substitute that would have enabled California to retain its food stamp cash-out basis without any conditions or qualifications. [O]	No.
H.R. 14514. On passage of a bill permitting a state to retain food stamp cash-out status under the supplemental security income program if the state meets certain conditions. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 13876. On a motion to recommit the bill with instructions to the Committee on Banking, Currency and Housing. [O]	No.
H.R. 13876. On an amendment which would have deleted language authorizing the Federal Reserve Board to require the termination of securities activities of foreign banks after a 10-year "grandfather" period. [O]	No.
H. Res. 1350. On passage of a resolution establishing a Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control. [X]	Yea.

JULY 30, 1976

H.R. 8401. On an amendment that strikes those sections which provide for ERDA-private industry uranium enrichment contracts. [X]	Aye.*
H.R. 2525. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.*
H.R. 2525. On passage of a bill implementing the Federal responsibility for the care and education of the Indian people by improving the services and facilities of Federal Indian health programs. [X]	Yea.*

Proposal	My vote
AUG. 2, 1976	
H.R. 12882. On passage of a bill eliminating dual payment of annuities and salaries to civil service retirees during the period that they are reemployed as judges or justices. [O]	Yea.
H.R. 10546. On passage of a bill authorizing additional funds for the acquisition of lands in the Boundary Waters Canoe Area in northeastern Minnesota. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 14566. On passage of a bill providing for a national research and education program available to freestone peach growers and establishing a National Freestone Peach Research and Education Board. [O]	Nay.
H.R. 14360. On passage of a bill authorizing funds for the repair and reconstruction of damage caused by numerous water leaks within the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 13489. On passage of a bill providing the Antitrust Division of the Justice Department with additional authorities during investigations of possible civil violations of the Federal antitrust laws. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 14580. On passage of a bill establishing pre-merger notification and waiting requirements for corporations planning very large mergers or acquisitions. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 3605. On passage of a bill reducing the excise tax on beer produced by small breweries. [O]	No.
H.R. 14469. On passage of a bill extending special and incentive pay to physicians and dentists of the Veterans' Administration through fiscal 1977. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 13676. On passage of a bill creating a new Energy Extension Service Office within the Energy Research and Development Administration and providing for the positions of Director and Deputy Director to administer the new Federal-State program. [X]	Yea.

AUG. 3, 1976

H.R. 14234. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1977 for the Department of Transportation and related agencies. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 14234. On a motion to recede and concur with the Senate amendment to the conference report which establishes a \$7.2 billion obligation ceiling on Federal highway programs. [X]	Nay.
H.R. 11909. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 11909. On an amendment striking out all of the bill except language authorizing appropriations for the Commission in fiscal 1977. [X]	Aye.
H.R. 11909. On passage of a bill authorizing appropriations for the Indian Claims Commission in fiscal 1977. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 12944. On passage of a bill extending the authorization for the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act from Mar. 31, 1977 to Sept. 3, 1977. [X]	Yea.

AUG. 4, 1976

H.R. 8401. On an amendment which would have deleted those sections which provide for ERDA-private industry uranium enrichment contracts. [O]	Aye.
H.R. 8401. On passage of a bill permitting the Energy Research and Development Administration to enter into agreements with private industry to encourage the development of competitive private uranium enrichment plants. [X]	Nay.
H.R. 4634. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 10498. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 4634. On passage of a bill establishing an average workweek of 54 hours for Federal firefighters and authorizing payment of 25-percent premium pay to firefighters having a 54-hour workweek. [O]	Nay.
S. 391. On overriding the President's veto of a bill revising the procedures governing the leasing and development of coal deposits on Federal lands. [X]	Yea.

AUG. 5, 1976

H.R. 9719. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 9719. On a motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for consideration of the bill. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 9719. On an amendment which would have deleted reference to the national park system from section 3 of the bill. [O]	Yea.
H.R. 9719. On an amendment which would have deleted land within the national park system as "entitlement land" for the purposes of the bill. [O]	Yea.
H.R. 9719. On an amendment that exempts Federal payments for lands conveyed to the United States which were previously exempt from State taxes. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 9719. On passage of a bill providing for annual payments to units of local government to compensate them for tax revenues that they cannot collect on tax-immune Federal lands within their jurisdictions. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 11552. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.

Proposal	My vote
AUG. 9, 1976	
H.R. 11552. On an amendment to the following amendment which would have postponed the implementation date until Jan. 3, 1977. [O]	No.
H.R. 11552. On an amendment eliminating the House from the approval mechanism for administrators, providing for one deputy administrator rather than two, and providing for immediate implementation of the act under the Federal Election Commission until such times as the administrators are nominated and confirmed. [X]	Aye.
H.R. 11552. On an amendment which would have exempted elections for national nominating convention delegates. [O]	No.
H.R. 11552. On an amendment to the following amendment making technical and perfecting changes. [X]	Aye.
H.R. 11552. On an amendment to eliminate the mass mailing of postcard registration forms. [X]	Aye.
H.R. 11552. On an amendment in the nature of a substitute which would have authorized funds for States to implement their own methods to improve voter registration systems. [O]	No.
H.R. 11552. On passage of a bill establishing within the Federal Election Commission a Voter Registration Administration for the purpose of administering a voter registration program through the Postal Service. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 13372. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 13372. On a motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole. [X]	Yea.

AUG. 10, 1976

H.R. 12169. On agreeing to the rule under which the conference report on the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 12169. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill extending the authorization for the Federal Energy Administration for 18 months. [X]	Nay.
H.R. 13372. On passage of a bill designating the New River in North Carolina as a part of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 14232. On agreeing to the conference report on a bill making appropriations in fiscal 1977 for the Departments of Labor, HEW, and related agencies. [X]	Yea.
H.R. 14232. On a motion to recede from disagreement with a Senate amendment to the conference report which deleted House language prohibiting the use of funds for abortions or to promote or encourage abortions. [O]	Aye.
S. 3735. On a motion to consider the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.
S. 3735. On agreeing to the rule under which the bill would be considered. [X]	Yea.
S. 3735. On passage of a bill authorizing the establishment and implementation of an emergency national swine flu immunization program. [X]	Yea.

ELIZABETH DREW

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, on May 17, Yale University conferred upon journalist Elizabeth Brenner Drew the honorary degree of doctor of humane letters. The citation reads:

ELIZABETH BRENNER DREW, DOCTOR OF HUMANE LETTERS

Almost alone among political commentators, you have avoided being pitched into hyperbolic rhetoric by the rude jolts and wild careening of our battered ship of state. Your exposition of people, issues and events has a literary quality not often found in public journals. Your broadcasts have shunned the oversimplification which is television's most dangerous temptation. Whatever the medium, it does not seem to get in the way of your message. Understanding remains your goal, undistracted by dramatic cleverness, unhindered by concessions to the popular. Yale honors a thoughtful and literate journalist as it confers upon you the degree of Doctor of Humane Letters.

Mr. Speaker, Elizabeth Drew possesses a quality rare among journalists of any age: an abiding faith in the ability of her readers to draw intelligent conclusions when presented with the dispassionate facts.

To that end she depicts events honestly and fairly. Her observations and opinions never intrude upon the reality that she strives so hard to present. She pictures people as human beings, with flaws and virtues.

There is nothing really unique in any of this—it is the journalist's stock in trade. Yet few at any time have seriously attempted it and fewer still have mastered it. Elizabeth Drew is one of them.

She deserves the respect of both her profession and her readers.

LET'S STAND UP FOR AMERICA

HON. LINDY BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mrs. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, it is a great pleasure to rise today to salute the Honorable J. William Middendorf II, the Secretary of the U.S. Navy. Ordinarily we would honor the Secretary for his fine accomplishments in administering the Navy; but today I would like to call your attention to Secretary Middendorf's talents as a songwriter.

Mr. Middendorf is a composer of music. He has written a number of symphonies and marches, one named the "Holland Symphony," written for Queen Juliana of the Netherlands and played over Dutch National Television. His marches include those written for the Navy, the Marine Corps and the Bicentennial band after he became Under Secretary and then Secretary of the Navy.

To commemorate our Nation's 200th anniversary, Secretary Middendorf has written a special Bicentennial song, entitled "Let's Stand Up for America". The lyrics are easily recited and when combined with the music the Secretary composed to go along with them, they make a beautiful patriotic song which inspires the listener with love for this great Nation. The Members of the House of Representatives were honored by the Secretary when he conducted the playing of this Bicentennial song during our ceremonies commemorating Thomas Jefferson's birthday.

With the Secretary's permission I am pleased to include the lyrics of the song for the benefit of those Members and the public who may be interested:

LET'S STAND UP FOR AMERICA

Let's stand up for America,
America, America,
Let's stand up for America,
It's the land of Liberty.

Believe in her, praise God for her,
and shout for all your worth.

Let's stand up for America,
It's the greatest land on earth!

J. William Middendorf, II, was born in Baltimore, Md., on September 22, 1924. He received a bachelor of naval science degree from Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass., in 1945, and a bachelor of

arts degree from Harvard University in 1947. In 1954, he received an MBA from New York University Graduate School of Business Administration.

Mr. Middendorf is the 62d Secretary of the Navy. He is the first to hold a naval science degree. His college education was interrupted in 1943 by his enlistment in the U.S. Navy's V-12 program at Harvard. He transferred to the NROTC program at Holy Cross College in 1944 and was commissioned an ensign in 1945. He served in the Pacific on board a landing craft—LCS-53—from 1945 to 1946 as an engineering and communications officer, and then returned to Harvard.

In 1969, Mr. Middendorf left an investment banking career as one of America's leading financial specialists in insurance stocks—he serves on the Insurance Hall of Fame Selection Committee—to become the U.S. Ambassador to the Netherlands. In this capacity, he conducted an active balance of payments program, promoting American exports of industrial, military and agricultural goods. He received the Superior Honor Award from the State Department for these efforts. At the same time, he maintained an active interest in programs and issues where American interests were affected by NATO and European Common Market decisions.

He was appointed Under Secretary of the Navy in 1973 and was sworn into office on August 3, 1973 by Secretary of Defense Schlesinger. He became Acting Secretary of the Navy on April 8, 1974, and on May 15 was nominated by the President to be the Secretary of the Navy. He was confirmed by the Senate on June 6 and assumed office on June 10, 1974. In December 1975 he received the Department of Defense Distinguished Public Service Award for his work as Under Secretary and then Secretary of the Navy.

One of Secretary Middendorf's direct ancestors, Captain William Stone, was one of America's first naval officers, commanding the original *Hornet*, which is believed to be the first ship of the Continental Navy to put to sea—February 1776.

Secretary Middendorf is an honorary member of the Society of the Cincinnati and Honorary Companion of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion. He is a member of the Society of Sons of the Revolution in the State of Maryland, the Sons of the Revolution in New York, the Sons of the Revolution in the District of Columbia, the Company of Military Historians, the Salmagundi Club, and the Olympic Committee for Field Hockey. He is a member of the Board of Governors, National Symphony Orchestra, the Corcoran Gallery, and the Hoover Institution for War and Peace. He has an honorary doctor of letters degree from the School of the Ozarks.

Secretary Middendorf is Chairman of the Board, Wolf Trap Foundation, a private, nonprofit foundation in charge of all selection and presentation of programs given at Wolf Trap Farm Park for the Performing Arts, the Nation's first and only national park dedicated to the performing arts.

Mr. Middendorf is married to the former Isabelle Paine, of Newton, Mass. They have five children: Frances, Martha, Amy, John W. IV, and Ralph Henry.

THE WORLD WATCHES AMIN'S REIGN OF TERROR

HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, an excellent article by the last U.S. Ambassador to Uganda, Thomas Patrick Melady, appeared in the Philadelphia Inquirer on July 22, 1976.

Dr. Melady, now executive vice president of St. Joseph's College in Philadelphia, portrays the tragedy of Uganda from firsthand experience and points out the incredible racism and brutality of the President of Uganda, Idi Amin.

The article follows:

THE WORLD WATCHES AMIN'S REIGN OF TERROR
(By Dr. Thomas Patrick Melady)

The long week of terror and tension that began on June 27 for the Air France passengers when their plane was taken over by pro-Palestinian hijackers ended with their rescue by the Israelis in Uganda on July 3.

The safe return of the 103 hostages was a pleasant comparison to the loss of the one hostage, a 75-year-old Mrs. Dora Bloch, who unfortunately was not rescued. There are reports that she was tortured and murdered.

This, in my opinion, would have been the fate of all the hostages if they had not been rescued by the Israelis. President Amin of Uganda is a fanatic anti-Semite. He knew that a good number of the hostages were Jewish.

I followed the events very closely, as I was the last U.S. ambassador to Uganda. As one of the few Americans who had to negotiate with Amin, I feared the worst for the hostages. Amin's record since coming to power has been that of murder, torture and other crimes.

Since 1971, Idi Amin has by all accounts presided over the liquidation of at least 60,000 of his own people. Such bodies as the International Commission of Jurists have testified to the horror. Many estimate that the number is higher.

The arrests, tortures and killings are still going on.

Amin has turned the "pearl of Africa" into a chamber of horror.

In August, 1972, shortly after I arrived in Kampala, as the U.S. ambassador, Amin initiated a racist program to drive all Asians out of the country. He thus began the brutalization of a helpless minority group. I lived there throughout the 90 days when over 50,000 Asians, including many who were considered Ugandan citizens, were expelled in circumstances of mass suffering and cruelty.

Despite world-wide protests, Amin persisted in carrying out his racist program against brown Ugandans. At no time has he ever apologized for this grave violation of human rights.

Several months before I arrived in Kampala, Amin turned against Israeli aid technicians and their families. Later in 1972, Amin sent a telegram to U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim in which he endorsed Hitler's genocide policy against the Jews.

The anti-Semitic mania of Amin continues to grow.

Several months after his telegram to Waldheim, Amin remarked, "People all over the world now agree with me that the Israelis are criminals" and that Hitler had been "right to burn six million Jews during the Second World War."

More recently, in April 1975, Radio Uganda announced that Amin would erect a monument to Adolf Hitler at the site of a supposed battle between the British and the Germans.

What can the community of nations and world bodies do in the fact of such conduct? It certainly does not bestow honors upon him. It should not consider censuring Israel for its heroic action to save the lives of the hostages who faced certain torture and death.

Have we not learned one single lesson from dealing with brutal tyrants like Hitler, Duvalier, Stalin and Amin? Pleasing confirmed despots never solved any problems. Rather, the despots became more cruel.

The late Secretary General U Thant said, "The promotion and protection of human rights form the very essence and provide the deepest meaning and motivation of the U.N. as an international organization." The United Nations charter refers to human rights in its preamble and in six different articles. The Charter, adopted in 1945, was reinforced in its human rights mandate by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The U.N. played a significant role in aiding the peoples of the Third World in obtaining their freedom. It is continuing to do so in the attention it gives southern Africa. Furthermore, the U.N. is now highlighting the dehumanizing effects of the triple curse of poverty, illiteracy and disease.

Just a handful of heads of state and a few governments have had the courage and conviction to speak out against President Amin's actions.

In 1973, the U.S. withdrew its diplomatic mission to Uganda. I strongly recommend this as an action for all states. Does any state wish to dignify Amin by accrediting their ambassador to him?

If nothing is done, the tyrant will continue to torture and murder his own people and others living in Uganda.

PROTECTING THE PUBLIC FROM TOXIC SUBSTANCES

HON. H. JOHN HEINZ III

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. HEINZ. Mr. Speaker, 5 years ago the Council on Environmental Quality warned that the public was inadequately protected from the dangers of toxic chemicals. Despite that warning, Americans are still exposed to the hazards of manmade poisons. Today we have an opportunity to help correct this intolerable situation by passing H.R. 14032, the Toxic Substances Control Act.

The need for this legislation has been well documented both by scientific study and by tragic experience. The catalog of these tragedies is increasingly familiar. The hazards of asbestos were not known until that substance killed hundreds of workers who came into daily contact with it. We did not know that vinyl chloride was carcinogenic until it had already become widely used. Nearly 400,000 tons of polychlorinated biphenyls had been released into the environment before

PCB's were recognized as a long-term poison.

The American people are rightfully concerned about persistent threats to their health and welfare from the proliferation and misuse of harmful chemicals. They have a right to be safeguarded from exposure to toxic substances that endanger their lives. On their behalf, we must act to insure that effective steps are taken to avoid unnecessary and unreasonable risks to the public health from uncontrolled toxins.

THE B-1: THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the Air Force's B-1 bomber program will meet a final challenge this week in its fight for congressional approval of fiscal year 1977 production funds. As a ranking member of the House Armed Service Committee and one who has worked steadfastly for a strong but efficient national defense, I wholeheartedly support this vital bomber system.

In another attempt to make clear its urgent necessity, I am submitting for the record an excellent article published Sunday by the Los Angeles Times. Francis P. Hoerber makes a powerful case for the B-1 by proving that this plane is the only alternative, deployable in the near future, which would insure the American capabilities of retaliation against dispersed targets and of flexible response to limited threats. It is the only weapons system with the ability to maintain a credible strategic deterrence and a place of real equivalence with the Soviet Union.

These objectives become even more important when viewed against a background of improving Soviet air defenses and the overall escalation of their security efforts, and in the light of incidents such as the recent outbreak of hostilities on the Korean peninsula. Détente obviously has an unclear and perilous path to travel, filled with torturous roadblocks. We must not allow Presidential stumping to reduce the B-1, and the very survival of this Nation, to the often irrational depths of partisan politics.

I highly commend the Los Angeles Times and Mr. Hoerber for presenting the compelling story of the B-1 in the article which follows:

B-1 DELAY COSTLY IN MONEY AND U.S. STRENGTH

(By Francis P. Hoerber)

The massive lobbying effort against the B-1 strategic bomber will resume this week as Congress ends its recess and a House-Senate conference committee prepares to take up the question. Led by the National Campaign to Stop the B-1, a coalition of 27 groups opposing various defense appropriations, the lobby wants Congress to delay funding the bomber until "the next Presidential" can make that important decision.

Such a postponement would be expensive,

even if the President decides promptly in February to order production of the first three planes (the first of 241 to be built over the next eight years). Three prototype B-1's already are flying, and contracts have been let for the three production models. Further delay, even for a few months, will cost an estimated \$500 million because existing subcontracts will have to be canceled and work forces disbanded, requiring new contracts, hiring and training if the program is resumed. Inflation in the meanwhile could make the figure larger.

Still, those who press for delay sound reasonable and temperate. The truth, however, is that they want the program delayed forever.

The basic argument of the anti-B-1 lobby is that the bomber represents overkill: We have more than enough missiles to destroy all the Soviet cities, and bombers would only come along later and "bounce the rubble," in Winston Churchill's vivid phrase. The missiles' potential for accomplishing the "assured destruction" of Soviet population and industry is seen as sufficient to make war impossible.

Assured destruction, however, never was an adequate concept of deterrence, and it is rapidly becoming infeasible because the Russians have implemented an aggressive war-fighting, war-winning, war-surviving doctrine. For example, a massive Soviet civil-defense effort, accelerated in the early 1970s, includes training the population for evacuation of cities, building shelters, dispersing industrial plants and making them blast-resistant. Making no secret of this program, they publish detailed "how to" manuals on civil defense. According to Russian claims, their losses from a U.S. mass attack would be only 5 to 8% of their urban population and essential production would continue.

Even if they do only half that well, we could still not achieve the level of assured destruction that has long been considered necessary to deter the Russians from attacking us: obliterating 20 to 25% of the population and 50 to 67% of their industrial capacity.

Meanwhile, the Russians are rapidly approaching strategic superiority. Taking full advantage of concessions they received under the SALT I interim agreement on offensive arms signed in 1972, they are building more and larger missiles. Three new Soviet ICBMs are larger and each is equipped with several individual nuclear warheads.

In addition to this, they are developing a "new generation" of ICBMs. The Russians have tested a land-mobile missile that can be moved around to evade our weapons. They are deploying a new 4,200-nautical mile submarine-launched missile in a new class of submarine (years before our 4,000-mile Trident 1 missile, which is still in development), and they are deploying a new supersonic bomber, the Backfire, capable of reaching the United States.

In the early 1980s they will have more strategic nuclear power than the United States and will be capable of partially disarming us while withholding enough forces to make it suicidal for us to retaliate.

This growth in Soviet capabilities makes it imperative that the United States take action to maintain its policy objectives of (1) "credible deterrence," meaning the Russians will be convinced we are as strong as we say we are; (2) "assured retaliation" against dispersed military, economic and political targets; (3) flexibility to respond to less than all-out threats or attacks; and (4) "equivalence"—that is, denying the Russians the advantage they would obtain militarily and psychologically if they achieved actual and apparent superiority.

Modernization of our bomber force is one of the keys to achieving these policy objectives:

Credible deterrence: Is it credible for us

to threaten, when faced with Soviet provocation or attack, to push the button that irrevocably sends massive numbers of U.S. missiles to the Soviet Union? The Russians and many of our allies think not. Only the bomber offers the President a rational alternative that retains America's credibility. He can launch all or some of his bombers and keep them subject to recall, gaining several hours in which to negotiate. Because the bomber is recallable, its very slowness is a virtue.

Assured retaliation: Far from being able to merely "bounce the rubble," a manned bomber—with a pilot responsible for assessing the success of an attack and switching targets if necessary—could carry out the much more difficult task of seeking out the many dispersed targets which, if destroyed, would deny the Russians victory in war and survival as a superpower.

American ICBMs still may be able to do this job, but that may not be true much longer because they are becoming increasingly vulnerable. The new, large Soviet missiles are more accurate than our ICBMs and by the 1980s will be able to knock out many of our Minuteman and Titan missiles unless we "launch on warning"—that is, unless we fire our own missiles in fear of losing them by not using them.

Similarly, our submarine-launched missiles conceivably could do the job, but their warheads are both smaller and less accurate than those of either the ICBMs or our strategic bombers. Moreover, the Russians have increasing antisubmarine capability to sink our submarines—not all at once, perhaps, but certainly one at a time. Would we want to bomb Soviet cities—thus risking the loss of our own—all because they torpedoed a few U.S. submarines?

Beyond that, communications with submarines are inherently difficult: Only very large, low-frequency transmitters can reach subs beneath the water, and if the Russians were to knock these out, our subs would be beyond our control.

Flexible options: The bomber would also provide a special, flexible capability for limited attacks. Using bombers instead of missiles for early, small responses would create less psychological incentive for escalation.

Equivalence: Given the small size and number of U.S. missiles relative to the Russians, the bombers, with their large payloads, contribute immensely to both real and perceived equivalence.

For these reasons, it is important to continue to have an effective bomber component in our strategic forces. However, even if this point is granted, foes of the B-1 argue that it is the wrong bomber; in their view, cruise missiles are a better alternative since the B-1 is not the ultimate bomber and is too costly.

B-1 opponents propose that a cheaper, better substitute for the B-1 would be the new cruise missile, launched from outside the Soviet airspace from a wide-bodied aircraft like the Boeing 747. The problem is that the time required to design, test and produce both the longer-range cruise missiles and a new transport would mean that the system would not be ready until the late 1980s at best. We need new forces by the early to mid-80s; and the B-1 would be ready.

Moreover, there are serious doubts whether the cruise missile could perform all the necessary missions, whether the 747-type carrier would survive and whether the combined system would be cheaper, let alone as effective as the B-1.

Cruise missiles that can be built in the next 8 to 12 years could not carry the "penetration aid" used by the B-1 to ensure that most of the bombers will get through Soviet defenses—for example, elec-

tronic devices to fool enemy radar and missiles. Nor does the cruise missile have the bomber's ability to perceive that a given target has already been hit and to select another target.

The United States is certain to lose equivalence in the early 1980s if we do not push on with existing plans while preparing new initiatives in both force modernization and arms control proposals. The only new systems we can deploy by that date are those now under way: not only the B-1 but also the Trident subs and their missiles.

The B-1 clearly is the best bomber for its purposes *that can be built now*. If we start over and develop a new strategic bomber—even one that takes advantage of new technological developments—we might come up with a bomber for the 1990s, but our delay would assure the Russians' reaching superiority in the preceding decade.

In any event, we are told that the B-1 "would be the most expensive weapons system in history" and would be a drag on the economy. The opposite is true: production would stimulate the economy, but that is not the reason we need the B-1. Furthermore, the \$92 billion figure for 244 B-1s which has been bandied about is blown up by a series of accounting tricks. It includes 30 years of operating costs; it includes predictions of inflation; it includes new tankers which will be built for other purposes and at most shared by the B-1, and it includes improved weapons that will be built for the B-12 of there is no B-1.

In reality, the 244 B-1s will cost about \$1 billion a year in 1976 dollars, if they are used for 30 years, or 1% of the defense budget—far less than the amount that has customarily been allocated to strategic bombers.

At this reasonable cost, the B-1 has a far better chance to maintain our capability for assured retaliation and flexible options against improving Soviet air defenses than the far less capable B-52, which would require an estimated \$40 million per plane—three-quarters of the cost of a B-1—for modernization and rebuilding so that it could keep flying for one-half of the life of the B-1.

For all these reasons, Congress should decide to get on with B-1 production—not because the Air Force pilots want it, not because it would provide jobs, but because it is a plane that can do what is required in time to help meet the mushrooming Soviet threat and to help provide the essential strength from which the United States can try to negotiate acceptable arms-control agreements.

PRESIDENT FORD AND THE VETO

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to have the opportunity to place in today's RECORD an article by the distinguished political writer, Mr. Gus Tyler. Mr. Tyler has served the International Ladies Garment Workers Union for many years as political director and political analyst and is a frequent contributor to the AFL-CIO News from which the following editorial is taken.

In this piece which follows, Mr. Tyler cogently discusses Mr. Ford's power to veto and his misuse of that power during the 94th Congress. His statement speaks

strongly for the need to elect a Democratic administration in November. Only then can the social legislation for which the people of this Nation desperately yearn, be enacted.

STALEMATED GOVERNMENT—FORD'S ABUSE OF VETO POWER STIRS CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS

(By Guy Tyler)

Is the use of the presidential veto constitutional?

The question sounds ridiculous, but between now and November there will be more and more talk about this matter as Democrats assail Ford's use of the power to say "no" to Congress.

Ford is getting some kind of a record in the use of the veto, a record that is causing his political critics and some commentators to question the propriety of the way in which he has been using the executive power in the legislative process.

In his two years in office, Ford has issued 53 vetoes. Before his term ends, the total will be even higher. The pace is enough to have caused Congressional Quarterly to note that "Ford has risen to rank among the most veto-prone Presidents."

In one distinctive way, Ford outpaces others. CQ notes that "up to 1969, Presidents usually vetoed more private than public bills... But Presidents Nixon and Ford reversed the picture." Two thirds of Truman's vetoes, for instance, were applied to "private" bills; Ford vetoed only three such proposals.

As a consequence, Ford vetoes affect big chunks of the population, often the most sensitive and exposed. He has vetoed bills for public works and to curb strip mining, for day care centers and health programs, for aid to jobless homeowners and for tax cuts, for school lunches, nurses training, educational benefits for Vietnam and Korean veterans. In the campaign, Ford proudly proclaimed: "I will veto them again and again and again."

In frustration, leaders of Congress have begun to denounce the President's acts as an abuse of the veto power. And to back up their arguments, they have begun to do some homework, re-reading the Federalist papers, to see what the Founding Fathers had in mind when they granted the Executive the means to interfere in the legislative process.

The real reason for granting the veto was to give the President a weapon to protect his office against the trespass of the legislature.

As Hamilton put it in the Federalist Paper No. 66, the veto was "an indispensable barrier against the encroachments of the latter (Congress) upon the former (the President)."

In Paper No. 78, Hamilton is clearer: "The primary inducement to conferring the power upon the President is to enable him to defend himself; the secondary one is to increase the chances in favor of the community against the passing of bad laws through haste, inadvertence or design." Under Ford, the "secondary" rationale has become the prime—virtually the sole—reason for the use of the veto.

In any event, the Founding Fathers assumed that the veto was a power that would be used sparingly. Argued Hamilton: "If a magistrate so powerful and well fortified as a British monarch would have scruples about the exercise of the power under consideration, how much greater caution may reasonably be expected in a President of the United States."

However the constitutional debate turns out, one point will be made: the danger of a stalemated government when a veto-prone President of one party is confronted by an action-prone Congress of the opposite party.

APPRAISING COMMUNICATIONS
POLICYMAKING

HON. TIMOTHY E. WIRTH

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. WIRTH. Mr. Speaker, the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies has sponsored a wonderful variety of distinguished projects over its 25-year history. Recently, under the able direction of Mr. S. Douglass Cater, the institute spawned a new project entitled "Program on Communications and Society." Underway for 3 years, this communications program has initiated a series of seminars and publications in the field of communications.

Now under the direction of Mr. Roland Homet, the program on Communications and Society has undertaken a project to appraise policymaking in communications. The following paper outlines this project.

I urge my colleagues in the Congress to read this short outline, because it summarizes some of the potential in the field of communications, and begins the necessary analysis of some of the institutional constraints to broad progress in communications in this country and throughout the world.

We in the Congress should be particularly concerned about the future of communications, since it touches so many thorny issues which we face, such as electronics in the banking industry, and alternatives to our present postal system. I believe the following description of "A Project To Appraise Communications Policymaking" at the Aspen Institute provides a good basis for beginning to think about some of the future communications issues facing us in the Congress and in the country.

A PROJECT TO APPRAISE COMMUNICATIONS
POLICYMAKING

Social revolutions can take place dramatically or quietly, suddenly or by degrees. We remark the Atomic Era, for example, by its explosive advent. It provoked immediate and wide-ranging concern, and led to the formation of fresh and responsive political structures aimed at governing unleashed forces: an AEC and Joint Committee of Congress in this country, a Euratom and International Atomic Energy Agency abroad. Such galvanic institutional reactions are less likely to occur when technology advances by quietly accelerating evolution; here the concern is that Society will be disarmed into relying on existing and no longer adequate systems of governance to contain the cumulative revolutionary impact of the new forces.

There are insistent signs that just such concern is now demanded in the field of communications. From Gutenberg to Marconi took several centuries; from radio to the satellite, several decades; and every few years we now witness quantum leaps in capacity and reductions in cost of electronic computing. We have already become, without knowing it, an "Information Society": More than half of our GNP and more than half of our employment is today attributable to the production, storage, distribution or use of information. This implies a radical shift in patterns of activity and forces refocused attention on our computer-communications infrastructure. Yet the social and economic implications of the Information Society, and

the host of complex public-policy issues it presents, have largely escaped the notice of all but a relative handful of experts.

The institutions established to deal with national communications policy have changed little since the Communications Act of 1934. The values impacted by new communications technology and services are essentially unchanged: the free play of facts and ideas, the protection of personal privacy, the attainment of economic justice and efficiency, the pursuit of national and international harmony. But the peculiar strains to which established values and old institutions are today subjected represent, both in kind and in intensity, a new challenge to which a fresh and timely response is required. Otherwise, the accelerating pace of change could well outstrip the governing process and leave us with an Information Society that is neither efficient nor harmonious nor free.

It is the basic thesis of this Project that the issues clustered within the communications revolution are too important to be left to the experts, and too important also to be left to the inertial resultant of stresses within and among the interested industries. Both groups must, of course, be fully heard from, along with government officials and other representatives of the public; but an effort must be made to frame judgments from a larger, value-oriented perspective that serves the interests of society as a whole.

Consider the following sampling of issues as illustrative of the value stresses and institutional drawbacks we face in this new era:

FREE SPEECH VS. CONTENT CONTROLS

The justification for curtailments of editorial freedom in broadcasting—Fairness Doctrine, family hour, the whole notion of "public trusteeship"—has been compounded equally of spectrum-scarcity considerations and of regard for the intrusive, unbidden nature of much broadcast-program reception. Yet it is widely believed that such content controls have served more to deter any controversial programming on issues of public importance than they have to elicit robust debate. Newly competitive services such as pay cable television and video discs have now arisen to challenge the foundation for content restrictions as applied, at least, to them. These services operate free of appreciable frequency interference difficulties, and they give the home viewer a degree of control over program selection that is not found in broadcasting. As yet, however, the competitive video services are available to a negligible number of viewers whereas broadcasting reaches about 96 percent of all homes. Several questions arise: Will content controls be extended uncritically to the new-technology services, in an effort to maintain some kind of regulatory and economic parity? If so, how can controls be made to apply to video discs played and "communicated" entirely within the home? If not, and if the result is an escape from regulatorily induced program blandness, will the vivacity of the new services cause viewers to shift away from broadcast programming at a faster rate than they would under a scheme of content-control parity? If controls are largely removed over all competing media, will we witness a "race against taste" such as has taken place on the magazine racks of the drug store? Comparably insistent questions could be asked about the relationship of new video technology to the demands for "access"—that is, programming opportunities—by groups in our society who feel their perspectives are not represented in mass-audience programming. But despite periodic suggestions by the Supreme Court and others that the 1934 Communications Act falls to address these questions, the Congress thus far has not responded. What appears to be needed is adequate time and resources for forward-look-

ing policy development base on something more than mediation between competing industry claims.

INTRUSIONS ON PRIVACY

The electronic technologies used by both government and private enterprise to snoop upon and harass American citizens are growing in capacity and pervasiveness. There is at present no statutory prohibition against "tapping" into communications with or between computers. Nor is there any rule to restrain the monitoring of personal viewing preferences on cable television systems with two-way capability. Similarly, the threats to individual privacy posed by remote access to commercial credit institutions and other private data banks are only now being considered by a Privacy Commission—which itself co-exists with a Privacy Committee, a Committee for Reduction of Paperwork, an Electronic Funds Transfer Commission, and several other federally chartered *ad hoc* groups working with the same general field. Coherent and comprehensive policy formulation may require the integration into one Executive department or agency of all such concerns.

CONVERGENCE OF COMMUNICATIONS MODES

The 1934 Communications Act establishes separate schemes of regulation for "common carriers" (telephone and telegraph) on the one hand and for broadcasters on the other. Since 1934, however, there has been a steadily growing stream of new or newly deployed technology—microwave, coaxial cable, satellite, fiber optic—whose service capacities have increasingly converged to confound the clear distinctions drawn in the Act. Cable television, for example, can compete both with the over-the-air transmission of broadcast signals and with telephonic delivery of data communications. A satellite earth station can receive or transmit both individual messages and public entertainment. "Teletext" information is being offered for display on home television screens. The day is not distant when all electronic communications may be deliverable via a single, all-purpose, local communications "pipe" to business and home "information centers" with two-way voice, video, data and facsimile capabilities. In the course of such developments a series of complex investment and regulatory choices will have to be made in order to integrate and harmonize potentially redundant systems. The 1934 Act offers little if any guidance to the Federal Communications Commission, the various affected industries, or the general public about how the impending changes are to be accommodated. Indeed, no single existing federal institution appears to be concerned with all aspects of this challenge. The question is how to stimulate the necessary integrative thinking through institutional reform.

CONVERGENCE WITH NON-ELECTRONIC
COMMUNICATIONS

The volume of mail carried by the U.S. Postal Service is beginning to decline, just as unit costs of labor and of transportation for mail delivery are soaring—because business firms are starting to avail themselves of swifter and more efficient forms of electronic message distribution. This highly attractive alternative to conventional mail can be expected, if not checked, to garner increasing percentages of intra-institutional message transfers, then reach for inter-institutional mail, and later perhaps capture a dominant share of billing and other business transactions between institutions and the home. The effects on postal delivery—the only communications service mentioned in the Constitution—and on the public could be severe. Postal rates could rise dramatically during the period of transition, and could become prohibitive for households beyond the economic reach of electronic distribu-

tion. If conventional mail is to escape the fate of message telegraph service, the Postal Service may either have to (a) enter the electronic communications business itself, competing on a basis of technological parity with other carriers; (b) seek to retain a monopoly over whatever physical deliveries may be necessary to and from electronic message centers (e.g., by invoking the private express statutes); or (c) aim for some kind of tacit understanding with the major electronic carriers. Each of these courses is fraught with serious legal, economic and social complexities, not least of which is who will preside over the terms of the confrontation. The FCC, and its oversight committees in the Congress for that matter, have no jurisdiction to interpret or modify the Postal Reorganization Act or the private express statutes, just as the Postal Rates Commission and the postal subcommittees have no jurisdiction over electronic common carriers. The prospects for full public accountability of decision-making in this field are accordingly not bright, and will remain so until and unless ways are found to surmount jurisdictional parochialism.

NON-COMMERCIAL PUBLIC SERVICE OPPORTUNITIES

Each technological addition to the speed or convenience or pervasiveness of communications is usually appropriated in the first instance by private entrepreneurs whose incentives are supplied by the market. Reliance on market forces does tend to produce efficiencies and to promote innovation, but it may also leave unfulfilled certain public-service needs or opportunities. This raises new challenges for the organization and financing of communications technology and service offerings. To take one example, a non-profit Public Service Satellite Consortium has recently been formed with start-up funding from HEW to aggregate a marketplace for health-care and educational uses of high-powered satellites and other comparable "broadband" technology. As another example, sporadic support has been given to "New Rural Society" experiments aimed at deploying the new communications to relieve and disperse population stresses. Concern for such matters—to the extent it exists—is currently diffused among several federal agencies and Congressional committees, the FCC, and State governments—with no coherent guiding hand or philosophy. Greater emphasis seems needed on the various non-regulatory means by which government can contribute to the social opportunities for use of communications technologies.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

In forum after forum, among traditional friends as well as others, the United States has gained the opprobrious designation of a "cultural imperialist." In part this is a backhanded tribute to the mass appeal and marketing skill underlying our news services, our magazines, our films, and our television programs. In part, however, it reflects concern about the growing pervasiveness of the Information Society and the technological head start that positions the United States to be a leader in exploiting it. U.S. strengths carry with them a vulnerability—to nationalistic interruption or jamming of cross-boundary electronic links, and more broadly to a refusal of cooperation on matters of multilateral import. This country has already lost its former domination of Intelsat, and is now confronted with demands for aeronautical and maritime satellite arrangements affording an even lesser U.S. role. The International Telecommunication Union, a technical body concerned with frequency allocations, has been taking on an increasingly political and sometimes acrimonious tone. Even the OECD, whose member nations make up the

advanced, post-industrial societies of the world, has consistently declined to take up a U.S. proposal for creation of a multilateral Committee on Computers, Communications, and Information Policy. These setbacks appear to reflect a basic lack of appreciation for the harmonizing as well as divisive potential of information in today's world. They also stem, however, from a lack of foresight and of policy coordination among the several U.S. agencies charged with international communications responsibility (a falling that has also inhibited policymaking with respect to U.S. international industry structure). The roles, functioning, and relationships of these agencies need a fresh assessment that is responsive to the over-all national interest.

The foregoing range of examples should serve to illustrate the likelihood that large and significant policy issues will not be adequately identified, let alone dealt with, by the institutional arrangements now in place. The FCC's statutory mandate has essentially not been revisited since 1934. The Commission lacks relevant decision-making criteria, and may lack some of the needed tools, for resolution of today's thorny issues of intermodal convergence and competition, public access and free press.

Some of the major issues are not "regulatory" in the usual sense at all, and should be dealt with by the Executive branch. The White House Office of Telecommunications Policy has, however, in its brief five-year history oscillated between misuse and neglect; it has no firm statutory basis and currently lacks the resources to coordinate policymaking among the various interested departments and agencies. There is, moreover, a growing tendency to create ad hoc commissions for resolution of particular policy questions—resulting, almost inevitably, in jurisdictional overlaps and a failure to articulate bridging themes.

As for the Congress, its various concerned Subcommittees—of Commerce, Operations, and Appropriations—are as a rule fully occupied trying to keep abreast of current piece-meal controversies. Their jurisdictions and staffs are typically small in relation to the policy dimensions of new and emergent issues. Further resources, along with a recognition of heightened priority, and the development of jurisdictional bridging mechanisms, might better equip the Congress to review and formulate forward-looking policy guidance.

By and large, both the Congress and the Executive branch today seek to affect policy by influencing specific decisions of the FCC, which in some cases can raise questions about the purported independence of regulation. So can the process of judicial review, nominally restricted to a narrow compass: Some have observed a trend towards greater activism by the courts in reviewing communications policy decisions, especially in the field of broadcasting. Yet the courts do not normally accept responsibility for broad or consistent policy formulation in the communications field.

All of these trends need examination against a backdrop of the major policymaking requirements of our era.

SHIPBUILDING IS KEY TO MEDITERRANEAN

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I recently read an interesting article in the Au-

gust 2, 1976, Navy Times which I would like to share with other Members of Congress. It was written by Brig. Gen. J. D. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corps (retired), as a result of his visit to the Mediterranean in the recent past. I include his comments as follows:

SHIPBUILDING IS KEY TO MEDITERRANEAN
(By Brig. Gen. J. D. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corp (retired))

There was a time when the Mediterranean was a U.S. lake. But those strategically comfortable days are gone. And gone forever.

I have just returned from a visit to the Naples area and to the 6th Fleet at sea. One doesn't have to do a Ph. D. study to realize what has happened to this vital sea area that is the southern flank of NATO Europe.

As press reports indicated, the Russians have been building up their naval strength to a high point, both in terms of total navy ships and combat ships in the Mediterranean. Longtime Russia-watchers told me that as a result of the recent buildup, the Kremlin's ship count in the Mediterranean is far greater than ours.

This Soviet naval buildup has profoundly affected the strategic balance in the entire Mediterranean area. Its effects are so far reaching that they extend beyond the usual strategic considerations. For instance, at the time of my visit to the fleet, a large carrier had been at sea about 50 days, with only two days in port. One of the reasons there had been so little liberty in such a long time at sea is a direct result of the deteriorating U.S. position in the Mediterranean.

Many 6th Fleet veterans can remember, on previous deployments, visits to the fabled ports of the Eastern Mediterranean. U.S. servicemen were assured a welcome at such places as Izmir, Istanbul, Salonica, Athens and Rhodes.

But not today. From the practical standpoint, there isn't a sure U.S. liberty port in the Eastern Mediterranean.

U.S.-Turkish relations have been badly bruised by the restrictions on military aid to Turkey. This has played right into the hopes of Turkish left-wing troublemakers. The Kremlin, of course, is chuckling with delight at how our relations with Turkey, the stalwart ally and friend, have turned sour.

When you can't put a U.S. liberty party ashore in a country, it tells more about conditions than a college lecture course.

Greece, unfortunately, is not the solution to liberty in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Example: Some few weeks ago, the carrier America was scheduled for a two-day port call and liberty at the Greek island of Rhodes. Arrangements for the visit had been made according to long standing procedures. Sources close to NATO told me that the carrier's visit to Rhodes had been cleared at the Greek Ministry of Defense level. Remembering the friendly way Rhodes had welcomed U.S. crews in the past, plus the fact that it was estimated that a long time at sea had put at least a million dollars in the pockets of our crewmen to spend in Rhodes, a reasonably trouble-free visit was expected.

But what was expected and what happened were two different things. I was told that, as the shore patrol boat approached the dock at Rhodes, a mob started throwing stones at the boat. The result was that the shore patrol couldn't even get ashore.

One of the junior officers I talked with said, "If I wrote home and said I got 'stoned' in Rhodes, my wife would never believe I didn't get drunk!" At least the U.S. serviceman still has his sense of humor. The way things are going in the Mediterranean, he needs it.

The sad situation at Rhodes didn't get any better. The leftists were making the most of it. High U.S. officers who were conferring

with Greek officials in the government building discovered they were practically under siege. One of the Greek political leaders decoyed the mob with a speech so that the U.S. officers could make a quick getaway.

It got so bad the Greek government sent a top official to Rhodes to arrange for the liberty parties to get ashore. It wasn't long before he announced that, since safety for U.S. personnel couldn't be guaranteed, the visit was off.

While the Rhodes incident reflects how the U.S. position has changed from the recent times on certain Greek welcome to the U.S. Navy, there are still spots of hospitality and cooperation. Occasionally, I was told, a liberty party gets to Athens. And when a ship goes to Suda Bay for repairs or upkeep, there is no trouble for U.S. personnel.

But, unfortunately, there is far more to the squeeze-out than loss of shore leave and routine port facilities in the Eastern Mediterranean.

What is involved is a very basic and, from the strategic standpoint, alarming development. The eastern Mediterranean is becoming a Russian lake. Not, completely, of course, but the clear trend is there.

Such things don't happen overnight. It is the result of several factors. Some, like cutting off Turkish military assistance, could have been avoided. But, whatever the contributing reasons, one fundamental Russian policy is basic to our problems in the Mediterranean area.

It is the rise of Soviet sea power. This has been compounded by our failure, as a nation, to maintain even a reasonable degree of our one-time huge margin of seapower superiority over the Soviet Union.

The Kremlin, in the post World War II period, was smart enough to know that penetration of the Mediterranean area was dependent on a fleet that could challenge U.S. control of that vital sea. And so, the Soviet Union began the deliberate, well-planned construction of a new Russian Navy.

The things that have happened in the Mediterranean area since Russia became a major sea power are dividends for the Kremlin, and strategic setbacks for NATO. And that includes the United States. Greece is militarily out of NATO. Thus, the Thracian Neck, the western land-link with Turkey is exposed. Turkey, the eastern anchor of NATO, is isolated. Israel is in jeopardy. Lebanon is in ruins. Algeria is developing into a potential Russian staging area on the northern rim of Africa. NATO is in dire danger of being outflanked on the South by Russian seapower in the Mediterranean.

This is not to claim that the new Soviet Navy by itself did all these things. But these things would not have happened without the existence of a powerful, modern and growing Russian Navy.

Doubters should think about this: Only a few years back, in 1957, Communist influences tried to topple the pro-western government of Lebanon. But it wasn't toppled. Why? Because the U.S. fleet had full control of the eastern Mediterranean. The fleet moved in. The Marine landing force moved ashore. The airfield was secured and a major U.S. military buildup by sea and air began. Lebanon was protected, and the eastern littoral of the Mediterranean was stabilized.

Since then, the Kremlin has gotten itself a fleet. We didn't, as a nation, want to make the financial sacrifice to stay far enough ahead of the Russians at sea. But, fortunately we still do have a margin of naval superiority over the Russian fleet. The Kremlin may, as European sources close to NATO say, have more cruisers and subs in the Mediterranean than we do.

On balance, though, we have a margin over them in two categories. We are superior in aircraft carriers and amphibious forces. We may have only a narrow margin over the

Soviet fleet, but it could be decisive. There's no reason, though, for complacency, for the margin is narrowing.

In spite of all the claims of some so-called experts in past years that the aircraft carrier is outdated, that we shouldn't build big ones any more, that since the Russians didn't have any we shouldn't either, the Russians have gone into a surprisingly large aircraft carrier construction program. In addition to the early and smaller anti-sub helicopter carriers, the Russians have just completed the first of a series of 40,000-ton carriers. This is about the tonnage of the U.S. Hancock-class carriers. Once they get to this size, they have, from the practical standpoint, a navy with aircraft carriers. The Kremlin is also placing emphasis on an amphibious capability.

Obviously, Kremlin naval planners know where our margin of seapower superiority is. And they have decided to do something about it.

Another thing about the Russian Navy is that the Kremlin uses it as a prime instrument of national policy.

Example: In June as the Lebanon war intensified, and the effect of Russian-equipped guerrillas and Syrian troops became more alarming, the Russian fleet was still flooding into the Mediterranean. At that critical time, the Russian fleet conducted major maneuvers. To spotlight the presence of the fleet and to emphasize its importance and strength, the Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Union's Navy, Admiral of the Fleet Sergei Gorshkov, entered the Mediterranean and flew his flag from the soviet cruiser Sverdlov. Selected ships passed in review of the naval commander.

It's hard to believe that the Soviet fleet buildup, complete with major maneuvers and a naval review by Gorshkov in the Mediterranean, at the same time that Lebanon was exploding, was a pure coincidence. The timing was just too good for it to be accidental.

That Soviet fleet buildup was a signal from the Kremlin to us not to try to do this time what we did before in Lebanon. The U.S. did conduct a skillful and timely evacuation of U.S. citizens from Beirut. But it wasn't the kind of naval intervention with which we straightened out the Lebanese crisis in 1957 when we had unchallenged seapower control of the Mediterranean.

There is a lesson in what is going on in the Mediterranean: We had better realize what margin of naval superiority we have, and the vital necessity of preserving it. That means to keep on building more big carriers, and maintaining a modern amphibious force.

Someday a Russian naval boss will fly his flag from a carrier in the Mediterranean. If we don't have more and bigger and better ones than they do, it will also be a flag signaling Soviet dominance of the Mediterranean and the decline of NATO out-flanked on the sea.

A CONGRESSIONAL SALUTE TO FATHER BAGA, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, AND THE FACULTY OF THE INDUSTRIAL AND FARM WORKER DEPARTMENT OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF CHILE FOR PROVIDING VOCATIONAL EDUCATION TO COMBAT UNEMPLOYMENT

HON. ROBERT A. ROE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. ROE. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Economic De-

velopment of the House Public Works and Transportation Committee, I am particularly interested in programs to increase employment and advance economic growth both at home and abroad because economic productivity is truly the cornerstone of the free enterprise system. Therefore, I applaud the efforts of DUOC, the Industrial and Farm Worker Department of the Catholic University of Chile, under the guidance of Father Juan Baga, executive director, to develop the human potential of the Chilean worker through self-help and through vocational education. Such training enhances and improves the individual's skills and is one of the key elements in solving the problem of high unemployment.

The DUOC program is a splendid example of a university at the service of the whole society.

Surely much of the success of the program is due to strong local participation. Parochial and public school classrooms are borrowed for the adult educational activities after regular school hours in an exemplary use of existing facilities.

This is a low cost, self-help program in large measure for students seeking gainful employment. Local costs are financed from minimal tuition and registration fees and the only need for funds is to purchase imported tools and equipment required for the technical courses.

Developing nations must have technically trained workers to contribute to national economic growth and to the formation of an industrial base, DUOC is hastening to supply them for Chile.

Also praiseworthy is the fact that the Inter-American Foundation, established in 1969 by the Congress of the United States and funded under the Foreign Assistance Act as an experimental organization to advance social change in the other Americas by support of projects which meet human needs and make visible impact on the daily lives of people, has recognized the fact that the DUOC organization has accurately perceived the needs of the Chilean people as reflected in its programs. In the past year or so the IAF has contributed to DUOC a total of \$198,565 to provide training to organizations of small farmers. The sums are not large, but the social and economic impact is enormous.

To better enable me to bring information on these noteworthy programs in adult vocational education to the attention of my colleagues, I am including a translation of an article which appeared in *Ercilla* magazine in December of last year, as follows:

A CHALLENGE IS MET

Juan Baga, Executive Director of the Industrial and Farm Worker Department of the Catholic University (DUOC) analyzes seven years of effort.

63,000 students from all over the country study everything from plumbing to electronics. \$600,000 are needed to purchase equipment for the technical courses.

Twenty-five percent of the eligible Chilean students—fifteen thousand of them—took the Academic Aptitude Test for 1974. The high school graduates discussed in this article are those who have selected the DUOC programs (Industrial and Farm Worker Department of the Catholic University which is operated by a Foundation) as an educa-

tional alternative to the University. It is interesting to note that this year DUOC received as many or more graduates from the high school level program than did the University of Chile or all the private universities put together.

Information taken from the report submitted by the Center for Research and Educational Development (CIDE) on the activities and qualifications of the student body of DUOC indicates that seventy-seven percent of the students are pleased to have found what they were seeking educationally, that seventeen percent express reasonable satisfaction with their courses, and only two percent mention definite deficiencies.

Thus, DUOC is definitely responding to a need for instruction and apprenticeship by Chilean adults and its growth has been explosive in its seven years of existence—from a single location in Santiago with only 475 students it has grown to 103 educational units from Arica to Magallanes with 63,016 students.

DIPLOMAS AND CERTIFICATES

The Spanish priest Juan Baga Ballus (45 years of age with seventeen spent in Chile) is the Executive Director and was not offended when ERCILLA asked the difference between his organization and other academies and institutes that operate in the country. "If they exist, it is because a need exists. The people want to learn something more than they find in the traditional educational system. We are not looking for profits and besides we are answering the concrete needs of the people with limited funding, but with highly dedicated personnel and faculty."

DUOC, says Baga, wants to be the arm of the social conscience of the University and it wants to develop a program to aid those having the least education.

The educational program brings together the professional with the future worker and the technician he will meet later on during the course of his professional career. Some seventy percent of the twelve hundred teachers in the department are studying or have obtained their university degrees. They are paid roughly one dollar per hour, but only for the hours devoted to teaching.

This relationship between professionals and technicians is fundamental according to the Executive Director of DUOC. "In Chile we have excellent professionals capable of constructing splendid, sturdy buildings which can withstand earthquakes, but continually people complain that the faucets drip or that the tiles become loose." To generate this brotherhood and complementary effort is one of the proposed goals.

SHIRTS AND COMPUTERS

DUOC started out with only night school basic education courses and now offers 148 different courses. This is not a fixed figure because the courses offered vary according to the needs of each area and the requirements and aspirations of the adult students. Thus, for example, a course in industrial hygiene for the dairy industry will be offered in Osorno, but in Talca the Secretarial School was closed because the demand for secretaries had been satisfied. A zealous university Department of Planning using official statistics ascertains the needs to be fulfilled and also decides when the mission has been accomplished.

There are courses of varying duration and diverse subject matter that run from a minimum of twenty-four class hours to learn to make a shirt or a pair of trousers to those for middle-level management requiring five semesters of fourteen class hours per week for computer programmers. There are also personal advancement courses. For example, if a secretary with a knowledge of typing and

shorthand wants to become a bi-lingual secretary, there are ways she can do so within the wide range of courses offered by DUOC. Although some professionals complain at times that "it is a shame that the Catholic University teaches hairdressing and plumbing", the administration hastens to make clear that the Foundation operates on a different level from the main University and that, therefore, they should not be worried about such regional activities.

\$600,000 ARE NEEDED

"DUOC", says Father Juan Baga, "wants to serve the established community. I do not argue with the people about the problems that are presented to me, nor do I recommend or give solutions, but only try to satisfy their needs as outlined." And so it is in tens of villages the length of the entire country between three and five o'clock in the afternoon (despite the television serials), dining rooms are converted into improvised classrooms where the women study dressmaking, handicrafts, first aid or elemental principles of nutrition which permit them to prepare a more healthful menu commensurate with their income. By carefully applying their learnings and by taking full advantage of purchasing opportunities, it is calculated that family budgets in the great majority of cases can be stretched approximately fifteen percent.

Special programs in Chiloe, in the Santiago Municipal Jail where the chapel is converted into a classroom, and in various industries complete the educational panorama of DUOC. But wherever they go, new course requirements are submitted. A course must be prepared academically, organized and its development carefully nurtured. For instance, the expanding cactus leaf handicrafts in TI-TI required help from DUOC. Instructors teach the fundamentals of molding and esthetics to the artisans who work with the raw material.

Sixty percent of the funding of DUOC is provided from the income it generates, that is to say from the registration fees that the students pay (for example about a dollar and a half monthly for a course in radio and television repair). The remaining forty percent comes from financial contributions to public education made by the Ministry of Education. What problems are faced? There is only one and it is an important one, the lack of equipment especially for the technical branches. "With \$600,000 we would be completely equipped," said Father Baga. And they hope to find it.

With continued dedication and assiduous effort, operating in most cases from homes or classrooms that they use free of charge after regular hours (recently they have acquired seven headquarter locations of their own), the personnel of the department works enthusiastically with great confidence in the future. The Director, Juan Baga, emphasized this communion of effort when he presented the annual report of the DUOC Foundation to the Catholic University officials.

Thus the tasks of another year are concluded and preparations begin immediately for the next. However, next year a problem beclouds the operation that for many would prove of great concern. The proposed reduction in class size by the universities will force many more high school graduates to look to DUOC. But Father Baga is prepared. "Let them come. We can absorb them. We can expand at least eighty percent more. The idea is that DUOC must expand according to the needs of the people. Of course it will be necessary to work harder, arrange to borrow more classrooms and improve the efficiency of the organization. There is no trace of conceit in my reply, but rather a willingness to accept a challenge," he concluded.

GUN CONTROL

HON. RON PAUL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, an article appeared in the June-July 1976 issue of the *Civil Liberties Review*, a bimonthly magazine published by the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation of New York City, which discusses the reasons why a civil libertarian opposes gun control. Authored by Prof. Don B. Kates, Jr. of the St. Louis University School of Law, the article presents a forceful argument for the right to keep and bear arms, a right guaranteed by the second amendment to the Constitution. I suggest that the question with which he begins the article is the most important question that can be raised about the issue of gun control: "How can a civil libertarian trust the military and the police with a monopoly on arms with the power to determine which civilians may have them?" I insert the article at this point in the *RECORD* so that other Members may benefit from its insights:

WHY A CIVIL LIBERTARIAN OPPOSES GUN CONTROL

(By Don B. Kates, Jr.)

I am frequently asked: how can a civil libertarian oppose gun control? My reply is: how can a civil libertarian trust the military and the police with a monopoly on arms and with the power to determine which civilians may have them? I consider self-defense a human right—and one that is particularly vital for women who choose to live without "male protectors" in an increasingly violent society. I also fear that enforcement of even a partial prohibition on handguns would take an immense toll in human liberty and bring about a sharp increase in repugnant police practices as well as hundreds of thousands of jail sentences.

If as both British and American studies assure us, gun prohibition has no ascertainable effect upon violence, then it seems that its rationale is revulsion against the handgun as a symbol and antagonism toward the conservative but generally law-abiding people who value that symbol. Such a rationale, however, is no more acceptable than the conservative's argument against homosexuality: "I don't do it and I don't like people who do—so it ought to be illegal."

Advocacy of controversial political or social views frequently provokes violent antagonisms. Although they are usually unwilling or politically unable to overtly suppress these views, officials can covertly withdraw police protection, leaving the job to such groups as the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Council, the Storm Troopers, the Cherry Society, and the Black Hand.

What might have happened to civil rights workers if there had been strict gun control in the South is exemplified in the 1969 machine-gunning of several hundred marchers by right-wing extremists in Mexico City. Both the possession of automatic weapons and the act of murder are as strictly forbidden by law in Mexico as they are in the U.S. Nevertheless, the police made no arrests—either on the scene or when the attackers later invaded hospitals to finish off the wounded.

Even assuming that gun prohibition would be enforced against right-wing extremists

also, the effect is to render dissenters defenseless without meaningfully preventing lethal attacks upon them. A group of Klansmen or other neo-fascists will hesitate to attack someone they know to be armed or to fire-bomb his house, because they don't want their members to risk injury or death. Even though they may be unarmed, they will not hesitate to attack if they know that their intended victim is also unarmed and that the police will not defend him. No one had guns in the hostile mob which burned the headquarters of the Marxist W. E. B. DuBois Club in 1966 while New York City police looked on. But the DuBois Club member who had to pull a pistol on the mob in order to get out of the burning clubhouse was immediately arrested for gun possession. Needless to say, no members of the mob were arrested.

During the civil rights turmoil in the South, Klan violence was bad enough; it might have been worse with gun control. It was only because black neighborhoods were full of people who had guns and could fight back that the Klan didn't shoot up civil rights meetings or terrorize blacks by shooting at random from cars.

Moreover, civil rights workers' access to firearms for self-defense often caused southern police to preserve the peace as they would not have done if only the Ku Kluxers had been armed. I remember how Klansmen broke up a series of marches in a Louisiana town with hideous violence and head-bashing while the police looked on in benevolent neutrality. The unarmed marchers' appeals to the governor for state police protection were in vain. After many weeks of heavy injuries to the marchers, a black man shot one of several Klansmen who attacked him with clubs. The state police arrived the next day, and there was no further violence.

Contrast an incident that occurred in Madrid on November 6, 1975. A meeting of opposition reform parties was broken up and its participants severely beaten by right-wing gunmen. The victims could offer no resistance, since Spanish law strictly forbids civilian possession of handguns (except by right-wing thugs with permits). Falangist policy follows the gun laws of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, under which Jews and political opponents were disarmed and left helpless against mob violence in the early 1930s. As Hermann Göring said in 1933, "Certainly I shall use the police—and most ruthlessly—whenever the German people are hurt; but I refuse the notion that the police are protective troops for Jewish stores. The police protect whoever comes into Germany legitimately, but not Jewish usurers."

Not only political and racial minorities but also women would be handicapped by gun restrictions. Throughout history women's status has been fixed, and their self-determination curtailed, by male authority figures to whom they had to look for protection. Today, as women increasingly choose lifestyles independent of male protection, their ability to protect themselves in a violent society becomes more important. Obviously, in most situations it is futile and perhaps dangerous for a woman to resist a male attacker. Armed defense is even more dangerous, since a rapist will invariably get a gun away from a woman and use it on her—or so most movie and television scripts tell us. It seems that a woman who doesn't have a male to protect her had better just "lie back and enjoy it" and hope her attacker doesn't intend to murder or mutilate her afterward.

Men—even police chiefs—who voice such opinions, however, are usually surprisingly short on specific examples. I have researched the subject in detail and have found no case in which a rapist was able to disarm his victim. Those who are familiar with the martial arts know how extraordinary dan-

gerous it is to attempt to disarm anyone—even an untrained person. Police training emphasizes that this maneuver should be avoided, unless the alternative is immediate death.

If women defend themselves with firearms less frequently than they could, it is only because they have been brainwashed by the steady stream of propaganda generated by males. The Eisenhower Commission Firearms Task Force Report, for example, contemptuously dismisses women in a single sentence: They are "less knowledgeable than men about guns and generally are less capable of self-defense." (To make certain they stay that way, the commission recommends banning handguns.) Having trained women to handle guns and having studied police training for women, I know that they are at least as capable of combat shooting as are men. In a mechanical age which has largely rendered irrelevant male-female differences in strength, the concept that women are incapable of using firearms is an anachronism. I have investigated over 150 cases in which women rejected this notion. It is noteworthy that in 80% of the cases studied, women chose to defend themselves with handguns. Such weapons are infinitely preferable to long guns because they are more portable and maneuverable and far less lethal. Here are some abbreviated examples:

California, 1969: A Los Angeles woman shot and seriously wounded an attempted rapist who broke into her house. Police later charged him with two other rapes.

California, 1970: An armed Modesto woman storekeeper who had wounded armed robbers on two other occasions captured a third.

Maryland, 1970: Knocked to the street by punches in the face and stomach by a mugger who told her, "You know what I want," a Baltimore woman drew her pistol and gave him a bullet in the neck instead.

Maryland, 1971: A Baltimore woman shot to death a man who had raped her and threatened to kill her children if she called the police.

Tennessee, 1972: When a Chattanooga woman drew a pistol, the man who was preparing to rape her left in too great a hurry to collect the clothes he had just taken off. He was later traced and apprehended through identification found in his abandoned clothing.

Florida, 1973: Although she was seriously wounded by a burglar who stabbed her several times, a Barstow woman shot him to death.

Kansas, 1974: Commenting, "I don't think you want to do that," a Wichita storeowner's wife drew a pistol on two armed robbers. They departed in haste.

West Virginia, 1975: A retired schoolteacher awakened to find an armed burglar in her bedroom. Knocking his gun away, she seized her own pistol and shot him to death.

Gun prohibitionists deny the value of civilian possession of firearms in combatting crime. They cite the Eisenhower Commission's conclusion that "the gun is rarely an effective means of protecting the home against either the burglar or the robber: the former avoids confrontation, the latter confronts too swiftly." But the report, unlike many people who cite it, makes clear that this conclusion applies only to householders, and specifically to those householders who do not have firearms immediately at hand because a criminal attack is completely unexpected. Robbers do not "confront too swiftly" for armed storekeepers, who, the report admits, foil appreciable numbers of them each year. And, although it offers no figures on the success rate of citizens who carry arms for self-defense, the report admits that this practice (which it deprecates) does allow for some resistance to street crime.

Like much gun control propaganda, the report does not discuss the utility of guns in defending householders against political or other criminal attacks which they have reason to expect. But among over one hundred people murdered by Ku Kluxers in the 1950-65 era, I can recall only one who was armed. While his gun did not prevent that civil rights worker's death, it did lay down covering fire which allowed his wife and children to escape the Klansmen who surrounded their burning house. The shots also disabled a Klan car through which the FBI was able to trace, catch, and convict the murderers.

The Eisenhower Commission report admits that there are no comprehensive statistics on the number of lives saved by armed citizens. Its negative conclusion on the ability of armed householders to defend themselves is based on a limited study, conducted in only two cities and over two short periods of time, of the number of criminals killed by armed householders. My own study, which is national in scope and covers hundreds of incidents, shows that householders and others against whom crimes are attempted injure far more criminals than they kill, and capture without shooting far more criminals than they wound. Moreover, at least half of the incidents I studied were not cases of self-defense but a householders coming to the aid of their neighbors—an issue which the Eisenhower Commission report ignores.

The hundreds of incidents reported by the national gun magazines, culled by readers from their local newspapers, represent only the tip of an immense iceberg. The local newspapers do not publish every case of civilian self-defense reported to police, and certainly the gun magazines' readers do not check every newspaper or clip every item they see. Far more importantly, the vast majority of such instances are never reported to the police—because the near victim cannot provide an adequate description of the criminal and/or because the citizen possessed or carried his gun illegally.

One rough indication of the frequency of such incidents is the fact that hundreds of thousands of felony arrests are made each year by off-duty police. A trained officer doubtlessly is more capable of pursuing and arresting a robber or a rapist than is an ordinary person who is armed. But an off-duty officer is no more likely to encounter such a situation. Perhaps a better indicator is the apparent success of civilian firearms defense training. In 1968, after Orlando, Florida conducted a highly publicized shooting course for over 6,000 women, it became the only city with a population over 100,000 which showed a decrease in crime. Rape, aggravated assault, and burglary were reduced by 90%, 25%, and 24% respectively. After a similarly publicized program for retail merchants in Highland Park, Michigan, armed robberies dropped from a total of 80 in a four-month period to zero in the succeeding four months. In Detroit, after grocers received firearms training and shot seven robbers, the number of armed robberies dropped by almost 90%.

The Eisenhower Commission's view that crime will cease when its victims are deprived of the means of self-defense reflects the commission's privileged white intellectual membership and their elitist disregard for those who cannot afford to move to "safe" neighborhoods or the high-security apartment buildings. This constitutes the easy pacifism of those who may never need a gun for self-defense because they can obtain armed security services or special police protection whenever they need it.

A very different view is taken by underprivileged and/or minority people who lack the wealth to flee the areas in which the police have given up on crime control. They know that the only real protection they have is that which they provide themselves. Studies and surveys have repeatedly established

that blacks are the most frequent victims of crime, are most afraid of crime, and are most likely to keep and carry guns for self-defense regardless of the law. Indeed, the only in-depth study of the question concludes that even the high rate of firearms prosecution against blacks will not stop them from carrying guns for self-defense so long as ghetto areas continue to be plagued by violence.

Selectively misleading American statistics and misrepresentations of British experience have led many people in this country to believe that banning handguns would reduce violence. Guns make an easy scapegoat for problems which would otherwise be insoluble shorts of radically reshaping the mores and institutions which produce violent people. Demands for gun prohibition allow us to ignore our own unwillingness either to make the necessary fundamental changes or to accept and live with a violent society. Criminological studies both in the U.S. and in England overwhelmingly demonstrate that peaceful societies do not need handgun prohibition and violent societies will not benefit from it.

Handguns were banned in England in 1920. The only in-depth study of that prohibition, conducted at Cambridge University in 1970, concluded that it has had no ascertainable effect on violence. The prohibition was obeyed only because England was so peaceful in the 1920s that firearms were not necessary for self-defense. The Cambridge study reports that Britain has remained peaceful despite the fact "that 50 years of very strict controls on pistols has left a vast pool of illegal weapons." The study notes that although New York City's firearms controls are more stringent than England's, New York has far more violence. On the other hand, Switzerland's firearms violence rate is negligible even though it has the world's highest rate of gun possession among civilians.

A 1975 study at the University of Wisconsin concluded that "gun control laws have no individual or collective effect in reducing the rate of violent crime." This study involved a computerized comparison between each state's gun control laws and its crime data. It took into account demographic, economic, racial, and other variables relating to gun control effectiveness which could be quantified statistically.

Gun control propagandists have evaded the same conclusions of many previous studies by arguing that violence persists only because existing state prohibitions just have not been able to get rid of enough pistols. To test this theory, the Wisconsin study examined handgun ownership statistics and found no correlation between high civilian pistol ownership and violence.

Without the societal changes necessary to diminish violence, an effective handgun ban would drive people to the far more lethal long guns for self-defense or for criminal purposes. Those who wish to carry their weapons could, working for a few minutes with a hacksaw, reduce long guns to handgun size. Thus a handgun ban would make the shootings in our violent society as deadly as they are in England without reducing their incidence.

However erroneously, millions of Americans feel that they have the constitutional right to own guns or that guns are necessary for their personal security. The sign frequently displayed in their homes and stores, "They'll get my gun when they pry it from my cold, dead fingers," undoubtedly exaggerates the degree of their resistance to gun prohibition. But experience with the far more enforceable prohibitions on liquor and marijuana indicates that millions of people would be alienated by what they deem a tyrannical law, and that those who believe they can get away with it will disobey the law. British police, unhampered by the Fourth Amendment, have nevertheless been unable to stem illegal arms traffic—even with the special

search and other powers which successive gun prohibition bills have given them. The British army has been unable to enforce gun laws in Northern Ireland, even with mass street searches and random raids in homes.

In this country, even partial enforcement of a handgun prohibition would result in large numbers of snoopers and informers, "stop and frisk" laws, "no knock" searches, and other repugnant police practices. The result of such invasions of privacy would probably be the jailing of hundreds of thousands of otherwise law-abiding citizens who would react to gun prohibition with the same self-righteous spirit against tyranny that greeted liquor and marijuana prohibitions. In a free society, those who would restrict the people bear the burden of proving probable benefit. The proof would not need to be great in order to ban that which few people value deeply. But mere speculation—against the weight of the evidence—cannot justify banning that which is valued as deeply as some 40 million Americans value their handguns.

Such a ban is not desirable in itself. It would be virtually unenforceable, and would not be worth the enormous costs in civil liberties of even partial enforcement. As the Wisconsin study concludes: "If the law cannot control such highly visible criminal activity as drug traffic, gambling, and prostitution, with their continuing sales of commodities and services to the general public, then it seems unlikely that it could control the one-time sale of an item that can last for generations. The basic question is, then, are we willing to make sociological and economic investments of such a tremendous nature in a social experiment for which there is no empirical support?"

WHY HAS INDIA ESCAPED SERIOUS CRITICISM?

HON. PATRICIA SCHROEDER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Speaker, August 10, I inserted in the RECORD an article on political repression in India written by Ved Nanda, professor of international law at the University of Denver. Today I insert another article by Mr. Nanda that focuses on the West's inattentiveness to this problem:

[From the Rocky Mountain News, Apr. 4, 1976]

WHY HAS INDIA ESCAPED SERIOUS CRITICISM? (By Ved Nanda)

Why has the story of India under Indira Gandhi's dictatorship received inadequate attention in the U.S. media? Why has there been so little criticism abroad?

The future historian, writing about India, will likely be puzzled by the lack of in-depth reporting, coverage, and analysis in the Western media of events in India since the "emergency" was declared on June 26, 1975. Was it primarily due to an understandable preoccupation with events closer to home, or was it perhaps, at least in part, due to lack of proper concern with violation of civil liberties and human rights in a distant land? Was the task difficult because of the stringent press censorship in India which has completely muzzled the once lively Indian press?

All of these reasons sound fairly convincing. But they do not seem to tell the whole truth. Perhaps there are other, albeit subtle, reasons why Indira Gandhi's dictator-

ship has escaped serious criticism at the hands of those whose task it is to provide fair and accurate reporting and analysis of significant happenings around the world.

For one, the liberal U.S. media was disappointed and disheartened at the spectacle of India as a hapless giant. The government in New Delhi seemed to be falling into disarray and with each succeeding year drifting into a "functional anarchy" as John Kenneth Galbraith aptly described it.

Disenchanted with what it considered "democracy in action" in India, the U.S. media has apparently concluded that democracy as the West knew it was not suited to the conditions in India—masses of illiterate people, facing formidable economic and social problems. In the aftermath of the Vietnam debacle many questions were still unanswered and even those who firmly believed in freedom and democracy had second thoughts about its application to alien lands in Asia and Africa.

And then there was the freshly discovered Peoples Republic of China, presenting a model which was attracting increasing attention and admiration in the United States. Observers kept saying that it was hard to ignore the marked contrast between rampant corruption and mounting disorder in India and the disciplined and orderly progress in China.

As a skillful manipulator, Indira Gandhi used this situation to her utmost advantage. As Nehru's daughter and with Gandhi's name (she is no relation to India's independence leader Mohandas Gandhi), she projected the image of the protector of democracy who was "forced to destroy it in order eventually to save it." These disciplinary measures were absolutely necessary, she claimed, for the survival of India, and the impression she often gave was that they would be of limited duration.

This in part explains why the liberal U.S. media have been soft on Indira Gandhi. Since democracy had apparently failed to solve India's problems, or so the media concluded, it felt obliged to give her totalitarian measures a chance. Otherwise, given the penchant U.S. correspondents have for investigative journalism and the disregard they have consistently shown for their personal safety and security in gathering news (witness their risky ventures in the Vietnam war), there is no reason to believe they would not have exposed Indira Gandhi's ruthless suppression of the political opposition in India.

After all, India's jails are full of political prisoners whose number is reportedly between 100,000 and 200,000. In police stations and jails, prisoners have been tortured and treated inhumanely, occurrences which I personally verified during my recent visit to India last December.

The second reason has to do with what the U.S. media consider the absence of a viable opposition to Mrs. Gandhi's ruling Congress party. Only a few opposition leaders enjoy any visibility or credibility in Western eyes; none of the opposition parties have, according to most Western observers, shown a track record or even a promise of providing a fair alternative to the Congress party.

Why criticize Indira Gandhi's regime, if there is no viable alternative, would be the argument.

And finally, in a country as large and varied as India, where masses have been traditionally apathetic and the opposition was shocked and stunned by Indira Gandhi's action, the Western media found less than vocal opposition to the "emergency." Hence it did not consider events such as mass arrests newsworthy. Similarly, since protests by the opposition, and their civil disobedience and passive resistance movement were nonviolent (the underground in India has rejected the demand by some to resort to violent measures to overthrow the government) there was not much to report.

Are these reasons valid? Maybe in part, but not really.

It was not democracy that failed in India; what failed is the leadership of the ruling Congress party that has been continuously in power ever since India became independent in 1947, and Indira Gandhi and her cronies who have had a majority, often an overwhelming majority, in the parliament of India for over a decade. The leadership failed and betrayed India, and democracy did not have a chance.

To set the record straight, India has a rich tradition of democracy that goes back centuries in the form of village Panchayats. Democracy, civil liberties and human rights on the one hand, and the solution of economic and social problems which will eventually lead to an orderly society based on human dignity, are not mutually exclusive.

Also, the criticism of the political opposition in India is valid, but only up to a point. It is true that until recently the political scene in India presented a confused picture of a large number of political parties—both on the right and left of the Congress party—constantly bickering among themselves and united only in their desire to dislodge from power the Congress party.

The situation was, however, dramatically changed with the emergence of the 72-year-old leader Jayaprakash Narain, a widely revered leader and a follower and former colleague of Mohandas Gandhi. Narain brought unity to the ranks of all the centrist elements which are presently waging a united struggle against the "emergency" rule.

The non-left opposition parties including the Socialist parties and the Jan Sangh have decided to form a single political party. They have already prepared a platform for the new party. Their blueprint offers a viable alternative to the program of the Congress party. The leftist parties in India which range from Naxalites who believe in violent uprisings by labor and peasants, the Peking wing of Marxist groups, and Trotskyites, to the Moscow wing, have only a limited following and are no threat to this centrist coalition.

Finally, it is a sad commentary if the events considered worthy of reporting are only terroristic and violent acts and if non-violent and passive resistance movements are ignored because they are not sensational.

Also, why is the U.S. government silent? Should it not speak up against the violation of human rights?

The U.S. is left with very little political leverage in India. Even its aid program is at present no longer of great significance. Also, it is weary of hearing the accusation of intervention in internal affairs of foreign countries.

Is it possible that the Department of State feels more comfortable in dealing with a strong regime? As U.S. relations with the colonels in Greece, Franco's Spain and Latin American dictatorships provide some clues, it seems that the department prefers a strong dictatorship to a weak democracy because the former lends certainty and predictability to U.S. foreign relations.

Meanwhile, there are several unanswered nagging questions such as: Why did Indira Gandhi resort to such unprecedented means of political repression? What was the extent, if any, of direct or indirect Soviet participation and counsel at various stages of Mrs. Gandhi's decision making, beginning with the imposition of the "emergency" rule? Why was the opposition so easily squelched?

There are other, speculative questions. For example: What would have happened if the opposition political parties were not caught woefully unprepared for the emergency? What would have been the outcome if Indira Gandhi had resigned in response to the mounting pressure from the opposition?

Only the verdict of history will provide authentic answers to these questions.

The current situation in India calls for wider discussion of the violation of human rights. The newly formed World Committee for Human Rights in India is giving final touches to a petition which it expects to present to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights this summer. Indira Gandhi's government is sensitive to world pressures and therein lies the hope for political detainees and prisoners in India's jails.

THE FED: EXERCISE IN SELF-CONTROL

HON. STEPHEN L. NEAL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, the 12 Federal Reserve banks conduct the public's business in a variety of areas, including monetary policy, bank mergers, bank holding company activities and consumer credit. Yet, most people are only dimly aware that the boards of directors of the 12 Federal Reserve district banks are dominated by banking and big business interest.

As Chairman HENRY S. REUSS of the House Committee on Banking, Currency and Housing points out in an article in the Washington Post of August 15, 1976, other groups such as consumers, farmers, or small businessmen who have a vital stake in monetary policy and other Federal Reserve operations are barely represented. The article by Chairman REUSS, which follows, is extremely informative and I commend it to my colleagues:

THE FED: EXERCISE IN SELF-CONTROL

(By HENRY S. REUSS)

Next month, a vitally important and little-noticed election process will get under way in this country. You and I will not participate in this process. Instead, some 6,000 commercial banks that are members of the Federal Reserve System will make the determination. They will decide, by the end of 1976, who controls the nine-member boards of directors of each of the 12 Federal Reserve banks throughout the country.

When we go to the polls in November and select our next President, our new congressmen and senators and our state and local officials, each of us hopes to have some effect on the forces that rule our lives. But even as we vote, that other election process—the Federal Reserve's—will be almost complete.

And it, too, will involve policies of profound importance for each one of us.

How can this happen? It happens because the Federal Reserve banks exercise regulatory power over commercial banks—examinations, holding companies, mergers, because they exercise, through their membership on the Federal Open Market Committee, governmental power over the money supply and interest rates—and, through them jobs, prices and production; and, because they are the official agents for channeling through to Washington, in Chairman Arthur Burns' phrase, economic intelligence from the "grass roots".

The Federal Reserve System consists of three major divisions: (1) the Board of Governors, seated in Washington, having seven members appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, for 14-year terms; (2) the Federal Open Market Committee, consisting of the seven governors and five of the 12 district bank presidents

(each district bank president is selected by the directors of that bank, with Board of Governors' approval, for a five-year term); (3) the 12 Federal Reserve banks, and their branches, in 37 cities across the country.

SPECIAL INTERESTS

The "independence" of the Federal Reserve is an article of faith. Most Americans agree that the Fed should have a measure of independence—secured by long terms of office—from the President. But is it too much to ask that the Federal Reserve System enjoy as well independence from special interest groups, specifically banking and big business?

Yet it is precisely these two groups which have an unhealthy dominance within the Fed's structure. As the staff report of the House Committee on Banking, Currency and Housing, "Federal Reserve Directors: A Study of Corporate and Banking Influence," makes clear the Federal Reserve System has a built-in conflict of interest by reason of the extremely narrow spectrum of America which is represented on the boards of directors of the twelve regional banks.

[The report is scheduled for release today. It has not been officially adopted by the committee.]

In a nutshell, says the staff report, the Fed's boards of directors are dominated by banking and big business. Each of the 12 banks has nine directors, three from each of the following classes:

Class A, elected by the member banks, and consisting of bankers. Following the provision of the Federal Reserve Act that Class A directors be representative of the various sizes of banks, large, medium and small banks—perfectly reasonably—share the representation. But diversity of interest may be more apparent than real, because 30 of the 36 Class A directors have been in leadership positions in state and national bankers associations. These trade associations by their nature tend to take a monolithic position on bank issues. Banking association politics also surface in the present custom, in five of the 12 reserve districts, of making the state bankers association a sort of informal nominating committee for Federal Reserve bank directors. In these regions, the bankers' associations make the nominations, and all directors now sitting have apparently been nominated without dissent.

Class B, also elected by member banks, representing the borrowers—in the language of the Federal Reserve Act, those "actively engaged in commerce, agriculture, or some other industrial pursuit." Small businessmen and owners of family-size farms are among the more wistful borrowers in our society, but not one of the present 36 directors fits either description. The three Class B directors of the Boston Federal Reserve Bank, for example, are the president of Textron (\$2.1 billion in annual sales), the chairman of Filene's Department Store (a subsidiary of Federated Department Stores, which has annual sales of \$3.27 billion) and the president of Southern New England Telephone Co. (\$435 million annual sales). The New York Fed's Class B directors are the chairman of Texaco (\$23.3 billion annual sales), the president of Union Carbide (\$5.3 billion annual sales) and the president of J. C. Penney (\$6.9 billion annual sales). The San Francisco Fed's directors are the president of Boeing (\$3.73 billion annual sales), the president of Crown Zellerbach (\$1.7 billion annual sales) and the chairman of C. L. Peck Contractor (\$125 million sales). And so on.

Class C, the "public" directors, named by the Board of Governors. Excluded are "officers, directors, employees or stockholders of any bank," but in practice, the Federal Reserve Board's appointments reflect the same narrow concentration as the Class A and B categories. Twenty-nine of the 36 Class C directors are executives or directors of corpora-

tions, mostly large. Moreover, nine were formerly directors of banks. And one of the New York Bank's Class C directors is a partner in the New York law firm that represents First National City Corp., the nation's largest multi-bank holding company.

MISSING VOICES

As unsettling as the banking and big business concentration among the 108 Reserve bank directors is the absence, virtual or absolute, of representation of groups that ought to be included.

There are no women directors among the 108; indeed, a woman has not filled one of the 1,042 positions available since the system was set up in 1913. Family-size farms are not represented. Small business is barely visible. Only two directors are members of minority groups.

Former Federal Reserve Governor Andrew Brimmer has testified that the responsibility of the bank directors is to "foster high employment and economic growth." Yet, the 108 directors charged with the responsibility for assuring "high employment" include not one single representative of organized labor.

Chairman Burns at a hearing last March praised the directors for their detailed knowledge of "consumer psychology." And the Reserve banks enforce consumer protection laws such as truth-in-lending, equal credit opportunity and fair credit billing. Yet, not a single representative of consumer groups sits on the 12 boards.

The Federal Reserve banks exercise in the first instance the system's regulatory authority, particularly over holding companies. Yet 25 of the 108 directors serve now or formerly served as officers or directors of bank holding companies. At the Minneapolis Federal Reserve Bank, all three of the Class C "public" directors were formerly directors of First Bank System, Inc., the nation's 12th largest multi-bank holding company, or one of its affiliates.

The banking-big business domination of the Fed produces the clearest conflict of interest of all in the Federal Open Market Committee. Five of the committee's 12 members are Reserve bank presidents who must be approved for reappointment every five years by their bank-dominated directors. Yet to Washington they go every month, there to participate in the nation's vital monetary decisions.

In monetary policy, as in fiscal policy, what's good for General Motors and the banks is not necessarily good for the country. Tight money for three years, and then easy money in the year of a presidential election—the Fed's record for the last eight years—can be a formula for both inflation and recession.

Letting the Reserve bank presidents make governmental monetary policy is not only unwise, it is probably unconstitutional. The Supreme Court earlier this year held the Federal Election Commission unconstitutional because the commissioners exercised governmental power without being, under Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution, "officers of the United States" appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The five Reserve bank presidents, lacking presidential appointment and senatorial confirmation, have no more right to make decisions on money and interest rates than the federal election commissioners had to make decisions on campaign finances.

A PLAN FOR REFORM

Concentration of financial power in the United States has gone too far. The nation would be better served by making the Federal Reserve System truly independent of big business and banking, freed of its built-in conflicts of interest and more open in its activities.

Voting membership on the Federal Open Market Committee should be restricted to

officers appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

The three Class A Reserve bank "banker" directors should be prohibited from participating in decisions on bank regulatory matters.

The Class B "borrower" directors should include representation of small business, family-size farms and other non-giant borrowers. Moreover, the publicly appointed Federal Reserve Board of Governors, rather than the banker-dominated Reserve bank boards of directors, ought to appoint the Class B directors.

The Class C "public" director category should be expanded from three to six members, and the overemphasis on big business and banking lessened, by representation for women, minorities, consumers and labor. A provision to achieve this is contained in the Federal Reserve Reform Act, which passed the House last May and has been favorably reported by the Senate Banking Committee.

WOMEN'S EQUALITY DAY

HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Ms. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, this year, as in the past few years, the President has proclaimed August 26, 1976, Women's Equality Day. This action was taken before the Congress acted on my resolution: H. Res. 996 which called for a joint resolution of Congress to designate Women's Equality Day. I would like to submit a list of Representatives who joined in cosponsoring my resolution.

For the past 6 years, August 26, the anniversary of the ratification of the 19th amendment, which gave women the right to vote, has been a day of celebration and commemoration for women all over America. On this day women have joined together to evaluate their progress and formulate their goals for the coming year. It is also a day when both men and women can learn more about the problems facing women in our society.

In our Bicentennial Year, when the historical consciousness of our Nation has become increasingly emphasized, it is especially important for the contributions of women in all areas to be recognized. This chapter of our Nation's history is conspicuously missing from our textbooks. The achievements and the sacrifices American women have made throughout our history have too long been ignored. We must hold up women of distinction as examples to be emulated rather than quietly forgotten.

We fully recognize that the mere declaration of a commemorative day has little practical impact on the situation facing women today. Though there has been much progress, there are still many problems of pressing importance which must be resolved. Women remain the object of job discrimination, which has resulted in the high unemployment rate among women. There is still a lack of adequate child-care facilities for working mothers and women continue to be discriminated against in the areas of

credit availability and professional recognition. These are only a few of the areas where our struggle must continue. But we must especially strive to obliterate those attitudes within our society which have allowed and perpetuated the inequitable situation that exists today. This is truly our greatest challenge.

The purpose of Women's Equality Day is to set aside a day in the year on which we recognize and celebrate the progress American women have made toward social and political equality. But it is also a day when we can reconfirm our national commitment to full and true equality for all women throughout our society.

I applaud President Ford for his proclamation of Women's Equality Day this year. However, I hope in the future Women's Equality Day will become a national holiday. It will then become a permanent part of our calendar and so will demonstrate our continual dedication to achieving complete equality for women.

The following Members are cosponsoring my resolution:

WOMEN'S EQUALITY DAY COSPONSORS

Abzug, Allen, Ashley, AuCoin, Badillo, Baldus, Beard, Bedell, Bell, Bergland, Bingham, Blanchard Blouin, Boggs, Boland, Brademas.

Brodhead, Brown, Calif., Buchanan, Burke, Calif., Burke, Mass., Burton, Phillip, Chisholm, Clay, Cleveland, Cohen, Collins, Ill., Conte, Conyers, Corman, Cotter, Daniels, N.J., Dellums, Diggs, Dodd, Downey, N.Y., Drinan, du Point, Edwards, Calif., Ellberg, Fascell, Fenwick, Flood, Ford, Tenn., Fraser, Frenzel, Gibbons, Green, Gude, Hamilton, Hannaford, Harrington, Harris, Hawkins, Heckler, Mass.

Helms, Helstoski, Hicks, Hinshaw, Holtzman, Horton, Howard, Hughes, Jeffords, Jones, N.C., Jordan, Kastenmeier, Kemp, Krebs, Keys, Koch, Leggett, Lehman, Long, Md., McClory, McCormack, McFall, McHugh, Madden, Mann, Matsunaga, Mazzoli, Meeds, Melcher, Metcalfe.

Meyner, Mikva, Miller, Calif., Mineta, Mink, Mitchell, Md., Moakley, Moffett, Moorhead, Pa., Moss, Murphy, Ill., Murphy, N.Y., Nix, Nowak, O'Neill, Patten, N.J., Patterson, Calif., Pattison, N.Y., Pepper, Pettis, Peyser, Pickle, Preyer, Rangel, Rees, Richmond.

Riegle, Rodino, Roe, Roncalio, Rooney, Rose, Rosenthal, Roybal, Ruppe, Sarbanes, Scheuer, Schroder, Seiberling, Simon, Smith, Iowa, Solarz, Spellman, Stanton, James V., Stark, Steelman, Stokes, Stratton, Symington, Tsongas, Udall, Vander Veen, Walsh, Waxman, White, Wilson, C. H., Wilson, Tex., Wirth, Wolff, Yates, Yatron, Zeferetli.

TERRORISM OF PLO—EQUATING ZIONISM WITH RACISM

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, there recently came to my attention an article, written by Ms. Lorraine Nicholas, which discusses the United Nations failure to condemn the terrorism of the PLO, while at the same time it adopts a resolution equating Zionism with racism. The article represents the views of a Chris-

tian who lived for a time in Israel. I found it extremely worthwhile, and I would like to share Ms. Nicholas' article with my colleagues:

TERRORISM OF PLO—EQUATING ZIONISM WITH RACISM

(By Lorraine Nicholas)

As a Christian who has lived and studied in Israel I can no longer remain silent concerning recent actions taken by the United Nations. These vicious attempts to degrade a constructive movement and dirty Israel in the eyes of the world are not even worthy of an attempt on my part to defend any actions taken by Israel of Zionism. I rather seek to enlighten others as to the other side of the coin which cannot be ignored, Arab actions.

During October, 1974 terrorists suddenly became respectable and worthy of diplomatic honors. The PLO is directly responsible for the loss of several American lives including U.S. Ambassador Cleo Noel. The ultimate objective of the PLO is the destruction of a member state of the United Nations through violence and armed force. The self-conferred title of "Liberation Organization" is misleading. Liberation movements use violence against military and political targets and operate solely within the territory they seek to liberate. The PLO does neither but chooses innocent women and children as its victims such as in the terrible massacres at Maalot and Qiryat Shemonah in 1974. Most PLO activities are conducted outside Israel. In 1972 eleven Israeli athletes were murdered at the Olympic Games in Munich. In 1970 a Swiss-air jet exploded in midair and killed forty seven—a fete proudly claimed by the PLO. Other massacres have occurred in Roman and Greek airports.

This new prestige given international murderers was only the beginning of a series of poisonous resolutions and attacks aimed at Israel. A few months later UNESCO voted to withhold funds from Israel because of alleged negligence concerning historical sites. Where was UNESCO or an arm of the UN during the years before 1967 when half of Jerusalem was under Jordanian occupation? At Al-Hazariya Jewish tombstones were used to construct barracks for the Jordanian army. The centuries old Jewish Quarter was nearly destroyed and only years of hard, painstaking work promises its restoration.

In November, 1975 the UN General Assembly approved a resolution equating Zionism with racism, the logic of which eludes me completely. Racism is discrimination or persecution based on racialism, a feeling of racial antagonism, due to beliefs of racial superiority or purity. Zionism is the movement of the Jewish people to return to their ancient homeland and rebuild the Jewish state of Israel. There is no connection between the two whatsoever. If Zionism is racism then any state born of nationalism is also racist, including the Palestinian state Arafat hope for in what is now Israel. It is only my understanding of the fact that this evil resolution was pushed through the Assembly by the Arab-Soviet bloc that I can understand how it was passed.

Last month (June, 1976) the UN Human Settlements Conference reaffirmed this resolution. But how easily the world forgets! The typical low grade Arab propaganda constantly reminds us of the state of Palestinian refugees. This situation is deplorable, a condition to which any Israeli would readily admit. But who reminds the world of the 600,000 Jews in Arab lands who were forced to flee with the birth of the State in light of impending persecution at the hands of Arab governments? I must not neglect to mention the active support and open collaboration given Hitler by the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj el Amin Hussein, in the "final solution."

On his return from exile in Algeria, Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver named Moslems as among the world's worst racists. History verifies this. In February, 1970 Muammer Qaddafi of Libya confiscated all Jewish property and forced homeless Jews into special camps. The outbreak of the Six Day War in June, 1967 resulted in mass arrests of Jews in Egypt as well as confiscation of their property. It was only the direct intercession of Spain, Italy and France which prompted the release of 110 of them. In June, 1969, Iraq publicly hung nineteen Jews in a Baghdad square. Public radio called upon the population to witness the event. Almost a half million appeared to chant "Death to Israel" and dance past the scaffold. The world's outcry to the spectacle was brushed aside as "the barking of dogs" by President Bakr.

Arab racism is by no means limited to Jews. The majority of the Italian population of Libya was expelled in 1969 in an effort to purge the land of "infidels." In 1962 Syria forcibly removed its Kurdish population from the Jezrieh region. Half were stripped of their citizenship. Persecution is still continued by Iraq who repeatedly attacks Kurdish villages despite government guarantees of autonomy. Since 1956 approximately 500,000 Black Sudanese have been murdered by their fellow Moslem Sudanese to the North. The Sudan closed the South to the outside world and refused foreign reporters. Fortunately, several hundred thousand of the oppressed were able to flee to neighboring countries.

Most recently, the Organization of African Unity had the audacity to charge Israel's rescue operation at Entebbe Airport as a "flagrant violation of Uganda's sovereignty." This came despite the mounting evidence showing Adl Amin's lack of action in freeing the hostages and his possible open collaboration with the terrorists. Luckily, these charges died but they did so along with a U.S.-British sponsored resolution condemning airline hijackings. Perhaps only when more countries are affected in the same manner, through random violence, murder and terror by obscure nationalist movements will such a resolution pass. By then it may be too late.

I am not surprised by the UN's lack of action. Its failure to settle disputes is well known as in the cases of Vietnam, Ireland, the Spanish Sahara and Cyprus. So why does the rest of the world not speak out against terrorism and the like? Could it be the pressure of Arab oil and petrodollars which causes us to be silent? The present Civil War in Lebanon has taken the lives of thousands of Christians and Moslems. Recent reports tell of the financing of a world wide terrorist ring by Libyan President Muammer Qaddafi. Why does our international peace keeping body, the "last, best hope of man" not speak out on these events instead of passing judgments on Jewish ideologies and Israeli policies?

MUNICIPAL SECURITIES DISCLOSURE

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to amend the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 to upgrade the quality and uniformity of financial and other information concerning State and local issuers.

Since 1933 municipal securities have been exempt from the disclosure requirement applicable under the Federal securities laws to other publically held securities.

The reasons for this original exemption are not clear, but presumably they are related to the relatively few instances of misrepresentation or fraud on behalf of municipalities. In addition, at the time the Securities Act of 1933 was enacted, most investors in municipal securities were sophisticated institutions who were able to fend for themselves.

Today, of course, the original reasons for the exemption have become less valid. The financial condition of many of our municipalities has become weakened, through a number of causes such as the erosion of the tax base and fiscal mismanagement. This fact, coupled with the increasingly large proportion of municipal debt that has been sold to individuals of small and moderate means, requires some action on the part of Congress to require full disclosure of the financial condition of municipal issuers in order to protect public investors and to rekindle their confidence in the integrity of this most important sector of our Nation's securities markets.

Briefly, the bill I am introducing today would not require registration under the 1933 act for any State or municipal issue, but, rather would require that any State or municipality with aggregate outstanding securities exceeding \$50,000,000: First, file annual reports with the Commission, containing, among other things, certified financial statements, pursuant to accounting standards to be established by the Commission; and second, disseminate with each offer of securities exceeding \$5,000,000 a distribution statement containing, to the extent possible, the kind of information to be required in the annual report.

This bill, I recognize, may not resolve all of the difficult questions which will be raised during the deliberative process. However, I am confident that it will serve as a vehicle for the development of legislation which will ultimately insure full and fair disclosure of municipal offerings, on terms and conditions acceptable to the issuer, the underwriter, and the investor.

A copy of the bill to which I refer follows:

H.R. 15205

A bill to amend the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 to require the preparation of annual reports and distribution statements by issuers of municipal securities, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Municipal Securities Full Disclosure Act of 1976".

SEC. 2. (a) Section 3(a)(12) of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 is amended by inserting "13A," immediately after the phrase "for the purposes of sections".

(b) Section 3(a)(10) of such Act is amended by inserting "guarantee of," immediately after "receipt for,".

(c) Section 12(h) of such Act is amended by inserting "13A," immediately after "section 13,".

(d) Section 15B(d)(1) of such Act is amended by striking out "Neither the Commission nor the Board is" and inserting in lieu thereof "The Board is not", and by striking out "with the Commission or the Board" and inserting in lieu thereof "with the Board".

(e) Such Act is further amended by in-

serting after section 13 the following new section:

"MUNICIPAL SECURITIES DISCLOSURE

"Sec. 13A. (a) (1) Any issuer of municipal securities which has outstanding during any portion of a fiscal year an aggregate principal amount of municipal securities exceeding \$50,000,000 shall prepare for such fiscal year an annual report and reports of events of default in accordance with such rules and regulations as the Commission may prescribe as being necessary or appropriate in the public interest or for the protection of investors.

"(2) The annual report required by paragraph (1) shall contain the following information, if applicable:

"(A) An identification and description of the issuer of the securities outstanding;

"(B) A description of any legal limitation on the incurrence of indebtedness by the issuer or the taxing authority of the issuer;

"(C) A description of the issuer's debt structure, including information with respect to amounts of authorized and outstanding funded debt; estimated amount of short term debt, character of amortization provisions of funded debt, sinking fund requirements, security for debt, nature and extent of guaranteed debt, and debt service requirements;

"(D) A description of the nature and extent of other material contingent liabilities or commitments of the issuer;

"(E) If any payment of principal or interest on any security of the issuer or any predecessor thereof has been defaulted on, or has been postponed or delayed, within the past twenty years, a description of the date, amounts and circumstances of such event and of the terms of any succeeding arrangements thereof;

"(F) A description of the issuer's tax authority and structure over the past five years including the nature of taxes levied, tax rates, property (real and personal) valuation and assessment procedures, amounts of property valuations and assessments, amounts of tax levies, amounts of tax collections and delinquent tax procedures and experience;

"(G) A description of the issuer's major taxpayers;

"(H) A description of the principal governmental and other services provided or performed by the issuer, the extent to which similar or differing services are performed by other governmental entities which serve the same geographic area and any major changes in such services in the last ten years;

"(I) A description of the nature and extent of Federal or other assistance programs available to the issuer; and

"(J) Financial statements of the issuer in such detail and form and for such periods beginning not earlier than the fifth previous fiscal year as the Commission may prescribe, which statements for any fiscal year commencing on or after December 31, 1978, shall be audited and reported on by an independent public or certified accountant in such manner as the Commission may prescribe.

"(3) The reports of events of default referred to in paragraph (1) shall contain such of the information required by paragraph (2) as the Commission may by rule or regulation prescribe.

"(4) The reports required by paragraph (1) shall, in addition, contain such other similar and specific information as the Commission may by rule or regulation prescribe as being necessary or appropriate in the public interest or for the protection of investors.

"(b) (1) Except as provided in subsection (c), any issuer that offers or sells an issue of municipal securities, the aggregate principal amount of which exceeds \$5,000,000, to or through a municipal securities broker, municipal securities dealer, or bank acting as

agent, shall, prior to such offer or sale, prepare a distribution statement in accordance with such rules and regulations as the Commission may prescribe as being necessary or appropriate in the public interest or for the protection of investors.

"(2) The distribution statement required by paragraph (1) shall contain such of the information pertaining to the issuer required by subsection (a) (2) as the Commission may by rule or regulation prescribe, and the following:

"(A) A description of the offering, including amount to be offered, price, plan of distribution, and underwriting arrangements and compensation;

"(B) A description of the security to be offered, including provisions as to security, events of default, payment of principal and interest, sinking fund, redemption, debt reserve funds, priority, legality and authorization for issue and rights of security holders to bring suit against issuers;

"(C) A description of any project or enterprise of the issuer to be financed from the proceeds of revenue or special assessment securities, and any engineering or financial feasibility reports or studies on the construction and operations of the project or enterprise;

"(D) A description of the intended use of the proceeds of the offering;

"(E) A statement of counsel's opinion as to the legality of the issuance of the securities to be offered;

"(F) A statement of the availability of the reports required by this section; and

"(G) Such other similar and specific information as the Commission may by rules or regulations require as necessary or appropriate in the public interest or for the protection of investors;

except that, prior to any sale, the information specified in subparagraphs (A), (B), and (E) may be set forth in preliminary form.

"(c) The provisions of subsection (b) shall not apply to an issuer solely by reason of an offer or sale of municipal securities—

"(1) the disclosure with respect to which has been approved, after hearing, as adequate for the protection of investors by a State governmental authority (other than the issuer) expressly authorized by law to grant such approval, or

"(2) which would meet the criteria set forth in sections 3(a)(9), 3(a)(10), 4(1), 4(2), 4(3), or 4(4) of the Securities Act of 1933 if such offer or sale were not within the scope of section 3(a)(2) thereof.

"(d) The Commission may from time to time by its rules and regulations, and subject to such terms and conditions as may be prescribed therein, change the minimum amounts set forth in subsections (a)(1) and (b)(1) if, giving due regard to such factors as general economic conditions, costs involved, and the nature of the distribution system for municipal securities, such change is deemed to be appropriate in the public interest.

"(e) The Commission may prescribe, in regard to reports and distribution statements made pursuant to this section, the form or forms in which the required information, including the financial statements, shall be set forth, and the accounting methods to be followed in the preparation of financial statements.

"(f) (1) The issuer shall make the reports required by subsection (a)(1) of this section available upon request to security holders at the issuer's expense and to others at their expense and shall give appropriate public notice of such availability.

"(2) The issuer shall make the distribution statement required by subsection (b)(1) of this section available to municipal securities brokers, municipal securities

dealers, and banks acting as agent for delivery to prospective purchasers in accordance with such rules and regulations as the Commission may prescribe as necessary or appropriate in the public interest or for the protection of investors.

"(3) The reports and distribution statements required by this section shall also be maintained by the issuer at a designated location for examination by the public in accordance with such rules and regulations as the Commission may prescribe as necessary or appropriate in the public interest or for the protection of investors. The Commission may also contract to establish a central repository which shall receive and maintain such reports, and may require the contractor to adhere to such rules and regulations as the Commission may prescribe in furtherance of the purposes of this section. Each person subject to the requirements of this section shall, upon the establishment of any such repository, thereafter file copies of reports and distribution statements required to be prepared by this section with the repository in accordance with such rules and regulations as the Commission finds are necessary or appropriate in the public interest.

"(g) In no event shall any underwriter of an issue of municipal securities (unless such underwriter shall have knowingly received from the issuer for acting as an underwriter some benefit, directly or indirectly, in which all other underwriters similarly situated did not share in proportion to their respective interests in the underwriting) be liable in, or as a consequence of, any suit for damages in excess of the total price at which the issue was sold by it to the public."

Sec. 3. The amendments made by section 2 take effect on January 1, 1977.

**SUPPLEMENTAL SECURITY INCOME
PASS THROUGH**

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. O'NEILL) and I plan to offer an amendment to H.R. 8911, the Supplemental Security Income Amendments of 1976, expected to reach the House floor on Wednesday of this week.

Our amendment will insure that nearly 1 million elderly, blind, and disabled recipients of Supplemental Security Income (SSI), who have been denied cost-of-living increases in the past, will receive those increases in the future.

Our amendment, known as the pass through amendment, affects those recipients who receive a State supplemental payment in addition to their SSI benefit. This year, because a majority of the States chose to reduce the size of their State supplement payments by the amount of the increase in Federal payments, close to 1 million SSI recipients received no increase in benefits at all. Those poor enough to require a supplement to SSI benefits were kept at the same level, not compensated for the escalating cost of living around them.

Mr. Speaker, our amendment corrects this flaw in the SSI law. The proposal requires States to pass cost-of-living in-

creases through their supplement programs and onto recipients. We do not obligate States to spend more for their supplement programs and we protect them against increased expenditures that could potentially be incurred from a pass through. Our amendment simply prevents States from saving Federal cost-of-living increases in the future by keeping them from recipients of State supplements. In those States affected by the hold harmless provisions of the 1973 SSI Act, our amendment also prevents the Federal Government from cutting back its supplemental payments.

We don't feel that Congress intended States to save Federal cost-of-living increases we voted for the poor. I urge my colleagues to give careful consideration to this proposal and give it support on Wednesday.

In addition, I would like to share a sampling of letters I have received from individuals and advocacy groups in my own State of Minnesota which demonstrates of what grave concern this is to the poor. Undoubtedly my colleagues have constituents in similar circumstances.

The letters follow:

AUGUST 6, 1976.

DEAR MR. FRASER: Needless to say that as an elderly citizen I certainly hope your bill coming up soon, will pass.

In discussing this bill with other elderly citizens, some on SSI, I find they are confused and bewildered that they are given a raise and then have some taken away. The ones getting SSI of course are at the bottom of the totem pole in finances anyway so why pick on them. I do not understand that way of thinking. Even if they had to take away some from somebody—why for goodness sakes the ones at the very bottom.

Naturally I wish to thank you for your concern whether the bill passes or not. It's like a breath of fresh air. I think I speak for my group and many of your constituents.

Thank you,

BARBARA CARLTON.

MINNESOTA RECIPIENTS ALLIANCE,
Minneapolis, Minn., August 9, 1976.

HON. DONALD M. FRASER,
Congressman, State of Minnesota,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FRASER: Our organization is gravely concerned over the plight of Minnesota citizens who are unable to maintain the most minimal standard of living due to the fact that Minnesota does not pass along increases in Supplemental Security Income programs to those citizens who are supplemented from public assistance funds.

We believe the states should be mandated to pass on increases in this program. We therefore strongly endorse pending legislation which would provide for the mandatory pass through of increases in Supplemental Security Income.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

JOAN GUERNSEY,
State Coordinator,
Minnesota Recipients Alliance.

STATE OF MINNESOTA,
House of Representatives, August 3, 1976.
HON. DONALD M. FRASER,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FRASER: I'm pleased to hear that you are offering an amendment to

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the Social Security Act which is presently being considered in Congress which would provide the requirement that states pass along federal benefits to the recipients in their states.

I authorized legislation during the last session to try to provide that no one receiving the Minnesota supplement would receive less than the federal government was providing through cost-of-living increases. Unfortunately, this legislation did not pass. It did pass the Senate and passed one committee in the House. Unfortunately, time did not permit it to receive final hearing before the House Appropriations Committee in 1976.

I have been working with many citizen groups who are concerned about what the policies of the state and federal government do to some of the poorest people who are receiving this type of government assistance. While we do intend to reintroduce legislation in the 1977 session, it would certainly be helpful if action could be taken at a federal level.

If I can be of any further assistance to you in regard to this matter, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely,

LINDA L. BERGLIN,
State Representative.

CATHOLIC CHARITIES OF THE ARCH-
DIOCESE, OF ST. PAUL AND MIN-
NEAPOLIS,

Minneapolis, St. Paul, Minn., August 5, 1976.
Representative DONALD M. FRASER,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FRASER: We are writing in strong support of your activity in Congress to enact "pass-through" legislation beneficial to the aged, handicapped, and others benefiting from public programs.

It seems inconceivable to us that legislation passed to benefit the poorest of our society, can work to the disadvantage of a segment of that population. "Real" increases in spendable incomes are what is needed to maintain a dignified state of existence for our citizens.

We applaud your continued efforts to work for justice and the dignity of our less fortunate citizens.

Sincerely,

RICHARD A. FLESHER,
SUSAN J. CARTER,
Program for Aging.

THE TESTIMONY OF WENDELL
WILKIE GUNN BEFORE THE RE-
PUBLICAN PLATFORM COMMIT-
TEE ON BEHALF OF BLACK AMER-
ICANS

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, the lead editorial of the Washington Post today, states very perceptively that:

Economic growth makes it possible for the newcomers to move up the ladder without pushing down the people who got there before them. Education has been, for most people, the surest route up into the middle classes, and it was economic growth that made possible the past generation's massive expansion of this country's school and university systems. If productivity ceases to improve over the coming years, a lot of other things in this country will also cease to improve—and one of them is equality of opportunity.

This case was most eloquently stated by Mr. Wendell Wilkie Gunn before the Republican Platform Committee on August 10. Mr. Gunn points out that taxes and other burdens placed on people by government are as detrimental to the success of black Americans, as was discrimination. Mr. Gunn says that black Americans do not wish to see the value of their civil rights victories diminished by having "the tax of discrimination" replaced by the increasing burden of other forms of taxation. After fighting for the right to buy a ticket on the train of economic growth, as black Americans to come aboard, they want to see the train moving again. And so do I, Mr. Speaker, for black, indeed all Americans.

Mr. Gunn points out that income redistribution is not economic growth and will not get the train of economic progress moving. He also points out that increased government spending and monetary expansion "are only useful as tools for income redistribution, not real economic growth." He emphasizes that—

The only way for the government to induce real growth of the private economy is by lifting from the private economy those burdens placed on it by the government itself.

Mr. Speaker, the 132 cosponsors of the Jobs Creation Act have long realized that the burdens placed by government on the private economy reduce social mobility and economic progress. The Jobs Creation Act is the concept behind legislation that must be enacted to get the train of progress moving again for all Americans, in the name of equity and opportunity.

I strongly recommend Mr. Gunn's eloquent testimony to all Members of Congress. His testimony follows.

TESTIMONY OF WENDELL WILKIE GUNN,
BEFORE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM COMMITTEE,
AUGUST 10, 1976

I am Wendell Wilkie Gunn, private citizen, of Morristown, New Jersey. My name might suggest that I am a life-long Republican. In fact, however, I am a life-long liberal Democrat who, only in recent years, has turned Independent.

I was born in 1942 in Tuscumbia, Alabama. My father was a laborer and an officer in a Black local of a metalworkers' union. I earned a degree in chemistry at nearby Florence State University where, in 1963, I was admitted by Federal court order over the protest of the Alabama State Board of Education. I subsequently earned a Master of Business Administration degree at the University of Chicago and am now employed at a New York bank.

The purpose of my testimony today is not to trace my political and economic pilgrimage from an Alabama farm to a New York bank. Rather, it is to present a personal perspective on where Black America has been in my lifetime, where it is today, and where it can go with the assistance of this distinguished Committee.

From my personal vantage point, clearly the most significant occurrence of our generation was that of the riots and subsequent demonstrations of the mid-1960's, beginning in the Watts section of Los Angeles. The significance of these upheavals is that they brought about a marked change in the human chemistry of all of America, both Black and White. They revealed a change in the perception of Blacks by themselves. And they initiated a change in the perception of Blacks by Whites. Prior to the riots, many

Blacks lived under poor economic conditions compared to their neighbors across the tracks and felt powerless to do anything about it. White attitudes were characterized by such often-expressed remarks as: "Blacks live that way because they want to," and "They are happy with their condition."

Then came the dramatic surge of economic growth and prosperity of the mid-1960's. Black America stood on the roadside and watched White America reap the benefits of an affluent society while only minimal improvement occurred in their own situation, due to widespread discriminatory practices.

As a result of the riots, which spread in rapid succession across the towns and cities of America, White America came to realize that Blacks were not at all happy with their condition and that change was necessary. At the same time, Blacks—feeling a new surge of political and economic influence—no longer felt powerless to fight the discriminatory practices that held them back.

At first, White America may have misread the significance of these riots, viewing as a Black demand for an immediate equal share in the wealth of America. But the truth is that this was an insistence on full access to the promise of America. The society was levying a tax on Blacks that was not being levied on Whites. The rebellions of the 1960's, to a significant degree, brought about the repeal of this unjust system of taxation.

From the beginning of recorded history, there have been two fundamental economic impulses in political deliberations. One is society's striving for economic growth and well-being. The other is the pressure for the transferral of prosperity and well-being from those who have to those who have not. It should come as no surprise to anyone that prior to the lifting of the burdensome tax of discrimination, Black Americans, in great numbers, gravitated toward those political forces which promised a forced dividing of the wealth of America. However, since that tax has been lessened, some important—though I fear unnoticed—changes have occurred. Now Black Americans, again in large numbers, have acquired a larger interest in that other fundamental impulse, that of striving for economic growth.

At the present moment, the problem facing all of us is finding methods of achieving that growth. Senator Hubert Humphrey has aptly pointed out that the civil-rights movement has shifted from the political arena to the economic arena, that "Blacks are crushed in a recession." He further says, and I agree, that if the private sector cannot supply the necessary growth, the government should be the employer of last resort. However, my difference with Senator Humphrey, and with liberal Democrats in general, is crucial. That difference is my chief reason for traveling to Kansas City to address this Republican committee.

Liberal Democrats believe that the way to achieve growth in the private economy is by stimulating the economy through government expenditures and monetary expansion. But such policies are only useful as tools for income redistribution, not real economic growth.

The only way for the government to induce real growth of the private economy is by lifting from the private economy those burdens placed on it by the government itself.

I have no doubt that the lessening of the burden of racial discrimination is the force that has led to an increase in the incentive of Black Americans to produce. It has therefore caused a natural alignment of the basic objectives of Black and White Americans. In other words, the more Black Americans succeed in alleviating the peculiarly

black tax of discrimination, the more energy and attention we can direct toward those burdens of government that fall on all Americans.

The notion of reducing the burden of government on the private economy has been long embraced by the Republican Party. It is evident to me, however, that the Republican Party has not perceived the important changes that I have just discussed. Hence, the Party does not realize the potential level of support that it has in the Black community.

The Republican Party has a case and is not making it!

Yes, we do have high unemployment. Yes, we do need a jobs program. I am aware of two legislative proposals that address this problem. One is the Humphrey-Hawkins "Full Employment Act," based on the aforementioned belief that economic growth can be achieved through increased government expenditures and monetary expansion. The other is the Kemp-McClure "Jobs Creation Act." While the details of the Kemp-McClure bill are not precisely what I would have come up with, the bill's approach is completely consistent with my firm belief that growth of the private economy can only be achieved by lessening the burden of government. Its specific thrust is to reduce the burden of taxation on businesses and individuals, including indexation of the graduated personal income tax schedule.

The boldness of its approach is worthy of the Republican Party, and I am surprised that it has received so little consideration by the Party's senior officials, including President Ford. The thrust of the Kemp-McClure bill in a more simplified form is the specific item that I recommend for inclusion in the Republican Party platform.

This form of relief from direct taxation, along with other forms of relief from indirect taxation, would find a high degree of receptivity among Black Americans as well as White Americans. This is the case that the Republican Party should be making.

Because Black workers who have been laid off, like White workers who have been laid off, have an interest in a return to profitability by their employers.

Because Black workers, like White workers, are discouraged at seeing the fruits of their labor eroded by inflation and at having their incomes pushed by inflation alone into higher tax brackets, thereby reducing their real incomes.

Because Black entrepreneurs, like White entrepreneurs, are crushed by burdens of paperwork and expensive technical assistance imposed by unnecessary government regulation.

Because Black teenagers, like White teenagers, could and would find work at two dollars per hour, but are prohibited by law from doing so.

It is no mere coincidence that the dramatic growth and prosperity of the mid-1960's followed closely behind the sharp cuts in the corporate and personal income-tax rates initiated during the Kennedy Administration. Since then, Black Americans have expended tremendous amounts of energy and blood fighting the tax of discrimination in order to achieve full participation in that prosperity. We do not wish to see the value of our victories diminished by having the tax of discrimination replaced by the increasing burden of other forms of taxation. We saw the train moving and fought for the right to buy a ticket. Now, as we come aboard, we want to see the train moving again.

If this Republican National Convention would draft a bold proposal to get that train moving, and make a genuine effort to sell its

case, it would receive far more support from Black Americans than anyone here imagines.

SENIOR CITIZENS ABLE TO WORK FAR BEYOND 65TH BIRTHDAY

HON. H. JOHN HEINZ III

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. HEINZ. Mr. Speaker, many of our senior citizens are willing and able to work far beyond their 65th birthday. But they are often confronted by mandatory retirement rules and age discrimination which forcibly idle thousands of our best and most experienced workers. One unique solution to this problem is described in the following article in *The Wall Street Journal*, which I commend to my colleagues' attention:

[From the *Wall Street Journal*,
August 9, 1976]

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES BEAT YOUTH BIAS, HELP
HARD-PRESSED RETIREES FIND WORK

(By Joan Libman)

When a person reaches age 78, one thing seems certain: It is very tough to get a job.

But with unusually little frustration, 78-year-old Joseph Schwarz recently found a job he likes at Stanford Research Institute, Menlo Park, Calif. A retired director of training and development for Ampex Corp., Mr. Schwarz works at the Institute two days a week checking references of applicants seeking technical positions.

Stanford Research says it didn't have any reservations about hiring Mr. Schwarz. Indeed, it retired its last reference checker at the age of 88. The Institute once hired students for the job. "But they were always leaving," says Harriet Wherry, supervisor of staff relations and recruiting. She says the older people make excellent workers, and that Mr. Schwarz has more energy than she does. For his part, Mr. Schwarz says he likes a full day's work because "keeping busy is the only way to longevity."

Mr. Schwarz found his job through Retirement Jobs Inc. of nearby Palo Alto, one of about 70 private, non-profit community referral agencies across the nation that specialize in placing old workers. These unusual groups charge nothing to either employer or job-seeker and rely heavily on volunteer labor. They are experiencing growing demand for their services.

I KNEW THEY WERE LYING

At a time when older workers often encounter endless discrimination and disappointments in seeking work, these specialized referral services are finding jobs for thousands of elderly citizens—jobs that many desperately need. A few years ago, for instance, when Floyd Thompson was age 60, his plant closed and he lost his job. In four months, the California machinist drove hundreds of miles seeking work, answered newspaper advertisements and registered with public as well as private employment agencies.

"Pretty soon, after I put in so many applications and didn't hear anything, I knew none of them was going to call me," Mr. Thompson recalls. "I knew they were lying to me, but I didn't know why. Finally, one man told me. He said, 'You're too old.' Discrimination is against the law, but it's frustrating because you can't prove it."

But Mr. Thompson also turned to Retire-

ment Jobs Inc. and found a part-time machinist job at Storm Products Co., Palo Alto, that pays \$55 a week. This provides the income he and his wife need to supplement their \$426 monthly Social Security income. "Without the \$55 a week, we couldn't get by," he says.

According to the Social Security Administration, about 9.5 million Americans over age 62, like Thompsons haven't any retirement pension income other than Social Security checks. Though these payments rise periodically to reflect inflation, the adjustments lag many months behind the price retirees still find they can't make ends meet.

Even people who own their own home and have paid for it just can't get by," says Gladys Sprinkle, director of Over 60 Counseling and Employment Service, a Chevy Chase, Md., referral agency. Besides people of "normal retirement age," there is a large group of older people forced during the recession into early retirement they never expected. They often find their reduced income doesn't pay the bills.

These hard-pressed retirees and older workers increasingly use the job referral services. Retirement Jobs says its 12 offices spread through Northern California interviewed a total of 5,400 applicants in the first six months this year, up from 3,400 job seekers in all of 1975. Other agencies like We Help Elders Establish Employment (WHEEE) in New Haven, Conn., and Golden Age Employment Service in Atlanta, also report increases in requests for help.

Sometimes applicants are seeking work after years of retirement. In Chevy Chase, Robert Bailey has started hunting for work at the age of 82. Back in 1954, at the age of 60, Mr. Bailey retired from his job as a map analyst for the U.S. Army. He then worked eight years as a full-time maintenance supervisor and subsequently worked another four years part-time in a bookkeeping office. He says that since the age of 72, he has been "taking it easy."

LOOKING FOR WORK AT AGE EIGHTY-TWO

But Mr. Bailey's wife died a few years ago after a long illness that involved large expenditures. Mr. Bailey says he had promised his wife he would care for her ailing sister, whom he now supports. He thus finds that with his high medical bills, his \$800 monthly retirement income isn't enough, and he has had to turn to his son, a teacher, for help. But Mr. Bailey who lives frugally, doesn't complain about looking for work at age 82. "I have a sound mind and an able body, and I feel I should be putting it to good use," he says.

More commonly, applicants simply find they are strapped by normal expenses, including property taxes. V. B. Copenhaver, a 66-year-old Atlanta job-seeker, and his wife, receive a monthly Social Security check of \$474—but they pay \$100 a month alone in taxes on their home. Mr. Copenhaver, who suffered a stroke a year and a half ago and had to give up his home remodeling business, says he answered several newspaper job advertisements only to be told employers wanted a younger man. He is currently looking for work through Golden Age Employment Services in Atlanta.

The referral services that help these older workers are mainly economy-minded, low-budget operations. Retirement Jobs Inc., which is typical, relies entirely on contributions from foundations, corporations, community groups and others. Though it says it expects to make 10,000 placements this year, its 1976 budget for all 12 offices is only \$100,000—or \$10 per placement.

The agency finds potential employers through community relations work, publicity

and a newsletter. Besides using volunteers, it practices its philosophy by hiring older people. (They work part-time for \$230 a month because earning more would reduce Social Security payments.)

Today, the manager of the sparsely furnished Palo Alto office is 70-year-old Alyce West, a white-haired former executive director of a local American Cancer Society unit. The assistant office manager—whom Mrs. West sometimes refers to as "junior"—is 67-year-old Joseph Himes, a retired contract administrator for Lockheed Aircraft Corp.

On a typical summer day, Mr. Himes answers a call from a local woman who needs someone to landscape half an acre of land surrounding a backyard badminton court. Mr. Himes tries to reach one of his applicants, a retired editor who works with his hands. "You'd be surprised," he tells a visitor, "but even a lot of our former executives want to be gardeners."

On another telephone, Mrs. West offers a 63-year-old woman an interview for a part-time, \$3.50-an-hour clerical job in a psychiatrist's office. The applicant refuses the appointment, saying she doesn't "feel right" about working for a psychiatrist. "I think the place to go for advice is the church."

BABYSITTERS AND ENGINEERS

Most jobs the agency finds are part-time positions for office workers, handymen, housekeepers and babysitters. But Retirement Jobs has placed a number of professionals too. One applicant, an engineer, took a job developing and designing equipment for Education Engineering Associates, a maker of audio-visual learning aids.

Sometimes, the older workers stay on the job for many years. Nine years ago, Barron Park Supply Co., a Mountain View, Calif., plumbing, electrical and gardening equipment concern, received a mailing of applicants' qualifications from Retirement Jobs and hired Robert Wayne to manage its office. The company says this worked so well that two years later, it turned to Retirement Jobs again and hired Earl Eustace, a former electrical engineer, to advise customers and order all the electrical supplies. Mr. Wayne, currently aged 76, and Mr. Eustace, aged 74, are still on the job. Mr. Eustace says he never intends to stop working.

The two men "do the job as well as any young men," says William Gabbard, owner of Barron Park Supply. "Those fellows are better workers than I am," he adds.

CONYERS CITES THE FIRST BLACK OWNED TELEVISION STATION IN AMERICA

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, television and the electronic media reaching into nearly all American homes, far from merely providing entertainment, conveys concepts and symbols which have a powerful effect on the way people view the world and one another. In many cases it is the only medium through which people learn about the problems that affect our country. For this very reason everyone ought to be concerned that television and the broadcast airways are utilized in the best public interest of all.

In 1972 the Congressional Black Caucus conducted hearings to examine the relationship of the electronic media to minority communities around the country. The hearings disclosed that in the areas of programing, employment, and ownership and control, minority Americans fared poorly. For example 19 of some 7,000 radio stations were then black owned; there were no black-owned UHF or VHF television stations. Today the complexion of the industry has changed somewhat. There are more minority professional staff, but not nearly enough. One black-owned television station exists, however, Station WGPR Channel 62 in Detroit, which began broadcasting September 29, 1975. Its president and general manager is Dr. William V. Banks, a respected attorney and minister and a distinguished citizen.

James M. Blount has written an account of WGPR's history in the August 1976 issue of About . . . Time magazine. I would like to share this article with my colleagues.

When local bankers told William V. Banks the terms under which they would help him raise \$2 million to underwrite the first year of broadcasting of the nation's first black television station, he said a polite "No Thanks."

For every \$50,000 that Banks' International F. & A.M. Masons would put up, the banks would loan \$10,000, then take a mortgage on the whole operation.

"We sold some assets," Banks says to explain how the Masons initially capitalized the business.

"There were 100 acres of land about 35 miles north of Miami—I can't remember the name of the town. I bought it for the Masons in 1971 for \$5,000 an acre—\$50,000. Then in 1973, when the Federal Communications Commission insisted on us having the money on hand for one year's operation, we were offered \$1 million, on time, for that Florida land, or \$750,000 cash."

"We took the cash," said Banks. "Then we sold other things. We owned the Mackinac Hotel in Mackinac City, and we sold it. There were lesser assets that we liquidated."

"We got commitments in writing from advertisers—the auto companies and others—that they will spend these many thousands or that many. That all was added in to what we had to show for the first year."

"But that's how we did it. We never did have to go back to the banks," explained Banks.

As a result, Channel 62, WGPR-TV/Detroit, has been on the air since September 29, 1975. So far, Banks said, more than \$4 million has been sunk into WGPR-TV for studio facilities, equipment, and manpower. Its new headquarters are located at 3140 East Jefferson.

Channel 62 has heavily emphasized the black heritage in its programming, but has also included a good sprinkling of the non-black commercial programs that build audiences. Dr. Banks says he hopes the black programming will help the whole community, whatever the listeners color, get a better idea of who blacks are and what their background is. "Who can explain blacks better than blacks?" he asks.

The common stock of WGPR, Inc. is owned 100% by the International Free and Accepted Modern Masons, a black fraternal organization. In addition to the television station, the Masons have invested a half-million dollars in Florida land, bought FM radio station WGPR-Detroit in 1964, and the 35-story

David Broderick Tower in downtown Detroit in 1972.

One of the driving forces behind the investment portfolio of the International Free and Accepted Modern Masons had been Dr. William V. Banks. He is 73 and the only Supreme Grand Master the International Masons have ever had. Dr. Banks and 21 other black Masons organized the new Masonic Order in 1950 in Canton, Ohio. Today, 26 years later, there are 350,000 members located in almost all the states and in several foreign countries.

Dr. Banks has practiced law for over 35 years. He graduated from Detroit College of Law in September, 1929 and was admitted to the bar the following year. Admittedly, Dr. Banks said that his quest for education did not end at that point, for he received his Doctorate Degree of Law September 19, 1968. He also attended the Baptist Seminary in Detroit and received his Doctor of Divinity degree and became ordained as a minister of the gospel.

Even though WGPR-TV is completing its first full year of operation, it has not been a bed of roses. There have been technical problems with equipment that have caused broadcast down time. The engineering department under Gary Schmidt and technical representatives from equipment manufacturers have worked hard to minimize down time.

Because television broadcasting is technical by its very nature, it has been difficult for WGPR-TV to attract and keep experienced people. There has been a tremendous effort put forth to train people with some technical background, but it has taken time to get a sufficient technical staff that's capable of giving WGPR what it needed.

Because WGPR is not affiliated with a major television network (CBS, ABC, or NBC), a large percentage of their shows are produced on location. This simply means larger budgets and the addition of more technical people to produce these shows.

However, the prestigious American Research Bureau (ARB), which publishes monthly audience ratings on the media, in its November 1975 report disclosed that WGPR-TV already had viewers in numbers large enough to show in the ratings. It had become a standard of the industry that a minimum of six months to a year is required for a new television station to attain a measurable audience. Equally significant is the fact that WGPR-TV not only has the anticipated black audience, but also has substantial viewers in the white community.

The most successful Channel 62 show is "The Scene," a 5 to 6 P.M. Monday thru Friday dance party show. ARB shows between 28,000 and 30,000 households tuned in with an average of two viewers per household.

Channel 62 has one advance many new stations do not, particularly new UHF stations. Detroit has three other well-established UHF stations and surveys show over 90 percent of the area's TV sets can pick up UHF.

But Channel 62 has a special disadvantage in a problem area that affects all big city stations—the difficulty of measuring inner city audiences. It is a problem the rating services recognize and they are working on methods of surveying that audience. The problem is one that hampers surveys of any kind in ghetto areas—the peoples are suspicious of any kind of authority figures and don't co-operate.

As the nation's first black owned and black operated television station, WGPR-TV, Channel 62 has added a new dimension and stature to the entire communications industry. The station has provided a different emphasis and an alternative viewpoint. The community good will that has derived from the new station is great, not only for the local Detroit area, but for the entire nation.

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION FAILS TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE REFERRAL SERVICES TO SUPPLEMENTAL SECURITY INCOME FOR AGED, BLIND, AND DISABLED

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1976

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, the Ways and Means Oversight Subcommittee, which has been studying the supplemental security income—SSI—program for the aged, blind, and disabled, has received a great deal of information that the Social Security Administration has failed to provide adequate information and referral services to SSI beneficiaries. It is obvious from our hearings and surveys of State and local officials that aged, blind, and disabled welfare recipients are missing out on major benefits because social security does not provide adequate information and referral for other forms of aid to these people at local social security offices.

For example, the subcommittee has received reports from California that social security offices failed to pass on information about in-home care as a supplemental benefit available from the State. The legal services program for Pasadena and San Gabriel-Pomona Valley reported:

This (in-home) benefit information had not been passed on to 4 eligible persons—all homebound; one 94 years old; one with a severe heart condition; one whose leg had just been amputated; and one wheelchair invalid. In particular, the 94-year-old had called us because her benefits had been cut off because she did not show up at the SSA office for a reconsideration hearing. None of the prior phone messages regarding her condition had ever been placed in her file.

In other cases cited by this legal services program, there was a person:

66, female, black. SSI checks delayed. Not advised that the State has an emergency fund available for this purpose. When she contacted us for assistance, we found she was getting the minimum SSI benefit and was entitled to the blind benefit as well.

73, female, white. SSI application problem due to a name mix-up. She was not informed that she would be eligible for food stamps during the time she was not receiving the SSI benefits.

Mr. Speaker, it appears that when the Federal Government took over the SSI program, we created a serious split between Federal programs and information about State programs. It was expected that social security would so organize their offices that individuals would be kept advised of State programs which could be of assistance. In State after State, however, we have received reports that social security is incapable of informing these low-income aged, blind, and disabled about State programs.

The following statements to the subcommittee from State welfare directors indicate the dimension of the problem:

"... I feel that social services to aged,

blind, and disabled persons have diminished after the initiation of the SSI Program. This has resulted from several factors including provisions of the Privacy Act which preclude outreach to SSI recipients using SSI listings, Social Security's procedures which makes identification of all but obvious service needs impossible and general lack of interest by Social Security in making referrals to social service agencies.

"Likewise, many SSI recipients who are eligible for food stamps do not apply or participate. This is due to lack of referral, the need to go to two offices to get SSI and food stamps and the inability of the Department of Welfare to effectively issue stamps to SSI recipients by mail. The net result of this is that we have 20,000 additional SSI recipients in 1976 over the number converted in 1973 but food stamp participation among that group is essentially the same."—Thomas Tinder, Commissioner, West Virginia Department of Welfare.

"New SSI recipients are not receiving all needed services due to inability of Social Security staff to identify needs. Inability grows from lack of training in identification and pressure of work on SSI staff."—Max M. Cole, Commissioner, Mississippi Department of Welfare.

"On the one hand, the State has saved money, because eligible persons are unaware of available services, and on the other hand, the State has been criticized for failure to help truly needy people. . . . eligible persons are not being referred to the County Departments. It would be impossible for the State to screen all new SSI recipients to see if there are other services or programs under which they or members of their families would qualify. We must depend on SSA for referrals."—R. Archie Ellis, Commissioner, South Carolina Department of Social Services.

"(There have been) Significant decreases in the number of clients referred for services based on experience prior to conversion. We have attempted to contact all new SSI cases, based on SSI openings sent via SDX, to determine service needs. However, we do not have sufficient staff to do (this) on an on-going basis. Screening for referrals was always an intake activity at the local Dept. of Social Service office. We maintain statistical data on SSI referrals to DSS; a low number of referrals has been consistently reported.

"Information and Referral Services between the Michigan Department of Social Services (MDSS) and the district office appear to have diminished since conversion. . . . Much misunderstanding still exists locally between each agency's role. Referrals for services . . . never approached the previous levels of 50-70% . . . and actually declined to a low of 270 statewide in May, 1976. Our data suggests we should anticipate a minimum of 500 a month. We still have the responsibility for the human services. We don't expect the district office to do social services. We do expect them to join us in providing information to us that will allow us to carry out social services."—Joseph Larosa, Deputy Director, Michigan Department of Social Services.

These statements from local groups and State officials point to the desperate need:

(1) to simplify drastically the welfare structure in this Country so that programs are easier to understand and keep track of and so that eligible individuals can be kept aware of their rights;

(2) to improve the operations of local Social Security offices so that they maintain better contact and awareness of local programs.

The Oversight Subcommittee will be discussing these criticisms with Social Security Commissioner James B. Cardwell during our further SSI hearings in September.