

Mr. KOCH, Mr. MITCHELL of Maryland, Mr. MOSS, Mr. PATTISON of New York, Mr. PEASE, Mr. RICHMOND, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mrs. SCHROEDER, Mr. SEIBERLING, Mr. STARK, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. WEISS, and Mr. CHARLES WILSON of Texas):

H.J. Res. 285. Joint resolution providing that competition is reaffirmed as the best means of serving American consumers' telecommunications needs; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H. Con. Res. 128. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the President should convene immediately a meeting of the heads of all appropriate Federal departments and agencies for the purpose of taking such steps as may be necessary to prevent Arab discrimination against American business enterprises which have Jewish individuals serving in positions of major responsibility or which do business with Israel; to the Committee on International Relations.

By Mr. BADHAM:

H. Con. Res. 129. Concurrent resolution recommending that there be no rebate of 1976 individual income taxes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WHITEHURST:

H. Con. Res. 130. Concurrent resolution pertaining to the methods used on animals in research; to the Committee on Science and Technology.

By Mr. BROOKS:

H. Res. 328. Resolution to provide for the expenses of investigations, studies, oversight, and functions to be conducted by the Committee on Government Operations; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. DIGGS:

H. Res. 329. Resolution providing funds for the Committee on the District of Columbia; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. FRENZEL (for himself, Mr. DEVINE, Mrs. FENWICK, Mr. WINN, Mr. WHITEHURST, Mr. REGULA, Mr. CONABLE, Mr. YOUNG of Florida, Mr. WALKER, and Mr. ABDNOR):

H. Res. 330. Resolution to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives, and for other purposes; divided and referred as follows: Title I, section 301, titles IV, V, and VI to the Committee on Rules; title II and section 303 to the Committee on Standards of

Official Conduct; and section 302 to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. HAMILTON (for himself, Mr. OBEY, Mr. D'AMOURS, Mr. MEEDS, Mr. FRASER, Mr. NEDZI, Mr. MOAKLEY, Mr. PUQUA, Mr. THONE, Mr. MAZZOLI, Mr. FORD of Michigan, Mr. BELENSON, Mr. RINALDO, Mr. MCHUGH, Mr. BRODHEAD, Mr. FASCELL, Mr. ROE, Mr. PRITCHARD, Mr. SEIBERLING, Mr. CORNELL, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. FISHER, Mr. SCHROEDER, Mr. WIRTH, and Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California):

H. Res. 331. Resolution to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives, and for other purposes; divided and referred as follows: Title I, section 301, and titles IV, V, VI, and VII to the Committee on Rules for a period ending not later than February 25, 1977; title II and section 303 to the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct for a period ending not later than February 23, 1977; and section 302 to the Committee on House Administration for a period ending not later than February 23, 1977.

By Mr. HAMILTON (for himself, Mr. OBEY, Mr. D'AMOURS, Mr. MEEDS, Mr. TRAXLER, Mr. HOLLAND, Mr. RYAN, Ms. LLOYD of Tennessee, Mr. HUBBARD, Mr. NIX, Mr. BLOUIN, Mr. KREBS, Mr. KOCH, Mr. AKAKA, Mr. BENJAMIN, Mr. PEASE, Mr. MITCHELL of Maryland, Mr. STUDDS, Mr. NEAL, Mr. DICKS, Mr. YOUNG of Missouri, Mr. FARY, Mr. VENTO, Mr. WEAVER, Mr. EVANS of Georgia, Mr. GLICKMAN, and Mr. KOSTMAYER):

H. Res. 332. Resolution to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives, and for other purposes; divided and referred as follows: Title I, section 301, and titles IV, V, VI, and VII to the Committee on Rules for a period ending not later than February 25, 1977; title II and section 303 to the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct for a period ending not later than February 23, 1977; and section 302 to the Committee on House Administration for a period ending not later than February 23, 1977.

By Mr. MOSS:

H. Res. 333. Resolution providing for continuation of the appointment of a special counsel to represent the House and the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in certain judicial proceedings; to the Committee on House Administration.

H. Res. 334. Resolution providing for the continuation of the appointment of a special counsel to represent the House and the

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in certain judicial proceedings; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. PIKE (for himself, Mr. DELUMS, Mr. MURPHY of Illinois, Mr. LEHMAN, and Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado):

H. Res. 335. Resolution to establish a standing committee of the House on intelligence, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. WAGGONER:

H. Res. 336. Resolution in support of continued undiluted U.S. sovereignty and jurisdiction over the U.S.-owned Canal Zone on the Isthmus of Panama; to the Committee on International Relations.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII,

20. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the Legislature of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, relative to the Angaur phosphate claims; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. EVANS of Delaware:

H.R. 4107. A bill for the relief of the Knights of Pythias Hall Co. of Wilmington, Del.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McFALL:

H.R. 4108. A bill for the relief of William Phillips; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. MOORE:

H.R. 4109. A bill for the relief of Albert Cheuk-Kei Tsang; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PATTERSON of California:

H.R. 4110. A bill for the relief of Mr. Duk Pung Koh and Mrs. Bong Nyu Koh; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. UDALL:

H.R. 4111. A bill for the relief of Ernest L. Green; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ZABLOCKI:

H.R. 4112. A bill for the relief of Angel Medico Borisosky and Guillermina Herrera de Medico; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

RHODESIA'S FIX

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. HARRY F. BYRD, JR. Mr. President, the issue of morality has become a very recent evident concern in our foreign policy deliberations in recent months. In our relations with the Soviet Union, Chile, and other countries, the United States has sought to highlight moral concerns. More recently our attention has been turned to the African continent and much has been said about the need to strongly support the concept of "black majority rule" and to strongly oppose "racism," "colonialism" and "exploitation."

These terms are hard to resist, both emotionally and politically. Yet, I question if our current policies in southern Africa will actually lead to the moral goals espoused. I recently rediscovered an article from the Roanoke Times by James J. Kilpatrick which addresses this issue and I would like to share it with my colleagues. I ask unanimous consent that the text of this article be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

[From Roanoke Times, April 26, 1976]

HYPOCHRISY PREVAILS—RHODESIA'S FIX

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

The Rhodesian situation seems to be slimmer uncertainly these days, just keeping warm on the back of the stove. Before it heats up again, a few observations are in order. What we are witnessing is a nice

joining of the New Morality and the Old Hypocrisy.

The New Morality wraps itself in lovely flags: democracy majority rule, one man-one vote. The New Morality rejects all the old ugly vices: racism, colonialism, exploitation. For the past 10 years, since Rhodesia declared her independence of Great Britain, apostles of the New Morality have been preaching all these things.

We heard the preachments as to Angola and Mozambique, where the Portuguese boot was thought to trample on native rights. We hear cries incessantly as to South West Africa. Freedom! Democracy! Nationhood!

Such allurements, as Secretary Kissinger knows well, are politically irresistible. The propagandists of the New Morality have done their work surpassingly well. Mr. Kissinger could not lift a finger in support of the governments of either Rhodesia or South Africa. The least friendly gesture toward Salisbury or Pretoria would set the liberal wolf pack to howling. The United States cannot afford to be identified with the "op-

pressors" while the Soviet Union succors the "oppressed." It is a pretty fix.

There is no satisfactory way out of it. But something may be gained, if only in terms of historic truth. If we strip from the New Morality its trappings of pretense and fraud. What stands revealed is the Old Hypocrisy.

The National Review Bulletin recently said what needs to be said: "The black African nations do not object to the Ian Smith government because it is undemocratic but because it is white; the other nations of the world, from a variety of motives, are willing to help hide this fact that in truth is known to everyone. The Smith government is more accurately defined as a democratic oligarchy. One thing at least is certain: that if it goes, when it goes, it is not going to be replaced by democratic 'majority rule'."

The editors of National Review took a look at the record. The Organization of African Unity is composed of 47 nations—44 former colonies that have gained their independence in the past generation, plus Ethiopia, Liberia and Egypt. Of the 47, at least 15 are open military dictatorships; 29 others are nominally civilian despotisms characterized by one-party rule. Only Botswana, Gambia and Mauritius retain a semblance of political pluralism.

The pending charade in Rhodesia fits exactly into this pattern. Let us suppose, to be grimly supposing, that Rhodesia is overrun by guerrilla "freedom fighters," supported by Cuban troops armed by the Soviet Union. Let us suppose that the new Communist masters of Zimbabwe have now seized all private property—all the banks, mines, farms, stores, and the like. The 250,000 whites have been slaughtered, subdued, or driven out. The Smith government has fled and a new government has taken over.

National Review's prophecy coincides exactly with my own: "The Zimbabwe regime that would succeed the present Rhodesian government is going to be one more of those despotism, arbitrary, usually personalized, often tribal, frequently bloody political arrangements that are Africa's indigenous political products.

"Under this despotism government the six million Rhodesian blacks will be more ruthlessly suppressed and exploited than they are under the present government, and they will eat less. But the successor government will be a black government; and that is all—quite literally all—that matters to the present Conscience of Mankind."

Whether the process is known as rebellion, revolution, liberation, conquest, coup, or reform, in Africa the cynical adage applies. The first goal of insurgency is to throw the rascals out; and the second is to throw our rascals in.

A SINGLE AGENCY FOR ERISA

HON. JOHN N. ERLBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. ERLBORN. Mr. Speaker, on September 2, 1974, a measure was signed into law, the main purpose of which is to protect pensions promised to workers in the private sector. I refer, of course, to the Employee Retirement Income Security Act, better known as ERISA.

As a coauthor of this law, I have faith that it will indeed protect the pensions of tens of millions of people. Like many of

our colleagues, however, I also have concerns about ERISA.

My list of concerns is lengthy, but I would like now briefly to discuss just one—the problems caused by the number of agencies involved in ERISA's administration, not the least of which is the likelihood that ERISA could be thwarting its major goal.

What follows is a Congressional Research Service report: "Pension Plan Terminations—What Do the Statistics Suggest?" Two statistics are obvious: Pension plan terminations have substantially increased since the September 1974 enactment of ERISA, and the number of pension plans has decreased.

The report suggests several reasons for these statistics—adverse economic conditions, liquidation of the employer's business, change in business ownership, and the costly, excessive paperwork and frustration caused by ERISA's administration.

We can help to assure the protections ERISA intends to give by putting the responsibility of administering this law in a single agency. Congressman JOHN DENT and I will soon be introducing a bill for this purpose. I invite our colleagues to review this CRS report and consider the value of a single agency to administer ERISA.

PENSION PLAN TERMINATIONS

WHAT DO THE STATISTICS SUGGEST?

Considerable concern has been expressed in recent months over the large number of pension plan terminations. Critics charge that the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (ERISA) is the chief reason for the upsurge in plan terminations, whereas others believe that business and economic conditions are the primary reason. Congress is particularly concerned about the increase in the rate of pension plan terminations since it passed ERISA for the purpose of protecting the interests of participants in private pension plans and their beneficiaries. In shaping the legislation, Congress was cognizant that no employer had to provide a pension to its employees and tried to minimize any adverse effect that the legislation might have on the private pension system. But at the same time Congress was aware of the serious shortcomings that existed in the private pension system after almost ten years of study and debate.

Since there is as yet only limited experience with ERISA, it is both difficult and premature to judge the impact of the law and whether the high rate of terminations experienced since enactment will continue into the foreseeable future. It is therefore important to have additional information before any conclusions are drawn concerning the effects of the law. In this regard, both the Labor Department and the General Accounting Office are engaged in studies to determine the effect of ERISA on plan terminations. In the interim, the following information may be useful when viewing the termination statistics.

HOW MANY PENSION PLANS HAVE TERMINATED?

Statistics are available on the number of plans obtaining and maintaining tax-qualified status under the Internal Revenue Code. The data show that there has been a substantial increase in the annual number of plan terminations and a decrease in new plan starts since the enactment of ERISA on September 2, 1974. The following graph (not reproduced) shows that the number of

new pension plans increased at a rather steady rate from 1948 to 1966. It then increased rather rapidly until 1973-74 when the number of new plans leveled off at around 60,000. In 1975, the number of new plans dropped off sharply to about 30,000.

Plan terminations grew at a rather steady rate from 1948 until 1969. The following graph (not reproduced) shows that from 1970 to 1974, the rate of terminations picked up reaching a significantly higher level in the period immediately after enactment of ERISA.

Since the enactment of ERISA there has been a decrease in the annual ratio of new plans to terminated plans. During the ten years prior to enactment, the average ratio of new plans to terminated plans was about 14.4 to 1. In 1975, the ratio was 3.7 to 1, and only 1.2 to 1 during the first nine months of 1976. Furthermore, since enactment of ERISA most of the new corporate and self-employed plans have been of the defined contribution type (that is, profit-sharing and money purchase plans). Defined contribution plans are not insured by the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation (PBGC) and are not required to meet the funding standards of ERISA. During the period January-September 1976, only about 10 percent (1,330) of the 14,270 new tax-qualified plans were of the defined benefit type.

The following are the yearly totals of new plans and terminating plans from 1965 to 1976 together with the ratio between the two.

Tax qualified corporate plans

Year	New plans	Terminated plans	Ratio of new plans to terminated
1965	13,532	1,036	13.1
1966	18,183	1,210	15.0
1967	20,521	1,307	15.7
1968	23,782	1,443	16.5
1969	28,075	1,729	16.2
1970	32,574	2,306	14.1
1971	40,664	3,335	12.2
1972	49,335	3,520	14.0
1973	59,605	4,130	14.4
1974	59,385	4,604	12.9
1975	30,039	8,108	3.7
1976 ¹	² 14,270	11,909	1.2

¹ Through September 1976.

² Includes a small number of plans for the self-employed.

Source: Internal Revenue Service.

Quarterly data are available on new and terminated plans since 1959. A breakdown is available for both profit-sharing and stock bonus plans, as well as pension and annuity plans. The following two graphs (not reproduced) show that the number of new and terminated plans within each benefit plan category followed the same general patterns. In recent years, however, pension and annuity plans accounted for a proportionately greater amount of the increase in both new and terminated plans.

HOW MANY PLANS COULD HAVE BEEN EXPECTED TO TERMINATE?

Since plans have terminated in the past, it is reasonable to assume that they would continue to terminate in the future. But how many plans could have been expected to terminate notwithstanding ERISA?

The number of terminations takes on meaning as a measure of the impact of ERISA when compared with the number of plan terminations which might reasonably be expected in the absence of ERISA. Based upon historical trends and economic data, over 9,000 plans could have reasonably been

expected to terminate in the two years following September 1974. ERISA may therefore only be responsible for the incremental increase over the anticipated number of plan terminations. However, this in itself is significant since the actual number of post-enactment terminations (21,123) is over twice the extrapolated amount (9,132).¹

WHAT IS KNOWN ABOUT TERMINATED PENSION PLANS?

A limited amount of information is available for defined benefit pension plans that come under the termination insurance provisions of ERISA. These plans account for about half of all terminations.

On March 19, 1976, the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation released an analysis of single employer defined benefit pension plans that terminated during 1975. The analysis was based upon a ten percent systematic sample of terminated plans. Some of the highlights of this analysis are as follows:

In 35 percent of the plan terminations involving an ongoing employer, an intent to provide pension coverage to plan participants through another plan was cited.

Seventy-seven percent of the plan terminations covered by the insurance program did not indicate that ERISA was the reason for termination. Adverse economic conditions, change in ownership, or liquidation of the employer's business were typical of the cited reasons for plan termination.

Twelve percent of the plan terminations covered by the insurance program indicated that ERISA was the reason for termination.

An additional eleven percent cited other reasons in addition to ERISA, such as adverse economic conditions.

The June 30, 1975, Annual Report of the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation provides additional information on terminating plans based upon a 20 percent random sampling.

The terminating plans in the sample averaged 30 participants.

Fifty-three percent of the plans covered fewer than 10 participants.

Thirty percent of the plans were less than 5 years old.

Some pension experts question the validity of the reasons cited by employers for terminating their pension plan. Under pre-existing IRS procedures (see Rev. Rul. 69-24, 69-25, and 72-239), if a plan were discontinued within a few years after adoption, an employer could lose prior years' tax deductions unless the plan were terminated for valid business reasons. Accordingly, a plan which had been in existence only a short period of time might be reluctant to cite ERISA as the primary reason for terminating so as not to jeopardize prior years' tax deductions.

In a November 5, 1976, news release by the American Society of Pension Actuaries it is stated that "According to 70% of participants in a recent survey of qualified plan practitioners, ERISA, not business conditions, is the major cause of the recent upsurge in plan terminations." Concerning a small number of new plans being formed, the release stated that "red tape, burdensome funding rules, and overly-liberal eligibility rules" were the factors deterring new plans. Also mentioned were the fiduciary provisions of ERISA as well as the easy availability of Individual Retirement Accounts (IRAs) as an alternative.

¹The expected values for the two-year period following enactment are projected from two regression equations estimated with quarterly data beginning with the first quarter of 1959 through the third quarter of 1974. These equations control for the effects of inflation, as well as historical and seasonal trends.

IS THE "FALLOUT" ALL BAD?

While ERISA may have caused a number of plans to terminate, it is important to look beyond the termination statistics. Some employers terminating their plans, for instance, are reportedly converting to other types of employee benefit plans; other employers may be taking a "wait and see" approach before adopting a plan until all the regulations are out. Furthermore, it could be hypothesized that the "worst" is over. ERISA may have caused a number of "poorer" or marginal plans to terminate—precisely the type of plan which led to the enactment of minimum Federal standards.

While some individuals may have lost pension coverage, ERISA will increase the chances of other individuals participating in ongoing plans to earn pension benefits through the liberalization of the participation and vesting requirements. Thus, the net effect could be an actual increase in the number of individuals who may eventually receive pension benefits at retirement. Furthermore, individuals with vested rights under a defined benefit pension plan will receive those benefits (within certain statutory limitations) under the termination insurance program established by ERISA.

It should also be noted that the statistics on plan terminations do not reflect the number of people who may have been reasonably expected to receive benefits under the plans or what their current pension status is. Nothing is known, for instance, about how "good" the plans were; that is, how many participants of these plans had earned vested rights to benefits, how long an individual was required to work before benefits vested, or how much benefits each individual could have been expected to receive if the plan had not been amended to comply with ERISA. Many participants may have been covered by plans under which they would have received little or no benefits anyway. These individuals would at least now be eligible to save for their own retirement by setting up an Individual Retirement Account.

It should also be recognized that the economy has just experienced the most serious recession since World War II. (The pension "boom" began shortly after the end of World War II.) As shown in graph 4, profit-sharing plans are exempt from some of the provisions of ERISA (i.e., funding requirements and termination insurance provisions) and which often had rather liberal participation and vesting provisions followed the same sharp post-enactment termination increase. This suggests that some factors beyond the law contributed to the sharp increase in terminations.

The answers to these important questions may be available when the General Accounting Office and the Labor Department complete their termination studies. While the GAO study covers only defined benefit plans covered by the PBGG termination insurance program, the Labor Department study will cover all plans. The GAO study is expected to be completed in Summer 1977. The final report of the Department of Labor, however, will probably not be available until Fall.

RAY SCHMITT,

Education and Public Welfare Division.

RHODESIAN CHROME

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. HARRY F. BYRD, JR. Mr. President, there is currently before the Senate

a bill which, if passed, would allow the President to reimpose an embargo on the importation of chrome from Rhodesia. This is a matter which has come before the Congress several times in the past several years and each time the validity of importing chrome from Rhodesia has been upheld.

On February 6, 1977, the Sunday News American of Baltimore published an editorial on this subject. I ask unanimous consent that the text of this editorial be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was order to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Sunday News American, Feb. 6, 1977]

A STRANGE MORALITY

Hard-Left activists and their dupes in Congress are mounting a new drive for repeal of the 1971 Byrd Amendment, under which this country imports chrome from Rhodesia in disregard of United Nations sanctions. Few Americans realize how serious a threat to the national security is involved, or how such a repeal would help the Soviet Union.

They certainly should—and it is high time congressional dupes quit falling for the activist argument that the United States is a disgrace for continuing to do business with a racist government in defiance of world opinion. Just about the whole world has been hypocritically and quietly ignoring the UN embargo on Rhodesian exports. Only the U.S. has been honest and candid about its actions.

The Byrd Amendment was enacted out of vital necessity. Chromite ore of metallurgical grade is a strategic material, absolutely essential in the manufacture of special steels used in a wide variety of armaments. Although Rhodesia has 67.3 per cent of the world's dwindling chrome resources, of which we have none domestically, Soviet Russia to date has been our major supplier.

In 1975, for example, the U.S. bought 17.5 per cent of its metallurgical grade chromite from Rhodesia and 49 per cent from Russia. The rest of our imports came from a variety of other countries, including 14 per cent from Turkey. What this boils down to is one all-important fact, namely that the U.S. simply could not manage its chrome problem if deprived of both Rhodesian and Russian supplies. This is precisely what could happen if the stalemated Rhodesian talks erupt into full-scale racial war and, as in Angola, a Marxist government emerges as the result of Soviet-Cuban backing. Thereafter, U.S. chrome supplies would be almost wholly dependent on Kremlin policies.

What this would mean in the event of a direct, nonatomic military showdown with our ideological arch enemy is obvious. And it should be equally obvious that virtual control of the Rhodesian chrome mines at the very least would give the Soviets a powerful new weapon for use against us in other conflicts. In the Korean war, it should be noted, Moscow seriously hampered the U.S. by cutting off its own chrome supplies to us.

The drive for repeal of the Byrd Amendment—a drive incidentally supported by our new UN ambassador, Andrew Young—is as ironic as it is menacing to the national security. It is a strange kind of American morality that can ignore that security in condemning the U.S. for trading with Rhodesia while seeing nothing wrong with buying from the Soviet Union Communists, bosses of the most repressive long-time regime in the world today.

**TAX INCENTIVES FOR ENERGY
CONSERVATION**

HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, within the past 3 years, this Nation has experienced two devastating energy crises: first, the 1973 oil embargo by the Organization of Oil Exporting Countries (OPEC) whose increased exorbitant oil prices contributed to the world's spiraling inflationary economy and to the economic hardships for this Nation's low-, middle- and fixed-income taxpayers, and second, the current, harsh winter, which created unseasonable demands for increased fuel consumption, produced severe gas shortages throughout the eastern two-thirds of the country.

This winter's freezing temperatures paralyzed river transportation from the Hudson to the Mississippi and stalled barges carrying precious supplies of fuel to beleaguered schools, factories, homes and office buildings. Fuel shortages closed schools, silenced factories and laid off more than 2 million workers. President Carter declared nine States—New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, and Florida—disaster areas qualifying for emergency assistance. Western New York State, particularly the Buffalo area, already blanketed by more than 14 feet of snow since the fall, reeled under the harsh winter as more than 300,000 residents in that part of the State joined the unemployment lines, thereby contributing to an estimated economic loss of more than \$225 million in two of the nine Presidentially declared disaster counties.

Mr. Speaker, this Nation has become dependent upon oil, gas and electricity for its energy sources and upon foreign nations to bridge the widening gap between what this Nation demands to feed its insatiable energy appetite and what the Nation produces. We have recently experienced an oil embargo and a gas shortage, and as more homes, schools, factories and office buildings turn to electricity for heating and air conditioning, we have experienced increased massive power failures from overloaded electrical circuits.

These energy crises and the dependency upon foreign nations to replenish our dwindling energy supplies can no longer be tolerated. We must conserve our energy. We must recognize that we do not have unlimited energy resources, and we must learn to accept the economic fact that this Nation's energy demands have exceeded its productive capabilities.

As the Congressional Budget Office, in a February 1977 report entitled, "Budget Options for Fiscal Year 1978," stated: "the low-cost abundant, and secure supply of energy that fueled the Nation's economic growth and life-style is simply no longer available." The Washington

Post recently reported that this country "wastes more energy than most nations consume," estimating that "wasted energy may account for 30, or even 50, percent of all energy consumed in the United States." Commenting on the aftermath of the 1973 oil embargo, the General Accounting Office, in its January 27, 1977, report entitled "National Energy Policy: An Agenda for Analysis," stated: "The Nation is more dependent upon foreign energy sources today than it was 3 years ago." This view is identical to the Report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on United States Energy Policy whose report, entitled "Providing for Energy," stated:

Imports have risen from 23 percent of oil consumed annually (at a cost of \$3 billion) in 1970 to a rate of 41 percent (at a cost of \$35 billion) in 1976. The share of these imports originating in the OPEC countries has risen from 68 percent on the eve of the embargo to nearly 90 percent now, so that the nation is more than ever a potential hostage of a powerful cartel.

Mr. Speaker, what can be done to help alleviate this energy crisis and restore our energy supplies? Foremost, this Nation must adopt a more flexible, diversified approach to energy consumption and conservation. We must adopt policies and programs that will promote energy conservation and, through research and development, explore alternative sources of energy that are environmentally safe, inexpensive to consumers, protect the Nation from disruptions in supply, and reduce the Nation's reliance on existing energy resources. Such a flexible, diversified approach would reduce our dependence on oil, gas and electricity and our reliance on foreign energy sources.

Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation that helps accomplish these objectives by providing a tax credit for the purchase and installation of solar energy equipment and insulation.

Under my proposal, a homeowner or apartment renter would receive a maximum tax credit of 30 percent or \$225 of insulation expenses not exceeding \$750. Insulation includes installing a storm or thermal window, or any other device that is designed to reduce the loss of heat and that has a useful life of at least 3 years.

An individual who installs qualified solar heating and cooling equipment in his residence would also be eligible for a maximum tax credit of 25 percent or \$2,000 of the cost of the equipment and installation not exceeding \$8,000. To qualify the equipment must use solar energy to heat or cool the building or to provide hot water for use in the building, and the equipment must have a useful life of at least 3 years. A taxpayer installing qualified insulation or solar energy equipment in his residence prior to the enactment of this measure would also qualify for a tax credit.

Insulation installed in a building used as a business, or solar energy equipment installed in such a building would also receive investment credits as depreciable property.

Furthermore, a taxpayer would be entitled to a deduction by amortizing for 60 months equipment that (a) uses, processes, prepares, or recycles waste into fuel; or (b) reaches, converts or extracts oil shale into oil or gas; or (c) uses geothermal energy or solar energy equipment to heat or cool a building or to provide hot water or steam for the building.

This measure would encourage taxpayers to make the necessary improvements on their property in order to conserve energy and to reduce their fuel and electrical costs. It would also help our Nation reduce its dependence on foreign energy sources and its reliance on existing natural energy resources.

Mr. Speaker, in the interest of fostering these objectives, at this point in the RECORD I am inserting the full text of my bill and I would welcome my colleagues' support of this legislation.

H.R. 4029

A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit for amounts paid for insulation and solar energy equipment, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. INSULATION OF RESIDENCE.

(a) GENERAL RULE.—Subpart A of part IV of subchapter A of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to credits allowable) is amended by inserting immediately before section 45 the following new section:

"SEC. 44B. INSULATION OF RESIDENCE.

"(a) GENERAL RULE.—In the case of an individual, there shall be allowed as a credit against the tax imposed by this chapter for the taxable year an amount equal to 30 percent of the qualified insulation expenditures paid by the taxpayer during the taxable year with respect to any residence to the extent that such expenditures with respect to such residence do not exceed \$750.

"(b) LIMITATIONS—

"(1) PRIOR EXPENDITURES TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.—If

"(A) the taxpayer made qualified insulation expenditures with respect to any residence in any prior taxable year, or

"(B) any prior occupant of any residence made qualified insulation expenditures with respect to such residence,

then subsection (a) shall be applied with respect to such residence for the taxable year by reducing (but not below zero) the \$750 amount contained in such subsection by the aggregate of the expenditures described in subparagraphs (A) and (B).

"(2) VERIFICATION.—No credit shall be allowed under subsection (a) with respect to any qualified insulation expenditures unless such expenditures are verified in such manner as the Secretary shall prescribe by regulations.

"(c) DEFINITIONS AND SPECIAL RULES.—FOR purposes of this section—

"(1) QUALIFIED INSULATION EXPENDITURES.—The term 'qualified insulation expenditures' means any amount paid by an individual for any installation of insulation in any dwelling unit which at the time of such installation is owned or rented by the individual used by him as a residence. Such term shall only include amounts paid for the original installation of any insulation in a dwelling unit.

"(2) INSULATION.—The term 'insulation' means any insulation, storm (or thermal) window or door, or any other similar item—

"(A) which is specifically and primarily designed to reduce, when installed in or on a building, the heat loss or gain of such building.

"(B) the original use of which commences with the taxpayer,

"(C) which has a useful life to the taxpayer of at least 3 years, and

"(D) which meets such performance standards as the Secretary may prescribe by regulations after consultation with the Administrator of the Federal Energy Administration and the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

"(3) JOINT OCCUPANCY.—In the case of any dwelling unit which is jointly owned or rented, and is used during any calendar year as a residence, by two or more individuals—

"(A) the amount of the credit allowable under subsection (a) (after applying subsection (b) (1)) with respect to any qualified insulation expenditures paid during such calendar year by any of such individuals with respect to such dwelling unit shall be determined by treating all of such individuals as one taxpayer whose taxable year is such calendar year; and

"(B) each of such individuals shall be allowed a credit under subsection (a) for the taxable year in which such calendar year ends in an amount which bears the same ratio to the amount determined under subparagraph (A) as the amount paid by such individual during such calendar year for such expenditures bears to the aggregate of the amounts paid by all of such individuals during such calendar year for such expenditures.

"(4) TENANT-STOCKHOLDER IN COOPERATIVE HOUSING CORPORATION.—In the case of an individual who holds stock as a tenant-stockholder (as defined in section 216) in a cooperative housing corporation (as defined in such section), such individual—

"(A) shall be treated as owning the dwelling unit which he is entitled to occupy as such stockholder; and

"(B) shall be treated as having paid his tenant-stockholder's proportionate share (as defined in section 216(b)(3)) of any qualified insulation expenditures paid by such corporation.

"(d) REDUCTION OF BASIS.—The basis of any property shall not be increased by the amount of any qualified insulation expenditures made with respect to such property to the extent of the amount of any credit allowed under this section with respect to such expenditures."

(b) ALLOWANCE OF REFUND.—Subsection (b) of section 6401 of such Code (relating to certain excessive credits treated as overpayments) is amended to read as follows:

"(b) EXCESSIVE CREDITS.—If the amount allowable as credits under section 31 (relating to tax withheld on wages), 39 (relating to certain uses of gasoline, special fuels, and lubricating oil), 43 (relating to earned income credit), 44B (relating to insulation of principal residence), and 44C (relating to residential solar heating equipment) exceeds the tax imposed by subtitle A (reduced by the credits allowable under subpart A of part IV of subchapter A of chapter 1, other than credits allowable under sections 31, 39, 43, 44B, and 44C), the amount of such excess shall be considered as an overpayment."

(c) TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) The table of sections for such subpart A is amended by inserting immediately before the item relating to section 45 the following new item:

"Sec. 44B. Insulation of principal residence."

(2) Subsection (a) of section 1016 of such Code (relating to adjustments to basis) is amended by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (23) and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon and by inserting after CXXIII—339—Part 5

paragraph (23) the following new paragraph:

"(24) to the extent provided in section 44B(d), in the case of property with respect to which a credit has been allowed under section 44B."

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to amounts paid after the date of the enactment of this Act, in taxable years ending after such date.

SEC. 2. RESIDENTIAL SOLAR ENERGY EQUIPMENT.

(a) GENERAL RULE.—Subpart A of part IV of subchapter A of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to credits allowable) is amended by inserting immediately before section 45 the following new section:

"Sec. 44C. RESIDENTIAL SOLAR ENERGY EQUIPMENT.

"(a) GENERAL RULE.—In the case of an individual, there shall be allowed as a credit against the tax imposed by this chapter for the taxable year an amount equal to 25 percent of the qualified solar heating and cooling equipment expenditures paid by the taxpayer during the taxable year with respect to any residence to the extent that such expenditures with respect to such residence do not exceed \$8,000.

"(b) PRIOR EXPENDITURES TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.—If—

"(1) the taxpayer made qualified solar energy equipment expenditures with respect to any residence in any prior taxable year, or

"(2) any prior owner of such residence made qualified solar energy equipment expenditures with respect to such residence,

then subsection (a) shall be applied with respect to such residence for the taxable year by reducing (but not below zero) the dollar amount contained in such subsection by the aggregate of the expenditures described in paragraphs (1) and (2).

"(c) DEFINITIONS AND SPECIAL RULES.—For purposes of this section—

"(1) QUALIFIED SOLAR ENERGY EQUIPMENT EXPENDITURES.—The term 'qualified solar energy expenditures' means any amount paid by an individual for any installation of solar energy equipment in any dwelling unit which at the time of such installation is owned by the individual and used by him as a residence.

"(2) SOLAR ENERGY EQUIPMENT.—The term 'solar energy equipment' means equipment—

"(A) which, when installed in or on, or when connected to, a building—

"(i) uses solar energy to heat or cool such building or provide hot water for use within such building; and

"(ii) meets the interim or definitive performance criteria prescribed by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development under the Solar Heating and Cooling Demonstration Act of 1974;

"(B) the original use of which commences with the taxpayers; and

"(C) which has a useful life of at least 3 years.

"(3) JOINT OWNER-HIP.—In the case of any building which is jointly owned, and is used during any calendar year as a residence, by two or more individuals—

"(A) the amount of the credit allowable under subsection (a) (after applying subsection (b)) with respect to any qualified solar energy equipment expenditures paid during such calendar year by any of such individuals with respect to such building shall be determined by treating all of such individuals as one taxpayer whose taxable year is such calendar year; and

"(B) each of such individuals shall be allowed a credit under subsection (a) for the taxable year in which such calendar year ends in an amount which bears the same ratio to the amount determined under sub-

paragraph (A) as the amount paid by such individuals during such calendar year for such expenditures bears to the aggregate of the amounts paid by all of such individuals during such calendar year for such expenditures.

"(4) TENANT-STOCKHOLDER IN COOPERATIVE HOUSING CORPORATION.—In the case of an individual who holds stock as a tenant-stockholder (as defined in section 216) in a cooperative housing corporation (as defined in such section), such individual—

"(A) shall be treated as owning the dwelling unit which he is entitled to occupy as such stockholder; and

"(B) shall be treated as having paid his tenant-stockholder's proportionate share (as defined in section 216(b)(3)) of any qualified solar energy equipment expenditures paid by such corporation.

"(d) REDUCTION OF BASIS.—The basis of any property shall not be increased by the amount of any qualified solar energy equipment expenditure made with respect to such property to the extent of the amount of any credit allowed under this section with respect to such expenditures."

(b) TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) The table of sections for such subpart A is amended by inserting before the item relating to section 45 the following:

"Sec. 44C. Residential solar energy equipment."

(2) Subsection (a) of section 1016 (relating to adjustments to basis) is amended by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (24) and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon and by inserting after paragraph (24) the following new paragraph:

"(25) to the extent provided in section 44C(d), in the case of property with respect to which a credit has been allowed under section 44C."

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to amounts paid after the date of the enactment of this Act, in taxable years ending after such date.

SEC. 3. CHANGES IN INVESTMENT CREDIT RELATING TO INSULATION AND SOLAR ENERGY.

(a) INSULATION AND SOLAR ENERGY.—Section 48 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to definitions and special rules for purposes of the investment credit) is amended by redesignating subsection (l) as subsection (m) and by adding after subsection (k) the following new subsection:

"(l) RULES FOR INSULATION AND SOLAR ENERGY.—

"(1) TREATMENT AS SECTION 38 PROPERTY.—Any—

"(A) insulation installed in a structure which is used in a trade or business (or held for the production of income) or

"(B) solar energy equipment installed in a structure which is used in a trade or business (or held for the production of income) shall be treated as section 38 property.

"(2) LODGING RULE NOT TO APPLY.—For purposes of this subsection, paragraph (3) of subsection (a) (relating to property used for lodging) shall not apply.

"(3) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this subsection—

"(A) INSULATION.—The term 'insulation' has the meaning given to such term by section 44B(c)(2).

"(B) SOLAR ENERGY EQUIPMENT.—The term 'solar energy equipment' means equipment—

"(i) which, when installed in or on a building, uses solar energy to heat or cool such building or provide hot water for use within such building and meets such criteria as the Secretary shall by regulations prescribe;

"(ii) the original use of which commences with the taxpayer; and

"(iii) which has a useful life of at least 3 fixed years.

The Secretary shall initially prescribe regulations under clause (i) not later than 1 year after the date of the enactment of this section."

(b) EFFECTIVE DATES.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply to amounts paid or incurred after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 4. AMORTIZATION OF QUALIFIED ENERGY USE PROPERTY.

(a) GENERAL RULE.—Part VI of subchapter B of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to itemized deductions for individuals and corporations) is amended by adding at end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 192. AMORTIZATION OF QUALIFIED ENERGY USE PROPERTY.

"(a) ALLOWANCE OF DEDUCTION.—Every person, at his election, shall be entitled to a deduction with respect to the amortization of any qualified energy use property (as defined in subsection (b)), based on a period of 60 months.

"(b) QUALIFIED ENERGY USE PROPERTY.—For purposes of this section—

"(1) QUALIFIED ENERGY USE PROPERTY.—The term 'qualified energy use property' means—

- "(A) qualified waste equipment,
- "(B) qualified shale oil conversion equipment,
- "(C) qualified solar energy equipment,
- "(D) qualified geothermal energy equipment.

"(2) QUALIFIED WASTE EQUIPMENT.—The term 'qualified waste equipment' means any machinery or equipment (of a character subject to the allowance for depreciation)—

"(A) necessary to permit the use of waste as a fuel in a facility burning only waste or a combination of waste and oil as its principal fuel (including unloading equipment, feeding systems, and refuse-firing ports for waste fuels),

"(B) used to process waste into a fuel, or

"(C) used to sort and prepare solid waste for recycling or used for recycling solid waste.

"(3) QUALIFIED SHALE OIL CONVERSION EQUIPMENT.—The term 'qualified shale oil conversion equipment' means any machinery or equipment (of a character subject to the allowance for depreciation) necessary—

- "(A) to reach the oil shale,
- "(B) to extract the oil shale, or
- "(C) to convert the oil shale into oil or gas.

"(4) QUALIFIED SOLAR ENERGY EQUIPMENT.—The term 'qualified solar energy equipment' means solar energy equipment, as defined in section 44C(c)(2).

"(5) QUALIFIED GEOTHERMAL ENERGY EQUIPMENT.—The term 'qualified geothermal energy equipment' means property (of a character subject to the allowance for depreciation)—

"(A) which is necessary to distribute or use geothermal steam and associated geothermal resources (as defined in section 2(c) of the Geothermal Steam Act of 1970 (30 U.S.C. 1001(c))),

"(B) which, when installed in or on, or adjacent to a structure, uses geothermal energy to heat or cool such structure or to provide hot water or steam for use within such structure,

"(C) the original use of which commences with the taxpayer, and

"(D) which meets such criteria and standards for performance as the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development or the Administrator of Energy Research and Development Administration may prescribe.

"(c) AMOUNT OF DEDUCTION.—The amortization deduction for any qualified energy

use property shall be an amount, with respect to each month of the 60-month period within the taxable year, equal to the adjusted basis of the qualified energy use property at the end of such month divided by the number of months (including the month for which the deduction is computed) remaining in the period. Such adjusted basis at the end of the month shall be computed without regard to the amortization deduction for such month. The amortization deduction provided by this section with respect to any qualified energy use property for any month shall be in lieu of the depreciation deduction with respect to such property for such month provided by section 167. The 60-month period shall begin, as to any qualified energy use property, at the election of the taxpayer, with the month following the month in which such property was placed in service or with the succeeding taxable year.

"(d) SPECIAL RULES FOR ADJUSTED BASIS.—

"(1) For purposes of this section, the adjusted basis of any qualified energy use property with respect to which an election has been made under subsection (e) shall not be increased for amounts chargeable to capital account for additions or improvements after the amortization period has begun.

"(2) The depreciation deduction provided by section 167 shall, notwithstanding subsection (c), be allowed with respect to the portion of the adjusted basis which is not taken into account in applying this section.

"(e) ELECTION OF AMORTIZATION.—The election of the taxpayer to take the amortization deduction, and the election to begin the 60-month period with the month following the month in which the qualified energy use property is placed in service or with the taxable year succeeding the taxable year in which such property is placed in service, shall be made by filing with the Secretary, in such manner, in such form, and within such time as the Secretary may by regulations prescribe, a statement of such election.

"(f) TERMINATION OF ELECTION.—

"(1) BY THE TAXPAYER.—A taxpayer which has elected under subsection (e) to take the amortization deduction with respect to any qualified energy use property may, at any time after making such election, discontinue the amortization deduction with respect to the remainder of the amortization period, such discontinuance to begin as of the beginning of any month specified by the taxpayer in a notice in writing filed with the Secretary before the beginning of such month. The depreciation deduction provided under section 167 shall be allowed, beginning with the first month as to which the amortization deduction does not apply, and the taxpayer shall not be entitled to any further amortization deduction under this section with respect to such property.

"(2) CONSTRUCTIVE TERMINATION.—If at any time during the amortization period any qualified energy use property ceases to meet the requirements of subsection (b) or becomes property with respect to which an amortization deduction under this section is not allowable by reason of subsection (g), the taxpayer shall be deemed to have terminated under paragraph (1) his election under this section. Such termination shall be effective beginning with the month in which such cessation occurs or in which a lease exists which causes disallowance under subsection (g).

"(g) LIFE TENANT AND REMAINDERMAN.—In the case of any qualified energy use property held by one person for life with remainder to another person, the deduction under this section shall be computed as if the life tenant were the absolute owner of

the property and shall be allowable to the life tenant.

"(h) APPLICATION OF SECTION.—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), the amortization deduction provided by this section shall apply to that portion of the basis which is attributable to construction, reconstruction, or erection after the date of the enactment of this section, with respect to property which is placed in service after such date and before the date 5 years after such date.

"(2) SPECIAL RULE.—In the case of property constructed, reconstructed, or erected by the taxpayer, or for the taxpayer pursuant to a contract which is binding on the taxpayer on the date 5 years after the date of the enactment of this section, and at all times thereafter, which is placed in service on or after the date 5 years after such date of enactment, the amortization deduction provided by this section shall apply to that portion of the basis which is attributable to construction, reconstruction, or erection before the date 5 years after such date of enactment.

"(i) CROSS REFERENCE.—

"For treatment of certain gain derived from the disposition of property the adjusted basis of which is determined with regard to this section, see section 1245."

(b) TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) The table of sections for part VI of subchapter B of chapter 1 of such Code is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new item:

"Sec. 192. Amortization of qualified energy use property."

(2) The second sentence of section 46(c) (2) of such Code (defining applicable percentage for purposes of determining qualified investment) is amended by striking out the period at the end thereof and inserting in lieu thereof "(or, if the taxpayer has elected an amortization deduction with respect to the property under section 192, the amortization period)."

(3) Section 1245(a) of such Code (relating to gain from dispositions of certain depreciable property) is amended by striking out "or 191" each place it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "191, or 192".

(4) Section 642(f) of such Code (relating to amortization deductions of estates and trust) is amended by striking out "and 191" and inserting in lieu thereof "191, and 192".

(5) Section 1082(a)(2)(B) of such Code (relating to basis for determining gain or loss) is amended by striking out "or 191" and inserting in lieu thereof "191, or 192".

(6) Section 1250(b)(3) of such Code (relating to depreciation adjustments) is amended by striking out "or 191" and inserting in lieu thereof "191, or 192".

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of the enactment of this Act.

DREDGING OF QUINCY BAY SOUGHT

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to authorize the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to find a solution to the siltation problems at

Quincy Bay and in the area of Broad and Triangle Lakes on the Mississippi River adjacent to Quincy, Ill.

Congress failed to act on an identical bill I introduced during the last session. The committee to which the bill was assigned asked the Department of the Army and the Office of Management and Budget for reports on July 14 of last year. No reports were received, however, before the session ended, which explains the lack of further legislative action.

In the interest of navigation, environmental quality, water quality, recreation, fish and wildlife, a program of dredging to save this splendid recreational area from eventual total destruction ought to be undertaken right away. I urge the Congress and appropriate agencies to act speedily, and I will do all that I can do to encourage prompt response.

The Quincy Bay, Broad and Triangle Lakes and Willow Slough areas in the Mississippi River have provided unparalleled recreational opportunities for people in west central Illinois for over 100 years. Unfortunately, these areas have been damaged gradually over the years by siltation, filling in slowly at first but more rapidly in recent years to the point where waters previously used for water sport are so shallow that they cannot be traversed even by shallow-draft watercraft.

Gravel and rock washed down from hilly regions above and silt from the river forms mudbars and have already deposited 3 to 4 million cubic yards of material. The lower Broad Lake area that was dredged some years ago for fill for a new railroad bridge was originally 25 to 30 feet deep but is now less than 15 feet deep in most parts.

The dredging of the Quincy Bay area coupled with other conservation and hydraulic engineering changes, should preserve Quincy Bay and the surrounding area for the recreational use of generations to come.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF ESTONIA

HON. JAMES J. DELANEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, on February 24, 1918, the Council of Elders of the Estonian Diet issued the following Manifesto to all Peoples of Estonia:

By virtue of the right of self-determination of nations.

Estonia in her historical and ethnic boundaries is declared to be an independent democratic Republic.

Today, Estonians in the United States and throughout the free world are commemorating this 59th anniversary of their independent Republic.

When Russia two and a half centuries ago, after the Great Northern War, first conquered Estonia, the "scorched earth" method of the Russians left the country

completely devastated. As General She-remetjev reported to the Czar: "There was nothing left to destroy; not a cock crowed from Lake Peipus to the Gulf of Riga." Yet, the laborious and tenacious Estonian people recovered and their State became an outpost of Western culture in Eastern Europe despite two centuries of Czarist rule.

The country again demonstrated its enduring stamina and its capacity for self-government and national development during its 20 years of independence following the declaration of 1918. But, on June 17, 1940, the Soviet Union under the terms of the infamous Ribbentrop-Molotov Agreement forcibly seized the Baltic Republics.

Mr. Speaker, even though Estonia has been reoccupied for over a generation by the Russians, the Estonian people have preserved, against all odds, their national identity and retained their Western orientation. Theirs is a fortitude based on a rich cultural tradition. Their sons and daughters who emigrated to these shores have made outstanding contributions to American art, science, and humanities.

Estonia's desire for true national self-determination can only be an inspiration to free men everywhere and I assure them that the United States has never and does not recognize Soviet sovereignty over the Baltic States. It is my fervent prayer that the closing words of the 1918 Manifesto:

Estonia, you stand on the threshold of a hopeful future in which you will be free and independent in determining and directing your fate . . .

may soon again become a reality.

ESTONIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to announce that today marks the 59th anniversary of independence for the Republic of Estonia. I would at this time, take great pride in joining with my constituents of the Third District of New Jersey in commemorating this significant and historic occasion.

It was 59 years ago today that the people of this Baltic State achieved their independence. But, it was not to last. The Communists of the Soviet Union brought an abrupt halt to the freedom of these people during their expansion westward in the early stages of World War II. The Soviets have since failed to restore the precious freedom that was once possessed by the people of Estonia.

Although the United States has never officially recognized this takeover by the Soviet Union, one must sit and wonder if by our passivity on this issue, we have begun to concede to the fact that Estonia is indeed a part of the Soviet Union.

However, we must not fail to recognize the salient issue that is at hand.

That is the right of all people to be free and independent. If we neglect this main concept, then we are no better than the Communists who continue to repress these ennobled people.

Now is the time to follow up on the State Department's recent statements concerning the violation of these rights by the Soviet Union. We have the opportunity now to take advantage of President Carter's personal concern toward the Republic of Estonia.

I am sure that you share my view that Estonia should not be deprived their God-given right of freedom. It is imperative that the democratic countries of the world stand up and voice their opposition to the Soviets in their attempt to gain international recognition of what is essentially a regime of military occupation and political abuse.

Those of us in the United States must encourage the Estonian people in their efforts to retain their liberty and dignity in the hopes that one day they may once more experience independence.

PUBLIC WORKS EMPLOYMENT ACT

HON. LEO C. ZEFERETTI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. ZEFERETTI. Mr. Speaker, today we are considering an extension of title I of the Public Works Employment Act of 1976, which will pump an additional \$4 billion into the funding of local public works projects.

The unemployment problem in this country is certainly one of the most pressing issues facing the Congress and this public works bill is an important stimulus in putting jobless Americans back to work, particularly in the construction industry. In my home State of New York, the State department of labor estimated that the unemployment rate among construction workers averaged more than 24 percent during the first 10 months of 1976.

Public works projects are effective in that they not only have an immediate impact on reducing joblessness but they result in a lasting project that benefits the entire community.

When the original \$2 billion measure was enacted over former President Ford's veto last year, the Economic Development Agency was swamped with 25,000 project applications. The vast majority of those proposals are quite worthwhile and those that were funded are making it possible for our State and local governments to provide critical services to their citizens through the construction of schools, hospitals, roads, and other vital areas that would otherwise be shelved for lack of sufficient funding.

A few aspects of the 1976 law did raise controversy. For example, cities with low jobless rates actually found funding easier to attain than cities with a high rate, due to a 70-30 formula. The

act allocated 70 percent of the funds to areas with high unemployment and 30 percent to areas with lower than average rates. However, most of the applicants sought funds from the 70 percent pool and, as a result, many of the largest cities in America were excluded from funding. I am happy to see that this provision has been deleted along with other controversial segments of the original bill.

Apparently there is a move afoot in the Senate to eliminate the provision that provides additional money where unemployment exceeds the national average. The purpose of the legislation at hand is to establish jobs, and I feel it is of utmost importance to target the funds more closely to areas of high unemployment, particularly our cities, and that purpose can be better achieved if this aspect of the legislation is retained.

Certainly the Public Works Employment Act is not a cure-all for America's employment needs, but the additional \$4 billion authorization will provide an important stimulus to our economy. Therefore, I lend my wholehearted support to the passage of this much needed piece of legislation.

HEARINGS ON EXTENSION OF THE CHILD ABUSE PREVENTION AND TREATMENT ACT

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, February 25, 1977 and Wednesday, March 9, 1977, the Subcommittee on Select Education, which I have the honor to chair, of the Education and Labor Committee will hear testimony on proposals to extend and amend Public Law 93-247, the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has estimated that approximately 1 million children, in both reported and unreported cases, suffer each year from some form of abuse or severe neglect at the hands of adults.

Funds appropriated since the enactment in 1974 of the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act have supported research and local programs of child abuse prevention and treatment.

Mr. Speaker, among the witnesses scheduled to testify before the subcommittee on February 25 will be Dr. Vincent Fontana, director of the Department of Pediatrics at St. Vincent's Hospital in New York; Barbara Blum, of the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene; Dr. Saad Z. Nagi of Ohio State University; and representatives of the following agencies and organizations:

National Committee for the Prevention of Child Abuse;
Child Welfare League of America;
American Public Welfare Association;
National Association of Social Workers;

Child Abuse and Neglect Coordinating Organization of St. Joseph County, Indiana;
Child Abuse and Neglect Project, Texas Migrant Council;
Tennessee State Department of Human Services;
Vermont Division of Social Services;
Massachusetts Office of Children; and
Illinois Department of Children and Family Services.

The hearing will take place at 9:30 a.m. in room 2261 of the Rayburn House Office Building.

Mr. Speaker, the witnesses scheduled to appear before the Subcommittee at the hearing on March 9 include Dr. Edward Zigler of Yale University; Arabella Martinez, Assistant Secretary Designate for Human Development, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and a representative of the New Jersey Division of Youth and Family Services.

The March 9 hearing will commence at 9:30 a.m. in room 2175 of the Rayburn House Office Building.

DROUGHT IN SOUTH DAKOTA

HON. LARRY PRESSLER

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following:

Mr. Speaker, I have on many occasions brought to your attention the severity of the drought in South Dakota and other Midwest States. Today, I would once again like to bring to your attention the hardship many South Dakota farmers and ranchers are facing. I would like to place in the Record an article that appeared in the Farmer, February 5, 1977 entitled "We'll have to sell the cattle." This article was sent to me by a constituent of mine, Mrs. Katharina Redlin of Summit, S. Dak. Mrs. Redlin told me that she and her husband will soon be in the same situation as the people mentioned in the article. I found this article very upsetting and one that clearly shows the serious problems of the South Dakota farmers and ranchers due to the prolonged drought.

WE'LL HAVE TO SELL THE CATTLE

(By Berdeen Oland)

The sky was clear—not a single cloud to screen the hot sun. The range grass had stopped growing and was turning brown and dry. Each day was a repeat—hot, dry, with little promise of rain.

Dave slid out of the saddle. His boot touched the brittle brown grass. Mentally, he calculated the days it would take to finish off this pasture: 20-30? Maybe 40, if a shower would come up and water the dry land.

Dave was a newcomer in the cattle business. But by planning carefully and using good breeding stock, he had built up a herd of beef cattle.

At 45, he had retired from the army as a master sergeant. He had grown up on a farm. When World War II came along, he was drafted and spent three years in the service. An enemy shell had exploded near him and a fragment slammed into his shoulder. He

awoke in a hospital with a pretty nurse bending over him.

He calls that his lucky day, for exactly one year later he married her. Then, after weighing the pros and cons, he re-enlisted. Twenty years later he had a little gray hair, three sons, a daughter and a 43-year-old wife.

That was 10 years ago. Now he stood looking at the brown grass and the Herefords that were mowing it down.

The toe of his boot slipped into the stirrup, his right leg swung up and over the saddle. He turned and rode back toward the ranch house. His wife came out of the house and walked toward him.

"If it doesn't rain soon we will have to sell the cattle." How many times had he said that? But this time he meant it!

"How long will it be?" she asked.

"Oh, about a month." Dave tried to hide the worry nagging at him. Cows were cows. One cow is the same as another, he told himself.

"How about a cup of coffee?" she smiled. "You betcha!" Dave grinned, as he stepped down from the pony.

The hot days wore on. Ten-15, 20. Now Dave knew, even with rain soon, there would not be grass enough to save the cattle.

He put the phone down. It was done. The semis would come in the morning. To the truck drivers, it would be just another pickup. It would be dark. They would slow down and stop as the gate was swung open. Then smooth diesels would purr as the giant trucks rolled into the yard and backed up to the loading chute.

In a few minutes the cattle would be loaded; gates would be slammed shut and locked.

There, in four semis, would be 10 years of bone-tired days, cold nights, lost sleep. And the best years of his life.

He knew each cow—the nervous ones, the mean ones and the good, sweet-tempered ones that were his pets. Those tame old gals that he milked out so their udders wouldn't creak from too much milk. They all would be in the trucks, soon in the stockyards. Dave turned from the phone, walked slowly into the kitchen.

"The trucks are coming in the morning, around 5:30," he stated. "They should be in Sioux Falls by noon."

Her eyes searched his face as she replied, "Couldn't we keep some of the cows? Roanie, Betsy, Ginger? They're my favorites."

"Remember last year when Ginger lost her calf and she came up to the barn to get you to help look for it! And Roanie always had too much milk at first."

He knew his wife well. She did not want to cry, but tears were on their way from her heart to her eyes.

"It would be nice to have a few cows around for company. A ranch is lonesome with all the animals gone. We could buy a little hay."

She was a great gal, this ex-army nurse turned ranch wife. She had been veterinarian, nurse and midwife to these cows.

"Couldn't we, Dave?" Her eyes were swimming now. "Couldn't we?"

Morning came. The trucks came over the hill.

Dave hurried out to open the gate.

One by one, the trucks were loaded. The rattle of the ramps and the crash of closing gates were repeated again and again.

Less than an hour had passed. The trucks disappeared over the hill.

Dave turned and walked dejectedly through the corral. Slowly he pushed open the large gate. Suddenly, he was face to face with his wife and three cows! There she stood in her Levi's and old cowboy hat, with her arm around Ginger's neck.

"Are you mad at me, Dave?" Her question was soft and childlike. He grinned at her. "Shucks," he said. "we have to keep some for seed, don't we?"

They looked at each other, this man and his wife. Ten years of hopes and dreams were gone. But more years were coming, better years. Rain would come again. Grass would grow thick and green again. They would build another herd of herefords.

"You're a great gal," he said.

He saw her lip tremble. He pulled out his big red handkerchief and wiped away her tears.

TRIBUTE TO SURVIVORS OF THE NAZI HOLOCAUST

HON. HENRY A. WAXMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. WAXMAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a very special Bicentennial Celebration which was held by the Council of Post-War Jewish Organizations, Survivors of the Nazi Holocaust. On December 5, 1976, 1,200 people assembled at Temple Beth Am in Los Angeles to pay tribute to America. Mayor Thomas Bradley declared the week of December 5 to be "Jewish Survivors of the Nazi Holocaust Week."

I feel that this was a most appropriate celebration of our Bicentennial, for, it was, of course, on the principles of religious freedom and equal opportunity for all, that America was founded. I would like to have reprinted in this RECORD the inspiring resolution passed by the Council of Post-War Jewish Organizations in which the survivors pledged to rededicate themselves to America:

RESOLUTION

Whereas, the United States of America opened its shores for the oppressed and freedom loving people; and

Whereas, the Jewish survivors of the Nazi holocaust coming from the valley of death found a home of unlimited opportunities in this country of ours; and

Whereas, the United States of America was the first country to extend recognition to the newly founded State of Israel, enabling 300,000 of our fellow survivors of the Nazi holocaust to establish themselves with a new home in the land of our forefathers; and

Whereas, the Jewish survivors of the Nazi holocaust and their children in this country reached unprecedented heights in the fields of science, literature, medicine, art, music, business and government; and

Whereas, the United States of America was a haven for millions of Jewish men, women and children who escaped the pogroms in czarist Russia, instigated for the same evil reasons that caused the destruction of the Jewish communities in Europe;

Now, therefore, be it known that the Jewish survivors of the Nazi holocaust, gathered at this historic bicentennial celebration this 5th day of December, 1976, declare that we are proud to be citizens of this great union, the United States of America.

We hereby pledge to rededicate all our efforts to uphold, cherish and work for the development of this Great country and for the

moral foundation of a society which will be an example for the whole world.

COUNCIL OF POST-WAR JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS, SURVIVORS OF THE NAZI HOLOCAUST.

VOICE OF DEMOCRACY CONTEST

HON. JACK BRINKLEY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, every year the Veterans of Foreign Wars and its Ladies' Auxiliary conduct a Voice of Democracy contest, in which nearly half a million secondary school students participate, competing for five national scholarships. This year's theme was "What America Means to Me."

The winning speechwriter from each State will be coming to Washington in March for the final national judging, and I am extremely proud that this year's winner from Georgia, Daniel Edward Summers, lives in my hometown, Columbus. He is an immensely versatile student at Jordan Vocational High School, and looks forward to a career in space engineering.

Daniel's speech is inspiring, and I insert it in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues.

WHAT AMERICA MEANS TO ME

(By Daniel Edward Summers)

America is not just a geographic location. America is a concept. America is an idea; a desire. America is the great dream.

America is freedom, the freedom to do and say and to think in a manner which seems most likely to affect your well-being. America is the freedom to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." America is the freedom to be whatever you wish to be.

For over two hundred years the great American dream has been growing; looking inward; testing its strengths and discovering its weaknesses. America has been finding herself.

There is no precedent, no blueprint, no path for the great dream to follow. Every step America takes is a step into an unexplored region, a step in a new direction. Only time will tell if it is a step in the right direction.

The road to greatness is long and arduous. America has tripped several times. She had to struggle uphill in 1776. And she almost fell in 1812. She was wounded deeply when her sons died fighting each other in the 1860's. America was cut in World War I, and again in World War II, during the Korean conflict, and in the Vietnamese action. She cried out in pain as her children died fighting in foreign places with strange names—names like Chateau Thierry, Iwo Jima, Inchon, and Danang.

America's leaders have disappointed her; their actions have shamed her in the eyes of the world; her people have become disillusioned. Yet the dream never stops. America does not hide her faults; she exposes them and tries to correct them. America possesses courage; the courage to push on when the day is darkest; the courage to push on towards a brighter tomorrow.

But lately some men have said that the great dream is dead. They have said that the government is corrupt. They have said the people are apathetic. They have said that the young men and women have forgotten what the dream really means.

We have not forgotten. The dream still lives in our hearts, in our minds, and in our souls. We, the youth of today, see America for what she is and for what she can be. We, the adults of tomorrow, see the faults and errors of our Nation. Yet we also see the promises of the future she holds. The faults we will correct. The promises we will build upon. We, the leaders of the future, are willing to work together to make America as great as she can be.

We have a dream. A dream of the future; a dream of a time when man need not fear his fellow man. A dream of a time when all men are equal. A dream of a time when there is equal justice under the law and all men live by the law. We have this dream.

If we, the people of these United States work together we can turn our great dream into a reality and we can instill new hope in all men.

MUTUAL FUND INVESTMENTS IN FARMING: OBJECTIONS TO AGRICULTURE TRUST

HON. MICHAEL T. BLOUIN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. BLOUIN. Mr. Speaker, this afternoon I had the privilege of testifying before the House Subcommittee on Family Farms and Rural Development. The subcommittee is studying a proposal by a Chicago bank and a New York brokerage firm to create a tax-exempt mutual fund, called Ag-Land Trust-I, which would buy and lease farmland.

Although representatives of the bank and brokerage firm apparently feel such investments would be good for family farmers, bankers in the Second District of Iowa clearly do not.

If there is no objection, I would like to enter the text of my remarks before the subcommittee for the benefit of those Members of the House who could not attend the subcommittee's hearing:

TESTIMONY BY MICHAEL T. BLOUIN BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON FAMILY FARMS AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee, I want to thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today and to submit, for the record, copies of correspondence I have received from local bankers in my district concerning the Ag-Land Trust-I proposal currently under review by this Subcommittee.

I realize that, at this point, some members of the Subcommittee and others are convinced that Continental Bank and Merrill-Lynch have or very shortly will withdraw their proposal for a tax-exempt, mutual fund for investments in farms and farmland. I hope this proves to be the case.

If it does, this Subcommittee deserves the credit for acting quickly and with determination to spotlight the Ag-Land Trust problem and to provide a national forum for farmers, business people, conservationists and consumers to express their concern about the very serious problems posed by an investment scheme of this sort.

As I reviewed the testimony presented before this Subcommittee last week, I was amazed to hear that officials of Continental Bank apparently tried to convince you that the Ag-Land Trust plan was actually designed to help family farmers. Only near the

end, when the futility—and the absurdity—of that position overwhelmed them, did they admit that other factors (notably, the profit motive) played an important role in their decision to propose such a plan to the investment community.

I, for one, resent the fact that Continental Bank officials think farmers are only interested in profits—that land ownership, as one of those officials suggested last week, is of less importance to farmers than simple profits. The family farmers I know would find that attitude preposterous, to put it kindly. Yet that attitude represents the theory—the philosophy—on which the Ag-Land Trust concept is built, and therein lies its most serious weakness.

The bankers at Continental Illinois in Chicago may think farmers are ecstatic about a plan like Ag-Land Trust. The bankers in my district clearly know they are not pleased at all by such a scheme. It amounts to no less than a system of absentee landlords and tenant sharecroppers which we have long ago rejected in this country.

In private conversations and in letters to me, bankers in my district—representing banks from large and small communities, some of which are actually correspondent banks with Continental Illinois—have repeatedly stressed the severe financial hardship which mutual fund investments like Ag-Land Trust would pose for family farmers and small town businesses. The letters I am submitting to the Subcommittee today are representative of opinion in my district, not only among bankers, but among farmers, community leaders and small business people as well. I have no doubt that they represent a growing consensus in this country which opposes the gradual but deliberate takeover of family farms by large, national corporations or investment funds. They are, no doubt, representative of the type of reaction which the members of this Subcommittee have heard from their own constituents.

One local banker in my district—and bankers, you know, are not easily given to hyperbole—called the potential impact of funds like Ag-Land Trust “devastating.” Another compared the eventual result to the economic control which the oil cartel exercises in the marketplace today. Agricultural bankers from smaller, largely agricultural communities like those in eastern Iowa, are concerned about the impact which mutual fund investments in farming would have on local land prices, on the ability of young farmers to enter farming, on the local economy, on the productivity of the land itself, and, in the final analysis, on the survival of family farms.

The cost of farmland has already surpassed the ability of that land to produce an adequate return on a farmer's investment. One banker, whose letter I am submitting to the Subcommittee today, reports that farm incomes at today's market prices cover no more than two-thirds of the cost of land at prevailing interest rates. “It stands to reason,” he writes, “that a trust with its favored tax status can accept a lower return on investment than a family farmer, and consequently, will be able to bid higher for land than a farmer could justify if he were to operate the land and pay for it from the profits it would produce.”

Another local banker explains the threat to local economies this way: “Our small community school systems are already suffering decreased enrollment. Our small town businesses need the support of the local farming community to survive. This support would be endangered if the trust bought seed, feed, fertilizer and other needs from a centralized source for all of its farming operations.”

But schools and businesses would not be the only ones to suffer. The land itself might soon bear the unmistakable scars of investment farming. One banker, responding to

my concerns, observed what he called “a tendency to ‘bleed’ the land” when absentee landlords are involved in farming—and especially, he wrote, “where the control is centered in an absentee financial institution.” By bleeding the land, he explained, “we mean that they take all the income that is available and fail to maintain . . . the farms . . .”

I am hopeful that in the very near future this Subcommittee, and in turn the Congress as a whole, will take the necessary steps to adequately insure the survival and prosperity of family farms. I am certain that it is no accident that the Continental-Merrill-Lynch proposal is called Ag-Land Trust-I. If we have seen one such proposal for investing mutual funds in farming, we shall certainly see more. If they are not identical, they will surely be very similar. And they will all share one common denominator—the eventual demise of the family farm.

Last year I introduced legislation to prevent the expansion of corporate farming in this country. Now, legal experts at Legislative Counsel and the American Law Division at Congressional Research Service tell me that there is some doubt whether that legislation, as introduced last year, would adequately prevent mutual fund investments like Ag-Land Trust. I fully realize, as one of the bankers points out in his letter, that it is difficult in our free enterprise system to legislate matters such as this—to establish by law who may or may not purchase land. Yet the survival of family farms may require legislation which does in fact prevent the purchase or operation of farms by corporations and investment trusts.

I know this Subcommittee shares my concern—and the concern expressed in these letters—about the future of family farms. I wish you luck in your efforts to marshal the resources and the support of the federal government on their behalf.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

MAJORITY RULE FOR THE BALTIC STATES

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, in the past year, no principle of American foreign policy has received more attention than that of majority rule. Indeed, as the situation in southern Africa demanded more of our concern, majority rule became the cornerstone of policy under the Ford Administration. Indications are that it will remain so under President Carter.

But if the principle of majority rule has gained prominence from events in Southern Africa, its applicability extends far beyond that continent.

Mr. Speaker, on the day we commemorate the 59th anniversary of Estonian independence, I would like to suggest that the principle of majority rule should be applied to the Baltic states. Certainly these freedom-loving people, if given a chance to choose their political system, would spurn the Soviet oppression under which they have suffered for three decades.

While urging majority rule, we must also insist on adherence to the principles

of the Helsinki agreement. While this treaty does not end political captivity—the horrible basic fact of Estonian life—it does contain guarantees of human rights not being honored in the Baltic States.

Events of the past year sadly illustrate this tragedy. During the summer, the Soviets increased tariffs on incoming packages by as much as 135 percent. This unprecedented increase stemmed from politics, not concern about foreign trade.

What the increase means is that the many Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians who have relatives in the West can no longer receive support from their loved ones. These packages were not only tangible expressions of devotion, but also provided many necessities, particularly food and medical supplies.

Apart from such institutional oppressions, which the Soviets seem to build into their system with as little concern as they did before the Helsinki charter, the personal stories of political prisoners continue to dismay us. My constituent, Olaf Tammarm, president of the Estonian Association of Northern Illinois, recently called two such cases to my attention.

Mart Niklus, an Estonian ornithologist and teacher, spent 10 years at hard labor in various Siberian Gulag camps following his conviction in 1959 for giving some innocuous snapshots of his homeland to visiting Westerners.

On September 30 of last year, Mr. Niklus, stripped of his profession due to his conviction, was arrested again for no apparent reason, released, and then rearrested a week later for “resisting the police” the first time. Mr. Niklus is currently awaiting trial in Isolation Ward 1 of the Central Prison in Tallinn. Speculation exists that he may be sent to a KGB “psychiatric institution.”

Another tragic case is that of Pastor Maksimilians Grivans, a minister of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia. When Pastor Grivans' wife and children escaped Latvia in 1944, he chose to remain and serve his congregation.

Since then, he has served two separate 8-year terms in Siberia though his crimes have never been revealed. At the age of 75, he has been denied his minister's license. His repeated applications for an exit visa also were denied, until he was suddenly given permission to emigrate to Sweden this month. Only the Soviets know why they decided to relax their harassment of Pastor Grivans. But his case remains persuasive evidence of the pattern of religious suppression in the Baltic states under Soviet domination.

Mr. Speaker, as we begin the 95th Congress, we must rededicate ourselves to the principle of national self-determination. The abuses of human rights, which cause untold suffering for both victims and their relatives, continue regardless of the Helsinki agreements, and the United States must continue to assert its outrage at these violations.

Mr. Speaker, we must support basic human freedoms throughout the world. We must champion majority rule for Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

EDUCATIONAL EXPENSES TAX
DEFERRAL ACT

HON. LEO C. ZEFERETTI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. ZEFERETTI. Mr. Speaker, today I am pleased to join in cosponsoring the legislation introduced by my distinguished colleague, ABNER MIKVA, H.R. 1961, known as the Educational Expenses Tax Deferral Act of 1977. It should prove to be an expertly devised plan to ease payment of higher education's burdensome costs.

In times such as these, with the cost of living steadily increasing and the emphasis on the need for advanced education as great or greater than ever, the taxpayer who is financing their education or the education of their spouse or children needs the type of consideration offered by this bill.

By allowing taxpayers to defer significant portions of their Federal income taxes in amounts equivalent to the specified allowable educational expenses incurred by themselves, spouse or children for a 10-year period, the roadblock of financial disability will be removed from the pathway to knowledge for those who otherwise might have to pass by the option of continued education for themselves or immediate dependents.

Under the provisions of H.R. 1961, a taxpayer engaged in the payment of qualified educational expenses of a student will be permitted to defer the payment of income tax in an amount equal to those educational expenses. By "qualified expenses" I am referring to tuition fees, books, and other supplies related to the costs of instruction, but exempting expenses for room and board.

Also, the amount of deferments claimed by a taxpayer during the taxable year in which education expenses are incurred will be reduced during that year. The deferment of income tax payment will be permitted only if the student is attending an institution which is accredited by a recognized accrediting agency. The institution may be one of higher learning or a vocational school.

I believe the inclusion of vocational school expenses under the provisions of this bill is a wise move which will encourage more Americans to develop those skills which lead to meaningful employment in the trade sector of the job market. In a time when so much emphasis is placed on higher education and so many are attending colleges that a 4-year degree is in many cases virtually worthless. I think we need to encourage the young to explore the opportunities of vocational education.

Because no interest will be charged on the deferments, which will be paid annually over a 10-year period which begins either the 1st year following graduation or in the 10th year after the first deferment—whichever is earlier—the legislation will have the effect of granting taxpayers a grace period of 10 years on a percentage of educational expenses.

While I am confident this bill represents a workable plan which should be

instituted with expediency, I also recognize the need for the safeguards of observation and evaluation. For this reason the inclusion of an executive branch study to be conducted by the Secretaries of Treasury and HEW and later reported to Congress, tentatively in 1980 and 1982, receives my firm support. It is a great gesture to grant flexibility in the payment of income taxes for the tradeoff of an increasingly informed public, but we must not let these actions go unregulated.

ESPRIT DE CORPS OF THE AGGIES

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, much has been said of the Texas Aggies, both in peace and war; and also in some jokes which are not generally accepted by a Texas Aggie.

One gentleman, however, has said it all in the following article entitled "Not One Joke" written by Mr. Lynn Ashby that appeared in the Houston Post on February 9, 1977, which portrays the Aggie spirit and camaraderie.

The article follows:

NOT ONE JOKE

(By Lynn Ashby)

Dr. Jacobus D. Bothma is a professor of wildlife management at the University of Pretoria in South Africa. Romulo B. Sanchez is a patent examiner in the U.S. Patent Office in Washington. Emmanuel B. Kuanynin can be found in the Peoples Assembly in Khartoum, Sudan. Baxter Hogue works for Jensen & Co. in Hellerup, Denmark. And if you are ever in Beni, Bolivia, with a sick llama, look up Dr. Winston Suarez-Arauz.

All of these people, however far flung and wide spread, have one thing in common.

They are all Texas Aggies.

That rather boggles the mind, doesn't it? One thinks of Aggies as plowing the back 40 with a sagging mule, or growing moss on rolling stones, or even—on extremely rare occasions—rounding up Longhorns. They do all of these things, to be sure, but over the past 100 years the Farmers have turned to other pursuits, and not all of them are farmers. They are deep sea divers, bankers and doctors. An Aggie is the head coach of the Chicago Bears. Two assistant coaches in the NFL are from College Station; so are 15 players. There are times on Sunday afternoons when Aggies are lined up against Aggies.

Aggies now dwell in 80 countries, all 50 states and every single one of Texas' 254 counties. The school has graduated 80,000 persons, of which 70,000 are still around. They are insidious. The president of the Agrarian University in Lima is Dr. Orlando Oicese, Aggie. Dr. Rasipur N. Varadarajan at the College of Engineering and Technology in Madras, India, ditto. The vice chancellor of the engineering university in Dacca, Bangladesh, the dean at Riyadh University in Saudi Arabia, are Aggies. If you wish to get into the Harvard Graduate School of Business, don't tell any Aggie jokes. Dean Lawrence E. Fouraker is A&M '44.

After careful consideration, I fully believe that Texas A&M is a front for the CIA. If not, then why are there Aggies in Luanda, Angola and Holguin, Cuba? The U.S. Army may have pulled out of South Vietnam, but even today in Cholon, Dalat and Saigon, there are small fellows in black pajamas

wearing familiar class rings. Indeed, they are everywhere. Moshen Haddad governs a province in Tunisia, but is an Aggie. Carlos Aquino, class of '70, was secretary of agriculture in the Dominican Republic. He was replaced by Jaime Vinas, class of '71. It's all in the family.

"We have families in Mexico which are now in their third generation of Aggies," says Paul Creech, director of the school's international programs. "A&M has been educating students all over the world for so long that these days I can be waiting in any airport in the world, and inevitably some nice-looking, clean-cut young man will come up and say, 'You don't remember me, but ...'"

Putting such stress on the military aspect, as they tend to do in the Brazos bottoms, it is no surprise to learn that over the years 150 Aggies have become generals and admirals. At one point in Vietnam, there were two U.S. Marine divisions, both commanded by Aggies. Even today, the APO and FPO addresses in the former students' directory runs into the hundreds and hundreds.

As I said, they are everywhere, no doubt quietly plotting the overthrow of the rest of us. There are 30 Aggies in Bogota, five in Rio de Janeiro, nine in Baghdad, 28 in Hong Kong and 35 in Kowloon. They hang out in Tel Aviv, Cairo, Casablanca and Oslo. In Athens (2), Bombay (16) and Seoul (11).

If you ever visit the Khairathabad Mosque in Hyderabad, India, you may hear the soft chant of a mysterious prayer from the Himalayas: "Hullabaloo, kaneck, kaneck," because an Aggie, Mohammed Haq, lives there master's degree in agriculture, class of '47).

Sugar mills in Panama, plan; breeding in the outback of South Africa, airline in El Salvador, businesses in Cairns, Australia, game preserves in Swaziland, all are overrun with Aggies. I once came across a Briton who had served as an officer in the Indian Army. No, not out of Sandhurst, but College Station. Every April 21 they have muster and this year there will be 400 of them, including 140 overseas. They have held them on cruise ships in the South Pacific (several Longhorns were allowed to attend) and 23 Aggies held muster on April 21, 1942, on Corregidor before surrendering. There is no record as to whether the Japanese commander was an Aggie, but there are rumors to that effect.

There are drawbacks to all of this. Emory Bellard says every time he goes into a men's room he meets an Aggie. But there are pluses, too. Like the Sunday afternoon when A&M President Dr. Jack Williams and his wife were driving along outside of Monroe, La., and hit something, putting a hole in their gas tank. Call a mechanic? No need, Dr. Williams called Buck Weirus back in College Station. Weirus is executive director of the Association of Former Students and therefore knows the exact whereabouts of all living 70,000 Aggies at any given time.

Weirus checked his files and within a few minutes, as Dr. Williams recalls, "there was a platoon of Aggies coming to help." They took him to Shreveport where an Aggie got the local Cadillac dealer to open his shop and replace the tank, and the Williamses were on their way.

"Now," says Weirus proudly, "Dr. Williams always carries a copy of the directory of former students with him."

ESTONIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. EDWIN B. FORSYTHE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. FORSYTHE. Mr. Speaker, on February 24, the Estonian people cele-

brate the 59th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Estonia. To gain independence in 1918, Estonia bravely withstood onslaughts by the Russian and German armies. However, her independence was short-lived, for some 22 years later, Estonia was to fall victim to those two powers.

Estonia was incorporated into the Soviet Union in 1940. Since then, the United States has never recognized the Soviet aggression in annexing the free nations of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

Even though Estonia is within Soviet borders, Estonia would like to have a meaningful existence of its own, free from Soviet domination and restrictions. Despite Soviet attempts to erase the country's culture and national identity, Estonia remains as one of the unique Western regions in present-day Soviet Union. The peaceful people of Estonia hope that someday the Soviet Union will allow them the freedom and independence which is rightfully theirs.

Although there are only a small number of Estonians living in the United States today, they have contributed significantly to our heritage. It is our hope that Estonians may once again enjoy the right to individual freedom that they are entitled. We in the United States support the Estonians goal of sovereignty and personal freedom.

LET US GET AT IT

HON. BARBER B. CONABLE, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Speaker, the problem of social security financing is nearing a critical stage.

Both major trust funds, used to pay benefits to 32.8 million beneficiaries, are being depleted rapidly. In 2 years, there will not be enough money left in the disability insurance trust fund to meet benefit demands. Within another 5 years, the old age and survivors insurance trust fund similarly will be exhausted. Corrective action is needed, and needed soon.

But this is not news. The plight of the social security trust funds has been all but shouted from the rooftops for several years. Newspapers, magazines, and radio and television stations have carried the message to virtually every household in the Nation.

In each of the past 2 years, the preceding administration—responding to the growing need—sent us recommendations for tax increases sufficient to take care of the trust fund shortfalls. Yet, despite the warnings we have had, the Congress has dawdled on the issue for 2 straight years.

Unfortunately, the new administration has produced no recommendations for bringing in more money to the trust funds. The Carter budget has, in effect, ignored the crisis.

But we cannot afford to ignore it. The trust funds are running out of money, and we are running out of time.

DIFFICULTIES WITH HIGH-TECHNOLOGY ENERGY

HON. TOM HARKIN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. Speaker, this week's Science magazine, the publication of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, reports that the leaders of solidly respectable middle-class environmental organizations have recommended a major shift away from large-scale high-technology energy, including a phaseout of nuclear energy over the next 10 years.

A task force of groups such as the National Audubon Society and the Sierra Club has pointed out that big, capital-intensive, environmentally-disruptive energy technologies such as nuclear energy, synthetic fuels from coal, shale oil extraction, and large central-station generating plants are wasteful of energy and capital.

The projected capital requirements for these types of energy total more than \$1,000 billion over the next decade. Half this amount would pay to install a sizable solar space and hot water heating system and add adequate insulation to every one of the 75 million dwelling units in the country, even if it is assumed that there would be no significant economies from mass production.

I am inserting the Science article into the Record for the benefit of my colleagues:

FAILURE SEEN FOR BIG-SCALE, HIGH-TECHNOLOGY ENERGY PLANS (By Luther J. Carter)

Environmentalists come, by and large, from the more comfortable reaches of the middle class, and, this being true, most are at one with the rest of the affluent society in the lavish use of energy and other resources. Nonetheless, conservation of energy and all nonrenewable resources has long been a watchword of the environmentalists—they were preaching it on the first "Earth Day," in the spring of 1970, and even before. It was therefore predictable that, when a special environmental task force reported on February 2 to a meeting of the faithful in Washington on "The Unfinished Agenda,"¹ the central theme should be that the nation must become a "conservative-society." But what was not predictable was that this task force—made up of leaders of solidly respectable middle-class organizations, such as the Na-

¹ Members of the environmental agenda task force were Gerald O. Barney (coordinator), of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund staff; John H. Adams, Natural Resources Defense Council; David R. Brower, Friends of the Earth; George D. Davis, Wilderness Society; Robert T. Dennis, Zero Population Growth; Thomas L. Kimball, National Wildlife Federation; Ian C. T. Nisbet, Massachusetts Audubon Society; G. Jon Rousch, Nature Conservancy; Arlie Schardt, Environmental Defense Fund; Mattland S. Sharpe, Izaak Walton League of America; Anthony Wayne Smith, National Parks and Conservation Association; Elvis J. Stahr, National Audubon Society; and Paul Swatek, Sierra Club. The report, *The Unfinished Agenda: The Citizen's Policy Guide to Environmental Issues*, is available at \$3.95 (paperback) from Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 666 Fifth Avenue, New York 10019.

tional Audubon Society and the Sierra Club, and sponsored by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund—should go so far as to recommend a phaseout of nuclear energy over the next 10 years and a major shift away from large-scale, high-technology energy development generally.

A MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT CARTER

The task force report is meant to let President Carter and his new Administration know how a representative group of environmentalists assesses the problems and the priorities across a wide range of issues, including those having to do with population and food policies, air and water pollution, control of toxic substances, and even the regulation of recombinant DNA research. But it comes to its most striking conclusions in discussing energy policy.

The report holds that, up to now, national energy policy has been characterized by a heavy emphasis on large-scale, capital-intensive, and potentially environmentally disruptive endeavors to rapidly increase supplies of energy, especially electricity. This policy, with its early pretensions to "energy independence" by 1985, is put down as a sure failure, in part because of enormous and unsustainable demand for capital investments totaling more than \$1 trillion over the next decade.

Although the report dwells more on the alleged drawbacks of nuclear power than on those associated with other big, capital-intensive energy technologies, it is unsparing in its treatment of all of them. This is how it sums up their prospects:

The large coal-synthetics and oil-shale industries once envisioned will never be built because they waste too much energy and capital. Massive strip-mining of the arid West will never become publicly acceptable. The full exploitation of the Arctic is only a dream. The electric utility industry is faltering and may soon be financially moribund, in part because the utility laws force the utilities to be so wasteful of both capital and energy. And above all, nuclear power is dying. Dying not only because in economic terms it is too capital-intensive to be viable as a long-range energy option, but because the more debate surrounds it, the less viable it becomes as a political reality. Nuclear proponents are winning a few battles, but losing the war.

Besides calling for an early phaseout of nuclear power, the report recommends that all subsidies be withdrawn from all of the energy industries, and that the antitrust and securities laws be vigorously enforced. It holds that all of the large-scale, capital-intensive energy technologies would lead to bad results; compulsory governmental diversion of capital, skills, water, and other scarce resources; huge concentrations of political and economic power; and conflicts between central (often federal) authority and local governments as energy projects are thrust upon people who do not want them and high social costs are imposed on politically weak but resource-rich regions—such as Appalachia or the Navajo country in the southwest—for the benefit of urban energy consumers.

The task force's own "blueprint" for an energy policy calls chiefly for a two-pronged strategy that would involve cutting energy demand by half through conservation and using and developing "soft" energy technologies, such as solar heating and cooling, wind power, and conversion of organic matter. Instead of more large centralized energy systems, as typified by big electric generating plants hooked up to regional and national power grids, a profusion of small-scale energy systems of various kinds at the local, neighborhood, and household levels would be promoted. Coal and other fossil fuels would be used judiciously over the next few decades in making the transition to the new energy era.

Although the report represents a consensus

of the thinking of the 13 members of the task force, certain chapters were prepared by outsiders. The energy chapter was done by Amory B. Lovins, a British physicist who drew heavily on his widely noticed article ("Energy Strategy: The Road Not Taken") in the October 1976 issue of "Foreign Affairs." A sit happens, Lovins was also among nine environmentalists, economists, and energy specialists who met for 3 days last October at a Georgia retreat to draft what has since been circulated as "The Wolf Creek Statement: Toward a Sustainable Energy Society."²

This paper, also addressed to the attention of the Carter Administration, is no less pessimistic than the report of the Rockefeller Brothers task force in its view of the conventional approach to solving the energy problem. And it, too, recommends a major new emphasis on conservation and a gradual shift to small-scale, decentralized energy technologies based largely on solar energy. But, in its recommendations for a transition strategy, the Wolf Creek group put forward something new. An "energy royalty," or Btu (British thermal unit) tax, to be applied at the point of severance or extraction, would be imposed in gradually increasing amounts over several decades on all nonrenewable fuels, namely, gas, oil, coal, and uranium.

FEDERAL PAY RAISES

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, most Members are complaining of the public controversy stemming from the editorial commentary on the recent pay increases received by Members of Congress, Federal Judiciary, and high level officials of the Government.

In checking through my files, I came across a very sound editorial commentary by WGN Continental Broadcasting Company in Chicago, broadcast on January 19, which the Members may wish to quote to properly explain the issue to their constituents.

The editorial follows:

FEDERAL PAY RAISES

Pay raises for some 20,000 federal employees were part of the final budget sent to Congress by Gerald Ford. The package was included after the out-going administration received assurance that the proposal would have the support of the Carter administration.

The attention-getting figures are the raises proposed by members of Congress, cabinet and sub-cabinet officials and our federal court judges. Indeed, the 3000 or so people in these categories will get substantial salary hikes. But, the salary package covers about 20,000 people, those working at the upper levels of government.

² Available at no cost from the Georgia Conservancy, Suite 407, 3110 Maple Drive, Atlanta 30305. The others besides Lovins who took part in drafting the statement were James W. Benson, ERDA's solar energy division; Charles J. Cicchetti, University of Wisconsin; Herman Daly, Louisiana State University; Denis A. Hayes, Worldwatch Institute; Bruce M. Hannon, University of Illinois; Eugene P. Odum, University of Georgia; David W. Orr, University of North Carolina; and Cecil R. Phillips, Georgia Conservancy.

While government salaries have increased with the cost of living for just about everybody who draws a federal pay check, these 20,000 have had a single five percent salary boost over the last eight years, at a time when the cost of living has risen 60%.

A salary of \$60,000 a year or more looks mighty good to most of us. But, that is what private industry is paying those who are in key management positions. And, that is what the government must pay to induce people with the talents needed to give up private employment for public service.

AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY MONTH

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, 3 weeks ago 80 million Americans viewed the television epic "Roots." This show awakened many individuals to the struggle faced by the American black from his ancestral days in Africa to their struggle after emancipation.

In an effort to help increase Americans' knowledge of Afro-American History, New York Gov. Hugh I. Carey, a former member of this House, proclaimed February 1977, as Afro-American (Black) History Month in New York State. This proclamation is a credit to him and the people of New York.

I would like to share this proclamation with my colleagues:

PROCLAMATION

The history and culture of all segments of the American people contribute to the vitality of our way of life. An important segment of our culture is the study of Afro-American life and history.

The Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History was founded in 1915 by Dr. Carter G. Woodson, for the purpose of calling attention to the contribution of black people to the advancement of America.

The study of black history and culture can foster better understanding between people and encourage a keener appreciation of the heritage of all Americans.

Now, therefore, I, Hugh L. Carey, Governor of the State of New York, do hereby proclaim the month of February, 1977, as Afro-American (Black) History Month in New York State.

FIFTY-NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF ESTONIAN INDEPENDENCE

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, at a time in our history when the people of our Nation have just celebrated 200 years of independence, let me take this opportunity to remind my colleagues that there are still many people in parts of the world who cannot call themselves free. I speak now of the Estonian people, who, since 1940, have been bound by the shackles of Soviet authority.

Today, February 24, marks the 59th anniversary of this proud people's homeland, the Republic of Estonia. In 1918, this nation received its independence, only to be seized in 1940 by the forces of the Soviet Union.

In our quest for human rights, let us not forget the Estonian people and all other peoples of the world who are still denied their basic liberties. I call upon my colleagues to join me in commemoration of the Republic of Estonia and in reaffirming our efforts to bring about the true independence of these subjugated people.

ENERGY CONSERVATION: A NATIONAL NECESSITY

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, once again the American people are facing the grim realities of the ever-worsening energy crisis. Mother Nature has hit the eastern two-thirds of the United States with perhaps the coldest winter on record. The cold wave has put a massive strain on our natural gas reserves and especially on our interstate distribution system. Industries have had to close down, putting nearly 2 million people temporarily out of work. Many schools have been forced to send their children home, and millions of Americans have turned their thermostats down to conserve our remaining natural gas reserves for home heating and priority users.

Austere conservation measures like these, and some cooperation from the weather, will help us get through this present crisis situation. But these measures will not answer our long-range energy problems. We must develop a coordinated energy conservation program which would be an integral part of a comprehensive energy strategy.

Long-term conservation will take the cooperation of all of us. President Carter and Congress must take the lead together in developing an imaginative conservation program to meet this problem. Such a program will also require the commitment of industry and the American people to curb all wasteful use of energy.

I commend to my colleagues' attention a statement of just such a commitment by Frank N. Ikard, president of the American Petroleum Institute, which appeared in the January 16 Washington Post. I found it informative, and hope each Member of this body will find likewise:

ENERGY CONSERVATION: A NATIONAL NECESSITY

Many distinguished Americans across the country are saying it.

Government officials of both political parties are saying it.

The petroleum industry has been saying it for years.

Yet, as President-elect Carter declared during his campaign:

"There is no major energy conservation program in this country."

We in the petroleum industry agree with Mr. Carter.

We believe that people should continue to remember those long angry lines of embargo days.

And that we all should constantly remind ourselves that the United States now is importing more than 40 percent of the oil used in this country.

Energy conservation must be everybody's business.

More than four years ago, testifying for the American petroleum industry before the Platform Committee of one of our national political parties, I said:

"From now on, however, we will have to learn to be close-fisted about our use of energy in everything from home air conditioning units to the operation of our cars. I can assure you that the petroleum industry endorses and is actively supporting this kind of conservation mindedness."

The petroleum industry wants to conserve energy because it makes economic sense for us just as it does for other industries and all the people of the nation. Our industry's big problem in the years ahead is not going to be selling oil, but finding enough supply to meet the demand.

Of course oil companies compete with each other in the marketplace. That's what competitive enterprise is all about. But there is no conflict between the oil industry's comprehension of the need for energy conservation and the fact that each oil company wants the people to buy its brand when they do buy.

The country needs a major energy conservation program, with White House leadership and Congressional guidance that will move every institution and each individual American to participate.

Mr. Carter has put energy conservation on the agenda as a subject for discussion in a national "fireside" chat early in his administration.

The petroleum industry pledges its support to enlightened new public policies which will make energy conservation and efficiency a national ethic.

FRANK N. IKARD,
President, American Petroleum Institute.

THE FOOTBALL TEAM KEEPS FARRELL, PA., NO. 1

HON. MARC L. MARKS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. MARKS. Mr. Speaker, the high school football team in Farrell, Pa., is being honored Friday, February 25, 1977, for winning the 1976 WPIAL, class AA championship, the first for the school since 1951.

Winning a WPIAL title is quite an achievement. Football experts throughout the Nation will agree that this particular league is perhaps the toughest in the Nation. Its list of graduates are those you see in the sports headlines. One name that comes to mind immediately is Anthony Dorsett of Alliquippa who played one of his last high school games on Farrell's gridiron.

Just in case the name Farrell rings a bell in athletic circles, I remind you that its basketball team has brought fame to the city over the past quarter of a century in having won more State championships than any school in the history of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

One would tend to think that with a record like that, accepting championship trophies would be "old hat" and in fact make the fans somewhat blasé. Not so. Each win produces more excitement than the last and today is no exception. I offer congratulations to the boys, their parents, the coaches and certainly the vast legion of supporters who never allow Farrell to be anything less than No. 1.

THE JOBLESS YOUNG

HON. RONALD A. SARASIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. SARASIN. Mr. Speaker, the issue of minimum wage for youth has been one of the more controversial in the Congress. The central question is whether or not such a wage scale deters businesses from hiring our young people and just what impact this has had on the 22 percent unemployment rate for youth.

I believe that we have talked the issue to death without sufficient facts. On Wednesday, February 9, 1977, the Wall Street Journal ran a lead article which, in my view, clearly hits the proverbial nail on the head: we do not know enough to really determine what effect minimum wage has on youth, but what little we do know indicates that it has a dramatic effect on those youth most desperately in need of employment. I commend this article to the attention of all Members of the House:

THE JOBLESS YOUNG—ARE TEENAGERS IDLED BY THE \$2.30 PAY FLOOR? SOME YOUTHS THINK SO—BUT UNION CHIEFS WANT RISE TO \$3 HOURLY MINIMUM, FEAR A SPLIT-LEVEL RATE—IN DANGERS AN ILLEGAL SITTER
(By Alfred L. Malabre, Jr.)

Betty Jackson has a message for the people in Washington who want to raise the nation's minimum wage:

Drop dead.

If you suspect that Betty Jackson is a profit-greedy employer of unskilled workers who toil in some sweatshop for \$2.30 an hour—the minimum allowed by federal law—you are wrong. Plump, middle-aged, black, the mother of four ranging from 17 years of age down to 11, she employs no one. She is poor, and she herself is employed, at modest pay, as a social worker by Dade County, Fla. Her job is to try to find work for jobless teenagers in a poverty-ridden area just north of Miami.

"It would be just awful for the kids if they (the federal authorities) raise the minimum wage again," the black woman says. "It's bad enough now, but if the floor goes up again, the kids simply won't ever get hired."

A NEW ATTITUDE

A decade ago, people such as Betty Jackson, working closely with the poor and the unemployed, probably would have talked differently; the prospect of a sharply higher minimum wage would have been heartily welcomed. But no longer. Over the years, teen-age unemployment has mounted even faster than joblessness in general. And, increasingly, some people in the front line of the war against teen-age joblessness single out minimum-wage regulations as a major barrier.

Nevertheless, plans are afoot in both houses of Congress to raise the minimum wage to \$3 an hour and to provide automatic living-cost adjustments. The AFL-CIO regards such legislation as a top-priority need that should, the federation says, "benefit the entire economy by generating additional purchasing power and additional jobs." That view is strongly endorsed by F. Ray Marshall, President Carter's Labor Secretary.

Congressional proponents of a higher minimum wage, as well as many labor leaders, firmly oppose suggestions that any exemption be made for teen-age pay. "Teen-agers would simply replace older workers if they were exempted," warns Clara F. Schiess, an AFL-CIO economist, taking a view that harks back to the days before child-labor laws were enacted. "Nothing is gained by pitting one age group against another."

And an aide to Rep. John H. Dent (D., Pa.), who plans shortly to introduce the \$3-an-hour proposal in the House, declares that "with such high adult unemployment as we have today, we certainly don't want to encourage a substitution of teen-agers for breadwinners."

SCARCITY OF STUDIES

Extensive, impartial studies of the causes of teen-age joblessness are surprisingly scarce, inconclusive and devoid of comment from teen-agers themselves. About seven years ago, the Labor Department issued a 189-page booklet titled "Youth Unemployment and Minimum Wages." The booklet stated that "increases in the level and coverage of the federal minimum wage may have contributed to the employment problems of teen-agers." However, it went on to caution that "it is difficult to disentangle such effects from numerous other influences," such as training programs and schooling.

The booklet didn't address the important question of whether teen-agers might grab jobs from adults. Besides, some observers suspect that it is adults—particularly the women surging into the labor force—who are grabbing unskilled, low-paying jobs from teen-agers. And the competition for entry-level work is rising at a time when an increasingly technological economy may be generating proportionately fewer such jobs.

Betty Jackson, of course, works entirely on teen-agers' problems and not an adult unemployment which remains about 7 percent despite nearly two years of economic recovery in the U.S. Accordingly, she cringes at the prospect of a \$3 minimum that would include teen-agers. In fact, she is convinced that even the current \$2.30 wage floor has tended to increase the teen-age jobless rate, which stands at nearly 20 percent for all teen-agers and roughly twice that level for black youths.

SURVEYING THE TEEN-AGERS

Many teen-agers themselves share her views, according to a recent survey of more than 100 Dade County youths. Undertaken by the county consumer advocate's office, the survey sought to find out whether rising minimum wages do in fact contribute to teen-age joblessness. Today's \$2.30 minimum is up from \$1.60 as recently as 1971.

Teen-age unemployment is a severe problem in Dade County, an area with large black and Cuban-refugee populations. Some 40 percent of the youths interviewed said they were looking for work. The others either held jobs or didn't want one. Nearly half of those looking claimed that they would be willing to work for less than \$2.30 an hour. Office work and restaurant jobs were frequently cited as occupations in which minimum-wage rules tend to limit the hiring of youths.

A second, more-comprehensive study into the causes of teen-age unemployment in Dade County is being planned, with graduate students at the University of Miami volunteering to help county officials. But the

recent survey leaves little doubt about the impact of minimum-wage rules.

Among the teen-agers surveyed is Maggie Jones, a 17-year-old black. Maggie, who recently gave birth to a boy, is unemployed but wants work. Guided by Dade County social workers, she recently applied for work at enterprises ranging from fast-food chains to department stores. However, she says, the answer that she gets is "always no, there's nothing available just now."

Would she work for less than \$2.30 an hour? "You bet I would, but there aren't many jobs like that around," she says.

Jimmy Harris, an 18-year-old black neighbor of Maggie's, also wants a job. He had one last year, helping with inventories in a department store; it paid \$2.30 an hour, and he says he liked it. But he was laid off on Dec. 20, when the Christmas shopping rush began to subside. Like Maggie, Jimmy claims that he would gladly work for less than \$2.30 an hour. But "there's nothing around," he says, although he is a high school graduate.

Leonard Murray, a 17-year-old black, recently had job interviews at Miami branches of two fast-food chains, but he says, "I've had no luck." He had earned \$2.60 an hour in a metalworking plant; however, he recently was laid off. "I would have been happy to work there the rest of my life," he says. "It was an eight-hour day, but I really had to work hard only three or four hours." He reckons that "there would be more work if there was no minimum wage" for teen-agers.

Some of the teen-agers interviewed who do hold jobs are working for less than the \$2.30 minimum. In some instances, federal law apparently is being violated. No violation of state law is involved because Florida is one of 10 states with no minimum-wage statute of its own.

Deborah Evans, 17 and black, earns \$15 a week baby-sitting for a neighbor. The job, which is steady, entails about four hours of work a day, so that on an hourly basis she receives far less than the \$2.30 minimum. Neither Deborah nor her neighbor seem aware that a federal regulation is being violated. Although casual baby-sitting for a few hours a week isn't subject to minimum-wage rules, Labor Department officials say a job such as Deborah's which involves more than 20 hours a week, clearly comes under the regulations.

WOULD JOB "DISAPPEAR"?

In any event, Deborah seems happy with the job. If she were to demand \$2.30 an hour, she says, the neighbor simply couldn't afford her services, the job would "disappear" and the neighbor would have to either give up her own job or leave young children alone in the house.

Various estimates indicate that roughly 10 million persons in a nonsupervisory labor force of more than 70 million remain uncovered by the federal law, although many of them are covered by state statutes. Some states' rules are stricter than federal law: Alaska's minimum is \$2.80 an hour, and New York's, though \$2.30, applies to a wider assortment of jobs than the federal minimum.

To try to enforce the federal minimum-wage regulations, the government employs about 1,000 so-called compliance officers. Complaints from workers also help. In a recent 12-month period, employers paid nearly \$71 million to some 447,000 workers who had been receiving less than federal law required. But no one knows how many violations of minimum-wage regulations go on.

Federal officials say enforcement is difficult and will grow even harder if the minimum is raised and coverage expanded again. Over the years, more and more job categories have been brought under the regulations; this year, for example, the law was extended to more than 500,000 workers in certain types of chain-store outlets.

CONCERNED BUSINESSMAN

Among Dade County establishments still exempt from minimum-wage regulations is John Manley's small, stand-up restaurant in a poor, black district in the southern part of Miami. Mr. Manley, a middle-aged black whose menu is limited to 18-inch hot dogs and buns, soft drinks and beer, is deeply distressed by teen-age unemployment in his neighborhood. "I would guess only about 10% of the kids around here have jobs," he says. He employs three teen-agers and pays each \$2.25 an hour. If the minimum wage were raised and extended to cover restaurants such as his, would he be able to keep all three? "No way," he says, adding, "If I had to pay them \$3 an hour, two would have to go."

Mr. Manley notes that several teen-agers who have worked for him have gone on to better jobs at the minimum wage or higher. One such teen-ager, he says, now holds a "very good job" as a cook in a downtown Miami restaurant.

Mr. Manley sharply criticizes the local school system, which, he says, produces some "11th graders who can't even change a dollar bill" for a customer. He adds, "They learn more on the job here than at school." Many neighborhood teen-agers are heavily "into drugs," he says, and they wouldn't "work steady if I paid them \$5 an hour." He sees a clear connection linking teen-age unemployment, subsequent idleness, drug use and crime to support the drug habit.

A FATHER'S HELP

Among the few working teen-agers interviewed who gets more than the minimum wage is Jose Ortiz, whose family fled to the U.S. from Cuba in 1962. Jose works as a filing clerk at a Miami hospital. The youth has "no strong feelings one way or the other" about minimum-wage rules and frankly concedes that "I got the job because of my father," an administrator at the hospital. Unlike most teen-agers in the Dade County survey, Jose is from a relatively affluent family.

Moreover, most jobless teen-agers who say that they wouldn't work for less than the minimum wage also appear to belong to fairly well-off families. Gregg Greene, a white youth enrolled at a Miami high school, has "never had a job" but, he adds, "I never really needed one." He believes that if he does get one, he should rightfully earn "just as much as any adult."

Some proponents of a lower minimum for teen-agers note that most industrial nations have lower minimums, or none at all, for youths. Yet, it's said unemployment at all age levels in such countries generally is below corresponding U.S. jobless rates.

DEPUTY MARSHALS

HON. NICK JOE RAHALL II

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, much too long, the deputy U.S. marshals have been overlooked by the U.S. Government.

Today I am introducing legislation which will provide for the upgrading of working grades of deputy marshals.

The bill provides for deputy marshals to be adequately paid, in amounts commensurate with the degree of danger and that they be paid at rates not less than the rates at which other law enforcement personnel are paid.

This legislation is long overdue and

I am proud to support our law enforcement establishment so that the citizens of West Virginia can continue to receive the best possible protection for their wives and children.

BRICK TOWN'S "OUTSTANDING CITIZEN"

HON. EDWIN B. FORSYTHE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. FORSYTHE. Mr. Speaker, a Methodist pastor in the Herbertsville section of Bricktown has been given the "Outstanding Citizen" award by the Brick Township Chamber of Commerce. Rev. Ronald E. Dunk, although still quite a young man, is already in his 14th year as principal pastor of St. Paul's United Methodist Church. I applaud the chamber's choice.

I have learned that, on the occasion when representatives of the chambers board of directors attended services at St. Paul to formalize the decision. Reverend Dunk, or Ron, as he prefers to be called, stepped immediately to the pulpit, and delivered the morning message—on politicians. However, the chamber's delegation had not reason to be apprehensive, for Ron's words are said best to have been described as a civics lesson with a theological frame.

St. Paul's celebrated its centennial year in 1976, and the pastor, that morning, tied into one composite package the significance of the Nation's Bicentennial, the church's centennial, and the rite of political passage implicit in the inaugural ceremonies. Although the sermon topic and the act of presentation coincided only by accident, Ron has made a point of combining his theological and civic interests. Nevertheless, Ron carries his theology into the work-a-day world, rather than bringing that world into the pulpit where the role and function of the small "e" evangelical church are the universal theme.

Perhaps the best example of theology in civic life is Reverend Dunk's service as chaplain, both to the Brick Township Police Department and to the Herbertsville Fire Company and First Aid. But there are a host of other, only slightly less tangible theological pursuits carried on by Ron Dunk in the community of Brick. Ron became district director of youth, 15 years ago, and his juvenile activities have been outstanding throughout Ocean County. He is also chairman of the Conference Board of Education as well as a member of the New Jersey Council on Alcohol Problems. Reverend Dunk also was instrumental in promoting the "meals on wheels" program sponsored by the ministerium.

Although Ron scrupulously keeps political issues out of his pulpit, civic matters frequently are combined with religious ones on the regular "Kaleidoscope" program at 8:30 on WADB on Sunday mornings, a program founded

by Reverend Dunk, and now cohosted by Ron and Father Edward Reisner of Epiphany Roman Catholic Church.

In addition to such contributions, the chamber must certainly have been influenced in its selection by the fact that Ron is a very active chairman of the Brick Township Ethics Committee, a member of its Juvenile Conference Committee and a trustee of Point Pleasant Hospital.

The presentation of the award to Reverend Dunk actually took place on a Saturday night in late January at Lake-wood's Woodlake Country Club. It was a gala evening, one in which Ron shared the honors with his wife, Arlene, and their two daughters, MaryBeth and Alisa.

**PIERRE FISCAL SANITY AND
WASHINGTON FOOLISHNESS**

HON. LARRY PRESSLER

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. Speaker, someone once said, "there is nothing common about commonsense," and with that quote in mind, I would like to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD today a copy of an editorial recently run in the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader that was sent to me by Mr. George Robertson of Sioux Falls, S. Dak. The editorial is worthy of our review as it cites the reasons why the State of South Dakota has successfully avoided any bonded indebtedness. I cannot help but to wonder aloud if we in Congress might not learn something from the fiscal sanity now being practiced in South Dakota.

**PIERRE FISCAL SANITY AND WASHINGTON
FOOLISHNESS**

South Dakota is one of the few states in the nation that doesn't have a bonded debt. It is one of the few states that lives within its means.

The reasons for fiscal sanity in Pierre are found in the South Dakota Constitution. The constitution requires the legislature, if ordinary expenses exceed income, to levy a property tax of not to exceed two mills to make up the deficit. A state mill levy hasn't been used for this purpose for years. The state has been in the black consistently. Another provision in the South Dakota Constitution limits the state's indebtedness to \$100,000.

South Dakota voters in 1978 may get to vote on another constitutional brake on state spending. The South Dakota House passed a resolution calling for a constitutional amendment which would prohibit tax increases without a two-thirds vote of the legislature or a vote of the people. The resolution also has a provision limiting the property tax assessment at 60 per cent unless changed as required by the resolution.

The Senate should enable the South Dakota electorate to vote on this resolution. If it becomes a part of the constitution, it could do much to inhibit increased spending. It might also discourage requests from the public for government at Pierre to do things for them that they can do themselves.

Washington would do well to emulate South Dakota's example of fiscal responsibility. Unfortunately, the climate along the

Potomac doesn't seem to indicate such a switch in federal behavior.

The Senate Budget Committee is recommending that the federal government pay up to \$250 of the fuel bills of families in areas hardest-hit by the uncommonly cold winter. The chairman is U.S. Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, from the state of Maine, which has cold winters. President Jimmy Carter is considering giving some relief to low income Americans on their heating bills.

Paying part of the public's increased heating bills for the worst winter to strike the Midwest and East in 100 years would give Washington's big spenders a precedent to subsidize just about everything else that hurts Americans in the pocketbook.

Muskie should know better. Here's a United States senator urging more spending, without any increase in taxes or reduction somewhere else. Carter should rely on what some Americans perceive as his Southern conservatism to answer this question. Would his fellow Georgians pay for their neighbors' heating bills? Should South Dakota help out Muskie's constituents? We can't imagine South Dakotans passing the tin cup for themselves in the worst of winters.

Carter should ask Americans to do more for themselves and expect a bit less from Washington, except in better performance by the bureaucracy.

If Congress had to contend with spending and tax structures like the ones in effect in Pierre, there'd be an end sometime to mortgaging the future to pay for fuel-foolish ideas like the one from the Senate Budget Committee.

REIMBURSEMENT TO LOCAL GOVERNMENTS FOR TREATMENT GIVEN ILLEGAL ALIENS

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, on February 17, I joined with several other Members of this Congress in cosponsoring a bill whose time has come.

This legislation authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to reimburse medical treatment facilities and local governments for medical treatment provided in emergencies to indigent illegal aliens.

This legislation stands to begin making restitution to hard-pressed areas who have felt the major impact of the continuing flow into this country of such aliens. In Los Angeles County alone, a part of which is included within my district, an estimated \$54 million annually is spent for nonreimbursed health care provided to nonresidents, 90 percent of which is for illegal aliens.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot impress upon my colleagues too strongly the urgent need for immediate action to relieve the county taxpayer in my district and others throughout the Nation of the cost of supporting aliens, whose presence in this country is mainly due to failures of this body to make certain that proper enforcement responsibilities are carried out by the Government.

This bill, like the original introduced by Congressman B. F. Sisk, amends the Public Health Service Act to provide

financial assistance to medical facilities for treatment of certain aliens, including illegal aliens.

I urge Chairman PAUL ROGERS to schedule hearings immediately so that this or similar legislation can proceed. This tremendous cost can no longer be born by the already over-burdened taxpayer.

Mr. Speaker, it is estimated that by 1981, more than 1 million illegal aliens will live in Los Angeles if they continue to reach the city at the alarming rate of the last 5 years.

According to figures compiled by the Los Angeles Police Department, illegal aliens in the city increased from an estimated 190,000 in 1971 to 650,000 in late 1976, a 242-percent increase. This is like coming to Washington for work one morning and finding out that every man, woman, and child living in the District of Columbia was an illegal alien. There are that many such persons in Los Angeles.

Until the Federal Government moves from "benign neglect" of this problem, we must provide relief to local taxpayers. It is the very least we can do.

Mr. Speaker, I ask consent to include with my remarks a letter from Pete Schabarum, a county supervisor from Los Angeles. In addition, I am enclosing a copy of the minutes of the board of supervisors on this subject:

BOARD OF SUPERVISORS,
COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES,

Los Angeles, Calif., February 18, 1977.

Re H.R. 2400 (Sisk) Medical treatment of aliens

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON,
House Office Building
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Congressman Sisk has introduced H.R. 2400 (Medical Treatment of Aliens) which would authorize the Secretary of HEW to reimburse medical treatment facilities and local governments for medical care provided in emergencies to indigent illegal aliens.

The Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors has historically supported such legislation.

I have informed Congressman Sisk that an estimated \$53 million annually is spent by the County of Los Angeles Department of Health Services for non-reimbursed health care provided to non-residents, 90 percent of which is for illegal aliens. Emergency care accounts for an estimated \$11.4 million of this amount.

I have no quarrel with the humanitarian aspect of providing health services to illegal aliens; it is a moral obligation of all involved in government to do so. I am concerned, however, with the question of who has the ultimate responsibility of paying for those services. I believe it belongs to the Federal government, which is responsible for controlling the flow of immigrants, legal or illegal, into California.

The uncontrolled influx of illegal aliens into this country is having a major impact on the cost of local government. I encourage you to join Congressman Sisk as a cosponsor of this legislation.

Sincerely yours,

PETE SCHABARUM,
Supervisor, First District.

MINUTES OF THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS,
COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES, STATE OF
CALIFORNIA

Supervisor Schabarum presented the following statement and motion, which was seconded by Supervisor Edelman:

The County of Los Angeles has no control over the entry of illegal aliens into this country.

That is, correctly so, the responsibility of the Federal government.

The Los Angeles Times has presented a number of stories in the past few weeks concerning illegal aliens. According to the latest story, the City of Los Angeles spends \$37 million annually on providing police services to illegal alien residents.

We've been fighting a battle for several years in regard to getting reimbursement for the costs of medical, welfare and criminal justice support for such persons. However, Federal and State governments have failed to recognize this as a major local problem.

The uncontrolled influx of illegal aliens into this Country is one of the most important social issues in our society today. Yet, to date, this issue has not been resolved.

Failure to come to grips with this problem adds to the substantial burden of the property taxpayer.

For example, Federal authorities say public assistance shall not be given to illegal aliens. The State, on the other hand, says such aid must be given until such time as the Immigration and Naturalization Service—INS—verifies residency status.

State law does not give the County authority to render nonemergency medical care services to illegal aliens. Yet, the Department of Health Services is the primary source of medical help for illegal aliens living here—at a cost of approximately \$48 million annually.

The Federal government is clearly failing in its responsibility to control immigration into this country. Their failure costs local government millions of dollars because, as a practical matter, County government cannot shirk its humanitarian and mandated service responsibilities.

The Board must continue to press the Federal and State governments to face up to their responsibilities.

I, therefore, move that:

1. The CAO summarize the actions the Board has taken with regard to illegal aliens and present a status report of the results of these actions.

2. The County seek legislation which would resolve the conflict between State and Federal policy concerning assistance payments to illegal aliens.

3. The Board press for legislation requiring the Federal government to assume full responsibility for the cost of health and welfare aid provided to all aliens, as the Federal government has the responsibility for controlling immigration.

4. The CAO be instructed to take action to request the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to hold a hearing to determine the conformity of State and Federal laws regarding granting of public assistance to illegal aliens.

5. The Executive Officer request the Secretary of the State Health and Welfare Agency to revise regulations to require that proof of legal status be submitted or in-person referral to INS be made before benefits are granted by the County to any applicant.

6. The Executive Officer request the Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service for adequate staffing of INS offices so that documentation of alien status can be handled as expeditiously as possible.

Supervisor Hahn offered an amendment, which was accepted by the author, to request the appropriate congressional committees to hold hearings on this matter in Los Angeles in order to develop proposed legislation to correct the problem.

Supervisor Hayes offered an amendment, which was accepted by the author, to request President Carter to personally review the situation and to develop legislation which would correct the problem.

Supervisor Ward offered an amendment, which was accepted by the author, to delete recommendation No. 5, relating to requesting the Secretary of Health and Welfare to revise State regulations.

Supervisor Schabarum's original motion, as amended, was duly carried by the following vote: Ayes: Supervisors Schabarum, Hahn, Hayes, Ward and Edelman; Noes: None.

WALL STREET JOURNAL ARTICLE SUPPORTS FINANCIAL BENEFITS OF HOME HEALTH CARE

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the plight of the elderly is a long-recognized problem challenging all of society. It seems rather paradoxical that, in such an affluent and progressive nation, so many of our senior citizens are forced to seek inappropriate and expensive institutionalization.

The Subcommittee on Health and Long-Term Care of the House Select Committee on Aging, which it is my privilege to chair, reported in a recent study that there are 1 million elderly persons in long-term institutions, including 14 to 25 percent of these individuals who do not belong there. The lack of alternatives to institutionalization indicates a grave weakness in the priorities we as a nation have set for ourselves. In recognition of this fact, the subcommittee strongly advocates the expansion and improvement of home health care services.

Donald Moffit, author of a recent Wall Street Journal article entitled "Costs of Home versus Institutional Health Care," examines the financial benefits of home health care services as opposed to institutionalization.

For example, Mr. Moffit cites the case of a 74-year-old woman from Birmingham, Ala., who, requiring several months of nursing care and physical therapy, was sent to a nursing home after surgery and treatment of rheumatoid arthritis. Because of the tremendous financial burden, her family was forced to bring the woman home. "At \$40 a day, the nursing home bill would have run \$8,400. But at home, over a 17-month period, the cost of home care amounted to only \$699.33." These home health care services consisted of 6 visits by a nurse, 5 visits by a physical therapist and 18 visits by a home health aid.

In another instance, an elderly woman underwent surgery for breast cancer. Nineteen additional days in a nursing home for recuperation would have cost \$1,235; instead, she utilized home health care, with 19 visits by a nurse and 9 visits by a home health aid. The total cost was only \$667.

Several of the proposals I have introduced in the 95th Congress focus on home health care. H.R. 1116 proposes extensive revisions in the Medicare law to liberalize coverage for more home health care visits, expand the kinds of services included in home health care, and provide for outpatient medical services. More-

over, extensive amendments are proposed in H.R. 1130. The home health care features of the Medicare program is current statutory language which limits coverage for home health services "to 100 visits during a calendar year" would be deleted and replaced with a subsection that enlarges the home health services to include home services, nutrition services, long-term institutional care services, day care, and community mental health center outpatient services.

Home health services should be developed as a crucial component of a well-defined continuum of alternative living arrangements for the elderly. Not only can it be less costly and maintain the financial stability of the family, as Mr. Moffit's article indicates, but home health care values the lifestyle of patients and allows for personal freedom.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues:

COSTS OF HOME VERSUS INSTITUTIONAL HEALTH CARE

(By Donald Moffitt)

NEW YORK.—At rates that may range upward of \$1,000 a day for intensive care, medical costs can become a crushing burden even on wealthy families. Successful heart surgery last month cost one California man \$22,000; the hospital bill for a Texas woman for the six days before her death last fall came to more than \$6,000. Even when health insurance pays most of the bill, the money ultimately comes right out of the pockets of taxpayers or corporations and individuals paying premiums for the insurance.

In some cases, at least, there is a partial solution to the cost problem. The National League of Nursing, a non-profit organization of nursing agencies, says that many people appear to be more carefully comparing the costs of hospitalization or nursing home care for aging parents or other relatives with the costs of keeping them at home. And the league offers a number of recent case histories to show the kind of cash savings that are possible.

Last year, for example, a 74-year-old woman in Birmingham, Ala., went to a nursing home after surgery and treatment for rheumatoid arthritis and related ailments. As it turned out, the woman needed seven months of nursing and physical therapy. When her family found out what it would cost, they took the woman home. At \$40 a day, the nursing home bill would have run to \$8,400. But at home, over a seven-month period, the cost of her care amounted to only \$699.33. This included six visits by a nurse, five visits by a physical therapist and 18 visits by a home health aide.

INTENSIVE CARE AT HOME

In May last year, a 66-year-old Philadelphia woman underwent surgery for breast cancer. Instead of remaining in the hospital for 19 additional days at a cost of \$3,610, or going to a nursing home at a cost of \$1,235, the woman went home. Nineteen daily visits by a nurse and nine visits by a home health aide, provided the routine medical care she needed at a total cost of just \$667.

A 54-year-old Philadelphia man went to the hospital last June for surgery that revealed he was dying of cancer. Instead of staying in the hospital or going to a nursing home, he returned to his own home and died six days later. A daily visit by a nurse cost his wife a total of \$151.80. Six days in the hospital would have cost \$1,140, and in a nursing home, \$390.

Sometimes even when intensive care is required, the nursing league says, big cost savings are possible; some of the equipment needed for intensive care at home can be rented. In November 1975, a 59-year-old New Yorker left a hospital after a severe heart

attack with complications. He lived 77 days at home. The oxygen gear needed to keep him alive was rented; with medication, it cost \$1,276.31. Twenty-five visits by a nurse and one visit by a physical therapist cost \$690, for a total cost of \$1,966.31. Similar care in institutions—14 days in a hospital and 63 days in a nursing home—would have come to \$5,109.58.

In deciding whether to care for an ailing relative at home, the nursing league says, the family doctor should be consulted first. Many hospitals employ nursing-service specialists who can also assist in designing home-health care programs, often involving the training of family members in routine health-care procedures.

STRESS ON FAMILIES

"Home health care," the league says, "is recognized as an increasingly important alternative to hospitalization or care in a nursing home—less expensive and more effective means of providing health services to those who do not need or who no longer need 24-hour-a-day professional supervision."

A new book called "When Your Parents Grow Old," by Jane Otten and Florence D. Shelly (Funk & Wagnalls, New York; \$9.95); estimates the average national cost of nursing-home care at \$600 a month in 1975 and the cost in big-city, full-service nursing homes at more than \$1,000 a month.

But the authors point out that home health care for an aging parent can cause serious difficulties for a family. "Even very loving and caring families," they say, "exhaust their tolerance when they have been caring for a severely impaired parent for what seems like a long time. This kind of obligation, with its often ceaseless demands, disrupts the lives of family members, destroys harmonious family relationships, and can create great emotional problems for the caretakers."

The National League for Nursing, which can provide detailed information on home health care, is at 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y. 10019.

BOOK SERIES, "TO PROTECT THESE RIGHTS," HAILED

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an exceptionally valuable, scholarly and readable set of books, a six-volume series called, "To Protect These Rights."

The series is edited by a gifted scholar, Dr. Franklin S. Haiman, of Northwestern University, and was planned as a Bicentennial project to further an understanding and appreciation of the Bill of Rights. Each of the six volumes provides a thorough, enlightening discussion of an area of contemporary importance—freedom of speech, rights of privacy, religious freedom, women and the law, racial equality, and due process of law.

Not only does this series make a significant contribution to an understanding of the concepts underlying the Bill of Rights, but it does so in a style that will be appreciated by interested citizens as well as scholars, students and policymakers. These six paperback volumes were published as a joint project by the national American Civil Liberties Union and the National Textbook Co. of Sko-

kie, Ill. They would be a useful and affordable addition to anyone's library and are being distributed in part by the ACLU as a nonprofit effort.

I would like to thank Dr. Haiman, as the editor of this series, for producing the best kind of tribute to the true meaning of the Bicentennial.

ANTI-BOYCOTT LEGISLATION IS URGED TO PROTECT AMERICAN BUSINESS

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which appeared this morning in the New York Times. The editorial notes some recent concerns expressed about an alleged risk to United States-Saudi relations in the passage of strong anti-boycott legislation. The editorial concludes, however, that these fears are completely misplaced.

As the Times makes clear, the proposed legislation has been carefully drafted solely to address the adverse impact upon American business of the Arab boycott. It attempts to meet the highly discriminatory and uniquely anticompetitive effects in our country of the Arab's secondary boycott while not interfering with the Arab's primary boycott against Israel. In this way, the bill raises almost wholly domestic issues.

Anyone who would link the bill with prospects for a Middle East settlement not only misconstrues its intent but, given the sensibilities in that part of the world, makes accommodation more difficult. I am convinced that the bill will ultimately be accepted by all interested parties for exactly what it is: An important and reasonable step toward the protection of legitimate domestic American business interests. As the Times says:

Secondary and tertiary boycotts force American businesses to become the instruments of the foreign policies of other nations. They are wrong and should be illegal.

The full editorial follows:

ONE BOYCOTT IS ENOUGH

Anti-boycott legislation is about to come before Congress again, raising two issues: how to guide American business through the Arab boycott against Israel in a morally defensible way, and how to handle a delicate Middle East diplomatic problem.

In these pages the other day, Richard Nolt, the former United States Ambassador to Egypt, emphasized this country's growing dependence on Saudi Arabia. Oil revenues, he noted, have brought the Saudis a monetary surplus of \$53 billion, half of which is probably in U.S. banks, or invested in U.S. Government securities. More important, the Saudis supply one-quarter of our imported oil. By 1980, the United States will import half its oil, and half of that will come from the Saudis.

Mr. Nolte pointed out that the Saudis have been a moderating force in the Middle East. They were instrumental in ending the war in Lebanon, resolving the quarrel between Egypt and Syria, aiding moderates in the Palestine Liberation Organization, and moving

all these parties toward a negotiated settlement with Israel.

And in their oil pricing policy, the Saudis have been the most restrained of all the OPEC nations.

Such friendly behavior should be rewarded, maintain Mr. Nolte and others respectful of the "Saudi connection." The reward the Saudis seek, it is said, is American pressure on Israel for a Middle Eastern settlement, and an end to our fretting about the boycott. Anti-boycott legislation, we are warned, would be a "red flag" to the Saudis. The problem should be resolved by diplomacy.

The Saudis are a moderating force. That suits their own ends as well as ours. And they are certainly an economic force to be reckoned with. More and more business is flowing to Riyadh, and American business does not wish to be barred from it. A Senate committee has already heard some nervous testimony about American jobs that may be lost if anti-boycott legislation is adopted.

In weighing that legislation, it is important to sort out the degrees and levels of boycott practice. No one denies the legality of a primary boycott of Israel. No one expects the Arabs to buy oranges from Haifa at the moment. The United States has used that kind of boycott itself against Cuba. But there is also a secondary boycott, that blacklists American firms that trade with Israel, or contribute to Israel in some meaningful way. And there is a tertiary boycott that blacklists American firms that deal with other American firms, which happen to deal with Israel. So the tertiary boycott aims to reach domestic American transactions, penalizing, quite possibly, a Texas firm that sells to a California firm.

Further complicating the scene is the former Arab practice of asking American companies whether they employ Jewish directors, officers and suppliers. President Carter recently denounced this invitation to racial discrimination as "obnoxious in a society like our own" and quiet diplomacy, together with the reporting requirements of the Commerce Department, are said to have diminished the practice.

Some form of anti-boycott legislation is clearly needed to protect the constitutional rights of American citizens, and to clarify the legal aspects of business behavior. Secondary and tertiary boycotts force American businesses to become the instruments of the foreign policies of other nations. They are wrong and they should be illegal. Which of the various bills before Congress best achieve that end remains to be seen; international transactions affecting trade, credit and shipment are complicated and next week's hearings will make us all wiser. Secretary of State Vance will speak to the subject on Monday.

As for the Saudi connection, it should not suffer from this effort to codify American principles of fair and proper domestic activity. Far from being a red flag, legislation would avoid all misunderstanding. If America's new friends in the Arab world are truly gaining in sophistication and moderation, they will respect both our intent and our clarity.

THE THIRD WORLD DESERVES BETTER

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House International Relations Committee, I recognize the preoccupation of the diplomatic community

in their efforts to help the so-called Third World.

The New World, the official newspaper of the Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago, discusses this subject in a brief but practical editorial in the February 11 issue:

[From the New World, Feb. 11, 1977]

THE THIRD WORLD DESERVES BETTER

Word that Fidel Castro wants to become the leader of the Third World after the death of Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia, now 84, comes just as the January issue of the magazine *Of Human Rights* reaches our desk.

Of Human Rights is published twice a year by Human Rights, Inc., a nonprofit organization concerned with questions of rights in Cuba. It originates at Georgetown University in Washington.

The latest issue quotes a piece written by John Maclean for the Chicago Tribune Press Service to describe brutal treatment of political prisoners in Cuba. It tells of the apparent use of prisoners as human guinea pigs for medical experiments, of prisoners who died "walled in" and whose deaths "are discovered by the stench."

Castro, the man who wants to head the Third World, has refused to permit any international organization to visit political prisoners. There have been repeated requests from such groups as the Organization of American States.

The U.S. State Department thinks there are at least 20,000 political prisoners in Cuba, a relatively small country. Traditional Marxism, and the Castro adaptations, do not allow for dissent and consider individual freedom a weakness.

The Third World deserves better leadership than the Cuban dictator can provide.

INTRODUCTION OF BROADCAST RENEWAL LEGISLATION

HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing broadcast license renewal legislation that provides for a 5-year license period for both radio and television broadcasters and establishes realistic renewal criteria to be used by the FCC.

Before discussing this bill, however, let me answer a question that many of my colleagues may ask. Why is a leading proponent of the reassessment of the entire Communications Act of 1934 introducing piecemeal legislation? The answer, Mr. Speaker, is that while the staff of the Subcommittee on Communications proceeds with its work in presenting policy options to the members of the subcommittee with regard to the entire rewrite, I intend to make my views on certain issues known through the introduction of legislation so that they may be incorporated in the new Communications Act. I firmly believe that the issues of broadcasting, cable television, and common-carrier policy are so interwoven that a total reassessment of U.S. communications policy is necessary. That belief, however, does not ameliorate my concern about ongoing problems.

In the area of broadcast license renewal, I believe that it is time we recog-

nized the basic realities. It makes no sense to put licensees through the paperwork shuffle every 3 years; it makes no sense to require broadcasters to travel to Washington every time an issue is appealed to the U.S. circuit court of appeals; it makes no sense to require radio broadcasters, who are, after all, businessmen who want to stay in business, to formally ascertain the needs, views, and interests of their audience.

Allow me to elaborate for a moment on that last point. Radio broadcasters, by their very nature, must maintain close contact with their audience to assure economic survival. A radio broadcaster in a small community must be sensitive to that community in order to generate adequate listener and advertiser support. Likewise, a major market radio broadcaster develops a listening audience that is loyal to that station or to its format. Unlike a television station in a major market that must broadcast to the entire market area—viewers are obviously channel changers or we would have only one network—a radio station in that same market broadcasts to a particular audience, and it attracts advertisers who wish to address that particular audience. Such a station does not need to be told to formally ascertain the needs, views, and interests of its audience; it must do so if it wants to generate revenue.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is a straightforward solution to a problem that has been too long debated and clouded by an incredible amount of rhetoric.

I urge a reassessment of our national communications policy, but I do not think this must mean major changes for change's sake.

DRUG THEFTS FROM PHARMACIES

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, I am today reintroducing my bill to make the robbery or attempted robbery of any controlled substance from any pharmacy a Federal crime. This year 27 Members of the House have joined me in cosponsoring this legislation, which has been gaining increasing support from various organizations throughout the country.

Neighborhood pharmacists across America are faced with an epidemic of robberies and burglaries. Along with the other hazards of small businessmen, pharmacists have a special vulnerability. They have supplies of narcotics and other controlled substances which are highly prized by criminals.

As Federal and local law enforcement agencies attempt to crack down on illegal trafficking in drugs, they leave the neighborhood pharmacist as a frontline target for those who seek drugs for illegal purposes. In fiscal 1974 there were 6,000 drug thefts from pharmacies, accounting for more than 80 percent of all drugs stolen in the United States. Sixteen percent of these thefts were armed robberies. More-

over, in my Second District of Pennsylvania alone, retail drugstores have decreased by 100 from 1970 to 1976.

Pharmacists are concerned with more than just the material losses they are suffering. From all across the country there are continuing reports of escalating violence used in the commission of these crimes. In many areas, pharmacies that once provided late night service to those in need of medication now close their doors early for fear of armed assault.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the Federal Government has an obligation to act decisively to reverse this trend. The Federal Government already provides rigid controls on drugs under the Controlled Substance Act. The Federal Government has assumed the primary responsibility for curbing trafficking in drugs. And I believe the Federal Government must provide protection for pharmacists, who are now left exposed as the easiest target for those in pursuit of narcotics and other controlled substances.

RICHARD C. FRAME

HON. JOSEPH S. AMMERMAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. AMMERMAN. Mr. Speaker, this morning I was personally jolted by news of a terrible tragedy in Pennsylvania. I am referring to the light aircraft crash just outside of Harrisburg in which nine people were killed, among whom was a close personal friend and former colleague of mine in the Senate of Pennsylvania, the Honorable Richard C. Frame.

Dick, as he was known to almost everyone, served with distinction in every field to which he ever devoted himself, whether it was the law, or politics, or as a public servant. He was always friendly, he was always kind and he was always true to his word.

Dick served in the Pennsylvania Senate for over 14 years, in fact, the voters of his district only last November elected him to another 4-year term. In addition, he was completing his third year as chairman of the Republican State Committee. From 1973 until January of this year he served as an able and articulate floor leader for the minority in the senate.

Dick Frame and I always enjoyed a warm and close relationship, despite our different political affiliations. The senatorial district which I represented for 6 years and the senatorial district which Dick represented for 14-plus years combined make up almost the exact same boundaries as the 23d Congressional District. So, in addition to our years of mutual service in the senate, Dick has been, for a very short few months, one of my most distinguished constituents.

Mr. Speaker, there is not enough time for me to express to this House my deep personal feelings of friendship, respect, and admiration for this man. When I think of his distinguished career and of

the high offices he held, despite these achievements he was always a kind man and a gentle man. I shall always feel privileged for having known him as well as I did. He will not be forgotten by any of us.

ARKANSANS HOLD APPRECIATION
NIGHT FOR DR. J. F. COOLEY

HON. BILL ALEXANDER

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, on December 3d of last year, Arkansans gathered at Arkansas Baptist College in Little Rock to honor Dr. J. F. Cooley. I consider it a privilege to know this man, one who has spent his entire life in the service of his fellow man.

Dr. Cooley, a native of Rowland, N.C., and academic dean since 1972 at Shorter College in Little Rock, was honored for his "dedicated and sacrificial work in the State of Arkansas for the past 19 years."

Dr. Cooley distinguished himself, among other pursuits, as the first black chaplain at Tucker Prison, earning a certificate of merit from Gov. Dale Bumpers in 1973.

I think Dr. Cooley's contributions to our State are best noted in two articles which I would like to share with my colleagues—the first is an article from his hometown newspaper, the Robesonian, of Lumberton, N.C., on the occasion of his appreciation night and the second is an article from the January 1972 issue of Hep magazine, which highlights Dr. Cooley's work as chaplain at Tucker Prison.

I am indeed proud to call Dr. J. F. Cooley my friend.

The articles follow:

[From the Lumberton (N.C.) Robesonian,
Nov. 30, 1976]

ROWLAND MAN HONORED FOR SERVICE

A former Robeson County man is slated to be honored this week for public service in Arkansas.

He is Dr. J. F. Cooley, a native of Rowland, and academic dean since 1972 at Shorter College in Little Rock, Ark. He was a 1949 graduate of Southside High School at Rowland and a 1953 graduate of Johnson C. Smith University at Charlotte, where he also received a B.D. degree in theology in 1956.

A "Dr. J. F. Cooley Appreciation Night" program is planned for Friday night, Dec. 3, at Arkansas Baptist College, in recognition of his "dedicated and sacrificial work in the State of Arkansas for the past 19 years."

Announcement of the occasion stated that Gov. David Pryor of Arkansas would give recognition to Dr. Cooley, and that the speaker would be a man with whom Dr. Cooley had worked each week for 12 years, from the time the man was sentenced to death until his sentence was commuted and he was paroled.

Dr. Cooley, the first Black chaplain at Tucker Prison, was awarded a certificate of merit by Gov. Dale Bumpers in 1973. He has served as a deputy prosecuting attorney and as a staff member of the Arkansas attorney general's office, in addition to his work in education and religion.

In 1971, when he received an M.A. degree in sociology, Dr. Cooley had two honorary degrees—Doctor of Divinity and Doctor of

Civil Law—bestowed on him. Another college conferred a Doctor of Divinity degree in 1973, when he was chosen one of the "Outstanding Educators of America."

Dr. Cooley was pastor of two churches and taught in the public schools for 11 years before going to Shorter College in 1969. Accepting part-time work as chaplain and counselor at Tucker Intermediate Reformatory and Cummins Prison—a job created by a group of church bodies—he enrolled in a federal training program and earned two certificates qualifying him to be a jail or prison administrator. He has received numerous citations for his work in crime prevention.

On "appreciation night" Dr. Cooley is to be honored for his work in 13 areas:

1. Juvenile crime prevention.
2. Prison parolee and prison reform.
3. Encouraging and inspiring people to stay in the church and school.
4. Getting scholarships for school drop-outs.
5. Helping unwed mothers to secure training, jobs, and aid.
6. Trying to keep peace and harmony between the citizens and all law enforcement agencies.
7. Several wholesome cultural events.
8. Educational program for the prison inmates.
9. Free lunch programs for deprived teenagers.
10. Six Day Care Centers to accommodate poor working mothers.
11. Recreational program for youth for nine years.
12. Instrumental in getting over 600 persons released from prison, jails, courts, penal farms, and other places of confinement.
13. Locating homes of love for neglected and children with no parents.

"Most of this work," the program announcement says, "has been performed with Dr. Cooley's own limited funds, depriving himself of many things, and causing him to make great sacrifices for others."

[From HEP magazine, January 1972]

BLACK PILGRIM AT TUCKER PRISON FARM
(By B. A. Mitchell)

Being a prison chaplain is a difficult task. But to be the first black man to serve as chaplain of Arkansas' Tucker Prison Farm is a challenge that can test the highest ideals of the man filling the position. The Reverend J. F. Cooley, 45, faces just such a challenge.

On June 1, 1971, Rev. Cooley became the first Negro minister to serve at Tucker Prison; a sprawling 4,500-acre prison-farm complex located 35 miles southeast of Little Rock, Arkansas.

Having been branded a controversial civil rights figure in Arkansas for the past 13 years, it is somewhat ironic that James Franklin Cooley would be appointed chaplain of a prison that has attracted worldwide notoriety.

During the past seven years, reports of death, inmate torture, slave-type labor, brutal and inhuman living conditions—as well as a recent Federal Court ruling—have caused the entire Arkansas Prison System to be declared "Unconstitutional." A wave of prison reform measures is struggling to bring changes but progress seems excruciatingly slow; especially to those 330 inmates confined under such infamous conditions.

But perhaps a black leader bold enough to speak out against other human indignities in the south, is just the type leader needed to help correct the spiritual, social and human inadequacy that is so prevalent among men in prison.

Prisons are not new to James Cooley. He has been involved in various phases of jail and prison ministry for the past ten years;

helping scores of people, both blacks and whites, to win their freedom from confinement and return to society to live normal constructive lives.

He became prominently involved with the inmates of Tucker Prison even before his appointment as chaplain. Two-and-one-half years ago, he began weekly visits to the prison's Death Row in an attempt to help 19 men then awaiting execution in the electric chair.

He detected a strong desire in some of these condemned men to under-take academic studies while incarcerated. He decided to establish a program offering extension study courses to inmates; a program made available through Shorter College, a predominantly Negro school in North Little Rock, Ark., where Rev. Cooley is Director of Ministry of Service and Dean of men. These were the first college courses ever made available to prisoners in Arkansas.

He encouraged these Death Row inmates to aid themselves while confined; pointing out the fact that possibly a better day was ahead for all of them. This later proved true, in a two-fold manner, as Rev. Cooley spearheaded a campaign to urge then-Governor Winthrop Rockefeller to commute the death sentences of all condemned men—at that time 10 blacks and five whites.

In December, 1970, this act of mercy was granted through executive clemency being extended to these prisoners—an act of mercy unprecedented in the South.

The second phase of Rev. Cooley's "better day" prediction came about as seven inmates—five blacks, two whites—completed with high honors the studies that had been offered to them.

SENSE OF PRIDE

On May 27, 1971, these inmates were transported to Shorter College to receive their Associate of Arts degrees. A sense of pride and achievement radiated from their faces as these once down-trodden men paraded in cap and gown during graduation ceremonies. No one at the commencement exercises could distinguish these inmates from 69 other members of the graduating class.

Mr. Cooley had done much of the teaching duties at the prison, as funds were not available to employ a full staff of instructors. He was assisted by Miss Wanda Laskey, Mrs. Linda Frazzini and Mr. John Bowen; all of whom also served without salary.

But such contributions to mankind are not unusual for this black leader of people, despite his own adverse beginning in life.

Born the youngest of 12 children to poverty-racked parents living in Rowland, North Carolina, James Franklin Cooley has little difficulty recalling the hardships of the past.

He well remembers "seeing my mother take in laundry, working 14-16 hours a day, seven days a week, standing over a cauldron of boiling water while hand-scrubbing clothes so that she could earn 25 cents per day to help feed a hungry family. But somehow we always managed," he related. "Even when there was no money for food, I can remember others offering small amounts of help to us. And, I can remember of learning how to be thankful—thankful to be alive; thankful that others cared, and thankful that there is a God. I knew, even at this early age, that with God's help, I would some day help others as they had helped me."

Hard work, determination and an ever-increasing faith in God, is what allowed James Cooley to become the only member of his family to attain a formal education. Performing odd jobs, he worked his way through both elementary and high school. He interrupted his schooling to serve two years in the U.S. Army, where he was awarded two Battle Star citations during combat action in Europe. After receiving his honorable discharge he returned to Rowland, where

he became involved in cotton and tobacco farming.

Shortly after his return, he met and married Louvina McCallum. After 25 years of marriage, they have four children; Virginia, 23; Gladys, 21; James Francis, 22; and Franklin D., 20.

POVERTY AND SQUALOR

Realizing the need to further his education, he enrolled in Johnson C. Smith University at Charlotte, North Carolina, where he made the Dean's Honor Roll a total of five times during his three years of study. After earning his A.B. degree in Social Science, he enrolled in the Theology School of Johnson Smith University, and earned his B.D. degree in Theology in 1956.

He later became pastor of Grant Chapel Presbyterian Church in Darien, Georgia. It was while serving here that Rev. Cooley received a call to pastor St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church at Forrest City, Arkansas. A call that was to have a profound effect upon many lives; including his own.

Rev. Cooley explained that the thing that most persuaded him to remain in Forrest City was, "the poverty and squalor in which I saw so many of our people living. Blacks had virtually no hope of a brighter tomorrow. And what was even worse was the fact that they had no one to offer leadership to them. Many of our people had never exercised their voting rights. They were afraid to demand equal rights; afraid to seek equal pay for their labors. The black schools were overcrowded and inadequate. The illegitimate birth rate was astronomical; juvenile delinquency among our teen-agers was rampant. Conditions in practically every phase of life were deplorable."

James Cooley accepted the pastorate of St. Andrew's, but he went beyond normal ministerial boundaries as he rendered his teaching services at Lincoln Junior High School, where he taught the 7th and 8th grades for nearly 12 years.

See hungry and destitute children coming to school each day, prompted him to organize Cooley's Athletic Club; a place where young people could gather for recreation—and the only black organization in Arkansas providing free lunches and dinners to under-privileged teen-agers—a program still in operation at Forrest City, Ark.

During his years in Forrest City, he brought much change into the lives of people. He advocated civil rights, non-violence and brotherhood in the community. Many teen-agers detoured from a life of crime due to his untiring efforts to help them with needed counseling and assistance. Juvenile delinquency among blacks fell 60% in eight years. Voter registration among blacks began to increase. Clean-up programs for slum areas were organized.

But progress, especially the meaningful progress that tends to break down barriers of racial prejudice, social structures and poverty, comes slow. It also brings the frustrations of a new way of life with it—frustrations that only spurred James Cooley on his efforts to help his people be heard. He knew that he must work as quickly as possible, as there were others attempting to hinder his work, and even stop him completely.

EXPLOSIVE POWDER KEG

Before long, the citizens of Forrest City, like a slumbering monster suddenly awakened to find an enemy attacking its lair, became acutely aware of James Cooley.

The city, and indeed, the entire St. Francis County region, became a racially explosive powder keg. James Cooley had begun to stir a sense of dignity in his black brothers and sisters. He had also stirred the wrath of southern "red-neck prejudice."

Painful though it was, he remained mute as he heard insults and accusations hurled at him. People began calling him an "agitator," a "rabble-rouser," a "Black Panther," and some even insinuated he was probably "a member of the Communist Party."

Tension mounted and tempers flared. Talk of how this "Smart Ass Nigger" might be permanently silenced began circulating. His life was physically threatened several times by members of the white community. And, oddly enough, was even threatened by members of his own race.

However, no complaints of violence on his part, nor complaints of harm done to others by him, were ever lodged against James Cooley. In fact, the main complaint voiced against him was, "We don't understand him, why does he want to make changes? Why doesn't he leave well enough alone?"

But James Cooley couldn't leave "well enough" alone. He knew that as long as there was racial discrimination, poverty, social and judicial injustice being suffered by his people, then "well enough" wasn't good enough.

The threats against him increased, with the final blow coming when he heard the school board declare that his "services were no longer needed." A move that prompted near-violent protests from students in the area.

Unable to find meaningful employment due to the boycott against him in Forrest City, he moved to the Little Rock area where he took a position with Shorter College; a position he held at the time of his appointment to the chaplaincy at Tucker Prison. The appointment was made by the Arkansas Board of Corrections following the accidental death of Rev. Wayne W. Haun. Chaplain Haun had been the first full-time chaplain ever to serve in the state's prison system.

State-wide reaction following the announcement of James Cooley's appointment was mixed. Many persons expressed shock that a black man had been selected to fill the vacancy. Some persons expressed doubt as to his qualifications for the job; while others expressed apprehension, basing their fears upon unfounded hate rumors.

Though he had long been associated with prisons and inmates, Chaplain Cooley stated that he was "more than a bit surprised when I learned of my appointment as chaplain." He related also that he was awed by the tremendous responsibility facing him.

He knew that as chaplain he would be expected to provide spiritual and moral leadership to some 330 men not normally prone to accept things that smacked of religion. He knew also that in order to serve effectively, he would have to work hard to earn the trust and confidence that a chaplain must have among the inmate population—a population that is almost equally divided at Tucker by integration of blacks and whites.

When asked of his beliefs, his goals and his desires at the time he assumed the duties, he stated that, "I believe in the Fatherhood of God, and in the Brotherhood of man. I believe that it is possible for all men to live together in harmony, and I look forward to seeing the day come when this happens."

He also stated, "I do not condone violence or prejudice in any form; whether it be white against black, or black against white. People are only prejudiced against things they know nothing about. Ignorance breeds fear of the unknown. And I believe that as man strives to gain understanding of his brother's ways, then prejudice will become a phase of history."

POVERTY AND SQUALOR

"I hope that during my tenure as chaplain, I can help provide some inspiration to the men confined here to live above their past mistakes; to prepare themselves for a better life at such time as their freedom might be restored to them."

"I firmly believe that the most vital step in any man's life, whether he be free or bound, is that step he takes to establish a right relationship with God. When a man's heart is right with God, then other areas of his life will reflect this proper relationship. Crime, poverty, distrust, wars, racial and social injustice, hatred and sorrow; plus all other ills that plague mankind, can only be relieved and defeated by man's striving to emulate Christ."

"Society needs to take a long, close look at its prison systems. Ninety-five per cent of the men confined today, will one day be free to return to live in our cities. In many cases, they will be YOUR next-door neighbor. It is up to society to decide just how they want these men returned to them. Society can have them back as rehabilitated, better adjusted individuals that constitute no threat to other citizens, or, they can have them back as bitter, frustrated and hate-filled ex-convicts that are ready to lash-out against society. Prison reform measures can help provide the former. Neglect, apathy and brutality tend to promote the latter. I'd like to see as many of them as possible return to society as better men than they were at the time they entered prison."

"This can only be achieved," he said, "when society begins to realize that its prisons contain human beings and not animals."

"As chaplain, I hope to provide an example to all men; to offer encouragement whenever possible; to help inspire faith in weary souls; and to help set men free from the spiritual, mental, social and physical prisons which confine them. If I can do this, for even one person, then God will have made my time and efforts worth-while."

Six full months have passed since Chaplain Cooley began his work at Tucker Prison. During this time, doubts and fears surrounding his ministry have been dissolved. His abilities, his examples in leadership, plus his deep concern for humanity, coupled with his strong conviction that men can change, is proving very effective.

Twice-weekly worship services are held in the prison's Island of Hope Chapel; the first chapel ever built inside the Arkansas Prison system. Seventy-five to 85 inmates attend worship services on a voluntary basis, Tuesday evenings and Sunday mornings, to hear the gospel proclaimed to them in an ever-fresh and contemporary manner. Daily counseling sessions are available to men with more severe personal problems. These inmates, as well as most others, are learning to recognize the wisdom and value of Chaplain Cooley's advice. They also appreciate the warm hand of friendship that he extends to all of them.

This black pilgrim still has a long, arduous trek ahead of him in helping to surmount the human frailties that beset so many prisoners. But no one doubts any longer that his journey will be successful.

PRESIDENTIAL CLASSROOM STUDENTS

HON. TRENT LOTT

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. LOTT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to recognize four outstanding young people from the Fifth Congressional District of Mississippi, Harriet Lee Carmichael, Dawn Renee Stewart, David Jack Randall, and Levy Alexander Eymard, who are here in

Washington this week to participate in the 1977 Presidential Classroom for Young Americans.

I always enjoy discussing the operations of our Federal Government with the Presidential Classroom students and commend these young Americans on their interest and attitude toward our Nation's destiny.

TRIBUTE TO DR. KENNETH E. JOHNSON

HON. RONNIE G. FLIPPO

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. FLIPPO. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of sadness that I learned of the death of Dr. Kenneth E. Johnson, a national leader in energy and environmental studies and a resident of Huntsville, Ala. His untimely passing will leave a tremendous void in our Nation's efforts.

However, Ken Johnson was not only a leader and innovator in the environmental area, but he was a great civic leader and a close friend to the people of Alabama and the citizens of Huntsville. He served diligently as an elected official in local government and was appointed to State and national governmental agencies. Dr. Johnson possessed dedication and leadership qualities rarely found in one individual.

It is fitting to note that the Center for Environmental and Energy Studies at the University of Alabama in Huntsville has been named for Dr. Johnson and will be designated as the Kenneth E. Johnson Environmental and Energy Center.

I include in the RECORD at this time the eulogy presented by Dr. Joseph C. Dowdle, vice president for administration and acting chief executive officer of the University of Alabama in Huntsville, at the funeral service for Dr. Johnson:

MEMORIAL TRIBUTE TO DR. KENNETH E. JOHNSON

Each of us who is here today will arrive someday at the end of our life's journey and there will be a similar group like this who will be gathered, listening to someone like me attempting to pay tribute to a life that is being honored. But when that time comes for those of us who are here today, it can justly be said that we lived a little better life, that we were in some manner a little better man or a little better woman because our lives touched the life of Kenneth Eugene Johnson, a life marked by a multitude of successes for its brief 44 year span.

And so I find myself here this afternoon with a feeling of profound sorrow, quite humble, even inadequate, but nevertheless exceedingly honored that I have been asked to express the tribute which all of us feel for Ken Johnson, our friend; Ken Johnson, a man who to me was the embodiment of the term "a true gentleman;" that is, he was courteous, kind, honorable, forthright, and of impeccable integrity. But he was more than that. He was a scientist, a scientist who was a master of an extraordinary and minute knowledge of those scientific disciplines in which he was interested . . . yes, a learned man. He was a politician, but he was a politician with high ideals of ethical statesmanship. He was a humanitarian with deep social

conscience and he always showed a compassionate concern for the weak, the underprivileged, and the less fortunate. He never exulted over success and he well masked disappointment when defeated, which seldom happened. No matter how acutely he might differ with even his colleagues on an issue large or small, I don't believe that he ever permitted himself to show the slightest disparagement for either the colleagues or their arguments.

But Ken was also a family man with deep, abiding, intrinsic love, which was shared with his wife Betty, his sons David and John, his daughters Susie and Jenny, and his mother Mrs. Berry.

Yes, undoubtedly it will stand to the credit of all of us in Huntsville, Alabama, that Ken Johnson passed through this world; and I am proud to recount a little bit about this man whom I could call friend.

Ken was born and raised in Lincoln Village in Huntsville and attended Lincoln School where, as many of you who knew him then know now, he got an early running start on striving for the standard of excellence which he exhibited all of his life. He was a top student with the best grades and he seemed destined from an early age to be a leader. He was chosen to receive the Barrell Award as the outstanding male student at Lincoln School. He was chosen Valedictorian of his class and selected as a representative to Boys' State.

But he was also an athlete—playing baseball, basketball, and football, always with manifestations of leadership in that he was co-captain of the football team, and captain of the basketball team among other leadership roles.

Upon leaving high school Ken went on to Berea College in Kentucky to study for the career which he had chosen for his life's work, the field of chemistry. After working his way through two years at Berea with high scholastic honors, he transferred to The University of Alabama where he completed his work for the degree of Bachelor of Science in Chemistry in 1955.

He then went on to Iowa State University and to the California Institute of Technology and pursued the Ph. D. degree in chemistry.

To Ken, going to college was important and this same educational philosophy held with him for life. But he wasn't just quick to advise high school graduates that they needed to go on to college. If they needed help he assisted them in identifying scholarships and other financial aids which would make it possible.

After the award of his Ph. D. degree from Iowa State University in 1959 he returned to Huntsville where he joined Rohm & Haas Co. and for some ten years distinguished himself not only in chemistry team management but in highly scientific chemical research. His numerous scholarly publications included topics covering basic research in synthetic chemistry, chemical kinetics and thermodynamics, polymer chemistry, and the thermal decomposition and combustion of solid rocket propellants and their ingredients. In this latter area his successes in behalf of the missile program of the Army Missile Command have been well documented.

Upon joining the Alabama Development Office he served as State Environmental Advisor and was chosen by the Governor to serve as his Scientific Advisor. It was also at that time that he was appointed head of the Alabama Task Force for Water Resources and Related Land Use Planning.

Although I had known Ken for years before he joined The University of Alabama in Huntsville to develop and head the Center for Environmental and Energy Studies, it wasn't really until then that I could closely observe the academic leanings of this man

who was at ease with Governors or national politicians as he was with any of the many young people's groups with which he worked.

It was really Ken more than anyone else who deserves credit for having first the vision and then the know how to bring the Center for Environment and Energy Studies into being. As its director he molded it into an interdisciplinary program with major efforts in environmental research and education, motor vehicle research, and more important to him than any other area, the area of solar energy research. He had the vision long ago for the need for a State Solar Energy Institute and took great pride in the national recognition that his center had attained in a few short years.

Just a few days before he last went to the hospital he was proud to outline for me the many ways which he saw UAH being able to serve the State in this crucial energy field.

As many of you know he was a member of the Huntsville Solar Energy Research Institute Task Force and deserves considerable credit for Huntsville having been chosen as the institute site should it come to Alabama.

I could go on for hours and discuss his many accomplishments in technological fields, with all of his memberships on State and National Boards, his accomplishments in City government because I don't believe there was ever a more dedicated Council member than Ken and a lot of his record is in brick and mortar for us to see. I could talk about the many, many labors of love which he devoted to the Salvation Army, the Lincoln Gir.s' Club, the Community Council, The Kidney Foundation and even to the kids in his Little League activities and many others. But I can simply say that the respect, love, and confidence of the people with whom he associated and the appreciation of his service to his city, state, and people, as well as this nation is attested to by the fact that he was continually called upon to serve in so many ways and yet he gave so unflinchingly of himself. As you know Ken did not take friendships lightly and he made and maintained many lifelong friendships as attested to by the presence of so many who are here today.

But while Ken is gone, yet he leaves us with many, many pleasant memories of all of his accomplishments, his ideals, and especially his love for his fellow man. But, I don't think that there will be any more vivid remembrance than the memory of the strength and stamina of his determination to do whatever was called upon him to do over recent weeks.

He remained among us, working to the last, fighting hard the weakness of his illness with undaunted spirit and with unflagging interest in the many responsibilities of his position at the University, his position as a citizen of the community, and in his love for his family and friends.

No one could fail to respect the energy, persistence, and determination which he always displayed, even under those most adverse circumstances. But I can't help but believe that behind it all was the dominant note of a firm courageous and fearless independence of soul.

As I think back on what I saw in Ken and what I think he felt, I am reminded of the words of the poet Robert Browning after he lost his wife Elizabeth Barrett Browning. He was grief stricken by his wife's death and for sometime he couldn't write; but then when at last he did, there flowed from his pen a passionate, defiant challenge of death by one who thought that he too was near death and if so he would meet it boldly. I want to share Browning's words with you.

Fear death?—to feel the fog in my throat,
The mist in my face,

When the snows begin, and the blasts denote
I am nearing the place,
The power of the night, the press of the storm,
The post of the foe;

Where he stands, the Arch Fear in a visible form, Yet the strong man must go: For the journey is done and the summit attained, And the barriers fall, Though a battle's to fight ere the guerdon be gained, The reward of it all. I was ever a fighter, so—one fight more, The best and the last! I would hate that death bandaged my eyes, and forebore, And bade me creep past. No! let me taste the whole of it, fare like my peers, The heroes of old, Bear the brunt, in a minute pay glad life's arrears of pain, darkness and cold. For sudden the worst turns the best to the brave, The black minute's at end, And the elements' rage, the fiend-voices that rave, Shall dwindle, shall blend, Shall change, shall become first a peace out of pain, Then a light, then thy breast O thou soul of my soul! I shall clasp thee again, And with God be the rest!

ANNIVERSARY OF ESTONIAN
INDEPENDENCE

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 58th anniversary of the establishment of the independent Republic of Estonia on February 18, 1918. I would like to take this opportunity to join the Americans of Estonian origin and descent in commemorating Estonian Independence Day. Further, I would like to add my prayers to those of the Estonian-Americans who someday hope to see their relatives and friends liberated from the brutal repression of Soviet rule.

Freedom for the Estonian people came to an end 22 years later when the nation was forced to sign a treaty which permitted the construction of Soviet military bases and Russian troop occupation. Annexation soon resulted and on August 6, 1940, the tiny Republic was absorbed by the Soviet Empire.

As is common in Soviet-occupied non-Russian nations, the people of Estonia have been continually subjected to arrest and exile. From 1941 to 1944, about 10 percent of the population was either killed or forced to flee the country. Large numbers of Estonians were deported to other parts of the Soviet Union.

However, this history of terrorism and the continued suppression of their culture and self-expression, has not dampened the innate desire of the brave Estonian people for national independence. They yearn for their human rights and personal dignity to be restored.

Mr. Speaker, I believe it is especially important for the United States to continue its full and uncompromising support for the basic concept of the sovereign rights of a people to the free and independent choice of the form of government under which they wish to live. The Soviets have continued to ignore their promise to fulfill the "human rights" provision of the 35-nation Final Act of the European Conference of Cooperation and Security, signed in Helsinki in August 1975. This portion of the

Helsinki accord, "Basket 3," gave official international recognition to the rights of individuals within Soviet-rule countries.

Thus, if the Communists continue to renege on human rights, it is imperative that the democratic countries of the world assert their opposition to this form of political tyranny and reinforce Estonians and others behind the Iron Curtain in their determination to keep alive the aspirations of liberation from the bondage of Russian colonialism.

We must not forget the fate of those who have fallen under Communist totalitarianism in their ongoing efforts to achieve the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government in their homelands.

CARGO THEFT: AN OLD ENEMY

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, here I am again—same station, same program. It is time for Congress to do something about the "great American ripoff," the "rape of the consumer on the loading docks of America."

It is time to put an end to the \$2 billion per year racket of stealing cargo.

I have introduced the Cargo Security Act of 1977, along with my colleague, Mr. RISENHOOVER, of Oklahoma. This is a moderate, reasonable blueprint for Government action to combat cargo crime.

To support my message on this, I ask my colleagues to read two outstanding articles which appeared in the February 13 and 14 issues of the Washington Star. They were written by William Jobs of the newspaper:

[From the Washington Star, Feb. 13, 1977]

CARGO THEFT: \$6 MILLION-A-DAY RACKET TOUCHES US ALL

It's a \$6 million-a-day racket, a \$2 billion-a-year drain on the U.S. economy and it touches every consumer to a greater or lesser degree.

The crime falls under the umbrella term "cargo theft," and it includes everything from spectacular truck hijackings and railyard burglaries to sea and air terminal thefts.

Every day on truck terminal loading docks and seaport wharves, tons of saleable goods are being diverted to illicit markets: "discount stores," wholesale "outlets" and corner hucksters. And, despite industry and government efforts over the years to plug the leaks, little significant progress has been reported.

On one side are the players, the well-known and the anonymous: Big-time mobsters and amateur street thieves are all getting a piece of the action. On the other side, law enforcement agencies at every level have entered the battle.

So has the federal government, with Cabinet-level agencies under presidential mandate trying to regulate it away and Congress trying to legislate against it, all with little discernible impact.

For example, the motor carrier industry alone in calendar year 1975 generated \$8.5 billion in operating revenues. Of this total, some \$3.5 million was lost through thefts of various sorts.

And, from the criminal's perspective, the opportunities are great and the risks rela-

tively minimal in almost all cargo thefts. A bank robber, for example, averages \$2,400 a shot in his high-risk, high-visibility ventures. On the other hand, a truck hijacker's average take per hit is \$45,000—high-value loads can yield more than \$100,000—and he stands a far better chance of eluding capture.

While cargo theft is continually targeted by well-intentioned law enforcement efforts, a firm and lasting solution has not been found, and the reasons are as complex as the cargo industry itself.

A series of interviews with top government and industry officials points to several factors as being directly on the relative lack of progress in stemming cargo thefts:

Industry has shown only sporadic interest in cargo security. Many trucking firms, one government official said, don't get the faith until they've been hit."

Organized crime is deeply entrenched in cargo theft rackets. The mob has perfected hijacking to a science, and it won't "hit" a load without intimate details of what it will receive for its trouble, how much the goods are worth, and who's going to buy the stolen property.

Nearly all cargo losses are the result of "inside jobs," and industry has not yet found a workable way to clean its house of criminal tipsters.

Federal inter-agency squabbling has limited the effectiveness of cargo security programs. In one instance the Federal Maritime Commission refused to cooperate with a Transportation Department program to gather statistics on cargo thefts, because, industry sources say, if shippers become aware of massive pilferage at one port, they'll take their business elsewhere.

Congress has been unable to clear legislation to establish orderly coordination of federal cargo security efforts. Rep. J. J. Pickle, D-Tex., first introduced such a bill in 1970. Seven years later the bill is back in the Hill hopper, and its prospects are again questionable.

And all the while as theft-loss statistics mount daily, criminals get richer, consumers and legitimate businesses get poorer and the outward trickle of the economy's life blood continues.

Cargo thefts occur daily throughout the air, sea, rail and road sectors of the transportation industry. Everything from cash and securities in busy air terminals to a tractor-trailer load of color televisions is vulnerable. Even loads of raw industrial materials have been diverted from legitimate channels to illicit buyers when the time and price were right.

The hottest items at any given time are those in great consumer demand. When beef prices skyrocket, for example, so does the number of beef-hauler hijackings.

Industry security personnel, accordingly monitor consumer goods barometers to see which items are in particular demand and which have shown recent price increases. Currently coffee is the "hot" item, and security surrounding its shipments has increased markedly.

A Transportation Department study titled "Cargo Theft and Organized Crime," relates a coffee shipment hijacking of several years ago when a similar price surge was experienced.

"A recent mob-engineered hijacking of a load of coffee in the New York area," the report says, "illustrates the speed with which ultimate disposition can be accomplished. The hijack occurred at 4:30 p.m. By 5:15 p.m. the coffee was being sold in a supermarket at \$1.34 for a two-pound can. The normal price is about \$1.89."

To show the profitability of cargo thefts, the report cited a 1967 case in which 12 mob-connected defendants were convicted

in four truck hijackings and sentenced to 10 to 20 years in prison.

Of the four hijackings, the report stated, "Three involved the theft of silver bars and one of cameras, film and photographic equipment. Total value: \$1 million."

The most recent national government-industry review of the cargo theft issue was contained in a report to then-President Gerald Ford in March 1976. In it, representatives of each major cargo shipping industry gave their assessments of the problem, from which the following comments are excerpted:

Railroads. R. R. Manion, vice president, American Association of Railroads:

"The railroads have been the targets for criminal activity for the past 100 years. We regret to advise that (increased security efforts) have not met with uniform success. In 1970, railroads paid \$5.5 million in settlement of claims resulting from cargo thefts. . . . In 1974, the theft losses were \$15.2 million. While railroads have substantially improved physical conditions in yards. . . it is impossible to guard the entire 200,000 miles of road. Despite these efforts, attacks by criminals on railroads have increased. Between 1969 and 1974, property crime had increased 31 percent nationally, burglaries had increased 46 percent and larceny-theft 28.9 percent. We regard the railroad experience as paralleling that of the nation."

Airlines. Harry J. Murphy, security director, Air Transport Association of America:

"The airlines have indeed given cargo security a new and higher priority. The air carriers have established the Airport Security Council in New York as their laboratory for the study of security problems. A quick review of claims paid since 1971 reveals that. . . the airlines may have improved their financial results by \$17 million over the past five years."

Shipping. Richard L. Schultz, executive director, American Association of Port Authorities:

"Public port authorities spent approximately \$110 million in security 'hardware' in the 1970-75 period. Organized theft is moving outside the gates for the most part, into the stream of transportation. The hardware portion of the job is about half completed requiring an additional expenditure of \$110 million over the next several years. The need remains for. . . prevention of the spread of organized theft into port areas not as yet fully protected."

Trucking. Unsigned report, American Trucking Associations:

"The cargo theft problem in the trucking industry is improving. While reports show an increase in cargo thefts. . . the annual rate of increase in the number of cargo thefts has been significantly reduced. This improvement is the result of increased activity in the cargo security area by government and industry. We are opposed to cargo security regulation for control of the problem. Civil penalties imposed on the motor carrier for violations. . . is an unjust and irrational approach to the problem. Cargo theft in the trucking industry continues to increase although the annual rate. . . has been significantly reduced."

A major roadblock to solving the cargo theft problem, analysts believe, is reluctance of industry to fully acknowledge the scope of the problem. As the excerpts above indicate, only the rail industry fully admits the severity and extent of cargo thefts.

Other carrier industries have demonstrated a reluctance to face head-on the cargo loss issue, and even within each industry, support for security programs is varied.

A common sentiment expressed by industry is a fear of a tainted image—if shipment losses are too great and too frequent, the thinking goes, producers will take their transportation business elsewhere.

As a result, while industry and government

seemingly take a pea-shooter to the elephant, the thefts continue.

In one of the most spectacular episodes in cargo theft annals, a former airline employee, Charles Roberts, told congressional investigators that he and his partners in a recent four-year period stole cash, checks, credit cards, furs, jewelry and other goods from air terminals across the United States.

According to the Transportation Department study, Roberts' take is conservatively estimated at \$100 million.

[From the Washington Star, Feb. 14, 1977]
CARGO THEFT FIGHTERS WINNING BATTLES BUT NOT THE WAR

NEW YORK.—Frank Lasar looked down on the maze-like pattern of Manhattan streets 15 stories below his Park Avenue offices, thinking aloud on how easy it is for a truck to disappear there.

The key cargo security official of the New York State Motor Truck Association, Lasar has just compiled his theft statistics for 1976. In the New York City area, at least, truck hijackings and grand larcenies of cargo loads have been sharply reduced. Fewer trucks are disappearing there.

Lasar is one of many industry and government people working diligently to curb the persistent \$2 billion annual cargo theft racket.

It is at once a rewarding and thankless job, as those favoring improved cargo security find themselves up against opposition not only from criminal elements, but also often from within industry and government.

And, as observers are now beginning to realize, a reduction in cargo theft losses in one region as often as not brings a concurrent increase in hijackings and pilferage in another area. While New York's picture improved in 1976, Boston's deteriorated as New York organized crime elements moved their cargo heist operations northward.

New York has for years been the nation's hot spot for criminal cargo thefts. The progress made there recently by city, federal and industry officials, lends evidence that it is possible to markedly reduce cargo theft losses.

According to industry statistics, truck hijacking incidents in New York declined from 112 with a value of \$4.6 million in 1975 to 83 with a value of \$2.4 million in 1976. This reflects a significant reduction from the most recent peak year, 1971, when hijackers hit 378 trucks with a cargo load value of \$7.8 million.

Similarly, grand larceny of cargoes fell from 115 in 1975 to 90 in 1976, with losses dropping from \$4.3 million to \$2.5 million. In grand larceny's peak year, 1970, police recorded 2,324 hits valued at \$12.5 million.

But, all these statistics translate into losses to the honest consumer. For every "hot" dress, television or can of coffee bought on the illicit market, the legitimate economic cycle absorbs the cost.

And, according to available indicators, the cargo theft losses continue to the tune of \$6 million a day. "As a matter of fact, I don't think we even know the entire scope of the thing," Lasar said, noting that unregulated carriers are causing the greatest problems.

The law of supply and demand determines criminal interest in hijack targets.

In 1976, Lasar noted, there were 16 loads of foodstuffs valued at \$532,000 seized in New York. Of the total, six were loads of coffee valued at \$416,000 and four of these coffee hijackings occurred in December when prices increased. Likewise, during the 1974 Arab oil embargo, three gasoline tankers were taken.

Lasar, however, like others working on cargo security, does find some hope amid the depressing national picture.

"We have pretty much improved our lot," Lasar said in a recent interview, "but it's a

continuing educational thing among our (security) supervisors." Lasar's organization represents more than 800 trucking companies in New York State, and it has coordinated a comprehensive industry-wide cargo security awareness campaign.

Edward Burban, chief of security for Motor Freight Express, a large interstate carrier based in York, Pa., believes that industry interest is essential to any successful security campaign. And, Burban stresses, since most hijackings and larcenies are "inside jobs," internal company controls must take priority. "You employ your own problems," Burban remarked.

On hiring practices in the trucking industry, Burban says, "The larger carriers go into it a little deeper, but our hands are tied to a certain extent." According to Burban, firms are unable, for example, to verify job applicants' statements on whether they have criminal records because law agencies refuse to divulge the information.

"Most of our dockmen and drivers are good, hard-working people, but there are a few bad ones," Burban says.

A retired 20-year New York City detective, Burban worked for years against the cargo rackets. "A slick operator can have a truck stripped and its load on the streets in half an hour, even before it's reported stolen," he said.

And, while acknowledging that major crime families are deeply into the cargo game, Burban adds, "Even the amateurs are in it now, it's so profitable." When a truck is hit, Burban explains, drivers are instructed to cooperate with their assailants. "We advise them, 'Do what you're told. You're worth more to us alive.'"

While truck, air, rail and maritime industries approach the cargo theft enigma with varying degrees of enthusiasm and success, so too, have federal officials.

James Fernan heads the cargo division in the Transportation Department's office of transportation security. A former FBI agent with a legal background, Fernan also worked in industry before joining the federal effort to promote cargo security.

He is now working under authority of an executive order issued by then-President Gerald R. Ford in January 1975 which seeks to coordinate the efforts of several federal agencies in a unified cargo security program.

A central element of the federal plan is voluntary industry involvement. "We're trying to get industry to take better care of its own internal operations," Fernan said. "We try to stress there is more money to be made by virtue of shipments not being lost. And, we don't stress guards, fences and police; we try to peddle preventive measures," he added.

But, government and industry sources consistently point to erratic industry interests in taking a tough security stance. Many firms chalk up thefts as operating losses and rationalize that view further by allowing insurance to at least partially cover their losses. "The point is," Fernan says, "they're eating the losses themselves even though they think they've got insurance. Insurance does help on catastrophic losses, but not on the big drain."

Fernan sees some basic improvement in the cargo loss picture, but notes that loss ratios are now constant at an unacceptable rate. "Over the past 10 years, I would say that it has been reduced substantially, but it has leveled off in the last three years."

Daniel Ward, chief of Transportation's security operations, said that all federal progress depends on voluntary industry involvement. "We have no statutory authority to regulate, and every time we've made progress, it's been with the help of top management." He cites one large firm which, after introducing stringent theft prevention measures, en-

joyed a \$20 million increase in gross revenues in a single year.

Ward, however, says some industry hesitance on security matters is directly linked to loopholes in the criminal justice system. Because of dissatisfaction with a general lack of success against criminals in the courts, "industry is disheartened," he said. "For this reason, there's apathy."

Ralph Culver heads the Justice Department criminal division team coordinating law enforcement action against cargo theft.

"I'm not going to lead you to believe cargo thefts have significantly decreased. I don't think they have," Culver said. He feels that to successfully prosecute cargo theft cases, industry must cooperate by instituting stricter controls on shipments, including improved identifiable labeling of goods by manufacturers and shippers.

"It's a two-way street. In order to successfully prosecute these cases, we have to be able to identify the merchandise involved," Culver said. "And, I believe some of the responsibility rests with the shipper."

Culver agrees with other key officials in their assessment that industry's interest in cargo protection needs to be stimulated. "No progress has been made on the voluntary approach," he said. "I also believe that while regulations would be a last resort, if the authority to regulate was on the books, maybe that would work."

According to Culver, the Justice Department is doing what it can to battle a resourceful enemy. "Certain resources have been committed, but we're getting many demands on (them), and we can only do so much," he said.

Culver did indicate the basic thrust of the Justice effort. "The man we're really after is the fence. He's the one who motivates the thief."

In Congress, Rep. J. J. Pickle, D-Tex., has been trying for seven years to get legislation passed to safeguard goods in shipment. Persistent opposition to it by management and organized labor has stymied Pickle in the past and promises to do so again this session, but he is optimistic.

"I think our chances are better than ever before. The public is ready for something to be done," Pickle said.

He now has a tentative commitment from the congressional leadership for public hearings on cargo security by the Public Works Committee, and he believes this will spur passage of his bill by both the House and Senate. "We have the tentative agreement, and that's a big step," he said.

"Businesses are always saying they'd rather pay for it (theft losses) than squabble about it," Pickle said, explaining why his legislation has had tough going in past years.

These are the key elements of the Pickle bill:

Allow the Transportation Department to set limited regulations in certain areas.

Attack the jurisdictional dispute between the Transportation and Treasury Departments.

Force the Federal Maritime Commission to report maritime losses.

Create legislatively an Office of Cargo Security.

Create legislatively an Inter-Agency Council on Cargo Security.

In addition, the Pickle bill seeks a uniform packaging, documentation and labeling plan to assist prosecutors in bringing theft cases to resolution in the courts.

In a speech here last year in support of his bill, Pickle expressed a sentiment reflected by others fighting the \$2 billion annual cargo theft rackets:

"Unfortunately, the mobsters return to 'business as usual' when the camera lights flicker and the headlines fade. That is why legislation is needed. It's time to stop the Great American Rip-off."

UNCLE SAM WILL PAY

HON. ROBERT W. KASTEN, JR.

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. KASTEN. Mr. Speaker, very soon congressional committees will begin in earnest the debate on Government reorganization and regulatory reform. The President has committed his administration to the task of making Government more efficient and more responsive to the needs of the people it serves. We in Congress share that goal while I am confident that each of us has his own philosophy of how to achieve that goal.

The public discussion that is about to begin should prove to be one of the healthiest and most informative debates in the history of our country. As Members of the House, each of us has no doubt heard numerous tales from constituents relating to the cost of doing business with Federal Government. Now examples of these stories will be told over and over again in a national context with every Federal agency coming under scrutiny.

All Americans, not just those whose lives have been badgered by the Federal regulatory process, will see as never before the cost of Federal regulations to the consumer and the inhibitions such regulations place upon the producer of goods and services. In short, the realities of doing business in America today should make every citizen of our country pause and take notice.

Since first coming to Congress 2 years ago there has been one particular aspect of this problem that has disturbed me most; that being, the cost of defending oneself against the Government. Oftentimes, defending oneself against a civil suit filed by a Federal regulatory agency is the most costly course of action one can take. Even if a businessman wins his case in court, he must pay his attorney's fees and litigation costs, expenses that are often in excess of the fine he would have paid if he had pleaded "no contest," or the price of preventive compliance, or both. Moreover, if a businessman is successful in clearing himself of one charge, he still faces the possibility that an agency, or an inspector of an agency, will continue to search for violations in an effort to bring about eventual compliance and achieve vindication.

An August 1975, editorial in U.S. News & World Report, provided an excellent analogy:

It is one thing for Uncle Sam to come to the aid of companies or communities in times of emergency. It is quite another thing for his agents, clad in the armor of federal law, to poke into every nook and cranny of the free enterprise system—very often doing more harm than good.

I am sure that every Member of this body knows that this editorial is not idle gossip. It tells a true story, and each of us can fill in the names of constituents who have been similarly attacked by agents acting in the name of the Federal Government.

Those of us desirous of making the

Government more responsive and responsible have attempted to find a way to address this problem in a practical manner. Our answer is contained in the bill being introduced today. It would provide compensation for reasonable attorney's fees and other reasonable litigation costs to successful defendants in civil suits filed by the Federal Government.

I believe this bill has several attractive features which merit its early consideration and enactment.

It would provide for the first time a quantitative measurement of agency error. It would give the bureaucrats reason to pause and reflect before taking action against a citizen, for if they lose in court, the already angry American taxpayer will pay the bill and demand an explanation.

This bill provides a mechanism for individuals and businesses to take on the Federal Government when they believe they are right. Certainly, in a free society, when the Government errs, citizens should not be restrained for financial reasons from asserting their rights.

Our bill is a simple first-step toward achieving the more difficult task of reorganizing the Government. Without requiring the repeal or reform of a single agency, this bill would reduce regulatory abuse by giving those who believe they have been unjustly treated a viable alternative to capitulation. If an individual or a business knew it had a chance to "fight city hall" without going bankrupt in the process, it might ease the resentment against the Federal bureaucracy that now pervades American society.

As my colleagues know, this same bill was introduced in the last Congress. I hope the spirit of reform which is so much in the minds of us all prompts early consideration of this bill. I think it is a fair and practical approach to a very serious problem.

WHALEN SUPPORTS COMPETITION IN THE TELECOMMUNICATIONS INDUSTRY

HON. CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join my colleagues, Mr. WIRTH and Mr. OTTINGER, in introducing today a resolution reaffirming our support for free enterprise competition within the telecommunications industry. Joining us are approximately 20 cosponsors, and I understand that Senator HART is introducing an identical measure in the other Chamber.

The purpose of our resolution is to provide moral support and encouragement to the Federal Communications Commission and others who believe that it is good and healthy to have more than one company offering goods and services to consumers in the telecommunications marketplace. We recognize that certain aspects of telephone service tend toward

a natural monopoly, but we also recognize that other elements of the consumer telecommunications field can and do benefit greatly from responsible competition.

It is no secret that our "procompetition" resolution is intended in part to be a counterweight to the proposed Consumer Communications Reform Act. As you know, that measure is designed to stifle, if not extinguish, competition within the so-called interconnect industry.

On January 17 of this year I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—page 1315 et seq.—a detailed analysis of the Consumer Communications Reform Act. I urge all those interested in this issue to read that critique.

Beginning next month, I intend to issue a series of additional studies that will further explain the potential consequences of passage of the Bell bill. I believe that when all the nuances are fully understood by the Members of Congress and the public, then rejection of the Consumer Communications Reform Act will be overwhelming.

THIRD CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET—FISCAL YEAR 1977

HON. RAYMOND F. LEDERER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 23, 1977

Mr. LEDERER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to enter some comments into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD concerning the extension of the current FSB program for 1 year until March 31, 1978.

I am in full support of the attempts by the Budget Committee to keep expenditures within certain limits.

I have voted for the third concurrent resolution of the budget on March 31, 1977. I want to compliment the chairman of the committee for their fine work. However, I am distressed that this budget does not include full funding for the Federal supplemental benefits program. I realize the concern of this body to keep our expenditures within a reasonable level. Yet, I am deeply concerned about those thousands of unemployed Americans whose unemployment benefits will expire on March 31, 1977. Congressman GUS YATRON has introduced legislation, H.R. 2235, to extend the current program of 65 weeks for 1 year. Hopefully by that time, the economic stimulus program will begin to reduce the current levels of unemployment. I realize this budget calls for an extension of up to 52 weeks. I, and some 30 Members of the House, have cosponsored this important legislation. These Americans do not want a handout. Yet, the American Government has the responsibility to compensate workers who are temporarily out of work through no fault of their own. I urge my colleagues to give consideration to H.R. 2235 even if it might exceed our budget requirements.

DEALING WITH OPEC

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, with the extremely cold winter that much of our Nation has been experiencing, millions of Americans have seen their fuel bills getting more and more costly. Many of these price increases can be laid at the door of the Federal Government. Federal policy has resulted in fuel shortages and higher prices. In addition, U.S. Government policy or lack thereof has led to the increasing stranglehold OPEC countries have on our energy supplies.

Irving Kristol has written a perceptive article on "The OPEC Connection" in the Wall Street Journal. He points out some of the costs to the United States of OPEC policies.

At this point I include the text of the article in the RECORD and commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Feb. 22, 1977]

THE OPEC CONNECTION

(By Irving Kristol)

If political decadence can be identified with "a failure of nerve"—that is to say, an unwillingness to confront and cope with reality—then the reaction of the West to the emergence of OPEC is about as clear a sign of decadence as one could imagine. In every possible way, we have sought to minimize, ignore, and otherwise evade the new facts of life that OPEC has presented us with.

The modes of evasion are various. Many hard-headed bankers, for instance, have promptly concentrated their attention (and ours) on the terms of trade. They announce that the "recycling" of OPEC's new-found wealth is proceeding better than had been anticipated, and that the economics of the problem are quite manageable. This, of course, is economic nonsense. Why should we be pleased that Saudi Arabia buys our goods with our dollars, instead of burying those dollars in the sand? Is it easier for us to produce goods than to print dollars? Is it cheaper?

What the bankers seem unable to realize is that we are talking about a net transfer of real wealth—a levy, a monopoly tax—and that whether we transfer this wealth in the form of goods or dollar bills is of no economic significance to the nation as a whole (even if it does make a difference to bankers). As a matter of fact, that very term, "recycling," helps disguise the economic reality of the transaction that is taking place. The word, as originally applied to problems of pollution, signified a process that produced a net economic gain—what had been waste matter was now being converted into a marketable commodity. But as applied to our relations with the OPEC countries, it obscures the fact that we are talking simply about their gain and our loss.

Or take the popular rhetoric about the importance of "conservation." Obviously, if we arrange our lives so as to use less energy, we shall need less of it, and we shall then seem to be paying a smaller levy to OPEC. But we will in fact be paying the original total levy—only we shall be taking some of it out of our own hides. "Conservation" means making ourselves poorer by doing without—it doesn't affect the costs to us of the OPEC monopoly, but simply reveals those costs openly.

A MAJOR OPERATION

There is much to be said in favor of paying the costs of OPEC in this candid, self-disciplined way. But to listen to some of the apostles of conservation, one would think that it is a costless enterprise. That is because the conservationists of today—like their brethren, the environmentalists—are for the most part anachronistic hangers-on of the 1960s. They still believe we live in an "affluent society," in which economics is no longer a significant problem as compared with something called the "quality of life." When they preach "conservation" they think that they are talking about sacrificing a few of the frills that decorate the American standard of living, and suggest that this may even be good for us. They fail completely to realize the profound crisis in world economics that OPEC has plunged us into. Continuing to pay for OPEC is not a matter of snipping off a few frills but of cutting to the bone.

The costs of OPEC, to the United States and to the West generally, are invariably underestimated and often unperceived. Thus, it is generally known that the United States' bill for oil imports next year will be in the vicinity of \$40 billion. That is a lot of money—but when viewed as a percentage of our Gross National Product it does not seem wildly alarming.

But is that the full story? Certain factors seem to have been overlooked. For one thing, oil is not merely a commodity—it is also the dominant source of energy in our industrialized societies. When the price of oil rises, so do the prices of all alternative forms of energy. When we reckon the costs to us of OPEC, we ought to be thinking of energy costs, not oil costs. OPEC is as much responsible for the higher cost of coal and gas as it is for the higher cost of oil.

One may also properly wonder if it makes much sense to talk about the cost of oil to the United States and the cost of oil to the so-called Less Developed Countries (which, for this purpose, would include such a nation as Italy) in isolation from one another. Since 1973, the non-OPEC LDC's have increased their borrowing—mainly from the U.S. and Western Europe—by over \$100 billion. Not all of this is the result of the increased price of oil, but much of it is. Does anyone really expect that the bulk of these loans will ever be repaid in full? Those countries are never going to be that flush. The loans will be renegotiated unto infinity, until at some point they will be cancelled. In other words, we have huge hidden costs here, disguised by conventional bookkeeping. And those costs will increase, since the LDC's are going to have to keep on borrowing, as their economies grow and as the price of oil is steadily raised by OPEC. And we shall have to continue to lend, lest those countries collapse utterly, with economic and political consequences that are beyond calculation.

In addition, there is the effect of the increased costs of energy on our existing capital stock. As Charles Schultze pointed out, when he was still at Brookings, those increased costs have reduced the value of our industrial equipment, since the technology incarnated in existing capital goods was premised on much cheaper energy. Now we are, in effect, experiencing an involuntary write-down of that technology and that equipment. In the same way, increasing energy costs make all capital stock less productive than it would otherwise have been, so we experience a decrease in productivity.

The costs of OPEC, therefore, are far, far greater than we generally realize. And by our continuing refusal to face up to these costs and their implications, we have made matters even worse than they need have been. As Francis Kelly, of Blyth Eastman Dillon, has

acutely observed, there are only four ways in which we could cope with those costs.

The first is inflation—printing money, which we are doing. But this provides only a temporary relief which is a prelude to longer-term debility.

The second is to place the burden directly on consumers by way of reduced real income and higher unemployment. No one dares avow such a policy, though it is to some extent surreptitiously followed.

The third is to put the burden on the public sector, by cutting government services. To the degree that such services are worthwhile, this is another cost for the consumer to bear. But, in any case, our politicians regard this possibility as unthinkable sacrilegious.

The fourth is to pile those costs on the capital-formation sector, through reduced profitability. For the most part, this is the policy we have been following, with a predictable result: the eventual impoverishment of the American economy.

It is the OPEC connection that makes most current prescription of economic policy so irrelevant. The assumption behind all such prescriptions is that, if only the right advice is heeded, the American economy can return to a prosperous condition. But the OPEC levy, with its effects diffused through the world economy, makes such a prospect chimerical. That levy must be paid, not only today but tomorrow and the day after. We can pay it with inflation, we can pay it with unemployment, we can pay it by a general reduction in our standard of living—but pay we must. And the more successful we are in meeting those payments, the easier it will be for OPEC to increase its levy.

A THREAT TO WORLD COMMERCE

It is this same OPEC connection that is now threatening the whole structure of world commerce. As each nation seeks to evade its share of the cost, seeks to pass it on to others, a new spirit of protectionism is everywhere evident. To a very large degree, the extraordinary economic growth in the post-World War II decades was based on the growing volume of international trade and investment. The new protectionism is therefore economically self-defeating, but it is so attractive politically that it is hard to see what can prevent its gaining momentum.

Nor is there any easy escape from this OPEC connection. For the next decade or so we are "locked into" it. Even if we were to make Herculean efforts to develop alternative, economical sources of energy, putting aside all environmental considerations, the "lead time" necessary before they could make significant contributions to the economy brings us to 1985 or beyond. Nuclear power plants cannot be built overnight; neither can the vast transportation network needed to transport huge amounts of coal. And by 1985, the cost of oil imports to the consumer nations is estimated by Walter J. Levy at \$300 billion! Who is going to pay that bill? And how?

The problem is OPEC. Though we can cope with OPEC in better or worse ways—and we have hitherto generally chosen the worse over the better—there is no way of coping that avoids oppressive economic costs. And, ultimately, political costs too: When a society finds itself in economic distress, it inevitably turns to government to do something about it. The OPEC monopoly doesn't merely violate free market principles. It will, if it endures, subvert all free market economies where (and to the extent that) they still exist.

The OPEC monopoly—like any other successful monopoly—is a political arrangement for economic ends. Copying with OPEC, therefore, is a matter of politics, not economics. Specifically, it is a problem for American foreign policy—yet it is not even on our for-

ign policy agenda. Until it appears on that agenda, the notion that we are somehow coping with OPEC is nothing but a costly and self-defeating illusion.

ALAN N. QUEEN

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to bring to the attention of my colleagues that Alan N. Queen, 16, a senior at the Bronx High School of Science, has been chosen as one of the semi-finalists in the prestigious Westinghouse Science Competition.

Alan, who is active in the community and has served as a volunteer in a number of political campaigns, volunteered for service in the Methodist Hospital's Department of Pathology and Clinical Laboratories during 1974, and in 1975, was a volunteer at New York's Municipal Archives, is the son of Robert I. Queen and Bella A. Queen, active constituents in my district.

Bob, who was with the public relations/legislative counsel for City Councilmen Morton Povman, Eugene F. Mastropieri, Thomas J. Manton, currently serves as public affairs officer for New York State Assemblyman Leonard P. Stavisky, chairman of the Committee on Education.

His wife, Bella, is an assistant principal at Junior High School 125, Bronx.

Alan, who aspires to a career as a doctor, has also won a Regents scholarship with a 98/99 percentile average.

The article describing the science talent hunt in the Long Island Press follows:

[From the Long Island Press, Jan. 27, 1977]
SCIENCE TALENT HUNT TAPS 43 LONG ISLAND STUDENTS

Forty-three Long Island students were among 300 high school seniors selected nationwide as semi-finalists in the 36th annual Westinghouse Science Talent Search.

The 300 winners were chosen from more than 1,000 entries submitted, and all will be recommended for scholarships to colleges and universities.

Forty finalists will be chosen for expense-paid trips to Washington, where they will compete for top scholarships totaling \$67,500. The 40 finalists will be announced next week.

Ten students will be chosen to receive the top scholarships, ranging up to \$10,000.

New York State again led all other states in semi-finalists, with 83 winners. Of those, 23 were girls and 60 were boys. Florida had the second largest contingent of winners with 18.

The winners were determined on the basis of individual science projects, the students' general scholastic ratings, and teacher recommendations.

Listed are the winners from Long Island, their schools and the titles of their projects:

Matthews, Erin Alice, Baldwin H.S., Regeneration of Transected Axons in Lumbricus terrestris.

Milrod, Robert John, Baldwin H.S., Lethal Concentration of Phenols Derived from Fucus vesiculosus and Its Effect on the Parasites Released from Nassarius obsoletus.

Seiderman, Cara Beth, Baldwin H.S., Design of a Mobile Home Park and Its Environmental Impact.

Shadrick, Nancy Ann, Baldwin H.S., Limnological Study.

Dubow, Michele Aimee, Bayside H.S., Search for an Amber Mutant of the T4 Bacteriophage in the Gene Whose Product Unfolds the Escherichia coli Chromosome.

Hersh, Douglas Evan, Cardozo H.S., Bay-side, Correlation Between Intensity and Exposure Time of 1MHz Ultrasound as it Affects Dictyostellium discoideum.

Nagel, Daniel Seth, Cardozo H.S., Effect of a Single Amputation of the Right and the Left Maxillae of the Tobacco Hornworm on the Selection of Host Plant Food.

Oelkers, Eric Hermann, Cardozo H.S., Semi-amicable Numbers.

Pillinger, Michael Harris, Cardozo H.S., Effects of Electromagnetic Radiations of Various Wave lengths Upon Entrainment of Paramaecium Multimicronucleatum into a Circadian Mitotic Rhythm.

Rivelle, Tad, Cardozo H.S., Monotonically Increasing Sequence of Series Generated by the Binary System.

Schaurberger, Ann Gail, Cardozo H.S., Extending the Euler Line and Expanding the Euler Circle.

Stimler, Charles Eric, Cardozo H.S., Behavior Modification of the Phototactic Response in Drosophila melanogaster through Avoidance Conditioning.

Teano, Christopher Anthony, Cardozo H.S., Effects of Gibberellic Acid on Chlorella vulgaris Population Density.

Dance, Garland Ray, Bridgehampton H.S., Effects on Antacids on Protein Digestion in the Stomach.

Hertzum, Daniel Avram, Commack North H.S., Determination of the Potential for the Use of a Lifting Airfoil in the Darrieus Vertical Axis Windmill.

Malchiodi, Lynne Rose, Half Hollow Hills H.S., Chemical Synecology of Subarctic Decomposer Communities.

Kirschenbaum, Jeffrey Marshall, Francis Lewis H.S., Elemental Analysis of Sand from the South Shore of Long Island by Proton-Induced X-ray Emissions.

Stordeur, Diana Claudia, Francis Lewis H.S., Distribution of Bathypsectinura as a Factor to Determine That the Gene is Polyploid.

Gertner, Robert Henry, Forrest Hills H.S., Vector Analysis in Multi-Dimensional Geometries.

Judson, James Frederick, Forest Hills H.S., Triangles inside Triangles.

Propp, James Gary, Great Neck North H.S., Perfect Sequences: Properties and Approximations.

Givant, Stephen Gerald, Jamaica H.S., Model Rocket Plane Trajectory Study.

Mahoney, John Joseph, Jamaica H.S., SOLAR Simulation of Logis Gate Circuits.

Tick, Evan Michael, Jamaica H.S. DARTS: Discrete Rapid Transit System Simulator.

Villaneuva, Mercedes Santos, Jamaica H.S., Chromatographic Survey of an Iodinated Extract as a Prerequisite to a Biodistribution and Time Study.

Mansfield, Robert William, Division Ave. H.S., Levittown, Computer Assisted Amateur Radio Operations.

Hodges, David, Bronx H.S. of Science, Effect of Ultraviolet Radiation and Heat Exposure on the Rate and Efficiency of Bacterial Transformation.

Hsu, Suzanne Stuling, Bronx H.S. of Science, Effects of Indoleacetic Acid and Indolebutyric Acid on the Development of the Fern Gametophyte.

Kwok, Titus, Bronx H.S. of Science, Arrangements of Objects in a Square and an Application to Cell Counting.

Laske, Douglas Walter, Bronx H.S. of Science, Role of Cyclic AMP in Glucose Repres-

sion of B-D-Galactosidase Synthesis in Bacteria.

Laster, David Scott, Bronx H.S. of Science, Initial Digit Problem.

Lo, Andrew Wen-Chuan, Bronx H.S. of Science, Infective Pathway of Bacteriophage T4.

Menon, Victor Paul, Bronx H.S. of Science, Hypericin: Possible Advantages of a Photosensitizer's Use as an Antibiotic.

Nunez, Richard, Bronx H.S. of Science, Role of Serotonin in the Mammalian Thyroid Gland.

Petrylak, Daniel Peter, Bronx H.S. of Science, Role of Membranes and Microtubules in the Circadian Rhythms of Gonyaulax polyedra and Cryptocodinium cohnii.

Queen, Alan N., Bronx H.S. of Science, Effect of Various Environmental Factors on the Tardigrade hypsibius.

Roberts, Jonathan Seth, Bronx H.S. of Science, Primitive Roots Modulo a Prime.

Schoneberg, William Peter, Bronx H.S. of Science, Investigation of the Triangular Number Sequence.

Sherman, Steven Ira, Bronx H.S. of Science, Effects of Nalidixic Acid on Chloroplast DNA.

Yeh, Danny Lo-Tien, Bronx H.S. of Science, Invariance of Magic Properties of Magic Square in Mod m.

Grant, David Ross, Stuyvesant H.S. Brooklyn, Treatise on Euler's Three Biquadrate's Problem.

Glickman, Jeff Bret, The Wheatley School, Old Westbury, Development of an Ultra-Compact Speech Synthesizer.

Maddon, Paul Jay, Van Buren H.S., Queens Village, Correlation Between Pteridines and Genetic Aberrations in the Rosy Clitron of Drosophila melanogaster.

As an update to the above-mentioned article, I would like to point out that four of these young students from my congressional district are finalists in the Westinghouse science talent search, and will be coming to Washington early in March to compete for scholarships and awards. They are: Andrew Wen-Chuan Lo of Bayside, Paul Jay Maddon of Bayside, Jonathan Seth Roberts of Flushing, and Evan Michael Tick of Flushing.

My warmest congratulations are extended to these youngsters who have made such outstanding contributions to the fields of science and education.

SPEED DELIVERY OF ALASKAN GAS

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, at a time when we are very properly concerned with the energy crisis, which will return to plague us from time to time unless the proper legislative and administrative action is taken, I commend the editorial in the Chicago Daily News, weekend edition of February 5-6, to the attention of the Members. The article very effectively urges the expeditious delivery of Alaskan natural gas to help in alleviating future energy shortages.

The article follows:

SPEED DELIVERY OF ALASKAN GAS

The federal government has taken another tiny, cautious step toward tapping the rich natural-gas reserves buried on Alaska's

North Slope. Belated though it was, it was the right step, and a measurable one.

The step was this: A Federal Power Commission hearing judge endorsed a plan to move Alaskan natural gas (equal to about 5 per cent of current U.S. consumption) to the rest of the nation by way of a 4,000-mile trans-Canadian pipeline. One leg of the pipeline would open into central California and the other leg into central Illinois, where two-thirds of the gas would be delivered.

The plan offers an obvious benefit to Midwestern gas users, who have been particularly hard hit by the natural gas shortage, but it has more than parochial interests to recommend it, as we have noted several times in recent months.

It is the best of three such proposals because it could deliver more gas quickly to areas that need it most at a lower cost to consumers than either of the other plans. The other two plans propose an elaborate system of pipelines, tankers, liquefaction hardware and other devices that raise the suspicion that a latter-day Rube Goldberg was put in charge of planning and construction.

The trans-Canadian pipeline has its shortcomings, not the least of which are the questions raised by an increasingly nationalistic tone in Canadian politics. (One of the most encouraging aspects is that a consortium of U.S. and Canadian firms is backing the trans-Canada route with equal fervor.) Treaties protecting U.S. interests will have to be signed and problems of taxation remain unsettled.

But those are small problems indeed compared with the dislocations—social, economic and political—threatened by the current natural gas shortage in the United States.

The pipeline plan—more than two years in discussion—still must be approved by the Federal Power Commission, President Carter and Congress, and the soonest that natural gas could begin moving through the line would be the early 1980s.

The natural gas shortage undoubtedly will still be critical then. It is time to end the talking and make the decision.

JOHN BROLAN: VETERANS' VETERAN

HON. WILLIAM F. WALSH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, the people of Central New York lost a great and good friend with the death of John E. Brolan, who had devoted his personal life to his church, his family, and—especially—his fellow veterans of service in the Armed Forces of the United States.

Mr. Brolan was legitimately called "the veterans' veteran." He served with the Army's 82d "All American" Division in World War I in France and became Commander of the Veterans of World War I Barracks 844. In addition to his leadership with this organization, he rose to the post of Department Inspector and to National District II Commander. He also served as the National Service Officer for his fellow World War I veterans.

In addition, he was a Department Commander of the Army-Navy Union, and was also Commander of the Albert Young Garrison of that body.

Even more important, were his activities on behalf of the Onondaga County Veterans Council, of which he was a Commander, and the American Legion Post 41, which he also led.

He organized and was the permanent leader of the Memorial Association, a group which organized and conducted memorial services for veterans of all wars on appropriate occasions.

Recognition of John Brolan's service to his fellow men are legion. In 1966 he was awarded life membership in the Army and Navy Veterans Union. In 1968 he received the leadership award from the Onondaga County Veterans Council, and he was cited both locally and nationally for his efforts to revive Armistice Day observances and to restore the Armistice Day holiday to November 11.

John Brolan was a retired police officer and, as you would expect, a hero in that line as well. In 1942 he was awarded the city's highest honor for bravery for capturing an armed murderer.

I had the privilege of knowing and working with John Brolan for many, many years. After coming to Congress and beginning my service with the Veterans' Affairs Committee, I worked more closely with him then ever. Despite his advancing years and declining health, he was extremely active until shortly before his death.

John Brolan was an inspiration to all who knew him and his fellow citizens will be forever in his debt.

MRS. ROSE P. BERNARD, DISTINGUISHED CITIZEN OF YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO, RETIRES

HON. CHARLES J. CARNEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. CARNEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take a few moments to pay tribute to an outstanding woman of my congressional district.

The woman I am referring to is Mrs. Rose P. Bernard. Born and raised in the city of Youngstown, Mrs. Bernard attended Market Street, Brier Hill, Jefferson, and Rayen Schools. Following graduation from high school, Rose Bernard embarked on a career in which she became a leader in church, civic, and political affairs.

A loyal Democrat, Rose Bernard has been active in Democratic Party politics her entire adult life. She was one of the organizers and a charter member of the Jackson-Roosevelt Club. She was one of the first members sponsored by that club to obtain a position in the Mahoning County Court House. In 1935, she became the first Democrat to work in the county recorder's office, where she worked for 42 years. She was a Democratic precinct committeewoman for 25 years in the third ward, precinct D, in Youngstown. In addition, she has served on the executive committee of the Mahoning County Democratic Party for 23 years. She is also

a member of the Federated Democratic Woman's Club.

A devout Catholic, Mrs. Bernard attends St. Christine Church and has been active in a wide variety of church functions. She currently resides in Youngstown with her daughter, Viola C. Rodgers, who is the administrative assistant to the Honorable John M. Hudzik, Mahoning County recorder.

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Rose P. Bernard is a wonderful lady who has given herself unselfishly in service to others. She is a dear friend of mine, and I wish good health and happiness in her retirement. When her many friends join together to honor her at a testimonial banquet, it will be my pleasure and my privilege to be among them.

THE VOTE ON THE THIRD BUDGET RESOLUTION; \$19 BILLION MORE GOVERNMENT SPENDING OR \$19 BILLION LESS TAXES

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the House voted to approve the third concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 1977. This resolution accommodates President Carter's economic stimulus program and provides for increased Government spending of \$19 billion. Mr. Speaker, you cannot spend your way to prosperity. If we could, New York, N.Y., and Britain would be prosperous, indeed.

There was an alternative to this program offered by the minority, which would have cut all tax rates by an equal amount, roughly 22 percent across the board. I think that it is a tragedy to the working people of America and those who want to work that this amendment was not adopted, because it would have brought us a lot closer to the goals we are all interested in, that is full employment and real economic growth without inflation.

The fact is that President Carter's program and those who voted for spending \$19 billion more, does nothing about the fundamental reasons for the economic slump we are now in. The principal reason is, the high taxes and the inflation that has increased the real tax burden in this country tremendously by pushing individual incomes into higher tax brackets without increasing real purchasing power. The result is a net loss in real aftertax income. This, in turn, has built in great disincentives, to produce, to hire, to work, and to invest.

The situation today is exactly the same situation which we encountered in the early 1960's. At that time, President Kennedy proposed massive across-the-board cuts in individual and business taxes. The result was that the economy was stimulated so strongly that there was a net increase in Government revenues caused by expansion of the tax base, rather than a revenue loss. As Professor

Heller has testified, the Kennedy tax cuts paid for themselves immediately.

Mr. Speaker, the time has come to stop dealing with symptoms and get to the cause of our problem. More Government spending will only lead to inflation, and this will lead to a continuation of the hidden increase in taxation, which I believe is helping to choke our economy.

The people have a clear idea of how their elected representatives view the issue facing our Nation. On one hand, the majority voted to spend more, inflate more and create Government jobs while we in the minority voted to leave more of the people's income in their own hands, we voted to reduce taxes, reduce deficit financing, and reduce inflation. Next year when inflation is rising I hope the people will remember this vote.

AN OPEN LETTER TO SENATOR FRANK CHURCH REGARDING CONFIRMATION OF PAUL WARNKE

HON. STEVEN D. SYMMS

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. Speaker, President Carter's nomination of Paul Warnke to head the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and to be Chief U.S. Negotiator at the SALT talks with the Soviet Union has aroused considerable controversy throughout America.

I have written the following open letter to Senator FRANK CHURCH, the senior Senator from my State of Idaho, urging him to vote against confirmation of Mr. Warnke.

I would like to share this letter with my colleagues in the Congress:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Washington, D.C., February 23, 1977.

HON. FRANK CHURCH,
Russell Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR CHURCH: During the four years that we have worked together in the Congress of the United States, we have frequently disagreed as to our conclusions of how best to address the problems facing our country, but I have always respected the sincerity of your convictions. Consequently, I have never attempted to influence your vote in the U.S. Senate.

However, the nomination of Paul Warnke as Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and as Chief Negotiator for the Strategic Arms Limitation talks requires me to break with this tradition. I am asking you to please consider the following points which argue for a vote against confirmation of Paul Warnke:

(1) Paul Warnke is on record as being opposed to development and production of the B-1 Bomber, the Trident Submarine and the Cruise Missiles—all of which will come under discussion in the SALT negotiations. The fact that Mr. Warnke is already on record as opposed to these systems will make it very difficult for him to negotiate effectively for a balanced SALT II treaty. The Soviets will be in a position to simply utilize his own arguments against these systems and for unilateral disarmament initiatives by the United States.

(2) During the confirmation hearings in

the Senate, Mr. Warnke's own testimony has, at times, been self-contradictory as to where he really stands on arms control issues. For example, when questioned about his opposition to the B-1 Bomber, he responded by stating that he favored the concept of a stand-off bomber utilizing cruise missiles as an alternative to the B-1; yet, he is on record as being opposed to the cruise missile program.

(3) Mr. Warnke has demonstrated amazing misjudgements about technology. For example, he has been surprised by short-term developments in the area of multiple warheads (MIRVs) by the Soviet Union—something that an adequate arms adviser should have foreseen (others did)—and by our own cruise missile technology. This is disturbing since as an arms adviser he would have to judge technological trends in the closed Soviet society.

(4) Mr. Warnke apparently does not recognize that the Soviet Union considers nuclear superiority over the United States to be a worthwhile goal and that such superiority is politically useful.

(5) Since Mr. Warnke has been nominated to head both the Arms Control Agency and the SALT negotiating team, he would have more influence than any other adviser in evaluating SALT proposals and negotiating points. To concentrate so much power in one man with one point of view is a conflict of interest and could well be contrary to our national security.

In conclusion, Mr. Warnke's opposition to nearly every major U.S. weapon system that could be at issue in the SALT talks is certain to undermine his effectiveness in "hardball" negotiations with the Soviet Union. Thus, the confirmation of Paul Warnke would send out the wrong signal and could well set our progress towards a stable nuclear balance back several years.

Consequently, I again urge you to vote against his confirmation.

Sincerely,

STEVE SYMMS,
Member of Congress.

HAS TORRIJOS ADDED HIS LAST FOREIGN MINISTER TO PANAMA'S EXILE LIST?

HON. GENE SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, the State Department blindly insists Panama has a stable government on which the United States can rely. The truth is, a tragicomic opera script writer could not have dreamed up a better plot as Panama's list of exiles gets longer.

Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker is now negotiating a new treaty with Panama's third Foreign Minister in some 10 months.

First, Juan Tack resigned—or was fired—ostensibly because of his alleged connections with Panama's drug traffic. Tack was succeeded on April 2, 1976, by Ambassador to the United Nations, Aquilino Boyd.

Boyd suddenly resigned—or was fired—on February 9, being replaced by Ambassador to the United States, Nicolas Gonzalez Revilla.

Only 8 days later, Boyd, who long condemned the Canal Zone as an imperialist enclave, drove into the Zone, and with

his wife, baggage and new Mercedes, took passage on a ship for the United States at 1300 hours, February 17.

Was it only for an "extended vacation," or did he get the word from self-styled "maximum leader," Omar Torrijos, that his presence was no longer tolerable?

ILLEGAL ALIENS: VICTIMS AND VICTIMIZERS

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, in my Washington Report to the constituents of the 31st District of California, I discussed the serious problems we face with respect to the numbers of illegal aliens living in the United States at the present time and the many that arrive each year. I would like to insert this article into the RECORD with my recommendation that my colleagues in the Congress quickly adopt the two legislative measures I mention before the problem becomes uncontrollable:

ILLEGAL ALIENS: VICTIMS AND VICTIMIZERS

Leonard F. Chapman, Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), estimates there are about 6 million illegal aliens living in the United States at the present time and indicates between 500,000 and 1 million come into this country every year. Those figures are estimates—the number of illegal aliens who go undetected are staggering.

For the most part, illegal aliens are a shifting mass that are difficult to detect once they become submerged into society. Living in constant fear of being apprehended they live "silent" lives and take their lot here in the U.S. without question. Most of them are from Mexico where the birthrate is one of the highest in the world. When faced with circumstances as they are in their native country—excessively high unemployment running up to 40 percent in some border towns—America becomes a more and more attractive prospect. Also, Mexico and other overpopulated nations don't do much if anything about illegal migration out of their countries because it acts as a safety valve.

One of the major criticisms of U.S. immigration law is that it does nothing to those who hire illegal aliens and then exploit them by paying less for longer hours at menial jobs. It is only a crime for those who enter the country illegally and even then, there is little or no punishment other than deportation out of the country—a good majority return time and time again.

There are two schools of thought—one, that since illegal aliens take the low-priority, low-paying, dead-end jobs, they do not detract from the job market for American citizens or legal aliens. However, a firm hired by INS, ICF, Inc., estimated that the tax burden for approximately 6 million illegal aliens is \$13.5 billion plus another \$3 billion for U.S. balance-of-payments deficit. Also, the firm stated, the presence of large numbers of illegal aliens in the job market forces many citizens to take unemployment compensation and welfare and many illegal aliens use public health and education facilities incurring further costs.

It is a wholesale violation of the law that seriously threatens to disrupt not only our entire immigration system, but it also adversely affects economic growth and stability.

It was estimated that Los Angeles County spends approximately \$10.5 million to provide health care to illegal aliens. While no one would deny treatment to a sick person, the extra burden placed on state and local governments makes it difficult to meet required services notwithstanding the medical debts incurred by hospitals and health care facilities that go uncollected. Consequently, the taxpayer foots the bill. To provide funds to help LA County and other areas meet medical costs for the high number of illegal aliens, I have cosponsored H.R. 2400 that authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to reimburse medical treatment facilities and local governments for care provided in emergencies to indigent illegal aliens.

In Compton (California), the City Council has also moved to do something about the problem of illegal aliens by passing a resolution calling for state and federal legislation to allow the identification of illegal aliens "without abusing individual rights." I am happy to report that I am a sponsor of a bill that will accomplish that very purpose. H.R. 3737 would prevent the hiring of illegal aliens through issuance of a permanent plastic social security card with a photo or other identifying mark as a requirement for employment. The social security system is the one jurisdiction which applies to every potential worker in the U.S. and therefore could be very effective in cutting down on the number of illegal aliens coming into this country. Another major advantage of the bill is that it would place the responsibility where it should be—in the hands of the Federal government. Employers themselves would not have to act as policemen in enforcing the law. The plastic social security card would not become an internal passport or national ID card—it simply would contain the pertinent information required to ascertain that the bearer is the rightful owner and is entitled to legally work in the U.S.

By enacting legislation that will curb the flow of illegal aliens, the government is not attempting to turn their backs on anyone who wishes to live here. Rather, it is to insure that those who do so, do within the bounds of the law.

CONGRESS SALUTES MISS "T"

HON. RAYMOND F. LEDERER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 23, 1977

Mr. LEDERER. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate you and my colleagues taking this time today to salute Estelle Tyler Sullivan, my special assistant, who will celebrate her 50th year of service on Capitol Hill on March 4, 1977.

Since coming to the Hill in 1927 as a staff assistant to Congressman Vincent L. Palmisano, who represented her native Baltimore, Miss Tyler has provided invaluable knowledge and experience to nine different Congressmen.

Miss Tyler has assisted Members of the Pennsylvania delegation for 36 of those 50 years. She has been helping three generations of Philadelphians in my district—first with Congressman William J. Green, Jr., then with his son, Bill Green, and now with me. These Philadelphians have come to know her affectionately as Miss "T."

Indeed, Miss "T" is truly a legendary figure on Capitol Hill. Her reputation is

only exceeded by her list of friends and admirers. She is still as active and dedicated as she was when she started in the 70th Congress and has been invaluable to me in getting my start as a Congressman here in the 95th Congress.

Therefore, in special recognition of the long service of Miss Tyler, I ask my colleagues to join me in saluting Miss "T" and wishing her every happiness. I know Miss Tyler will be involved in the workings of this august body for many years to come, and I am equally sure that we all benefit by her long and exceptional service.

THE REHABILITATION INSTITUTE ON LONG ISLAND

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, during a time when all Americans are greatly concerned with rising welfare rolls and the increasing tax burden for care of the unemployed, I feel it is most appropriate to call attention to the Rehabilitation Institute on Long Island. This agency has performed a herculean task in rehabilitating the emotionally handicapped and placing them in competitive employment.

Since the inception of the Rehabilitation Institute—TRI—in 1965, this voluntary, nonprofit agency has placed 1,300 rehabilitated clients in competitive employment and returned hundreds more to healthy, productive lives as homemakers. It has enabled hundreds more to go on for advanced schooling or training. And it has maintained a sheltered workshop program so that those with handicaps too severe for competitive employment could earn a semi-independent wage while working at their own pace.

TRI is to be applauded not only for its humanitarian efforts in restoring lives that were decaying in back wards of State hospitals, but also for the economic benefits it has bestowed on taxpayers. By transforming welfare recipients into taxpayers, it has saved Long Islanders literally millions of dollars over the past decade. In addition, TRI's programs are successfully operated at a \$3,200-per-client cost to taxpayers per year. This is contrasted against the \$20,000 it costs taxpayers on Long Island to maintain one client in a State hospital per year.

TRI has also served as an outstanding national model for providing community-based rehabilitation to the mentally ill. Not only has its 11 years of operation in the heart of a business community been unmarred by client disturbances, but, on the contrary, its business neighbors have acknowledged it as a vital part of the community and praised its work.

TRI has also rightfully earned the respect of professional peers. It was recently awarded the 1976 Program of the Year Award by the Long Island Rehabilitation and Counseling Association—the first award of its kind ever given.

I would like to add my personal ac-

knowledge and appreciation of the outstanding work of this institute and its foresighted founders, Dr. Edmund C. Neuhaus and Mrs. Louise Friedman.

JOHN GARDNER: AN UNCOMMON MAN

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, John Gardner is one of the most remarkable men of our time. In a time of cynicism about our public institutions he refused to give up on our system. His work in organizing Common Cause and his courage in pushing its programs have had a lot to do with the restoration of some degree of public confidence in our country and its political system.

As he steps down from chairmanship of this new, effective citizen action group, he can take justified satisfaction in the favorable assessments being recorded about his service. Albert R. Hunt wrote in the Wall Street Journal:

Few private citizens have had as lasting an impact on the governmental system as he.

And the Washington Evening Star notes:

The big accomplishment, though, has been to show yet again how much can be done in the American system through simple determination. You can fight City Hall and win.

Common Cause is strong, viable, effective. A tribute to its membership, ably led by a grand fellow.

The two articles follow:

[From the Washington Star, Feb. 20, 1977]

JOHN GARDNER'S UNCOMMON CAUSE

There have been good government groups before. There have even been good government activists with a turn for the subtleties of philosophic thought. But John Gardner and Common Cause, the "citizen's lobby" he started six and a half years ago, are still something special.

When President Nixon's Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare left the cabinet, many people thought the public interest pressure group he wanted to form would be primarily a vehicle for presidential aspirations. If it didn't turn out to be a mere dogooders' nothing, that is.

The Gardner combination of eloquence, originality of thought and vigor in the practical sphere, exhibited at the Carnegie Corporation and HEW, had some people talking about philosopher-kings. It had a White House gleam, it was said—at least, it could have, if the man had a power base.

But John Gardner did not use Common Cause that way. He made it into just what he said he was going to make it into: a non-partisan coalition dedicated to looking at government structures and processes in the large and to pressing hard for change where analysis indicated it would be useful.

The organization has 250,000 members, each of whom pays at least \$15 a year to be part of it and many of whom give time as well, writing and visiting candidates and legislators to push their viewpoints. There's a professional staff of 75 to orchestrate the effort.

Common Cause is less political on the broad sweep of issues than the League of

Women Voters. It's less flamboyant than Ralph Nader and the environmentalists.

There's a price to concentrating on anything as comparatively dry as the mechanics of government—it's not as easy to get people excited about congressional seniority rules as about wars or whales. But neither sophisticated goals nor a low-key approach has kept Common Cause from getting results.

The accomplishments credited to it have to do mainly with political campaign financing and the way Congress conducts its business. Always, the direction has been toward making government more accountable to citizens, opening up the secret places and creating new avenues for people to influence what their lawmakers do.

The big accomplishment, though, has been to show yet again how much can be done in the American system through simple determination. You can fight City Hall and win.

Whether Common Cause will win as often without John Gardner running it as with his leadership remains to be seen. Cool as the membership is to the jazzier aspects of popular appeal, there's a need to find issues of sufficiently far-reaching interest to mobilize support without being too divisive. Tax reform, the subject highest on the present agenda, makes it on the first count but is shaky on the second.

However, as Mr. Gardner himself has said, there's no danger of running out of problems. And, a bit apart from the lobbying battle lines, the man who has written with such incisiveness and grace on the dilemmas of trying to mesh an egalitarian society with a meritocracy can once again offer us the fruits of his contemplative side.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Feb. 18, 1977]

JOHN GARDNER'S ENDURING LEGACY IN COMMON CAUSE

(By Albert R. Hunt)

WASHINGTON.—Back in 1970 John Gardner announced he was starting an organization called Common Cause. Its purpose, he said, was nothing less than to achieve fundamental reforms in the American governmental system.

A lot of people laughed.

Washington cynics said the former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare obviously intended for the organization to serve mainly as a device for furthering his presidential ambitions. They said he was too patrician and cerebral to lead the tough kind of political fights he was talking about. They said the whole idea of Common Cause was hopelessly naive.

Today, Mr. Gardner is preparing to step down as chairman of Common Cause. Among several other achievements during his tenure, he has proved the cynics wrong. The 64-year-old Mr. Gardner and his organization have clearly demonstrated that determined citizens can actually reshape their government.

Naturally, Common Cause has made mistakes. But overall it has pursued its goals with an effective degree of shrewdness and tenacity. As a result, it is widely acknowledged now as one of the most influential lobbying organizations in Washington and elsewhere around the country.

Common Cause was a major influence in setting off a recent series of basic reforms in the way Congress operates. It had a lot to do with the big changes that lately have occurred in the financing of political campaigns. And from its inception it has consistently pushed for the "open government" concept that Jimmy Carter now preaches.

Mr. Gardner never made it to the Oval Office; in fact, he never tried. But it's likely that few private citizens have had as lasting an impact on the governmental system as he.

Essentially, Common Cause has proved the validity of two elemental, but sometimes for-

gotten, ideas. The first is that the processes of government must be made to work well before citizens can have much impact on specific policy decisions. The second is that although it's difficult, you can fight city hall.

Even though Mr. Gardner and his organization frequently are assailed by the political right, these themes transcend ideology. The problems of secrecy and the need for accountability by government officials are as important to conservatives as to liberals. And the notion of effective citizen action hardly is a radical idea.

"There isn't any possibility that we can make power less seductive," Mr. Gardner said in an interview in the New Yorker magazine several years ago. "What we can do is to devise realistic arrangements that will make it more difficult for officials to separate the citizens from the levels of power and much more difficult for a tightly knit inner circle to monopolize those levels."

Operating under the maximum that "accountability is at the heart of free self-government," Mr. Gardner frequently has riled entrenched interests in an effort to achieve a more democratic system. Surprisingly often, he has succeeded.

Common Cause deserves at least part of the credit for several changes in government procedures that recently have occurred, or that are about to occur.

Some examples: Nearly all congressional committees now operate only in open sessions. Congress is preparing to pass legislation requiring lobbyists to disclose their activities. Lawmakers are expected to adopt soon a strict ethics code for themselves. California voters approved a measure minimizing government secrecy and putting restrictions on political contributions. A new Michigan law provides for taxpayer-financing of that state's gubernatorial campaigns. Florida has adopted tough financial disclosure requirements for elected officials there.

Certainly the public revulsion over the Watergate affair was a big factor in some of these developments. But when Mr. Gardner and Common Cause began pushing for such changes, Watergate was nothing more than a big apartment complex on the Potomac.

In 1971, for instance, Common Cause began lobbying to end the automatic seniority system in the House by requiring that committee chairmen be directly elected by their party caucus. Skeptics doubted that such a significant change was possible, but by 1975 it had happened.

Three committee chairmen were unseated two years ago, and this year one appropriations subcommittee chairman was ousted. "The days of the autocratic chairman are over," says a House committee chairman. "You're not going to be dictatorial to people you know can determine your fate."

The secret of Common Cause's success is its members—250,000 of them, each paying at least \$15 in annual dues. Congressmen say they are perpetually badgered by letters and visits from these members. During political campaigns, local Common Cause units have been remarkably successful in getting commitments from candidates to fight for positions backed by the organization.

"Our real strength comes from having a cohesive constituency," says David Cohen, president of Common Cause. "This is basic. John Gardner understands that you have to motivate people, that the morale of our Society is fundamental to dealing with problems. It's very important that people have a real sense of participation."

It's true that Common Cause members generally are more financially and socially able to participate than other citizens; one lawmaker calls the group's members the "guilty rich."

Whether that assessment applies or not, it

is nonetheless salutary for thousands of Americans to band together in an effort to improve the way their government operates. Mr. Gardner, who believes it is time for him to move on to new challenges, has noted that eventually any citizen organization will "grow old and ineffective." But he adds that "the idea of citizen action will continue," and for his role in assuring that, he deserves the nation's thanks.

PUBLIC WORKS JOB BILL

HON. MATTHEW J. RINALDO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. RINALDO. Mr. Speaker, the economic outlook for the Northeast States and the Far West has taken an exceedingly grim turn this winter. Extremely cold weather in the Northeast has seriously aggravated what some economic experts consider to be a chronic state of unemployment.

Due to the energy shortage, 300,000 workers were temporarily laid off in New Jersey. Some have gone back to work. But the disruption has left the State's economy in trouble, and I seriously doubt that it can recover without additional help.

Furthermore, just as the Far West is facing the worst drought since the Dust Bowl days of the thirties, New Jersey's reservoirs are drying up too as a result of a winter drought. Even if we have heavy rains in the next few weeks, the ground is so frozen that the reservoirs and underground wells will be unable to recapture this rainwater to the extent that we normally would.

There is no doubt that the Federal Government, along with the States, needs to take prompt action before the drought hits with full force, causing more unemployment on our farms, closings of more factories, brownouts because of a decrease in hydroelectric power, and a series of shock waves through the economies of the Northeast and the Far West. The rest of the Nation, of course, would feel the effects too in lost production, higher welfare and unemployment expenditures, lost taxes, and a sharp slowdown to our economy.

In addition to this imminent crisis, Northeastern States like New Jersey are suffering from chronic unemployment. New Jersey has a total work force of 2.6 million people. But in 1975, it lost 219,000 jobs. Last year, thanks to Government job assistance, including the public works job bill, the attrition in employment was slowed. New Jersey lost 40,000 jobs instead of 219,000. But it was the fourth year in a row in which the State of New Jersey, once the manufacturing leader in the Nation, has lost jobs.

According to figures of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Northeastern region of 18 counties in New Jersey have lost 590,000 jobs since December 1969.

Mr. Speaker, the Federal Government must give even more attention to this economic hemorrhage in the Northeast and New Jersey.

The \$4 billion public works job bill that I have cosponsored and which we are considering today would be helpful in that respect. It would provide New Jersey with an estimated \$225 million in Federal funds that would generate 50,000 jobs in communities where unemployment is most severe. It would be twice as much as New Jersey is currently receiving from the 1976 public works job bill.

That bill only scratched the surface, and it also suffered from what I would consider "computer gimmickry" in the manner in which the Economic Development Administration dispenses the funds. Cities like Elizabeth, with high unemployment, received no funds, while Newark and Essex County received one-fourth of all the funding for New Jersey.

Yet, as lopsided as the formula was in favor of Newark, the town of Bonney Lake, Wash., with a population of 3,000, received a public works job grant of \$3.8 million. When 44 of the Nation's 100 largest cities wind up with nothing in public works funds, it is inconceivable that a town of 3,000 should be selected. H.R. 11, which I am urging Members of the House to support, would more realistically use human judgment to establish the benefits of a public works project to city or region.

The amount of funds in this bill will not resolve the unemployment problem. The AFL-CIO, for instance, estimates that we would need to spend \$30 billion in public works to put a major dent in unemployment by providing for 2 million jobs. Given the fact that one out of every four construction trade workers is unemployed, I can understand the AFL-CIO's concern that the amount of the funds be increased.

Yet this \$4 billion is what we can afford without setting off a race toward double-digit inflation. Furthermore, there is little danger that the outlays in this bill would drag on long after they are needed and thereby contribute to inflation.

Public works jobs and projects in the energy conservation field would be given priority under this bill.

Mr. Speaker, public works jobs, like the old Civilian Conservation Corps that helped to pull America out of the depression, make sound economic sense. Putting millions of Americans back to work at constructive and urgent tasks is not an expenditure but an investment that will more than pay itself off in more jobs, lower welfare and unemployment expenditures, higher personal and business tax revenues and, most importantly, by sustaining the Nation's confidence in itself, the economy and the Government.

We need a simple program with clear guidelines that are written by officials with good economic judgment. I believe that the EDA and Congress have learned a lesson from the shortcomings of the first public works bill of last year. H.R. 11 will do a better and more equitable job of distributing the funds to those in the worst communities in greatest need and for those projects which will have the greatest economic benefit to the largest number of people.

Congress has a new opportunity

under this bill to define its intentions more clearly and to establish priorities for levels of funding that are directed toward transportation and highways, municipal construction, and schools.

ANALYSIS OF PROPOSED REDUCTIONS IN THE DEFENSE BUDGET

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I included in the RECORD some remarks on President Carter's revisions of the fiscal 1978 Federal budget, with some special emphasis on revisions in the defense budget. In connection with those remarks, I recommend to the attention of my colleagues an analysis of proposed reductions in the defense budget, prepared for my staff by Richard Cronin of the Congressional Research Service.

CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH SERVICE,

Washington, D.C., February 24, 1977.

To: Mike Hugo, House Appropriations Committee, Minority Staff.

From: Richard P. Cronin, Analyst in National Defense.

Subject: Department of Defense Budget Amendments.

The following is in response to your request for an analysis of the recent Department of Defense amendments to the FY 1978 budget along the lines of that contained in CRS Multilith 76-205F—"An Analysis of Congressional Reductions in the Defense Budget; Fiscal Years 1971-1976." This report examined congressional budget reductions on a line item basis and categorized those reductions as either "substantive," "non-critical," "postponements and deferrals" or "adjustments" (financing and other adjustments having no program impact).

The basis for the following report is the prepared statement by Secretary of Defense Brown submitted to the House Appropriations Committee on February 22, 1977. Among other things, the statement itemizes and briefly explains the Carter Administration's amendments to the FY 1978 defense budget request.

Our estimate is that of the total identified net reductions of about \$2.7 billion in total obligation authority (including \$6 billion in additions and \$3.3 billion in reductions), about 96% on a dollar basis could be classified as postponement and deferral actions. Most of the balance of the reductions would fall into the "substantive" category as used in our Multilith report cited above.

The categories used in the Multilith report and in this analysis are intended to be neutral in implication. For instance, "substantive" refers only to the apparent relationship of the item to the primary military mission. Thus, the term does not imply any judgment about the actual effectiveness, efficiency, need etc. of the program, item or weapons system. The proposed elimination of a weapons system is counted as a substantive reduction regardless of the actual qualities of that system. The addition of funds for what is described by the Carter Administration as essential base construction and maintenance must also, by our methodology, be considered substantive for want of more information about the proposed use of the funds.

Postponements and deferrals are generally more clear cut. Even here, however, there

may be some questions as to whether a reduction is really a postponement or whether in fact the system or item actually will be funded in subsequent years. The B-1 bomber program is a case in point. The Administration proposes to reduce FY 1978 procurement from 8 to 5 aircraft pending a decision on full scale procurement. In this case we judged that sufficient doubt exists about the future of the program in the Administration's plans to rate the cut as "substantive." If, however, the Administration should commit itself to full scale production then the FY 1978 proposed reduction would effectively constitute a postponement.

Some proposed reductions which were judged postponements and deferrals could effectively become substantive cuts should they lose Administration support during the period of reduced production or developmental slowdown. These systems include SRAM-B, the Follow-on Interceptor, the Advanced Attack Helicopter, the F-15 fighter program, the Advanced Tanker-Cargo Aircraft and AWACS.

Details on the methodology utilized, including methodological problems, are contained in pages 2-8 of CRS Multitilt 76-205F.

The attached table (Attachment A) identifies the announced budget amendment items and indicates their categorization. If you have any questions regarding this analysis please call 426-5060.

ATTACHMENT A

CATEGORIZATION OF PROPOSED FY 1978 BUDGET AMENDMENTS—DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

	(Dollars in millions)
<i>Substantive</i>	
Improve airfield readiness, Europe	+60.0
Preposition stock facilities, Europe	+50.0
Construction and maintenance at U.S. installations	+200.0
Urgent equipment overhauls and repairs	+280.0
B-1 bomber procurement	-280.0
Non-nuclear Lance program (cancelled)	-77.7
Hawk program (cancelled)	-35.3
A-7E attack aircraft (cancelled)	-24.4
Nuclear strike cruiser (CSGN) (cancelled)	-187.0
Conversion of support ship (AGHS) (cancelled)	-43.0
Transfer of 40,000 Naval Reserve billets from selected reserve to individual ready reserve	-50.0
Total substantive	-107.4
<i>Non-Critical</i>	
Uniformed Service Univ. of Health Sciences	-14.0
Civil Reserve Aircraft Fleet modifications	+15.0
Total non-critical	+1.0
<i>Postponements and Deferrals</i>	
SRAM-B production deferral	-23.4
M-X development	-160.0
Follow-on interceptor program	-26.3
Polaris SSBN submarine program	-27.2
Advanced attack helicopter program	-100.0
CH53E heavy-lift helicopter program	-62.0
F-15 tactical fighter	-334.0
Advanced tanker-cargo aircraft	-276.6
Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS)	-150.0
SSN submarine program	-230.0
Guided missile frigate (FFG) program	-282.0
Naval reactor cores and components	-150.0

Combat support and service programs	-651.0
Communications and electronics programs	-92.0
Total postponements and deferrals	-2,564.5
Grand total	-2,670.9

H.R. 11—ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, in the past few weeks, the Economic Development Subcommittee has heard over 100 witnesses. I was one of 36 Members of Congress who had the privilege to address the subcommittee and express my concerns about Public Law 94-369 and, more particularly, the Economic Development Administration's implementation of it which resulted in violations of Congress legislative intent. In supporting H.R. 11, I commend the Economic Development Subcommittee and Chairman Bob ROE for making many critical changes. At the same time, I want to underscore and elaborate on my specific concerns as we prepare to enact an extension and expansion of the act.

Several analyses of the distribution of the first \$2 billion of local public works—LPW—funds showed the same three significant conclusions. First, underfunding of metropolitan areas in comparison with rural areas; second underfunding of cities in comparison school districts and suburban areas; and third, overfunding of smaller jurisdictions. As pointed out by several witnesses, including Jo-Ann Terry, chairperson of the Michigan Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, each of these major shortcomings in the distribution of project funds resulted in large racial inequities.

Although EDA's project selection process probably did not reflect conscious racial discrimination, the net effect was essentially the same: Underfunding of larger center cities with sizable minority concentrations.

EDA established scoring and other procedures that deliberately attempted to make sure that urban areas with large numbers of unemployed did not receive most of the LPW dollars. The results clearly indicate that EDA's strategy succeeded all too well.

Ironically, whereas Congress intended to focus on areas of high unemployment, "undue concentration" of unemployment became a primary reason for project rejection or the loss of substantial funding resources. This cost the city of Detroit nearly \$20 million or 33 percent of its deserved funds. However, Detroit was luckier than the other top 20 cities in the United States. Three of the top 20—Pittsburgh, Dallas, and Seattle—received no funds at all.

Presumably, in EDA's Catch-22 project selection process, these cities had too many unemployed persons to qualify for

this major unemployment relief program. Granted, this view oversimplifies EDA's project scoring and selection process—but not much.

Project selection criteria seem to have been ingeniously designed to discriminate against larger cities with heavy concentrations of the unemployed and minorities. Sometimes in the arcane workings of Federal bureaucracy it is extremely difficult to distinguish between malicious intent and sublime ignorance. In this instance, I will reluctantly give EDA the benefit of the doubt. But I have had an almost impossible time explaining to my unemployed constituents how and why EDA benchmark formulas and logarithmic tables have worked to keep them on unemployment lines and public assistance. The typical reaction might be translated as: "I thought that I've been hit by every kind of racism in the book. But what in hell is a logarithm?" I have tried to explain that normalizing was even worse than logarithms, and that benchmarks were better than both, but still bad news.

In sum, my unemployed constituents' basic problem under EDA's scoring system has been not living on a farm, still better in a suburb or, best of all, on an Indian reservation.

One of the most bizarre features of EDA's project funding process resulted, for a change, in compensatory justice for Indians. Thanks to an esoteric statistical procedure called normalizing, Indian reservations—perhaps for the first time in history—wiped out non-Indian communities in the competition for LPW funds. More power to the Indians, but this was a freak statistical accident, with the computer as an unwitting accomplice.

Perhaps Government computers sometimes can produce poetic justice, but computers have not proven to be very astute about enforcing the antidiscrimination provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act or section 10 of the Public Works Act. EDA's Office of Civil Rights apparently made little effort to closely review affirmative action and civil rights compliance data within individual applications. Expansion of these efforts is essential but, to make any sense, requires that the act as a whole be cleaned up.

For example, by rewarding the level of per capita income in the EDA scoring system, inevitably larger cities—and States—would be discriminated against in project selection. Obviously, per capita income varies directly with the size of cities. Many center cities with higher per capita income could not compete with counties for project funding, which substantially contributed to the inequities mentioned previously. Income of the project area should count for more than the per capita income of the applicant's jurisdiction.

Furthermore, in the bizarre statistical manipulation of project scoring, the factor of the potential benefits of the project itself got lost. This fact brings me to my final point. The long term employment benefits produced by LPW projects should be given substantial credit in the project selection process as should the socioeconomic benefits to the

project area. These considerations probably were so obvious that EDA overlooked them.

With this in mind, I strongly support the amendment offered by Chairman ROE that adds to the end of section 108 the words, "for improving socioeconomic conditions." If passed, section 108(g) would read:

States and local governments making applications under this Act should . . . (2) where feasible, make requests which, although capable of early initiation, will promote or advance longer range plans and programs for improving socioeconomic conditions.

While this amendment is short, it is nonetheless very significant. Equally significant, however, will be the creation of a systematic procedure which makes it possible to evaluate how, and to what extent, the LPW program actually meets the intent of Congress and succeeds in remedying the gamut of problems and inequities that have plagued Public Law 94-369.

OPPOSITION TO PRESIDENTIAL ACTION ON THE CENTRAL ARIZONA PROJECT

HON. BOB STUMP

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. STUMP. Mr. Speaker, President Carter's decision to halt further construction of the Central Arizona project is a shocking disclosure in the light of the financial resources the State of Arizona has committed to the project and the years of labor so many of our citizens have contributed.

No more disruptive action could be taken at this time to so upset the economy of our State and Nation which the President has stated he is giving the highest priority to stimulate.

The CAP through the years has had the wholehearted support of every one of its Governors, the State legislatures, and congressional delegation of every political persuasion, and the general public. With this show of unity we prevailed when we were opposed by the State of California on the legality of our entitlement to Colorado River water. After many years of difficult negotiations we succeeded in getting the approval of Congress for the project, and then in 1968 President Johnson signed the authorizing legislation, calling it a landmark in water resources development.

Since construction started in 1970 more than \$392.4 million, including the Government's share of the cost of the Navajo generating plant, has been appropriated for construction of the project. Forty-five miles of aqueduct is nearing completion; 68 miles of transmission lines are being built; and 4,900 acres of land have been acquired for rights-of-way.

It is incomprehensible that the President would take such drastic action without consulting the Governor, the elected officials of our State, or those who have the responsibility for the

project. This is totally inconsistent with the pledge he made to the people of this country to conduct the affairs of state openly.

The effect of all of this is that Arizona is being denied the water the Congress of the United States has promised it will deliver to our fast-growing, urban population; expanding industries; and to our Indian tribes and non-Indian farmers.

COMMENTS ON AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S AFRICAN VISIT

HON. CARDISS COLLINS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mrs. COLLINS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young recently returned from his first trip to Africa since assuming his new post. While there, he discussed current African issues and American policy toward Africa with many of the continent's major leaders.

The trip was both a symbolic and a practical way for the Carter administration to show that it is fundamentally rethinking previously held American attitudes toward Africa. As Mr. Young said,

They (the Africans) are anxious for a new start, and that's what I'm looking for too.

In the February 16 issue of the Washington Star, Columnist Carl T. Rowan presented an intelligent and insightful essay on the Young trip and what it may mean for the future of American-African relations. I include Mr. Rowan's column in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that my colleagues will have a chance to consider this increasingly important topic:

YOUNG, CARTER AND AFRICA

(By Carl T. Rowan)

People already are citing Ambassador Andrew Young's mission to Africa as proof that President Carter scored a diplomatic coup when he named this black man as his chief representative at the United Nations. They are saying that only a black American with Young's honesty and simplicity of approach could have closed the wide and icy chasm that has existed recently between the U.S. and Nigeria, Africa's most populous and richest nation.

Undoubtedly, Young's blackness has been a factor in the warmth of the initial welcome he received. But it would be a serious mistake to assume that the former Georgia congressman can ride the "bonds of race" to any lasting triumphs in Africa.

After all, we had a black ambassador to Nigeria (John Reinhardt, new director of the U.S. Information Agency) from 1972 to 1975. That didn't stop Nigeria from displaying arrogant hostility toward the U.S. and U.S. officials on frequent occasions.

Ambassador Young has been embraced by Lt. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo, Nigeria's head of state, not so much because of Young's race as for the fact that Obasanjo and other Africans believe Young is the spear-carrier for a new breed of U.S. policymakers.

Young stuck his neck out and said he could virtually guarantee Africans that the U.S. would repeal the Byrd amendment that has permitted the import of chrome from Rhodesia. Days later Secretary of State Cyrus Vance was telling Congress that "the Carter

administration attaches the highest importance to repeal" of this 1971 amendment, named after its sponsor, Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr. of Virginia.

Africans sense that Young feels secure enough to say what he thinks proper and do what he regards as necessary, however much it may startle or upset diplomatic traditionalists back home.

Young provoked disavowals, spoken gently, at the State Department when he said that Cuban troops lent a measure of stability to Angola. Young spoke the truth. If the Cuban troops were not there, South African forces from the south and troops from Zaire to the east would be rummaging around in Angola, and the civil war would be in full blaze. Young's problem is that his saying it suggests the Carter administration wants Cuban-enforced stability.

Nevertheless, this conflict with official policy did not deter Young from meeting with Angolan leader Agostinho Neto when an opportunity arose in Nigeria. He didn't hide behind the old line that "you just don't meet with people whom the U.S. has not officially recognized."

Nigerians refused to receive former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger because they believe he sold out the black peoples of Namibia (South-West Africa) and South Africa in an effort to bribe South African Prime Minister John Vorster into helping to force Rhodesian whites to accept black majority rule. The evidence is overwhelming that the Nigerians read the situation correctly.

Nigerian and other black African leaders clearly expect the Carter-Vance-Young team to lower the boom on Rhodesia, to pressure South Africa to stop holding Namibia in defiance of world opinion, and to demand that Vorster's Afrikaaner government halt its suppressions of South Africa's black, colored and Asian majority.

With the exception of pressures on South Africa itself, where even Young speaks with a strange ambivalence, the black Africans are not likely to be disappointed.

But if the U.S. does disappoint them—if Carter administration policies fall far short of what Africans expect—Ambassador Young will find no refuge in his blackness. Alienation between the U.S. and Africa will grow—to the detriment of human freedom everywhere.

LETTER TO UNCLE SAM

HON. CECIL "CEC" HEFTEL

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. HEFTEL. Mr. Speaker, I would like today to call attention to a young man from the 50th State who has distinguished himself and inspired others with his vision of what America is and can be in the future.

David Susumu Lancaster, a 17-year-old senior at Farrington High School in Honolulu, has been judged the Hawaii State Winner in the 30th annual voice of democracy scholarship program.

The program is sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars and its ladies auxiliary and offers thousands of young men and women across our Nation the opportunity to express their understanding of the ideals on which our nation was founded.

The theme of this year's program is "What America Means to Me." Mr. Lan-

caster demonstrated his originality and outstanding writing ability by composing a letter to his "Uncle Sam." I offer this letter for the general edification of the House.

LETTER TO UNCLE SAM

Dear Uncle Sam: I received your letter, stating that you are making out your Will. I understand your eagerness to hear from each one of your 60,000,000 nieces and nephews, throughout the United States of America. You need very much to know where each one of us stands on this all-important topic: "What America Means to Me." May I state that I feel that you are perfectly justified in requesting this declaration from each one of us, for, as you have stated—you recently passed your 200th Birthday! You should not find it necessary to shoulder the full responsibility of the Government, by the Government, and for the Government, for over 200,000,000 American citizens. Tomorrow, the reins of American Democracy will be in our hands! You do not wish to turn this exciting, beautiful Countryside over to irresponsible, foolish Youth! You do not wish to see your national Wealth, squandered on Alcoholism, Drug Abuse, and other degenerating experiences! Your search is a genuine one, for the Rightful Heirs to the Land!

I shall, therefore, try to be as truthful and as brief as possible; for, as you know, I am one of your 18-year-old nephews who wishes very much to share in our Country's rich heritage and promising Future! For, the next twenty years will be of great importance in determining which Ideology, Democracy, or Communism, will lead the World. My peers and I are very much aware of the fact that, as our Master Teacher stated, "We are our Brother's Keeper." To the millions of Freedom-cherishing citizens of the Globe, "America is the last great Hope of Mankind."

"What does America mean to me?" you ask, Uncle Sam! May I say, simply, that, to me, *My Country means Everything in the World!* She represents my Parents and my Friends! Her Spirit is in Air that I breathe, the Food that I eat, and, even in the Clothes that I wear! She goes with me to my favorite Church on Sunday morning. She sits beside me at the Football Game on Friday evening. She has guided me in my chosen career of Statesmanship, which I hope to pursue for a Lifetime! She holds my Past, my Present, and my Future, in her strong, right Hand! She represents my Country's History, my Rightful Heritage, and my complete Happiness! I trust that you will not find me overly-sentimental, Uncle Sam; but, when I see Old Glory fluttering in the breeze, my Pride swells up, inside, and out, often, I brush a tear from my cheek. On Veterans' Day, when a National Leader places a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, in Arlington National Cemetery, I utter a special prayer of Thanksgiving, not only for my own Brother, who died in Vietnam, but, also, for the thousands of "other" Brothers—of all Races and of all Wars, who have been willing to place their young lives, upon our Country's Altar of Freedom!

On January 20, 1977, a "new face" took his place in the White House. A "new name" now carries the banner of the world's highest-elected Political Office, a person who represents the Soil, the United States Naval Academy, and one of America's finest Institutes of Technology! I think you know how earnestly your teen-age nieces and nephews are praying that this person, this new president, will be able to lead our Country and our Congress—as we solve our gigantic problems of Unemployment, Inflation, and Crime!

In a few short years, I trust that I, too, shall be worthy of being a "new name" and a "new face" in American Politics. Confi-

dentially, I am studying, learning, and applying my talents—in order that I, too, may become a well-qualified, humble servant to my Country and for my Fellow-Man! With a Heritage, and with a Legacy, such as mine—which are bequeathed to me, by my favorite Uncle, Uncle Sam, I can do no less!

Signed, Your devoted Nephew,

DAVID SUSUMU LANCASTER.

DROUGHT IN THE WEST

HON. MAX BAUCUS

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to say a few words today about the disastrous drought problems in the West. We in the West are in dire need of immediate Federal planning and assistance to address this problem.

Nineteen of my western colleagues joined me earlier this month in a letter to President Carter calling upon his administration to initiate disaster relief programs for drought-stricken areas. We must not forget that the West is facing the same economic catastrophe for having a mild winter that the East is facing for its harsh winter.

However, we in Congress should not idly sit by and wait until the President acts on the drought. We can offer help, and we should. This budget resolution is our vehicle to offer the West relief.

Yesterday we approved a third budget resolution for the current fiscal year. The new budget substantially increases fiscal year 1977 outlays for agriculture—\$844 million—and for natural resources—\$1 billion. Also fiscal year 1977 budget authority for commerce is increased by more than \$100 million. Hopefully, these increased amounts will be directed in substantial part to deal with the problems of western drought.

The West needs assistance in form of disaster relief for communities, farms, and ranches which face certain loss of water due to reduced precipitation. And, we should not be deluded by this week's weather reports. Yes, it is raining and/or snowing in the West, but experts have stated that for our region to have its normal amount of precipitation this winter, it must have double the amounts we normally receive during the months of February, March, and April. I may not be a good weather forecaster—in fact I hope I am not—but I doubt if increased rainfall is on its way.

We need water, and we need it immediately. Weather modification has been talked about as a tool to help alleviate the lack of rain and snow. However, it is being used by individual States, especially Colorado, Oregon, and Washington, and not according to a regional plan. We need a regional plan to seed clouds.

Make no mistake about it. Cloud seeding does work. Earlier this week Colorado's snowfall was increased 20 percent by seeding. Yet, we in the West cannot act as a region until the Department of Commerce completes a study on weather modification under the recently passed

National Weather Modification Policy Act of 1976. I hope that Commerce can expedite its study so that the West will receive cloud seeding this winter. It is needed now—not next summer when it will be too late.

I am submitting today a copy of the letter to President Carter. I will present next week a series of letters I will be sending to other members of the new administration urging additional specific actions on the drought.

The letter follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., February 8, 1977.

HON. JIMMY CARTER,
President of the United States,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: As you know, the Northwest and the Northern Plains are going through an unusually mild winter. Although that may seem pleasant in contrast to the frigid East, there are certain fundamentally serious problems in our region that we wish to bring to your attention.

Our districts are experiencing severe drought conditions, causing loss of revenues at ski resorts, anticipated loss of crops, and a lessening of energy produced by hydroelectricity.

Government snow surveys show that this year's snowfall is well under normal snow pack. In some of our states, we have fifty percent less snow than past years, causing our ski industries to lose millions in expected revenues.

Perhaps more ominous, harvests in the Plains states will almost certainly be substantially reduced unless there are precipitation increases over the rest of the winter. The drought is retarding grass growth and ranchers are relying more on feed grains, the cost of which is increasing sharply. Some ranchers are faced with foreclosure, in part because lending institutions are concerned about the effect of the drought on agriculture production.

According to recent reports, the drought in northern California may cost commerce upwards of \$1 billion.

Also, our forests are in dire trouble if rain does not increase. Not only do we fear fires this summer, but this is the first time in memory that our constituents fear fires in the winter.

Many localities in our districts have begun to ration water. Others are actually dry now and are having to truck in water.

We sympathize with families in the East whose states are either snowbound or are being disrupted by the lack of natural gas. Nevertheless, we urge your Administration not to overlook the fact that our region is facing the same economic catastrophe for having a mild winter that the East is facing for its harsh winter.

Government efforts exerted to date are, in our collective judgment, inadequate to prepare the nation for the consequences of what is likely to become a prolonged drought in the Northwest and Northern Plains.

In light of the above, we urge your Administration to take certain immediate steps. First, there should be undertaken immediately an assessment of how much crop damage has been and is expected to be caused by the drought. Further, an assessment should be undertaken of the consequences that reduced harvest will have on farm prices and on national and world food supplies.

Second, we urge your Administration to undertake an immediate assessment of our nation's electrical supply to determine how the energy needs of Northwest and Northern Plains users who rely almost exclusively on the electricity produced by water power generation will be met when the drought reduces that supply.

Third, we urge your Administration to set into place immediately plans that will provide disaster relief and other appropriate assistance to communities, farmers, and ranchers in the Northwest and Northern Plains who almost certainly will have inadequate or no water supply in the coming months.

Your attention to these requests is most appreciated.

With best personal regards, we are
Sincerely,

Max Baucus, James Abdnor, William Armstrong, Les AuCoin, Don Bonker, John Burton, Norman Dicks, Robert Duncan, Frank Evans, Mike McCormack, Gunn McKay, Ron Marlenee, Dan Marriott, Larry Pressler, Joel Pritchard, Teno Roncallo, Pat Schroeder, Steve Symms, James Weaver, Tim Wirth.

BEHIND THE PROMISES

HON. STEVEN D. SYMMS

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. Speaker, this morning I had the privilege of being a guest of my good friend Eddie Cole of J. C. Penney Co. at the Penney management group meeting. The speaker at a breakfast this morning was the Honorable Meldrim Thomson, Governor of New Hampshire. I would like to take this opportunity to commend Governor Thomson's speech to my colleagues in Congress:

BEHIND THE PROMISES

(By Meldrim Thomson, Jr.)

(Speech given to the J. C. Penney management group Washington, D.C., February 24, 1977)

Behind the promises of Jimmy Carter and his Democratic Administration, what is the outlook for the economy of the nation?

Frankly, I view the prospects for a strong and prosperous America in the immediate years ahead as foreboding.

In the few minutes we have together this morning, I would like to tell you why I believe our economy is in trouble and by it our national security imperiled.

Under the strong stimulus of a Presidential campaign, Jimmy Carter laced his oratory together with such pleas as trust me, and we need more love and understanding.

His plea for trust reminds me of the tombstone inscription in one of our ancient cemeteries back home. The worn lines read:

Look on these lines as you pass by
As you are now so once was I
As I am now so you must be
Prepare to die and follow me

A local legend tells us that one night a wag crept into the cemetery and with penknife in hand added the following lines:

To follow you I'm not content
Until I know which way you went

Many of us who hold a conservative philosophy are unwilling to trust and follow the new President when we read the directional signs he and his administration have been busily hanging out in the last five weeks.

The Democratic platform all but admits that America today is a socialist society.

In bold strokes, it paints a futuristic picture of government control, welfare giveaways, and public works programs.

Its multitudinous promises of public assistance, national health insurance, and relief for cities, schools and any supplicant with a strident tin cup would increase our

swollen national budget by 1/3 or about \$200 billion.

If these campaign promises could be kept, the near disastrous inflation of 11 percent that almost smothered our economy in 1974, would seem like a grass fire compared to the mighty conflagration that an additional \$200 billion of government spending would spark.

The mixture of gimmickry and gall that thus far has marked the Carter administration gives small comfort to those who believe that the wealth of a nation is based upon sound principles of management and the productivity of labor.

Only as we convert natural resources and fabricate products, whether shirts and shoes for J. C. Penney or jumbo jets for commercial airlines, do we create wealth.

Several weeks ago President Carter proclaimed with much fanfare that door-to-door limousine service would be discontinued for the new bureaucratic aristocracy. Soon thereafter, he was flying an expensive government jumbo jet to Plains, Georgia for a weekend. Probably in one flight he wiped out the limo savings for a year.

Just before leaving office President Ford proposed a national budget of \$440 billion for fiscal 1978. Of this huge sum, it was proposed that \$47 billion be in deficit.

Now comes President Carter and says the budget is too low. It will have to be increased by \$19.4 billion. And it's a good bet that it will be increased many billion more before the end of fiscal 1978.

Friends, we will never again have a strong economy until we can curb the terribly swift escalation of spending at all governmental levels, and especially federal spending.

It is estimated that today for every dollar earned by an American, 44 cents must go for taxes.

In Britain where socialism, the forerunner of totalitarianism, has a strangle hold on the people and the smell of decadence permeates the land, a worker must part with 60 percent of his earned income.

George Washington had wise advice for his fellow countrymen when on September 19, 1796, in his famous Farewell Address, he said: "As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit."

"One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it, avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense but by vigorous exertion in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear."

Washington might well have had in mind as he penned those lines, that the first annual budget of our new nation was only \$637,000 for about 4 million people. That figured out to a per capita cost of 21 cents.

How shocked he would be if he were abroad in the land today and could know that our current annual budget will be about \$420 billion of which \$68 billion will be in deficit. That is almost \$2 thousand per capita.

In two hundred years the annual cost for government with its multivarious services has risen from 21 cents to almost \$2 thousand for every man, woman and child in America.

Now that wouldn't be so bad if we could afford it. But our national debt is \$650 billion.

The interest alone on the debt is \$46 billion. This is almost equal to the entire national budget for 1950.

In 1977 the deficit for the national budget will be \$68 billion. That is almost as much as the entire budget twenty years ago.

The disastrous effect of this constant compounding of the cost of government is seen in the deterioration in the purchasing power

of the dollar. The 1967 dollar is worth only 58 cents today.

How little heed we have paid to Washington's admonition "to cherish public credit."

And how ungenerously we have heaped upon our children those financial burdens which we ourselves ought to bear.

Excessive public expenditures not only lead to that ugly sneak thief, inflation, but even worse they inevitably lead to government control over the free market place.

Wage and hour controls, allotments, allocations and the best of regulatory devices employed by bureaucrats are not the inventions of modern man. They were known and practiced by the ancients.

Toward the end of the Roman Empire the Emperor Diocletian resorted to managed socialism to overcome depression and prevent revolution.

He gave food to the poor and built extensive public works to provide for the unemployed.

To insure the necessities for the cities and the armies he bought up whole segments of industry and established state control over the import of grain.

Will Durant tells us that butchers, bakers, masons, builders, glass blowers, ironworkers, and engravers were ruled by detailed regulations.

The result of this government control was inevitable. It took half the population to manage government.

"To support the bureaucracy, the court, the army, the building program, and the dole, taxation rose to unprecedented peaks of ubiquitous continuity."

Now comes the Carter administration and makes its first major changes to the 1978 Ford budget. Just the Carter increase would amount to one and a half times the cost of federal government in 1940.

Welfare and Education programs would go up by \$7 billion and community development by \$2 billion. Six hundred new employees would be added to the Environmental Protection Agency for regulatory work—meaning, of course, more harassment of the private sector and further curtailment on the real production of energy.

Thus, the Carter administration proposed to further socialism in America by walking resolutely in the historic footsteps of the emperor Diocletian.

Almost a century and a half ago, the young man Abraham Lincoln told a Lyceum audience—

"All the armies of Europe, Asia and Africa combined with all the treasures of the earth (our own excepted) in their military chest, with a Bonaparte for a commander, could not by force take a drink from the Ohio or make a track on the Blue Ridge in a trial of a thousand years.

"If destruction be our lot we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of free men we must live through all time, or die by suicide."

After two hundred years of glorious development, is America now contemplating suicide?

Certainly, there is no need for it if we will but strike the shackles of government control and dependence and put into full motion again the great American free enterprise system.

Look at the jobs that could be made over night if encouraged by our free enterprise system to produce the energy we need to prosper and survive. There are wells to be drilled, gas to be piped and nuclear plants to be constructed.

In building just three ten-thousand megawatt nuclear plants the private sector could offer more jobs than would any public assistance program yet proposed by Congress—and all would be good paying jobs.

In New Hampshire, probably more than

in any other state we follow the tenets of the free enterprise.

We have created a healthy tax climate by avoiding general sales or income tax.

Forty-five states have sales taxes. Forty-one have income taxes. Thirty-six have both. We in New Hampshire have neither. Thus we have the lowest per capita state tax in the nation.

In New England, we have the lowest combined state and local tax at \$525 per capita.

We are the only New England State with a triple A bond rating. Our public debt of \$179 million is the lowest in the region.

We had a \$6 million surplus this year and consistently operate on a balanced budget.

We have a surplus employment fund and thus can offer a lower employment security tax rate than can other New England States.

Small wonder we had the largest number of industries move to New Hampshire last year in the history of the state. Some fifty-six fine industries accounting for almost 10,000 new employees, came to our state.

Latest unemployment figures as of February 14th show our 3.4 percent unemployment rate not only the lowest in New England but also the lowest in the nation.

In our administration we have vigorously fought against the encroachment of the federal government upon our state sovereignty.

When the Coast Guard tried to take over control of our lakes and rivers, we threw them out. We are constantly in federal court trying to protect our citizen from the harassments and deprivations of our monolithic federal government.

We believe in practice the free enterprise system.

That is why we say, "New Hampshire is what America was."

MILTON S. BYAM DAY

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, this past Sunday was Milton S. Byam Day in Queens, N.Y. in recognition of "selfless service to all people" by this distinguished New Yorker. I am proud that he is one of my constituents.

The National Conference of Christians and Jews also joined on that day in honoring Mr. Byam for his humanitarian and community service.

Queens Borough President Donald R. Manes proclaimed the day Brotherhood Sunday to honor Mr. Byam's "endeavor to afford each person the most valuable human resource, the development of the individual and his or her creative powers."

Mr. Byam is director of the Queens Borough Public Library and has devoted the past three decades to professional library service.

He also has served as chairman of the Department of Library Science at St. John's University and director of the District of Columbia Public Library.

He has held leadership positions in many professional, service, and civic organizations and has received numerous honors from his professional peers as well as his community.

I wish to commend Mr. Byam on this most recent and well-deserved honor and insert in the Record Borough President Manes' proclamation of Milton S. Byam Day:

Whereas, Brotherhood is a universal concept guaranteeing justice, dignity and respect for all, here and for the world over; and

Whereas, for nearly thirty years, Milton S. Byam has committed his life to the humanization of librarianship as an effective means of educating for Brotherhood; and

Whereas, his whole life, as a citizen and man, has been an example of selfless service to all people, and he has sought to afford to each person the most valuable human resource, the development of the individual and his or her creative powers; and

Whereas, the Queens Region of the National Conference of Christians & Jews, Inc. will appropriately honor Milton S. Byam at a dinner on Sunday, Feb. 20, 1977, at Antun's Restaurant,

Now, therefore, I, Donald R. Manes, President of the Borough of Queens, the City of New York, do hereby proclaim Brotherhood Week Sunday, Feb. 20, 1977, as Milton S. Byam Day in Queens in his honor and urge all residents to emulate his lifelong dedication to the spirit of liberty, which seeks to understand the minds of all men and women, while paying him the respect and love which he so eminently deserves.

WHAT AMERICA MEANS TO ME

HON. DALE E. KILDEE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. KILDEE. Mr. Speaker, I was very happy to learn that Danny E. Corey of Flint, Mich., has been named the Michigan State winner of the Voice of Democracy essay contest, sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Danny is the son of Edward and Najat Corey, and is a student at Flint Northern High School. He serves as president of his senior class and has been a member of the Honor Society for 2 years.

Writing is only one of Danny's talents—he also earned a varsity letter in tennis, is a member of his school's marching band and drama club, and is an amateur photographer.

Danny hopes to study political science and law, and based on his past accomplishments, I am certain he will do very well.

I should like to take this opportunity to share with my colleagues, the very fine essay written by Danny Corey:

WHAT AMERICA MEANS TO ME

(By Danny Corey)

It has been said that a nation's greatness can be measured by how great its people are. Our nation has enjoyed 200 years of greatness through its people. From all parts of our country, through every walk of life, there are people who demonstrated the American ideal.

In Atlanta, Georgia, on January 15, 1929, a man was born who would become a leader to be remembered. He spoke of his dream; of seeing in his own lifetime equality and brotherhood for all men. Martin Luther King died before he could fulfill his goal, yet in his short lifetime he was able to preach the same ideals that our founding fathers had struggled for. He was a man with a dream—an American at heart, and that's what America means to me.

Helen Keller was born with a handicap that determined the course of her life. She may have been physically blind; yet she had a vision beyond measurement—a sight for hope and determination. With her strength and willpower she won fame for her success

and later established help for other blind people. She was a woman with vision far beyond the physical act of seeing. An American at heart, and that's what America means to me.

A young man was born on a farm in Nebraska. He was not fortunate enough to gain fame for his achievement. To him growing up in America might have meant enjoying the simplicities of baseball and apple pie or maybe the dream of going to college or taking over the family farm. But before any of his plans could materialize he was called to duty to defend his country along with thousands of other boys. He died on the grounds of the Argonne forests in World War II. His name is unimportant, yet his patriotism symbolized an American way of life since the minutemen gave their lives for liberty. This young man, like many others, was a man with courage and loyalty. An American at heart, and that's what America means to me.

Looking back at our nation's history and seeing the accomplishments of the many Americans like Martin Luther King, Helen Keller or the tragedy of a lonely soldier on a battlefield, proves that the vital element in our nation's success is contained in the preamble to our Constitution in the simple phrase "We the people". Think what that phrase really means. It's the essence of our democracy. It doesn't mean the president; it doesn't mean the Congress, nor does it mean labor unions and big business. It means we, the people. We the blacks, we the whites, we the rich, we the poor, we the multitude! And that is what America means to me.

This powerful declaration means that we the people hold the key to open the doors for this country, to build this nation into even higher glory and to guarantee the full rights of our citizens.

Our forefathers struggled through a bitter civil war, an impeachment of a president, two world wars and a great depression, and we too must struggle. I am inspired by our history and the work of our forefathers who kept the idea of "we the people" burning in their hearts and minds. I feel "we the people" must challenge ourselves to the responsibility of fighting for the right to preserve the American dream and keep the torch of justice and democracy burning forever.

The greatest honor of being an American is the inheritance of a land, a Constitution and an ideology devoted and pledged to the freedom of all men, the equality of mankind, and the preservation of a democracy so precious in our hearts.

We must dedicate ourselves to this challenge with our every last measure of devotion. Our best years are not behind us—they are yet to come.

I am confident that we the people will not forget the dreams of Martin Luther King, the vision of Helen Keller, or the courage and loyalty of millions of Americans who fought to bring us to where we are today. So that we will look to the future and understand that we, too, have the responsibility of keeping the ideals and principles of America burning. So that future generations will be able to share in the great American dream. And that's what America means to me. Thank you.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE BENEFITS UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

HON. BALTASAR CORRADA

OF PUERTO RICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. CORRADA. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced H.R. 3871, a bill that would extend full public assistance benefits under the Social Security Act

to the U.S. citizens residing in Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Virgin Islands, who would otherwise qualify for such assistance.

This assistance is now being denied solely on the basis of a geographic discrimination.

Ever since the enactment of the public assistance titles of the Social Security Act the residents of the offshore territories have either been excluded from receiving many of its benefits or there are such discriminatory ceilings in the grant to the territories that the benefits received under these programs are totally inadequate to meet the needs of the people.

Specifically, the residents of Puerto Rico are excluded completely from receiving benefits under the so-called Prouty amendment and supplementary security income and labor under the following ceilings and restrictions on other titles:

1. Income maintenance (AFDC and Adult categories) \$24.0 million ceiling and 50% matching requirement.
2. Medicaid—\$30.0 million ceiling and 50% matching requirement.
3. Title XX—\$15 million ceiling if unallocated.
4. Family Planning and WIN services—\$2.0 million ceiling.

Mr. Speaker, these ceilings and restrictions have created serious inequities in the benefits received by the U.S. citizens residing in Puerto Rico and other offshore territories. For example, although per capita income in Puerto Rico is less than 40 percent of the U.S. level and 60 percent of all families have incomes below the Federal poverty level, only about 13 percent of the population receives cash assistance due to funding limitations. Also due to funding limitations Puerto Rico pays only 40 percent of its AFDC need standard. The Federal share of the AFDC grant is a disproportionately low \$4.78 versus a U.S. average of \$39, and Puerto Rico has found it necessary to overmatch the Federal share in order to maintain a minimum adequate level of support, these higher matching rates have been a burden to Puerto Rico given our limited fiscal capacity.

These ceilings have remained static since 1972, and if we take into consideration the high rate of inflation, we find that the real value of Federal payments have been reduced to less than 60 percent of the 1972 level.

Faced with these blatant inequities and obvious discrimination, the Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare named an advisory group on Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Virgin Islands, to make recommendations regarding this situation.

The advisory group recommended that—

The Department should move toward a posture that reflects the dominant treatment of Puerto Rico under all Federal legislation.

That is as a State.

My bill will do just that, to treat U.S. citizens residing in Puerto Rico as full-fledged citizens of the United States for the purposes of the titles of the Social

Security Act that now discriminates against them.

In President Carter's message to Gov. Carlos Romero-Barceló of Puerto Rico on the occasion of the Governor's inauguration on January 2, 1977, the President expressed his commitment to the people of Puerto Rico in the following words:

Too long have some sectors of Washington approached Puerto Rico on a dividing "we and you" basis, forgetting that Puerto Rico is an island where over three million American citizens live. As President of the United States, you can be assured that I will be conscious of the needs of all American citizens, wherever they may be.

The President also stated that—

The Constitution of the United States does not distinguish between citizens. We do not have in our country first and second class citizens.

Puerto Ricans, Mr. Speaker, particularly the poor, are treated as second class citizens under parts of the Social Security Act.

I hope, Mr. Speaker, that Congress, in its wisdom will adopt this kind of attitude toward the U.S. citizens residing in Puerto Rico, particularly the poor, the elderly, and the disabled. People that by their circumstances look upon their government to provide them with adequate assistance to upgrade the quality of their lives.

ESTONIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I want to commemorate a brief but great moment in Estonian history when the Estonian people achieved their independence from foreign domination and installed a democratic government.

Following the exodus of the Communist regime with the arrival of German troops during the First World War, Estonian leaders took the initiative to quickly proclaim their independence on February 24, 1918.

As it rapidly became obvious that German rule would prove no better than Soviet control, many prominent Estonians temporarily fled their country and campaigned abroad for the diplomatic recognition of a sovereign Estonia. Their efforts proved so successful that even while under German occupation, Estonia received de facto recognition from Great Britain, France, and Italy.

With the tide of war turning against the Germans, they withdrew from Estonia in 1918 and a Soviet attempt to recapture the tiny Baltic nation was valiantly repelled by the Estonians, later assisted by Finland and England. In February, 1920, 2 years after their declaration of independence, Estonia and the Soviet Union signed a peace treaty in which the Russians agreed to renounce forever any rights over the people of Estonia. Later in 1920 a constitution was adopted providing for a democratic form

of government and guaranteeing the rights of minority groups. By 1922 Estonia had received full diplomatic recognition from the United States and was a member of the League of Nations.

Estonia enjoyed liberty until the outbreak of World War II, when she was "assigned" once again to the Russians by the nonaggression treaty between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. The arrival of Soviet troops was the first stage in destroying Estonian freedom, and by the middle of 1940 the Estonian Government had effectively ceased to exist.

The courageous struggle of the Estonian people for liberty against tremendous odds is an inspiration to freedom-loving people everywhere, and it is fitting that we reaffirm today our commitment to their cause.

"WHAT AMERICA MEANS TO ME" SARAH JANE POPOVICH, VOICE OF DEMOCRACY WINNER, ARIZONA

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, Arizona's winner in the Voice of Democracy scholarship program sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars hails from the congressional district I have the honor to represent.

She is Sarah Jane Popovich of Huachuca City, a junior at Tombstone High School.

Sarah, in her winning essay, takes note of the freedom of choice, the option of both men and women in our country.

"So many things to decide each and every day, but they are our own choices, not choices that are forced on us," Sarah observes.

I commend her winning essay to my colleagues:

WHAT AMERICA MEANS TO ME

(By Sarah Jane Popovich)

When I sing the Star Spangled Banner or say the Pledge of Allegiance, I get this strong and beautiful feeling inside. I am so proud of my country. America, a name that means something different to each of us, and something very special to me.

America, which has been said before, is a land of opportunities. How wonderful it is that I can choose a goal, a career, and be assured that if I work toward it I can reach it. How many times have poor people worked to become wealthy and succeeded? How many people have a college education today that would not have one if they lived in another country? Any man with a dream, ingenuity, and a willingness to work can see that dream come true. Isn't that wonderful? I am so proud to live in this land.

From the time our country was founded, people have had freedom of choice. Today a woman can choose to have a career or not. She can be married and be a homemaker, she can be married and still work if she chooses. She can even hold a political office. Likewise, a man has the choice of marrying or not, holding a career or just working at an unskilled job, he can join one of our armed forces, be a politician, or a farmer. So many things to decide each and every day.

but they are our own choices, not choices that are forced on us.

I feel that America has the best working government in the world, and part of the reason is that we are allowed and encouraged to criticize it. Because people are constantly criticizing it, it is constantly being improved upon. To me this is one of our most important rights—freedom of speech. Without it America would only be a weak, unimportant country, but because we have freedom of speech, we have a great and progressive country.

Two very important things in my life are God and music. I am so thankful to live in a land where I can choose my own religion, my own way of worshipping God as I see fit. No one can dictate to me or pressure me into believing a certain way. If this right were taken away, America would not hold its same meaning.

America is also a land of music. Music fills our lives in every corner, it is heard everywhere. America has many different types of music that are only characteristic to Americans and no one else. And isn't it fitting that a land filled with so many different people has so much beautiful music?

Americans love like no other people. Americans have such compassion for one another. There are so many charities and helpful organizations based on love for mankind. Look at all of the holidays we celebrate by giving gifts or just giving ourselves.

So to me America means opportunities, freedom of choice, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, beautiful music, and love for people. America is the land I love above every other and always will. I will always try to keep her the way she was meant to be, with liberty for all.

NATO IN DISARRAY

HON. TOM CORCORAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. CORCORAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in an era in which it has become fashionable to endorse the slashing of defense budgets, I think all of us would find it enlightening to read an article to be published in the March issue of the Alternative magazine entitled "NATO in Disarray." In this stirring article, Mr. F. S. Manor, the senior editor of the Winnipeg Free Press reflects on the seeming obliviousness to the massive Soviet arms buildup in Europe and the enormous gap between NATO's military forces and those of the Warsaw Pact.

As Mr. Manor so eloquently points out in the Alternative—a magazine which I have found to be a refreshing and lively journal of our lives and times—NATO no longer has time to take counter measures against the Russians, "because Soviet forces massed at the West German border are so fully integrated, equipped and supported that they can advance immediately. The Russians have their entire infrastructure at the border and they can move any time without mobilizing reserves or bringing up reinforcements first."

Mr. Speaker, I believe that we would do well to consider the gravity of the Soviet military buildup and its threat not only to the freedoms of our friends in Western Europe, but to our own as well. I insert Mr. Manor's thought-provoking

article at this point in the RECORD and urge my colleagues to take heed to his words.

[From the Alternative Magazine, March 1977]

NATO IN DISARRAY

(By F. S. Manor)

The itinerary of my winter journey was entirely fortuitous. Yet the three pieces of the mosaic—Cyprus, Brussels, and Vienna—produced a remarkable coherent picture, one of Western ingenuity and enterprise, threatened by an equal dose of Western pusillanimity and an obstinate refusal to face harsh realities. Having spent a good part of the Second World War worrying about the efficacy of black-out, I find an almost childish pleasure in the dazzling illumination and the brightly lit, richly stocked shopwindows of the festive season. This Christmas, however, as I strolled amidst the well-dressed throng of Brussels and Vienna, watching passers-by laden with parcels, peering into stores crowded with customers, but above all savoring the gay lights that dispelled the early December darkness, I could never suppress the thought nagging at the back of my mind: How much longer?

An utter obliviousness to present realities informed the spirit wherever I went: Under the swaying palm-trees of beautiful Cyprus, where the Greeks still believe they will go back to the areas now firmly held by the Turks; in Brussels where—as in the Vienna of 1918—the situation is considered hopeless but not desperate; and in Vienna itself where the Austrians are trying to convince themselves their neutrality will save them from whatever cataclysm may engulf their neighbors.

CYPRUS: THE SCORPION AND THE TURTLE

On a tree-lined avenue of Nicosia the thick walls of the Moorish-style building surrounded by delightful gardens spoke of a time long before air-conditioning had been invented. The punkah that monotonously whirred on the ceiling to cool the 80-degree heat of Nicosia's December was witness to the British legacy: The punkahs that once revolved from the countless ceilings between the Mediterranean and Hong Kong were as British as Yorkshire pudding. Young men impeccably dressed, except for the minatory bulge in their jackets, lounged by the various entrances while elderly messengers shuffled forever with cups of sweet Turkish coffee, this a legacy of three centuries of Turkish dominance.

The Greek-Cypriot cabinet minister, who, preparing for a vital international conference for which he was leaving that very evening, yet found time to spare an hour to a newsman from the Canadian Prairies, was remarkably realistic about his neighbors. He did not foresee an early end to the Lebanese tragedy—and the latest reports of sporadic fighting in Lebanon bear out the minister's accurate assessment. He was equally pessimistic about the prospects of an Arab-Israeli settlement, his views sharply at variance with the anodyne pap on the Middle East fed to the public by the departing President Ford.

But when it came to the future of Cyprus the minister's clear vision became clouded. He believed in an united Cyprus in which the Greeks would be allowed to move freely across the zonal boundary, a line that in Nicosia is as ugly and depressing as that which divides Berlin. It still lacks the vicious East German dogs, but my long experience of human folly leads me to believe that is only a question of time. The minister argued that the central government of Archbishop Makarios must be sufficiently strong to hold the island state together. And when I hesitantly pointed out that such dreams were unlikely to be realized, the minister said he had to maintain "positive optimism." Otherwise he really could not be in the job.

The same illusions cloud the vision of the

Canadians, who for 12 years have been supplying substantial forces in the futile attempt to "keep peace" on this peaceless island, once dedicated to Aphrodite, the goddess of love. It is depressing to watch these smartly turned-out soldiers, the best troops in NATO, wasted on ludicrous duties where they forever argue with the two sides about a new piece of concrete wall, a new platform on an Observation Post that makes the Turkish OP three feet higher than the opposite Greek post or vice versa. They plead, they cajole, they argue, and when they cannot persuade one or the other side, they file a grievance with the United Nations in New York. It would be funny if it were not for the backdrop of all those Soviet tanks and ground forces poised along the Central Front of Europe, where a well-trained Western company may mean the difference between those gay Christmas lights and a new devastation.

Meanwhile, the spirit of free enterprise that built our civilization, indeed the Greek spirit that had inspired Western thought processes, is as alive as ever. The truncated Greek part of the island is humming with activity. Hotels had been lost in the part seized by the Turks, but new hotels are rising in the Greek sector, and if the British tourists no longer come because they have become poor, perhaps the Scandinavians will come, or the Germans, or the French. This faith in economic future, in the ability to master all adversity whatever the odds, differs sharply from the Western refusal to protect the fruits of these labors, to defend the freedoms each of us cherishes. Indeed, it would seem as if we were two different civilizations, one full of ingenuity, the other dying on its feet.

The same paralysis of will that makes the British and the Dutch slash their defense budgets in the face of the biggest offensive build-up ever by the Soviet Union, obscures the vision of the Greeks and the Turks, both threatened by the self-same build-up, both refusing to forget their petty quarrels in the face of a far more deadly peril. The Turkish foreign minister who attended the NATO meeting in Brussels called a press conference to warn the Western public about the possibility that his government might effect a reversal of alliances and make friends with the Soviet bloc, as Helsinki encourages everyone to do. ("Helsinki" has ceased to be a geographical term and now covers a vast multitude of sins.)

The southern flank of NATO is thus in complete disarray. A senior naval officer in Brussels suggested we might have to "amputate" Cyprus to save the alliance in the Mediterranean. He "tilted" towards the Turks, and indeed all military estimates indicate that in a conflict the Turkish forces would go through the Greek lines like a knife through butter. But why a conflict? Why not a settlement? It is the old Israeli story about the turtle and the scorpion all over again.

The scorpion asked the turtle to carry it across the Suez Canal. "No," the turtle refused, "you are too dangerous. You would sting me." "Don't be silly," the scorpion reassured the turtle. "You know I cannot swim and if I sting you we'll both drown." So the turtle carried the scorpion on its back and in the middle of the Canal it stung the turtle. "Why did you do it?" the turtle asked in agony. "Now we'll both die." "This," answered the dying scorpion, "is the Middle East." The Middle East of Beirut and Cairo, of Nicosia and Ankara.

BRUSSELS: PANTS AT HALF-MAST

In Brussels, as in Canada, the air-traffic controllers were on strike and our Boeing circled the airport for an hour, consuming precious fuel for which we give the Arabs our hard-earned substance plus our weapons that in due course they will use against the West. The Canadian air-traffic controllers had

objected to the use of French in air traffic control, and one wondered whether the Brussels controllers objected to Flemish.

At NATO headquarters near the airport the pickets were out. The civilian personnel of the alliance was on strike, placards and all. I watched an Italian Communist reporter I know, the Brussels correspondent of *l'Unità* of Rome, together with her colleagues from *Pravda*, *Tass*, and—a new appearance this at the NATO meeting—a group of Bulgarian "accredited correspondents," interview the pickets and carefully copy in their notebooks the text of the slogans on the placards. The Bulgarians' cameras clicked and whirred—Warsaw Pact meetings were never like this.

It was a perfect reflection of the state of the alliance. The enemy is at the gates and the very heart of NATO is paralyzed by a quarrel over a cost-of-living bonus, with Communist correspondents on hand to report it all.

I have now attended the NATO ministerial meetings for more than a decade and I believe this was one of the gloomiest sessions I have ever witnessed. The ministers were given figures, shown pictures and graphs illustrating the massive gap between the forces of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. And at the end of the week they duly dispersed without taking any decision, having come to the comfortable conclusion that the Russians are not ten feet tall—as if even pygmy Russians could not race those tanks to the Channel and press buttons on all their wonder missiles. Back at home it is defense-budget-cutting-time as usual, something that is about as logical as cancelling, as an economy measure, a fire insurance policy while the neighbor's house is burning.

Western superiority in quality is going fast, if it has not already gone, substantially helped by Western exports of sophisticated technology and large cheap credits given to the Soviet Union, something everybody in Brussels deplored, but the British had hardly finished their deploring when they turned on the United States to castigate the Pentagon for interfering with an export contract that would greatly improve the performance of Soviet missiles.

NATO lacks ground forces, tanks, and planes; but, first and foremost, the alliance lacks time and space, two vital ingredients without which deterrence is an illusion. Once, it was thought, a political crisis would be accompanied by a Soviet build-up that could be observed by satellites and give NATO time to take counter-measures. But NATO no longer has such time, because the Soviet forces massed at the West German border are so fully integrated, equipped, and supported that they can advance immediately. And NATO lacks space because Western anti-tank weapons could not stop the overwhelming mass of Soviet tanks once they got moving.

The Russians have their entire infrastructure at the border and they can move any time without mobilizing reserves or bringing up reinforcements first. "They have it all ready on the ground," I was told repeatedly, "and they are right at our throat."

"At present the danger is we shall be jumped at unprepared," a British general told me. "And a jump from peace to war would catch the alliance with pants half down."

Pants seemed to figure almost as much in the discussions as did the estimated height of the average Russian. A NATO defense minister mused on what may be happening. "We must consider that if they think we are soft enough," he said, "and they believe in their system, they may intend to use their new military capability. You cannot be sanguine about that." He then complained about the ministers sitting in closed meetings and being briefed while the public remains unaware of what is happening.

"You have to have public awareness of

this to get the political support that is necessary to do the things that are essential," the minister said. So I asked him whether, as an experienced politician, he planned to enlighten the public. "If you mean that I shall go up and down the country scaring the pants off people, no I shall do nothing of the kind," he replied. Why not? In the present climate, manufactured by our all-powerful media, he would have "to sound like a redneck," he admitted ruefully. What he did not say was that this would end his political career.

The tragedy—or perhaps the criminal negligence—is that so many people are perfectly aware of what is going on, but are afraid to say so aloud, or if they say so are howled down by a chorus of media "persons" yapping in unison: "cold-warrior! warmonger!"

A French officer attached to NATO, one who obviously does not share the go-it-alone ideas of his political bosses, said the Soviet preponderance in tanks was "a frightening prospect." He dismissed as wishful thinking reports that the Soviet aircraft captured in Japan was second-rate. It was a fine aircraft, and the Russians are continuously improving their weapons on a scale the West cannot match.

Our "flexible response" strategy is yet another instance of wishful thinking in Western liturgy, "graduated response" means that if the superior Soviet conventional forces overrun NATO defenses, NATO will reply with its little tactical nukes and go on to slightly bigger nukes and so on. The Soviets have never accepted this premise. They say the moment nuclear weapons are used, whatever their size, they will let go with everything in their arsenal. There is, moreover, a new facet to Soviet tactics: The Russians are now fully trained for chemical warfare.

In a recent exercise Soviet forces contaminated an area in East Germany with modern chemicals, then went through it simulating an attack on NATO's rear, and after a successful completion of the exercise decontaminated the region making it safe for occupation. The Soviet units were fully equipped and trained for chemical warfare. They must have been training somewhere beyond the Urals before bringing their new chemical toys to Germany to try them out on what would closely approximate the future battleground. But we must keep this quiet. No use scaring the pants off people.

We have detente. And SALT II. And the Mutual Balanced Force Reduction talks or MBFRs. (The "B," however, is silent and must never be pronounced.) The NATO defense ministers were told in Brussels by their military advisers that none of these talks will affect the military balance or lead to a change in the three-to-one Soviet superiority in conventional forces. But like the proverbial show, the talks must go on.

The new Canadian minister of external affairs, Don Jamieson, was typical of the "face-the-wall-my-darling" attitude that prevailed among the foreign ministers. (The defense ministers have more guts, but they wield less influence and have no money.) Mr. Jamieson waffled as much as his external affairs department top advisers, who insisted that the Soviet preponderance was "perfectly manageable." These were Mr. Jamieson's enlightening comments: "If I have an overall impression from this meeting, it is that the Kissinger approach is the one that commends itself to me, because there is always in this kind of discussions the problem of assessing Soviet strength and saying the only alternative is to match it, in which case we would be in a horrendous arms race, whereas Mr. Kissinger was saying you have to couple a realistic appraisal with again renewed effort at disarmament and finding some kind of understanding that does not lead to a scandalous waste of resources."

Perfect, is it not? On the authority of the world's Number One Guru we don't have to do anything. All we need is another realistic appraisal and then let us offer the Russians yet another round of negotiations. The talks can go on while the Russians complete their build-up, if there is anything more to complete, that is. Meanwhile, we shall worry about indexed unemployment benefits and forget the "horrendous waste."

MBFR: MUCH BETTER FOR THE RUSSIANS

To see how we are getting along with finding that "some kind of understanding" I flew to Vienna to learn more about MBFRs. At NATO the initials (interpreted by some as "much better for the Russians") still stand, but in the Russian language "balanced" is a four-letter word very much *infra dig*. A Western diplomat's wife, who sent a note to the Soviet ambassador thanking him for one of those parties with which the diplomats ease the tedium of their inaction, received the note back unopened. She had committed the unforgivable *faux pas* of addressing the note to "the Soviet ambassador to MBFRs"—and it was rejected like an impertinent diplomatic protest.

A few days after my arrival in Vienna, yet another round of talks was completed and the negotiations adjourned for the Christmas/Grandfather Frost holidays. We could have an agreement tomorrow, a diplomat told me, if we accepted the Soviet proposals. These are endearingly simple: An acknowledgement by NATO of permanent Soviet preponderance in Europe further tilted in Soviet favor by new drastic restrictions on West German forces; and a pledge by NATO not to enlarge the alliance, such as by bringing in Spain. Not a word in the Soviet proposals about NATO's demand that the Russians withdraw one army of 68,000 men and 17,000 tanks behind the Soviet border. This is not much to ask since "disparity in ground manpower in the area (i.e. Central Front) is somewhat larger than 150,000 men."

This estimate is taken from the communiqué issued by the Western allies on the occasion of the Christmas recess. There is another interesting sentence in the communiqué: "... it is apparent that the military significance of what the West is offering is at least as great as the military significance of what it is asking from the East." Note, not of what the East is offering; the East does not offer anything. Nonetheless, the communiqué ends on a brave note: "As regards prospect for progress in coming rounds, we are not pessimistic." The foreign ministers will be glad to hear it. They know that "we must develop a more realistic understanding of detente, and the task of public education falls on the Western governments themselves."

BEFORE THE SACK

I wound up my Vienna talks listening to Austrian politicians and officials, who after all are right in the middle of the row, desperately trying to keep out of it.

The Austrians still tell jokes. Which is the world's most neutral country? Czechoslovakia, of course. They don't interfere even in their own affairs.

Otherwise, the Austrians reminded me of that Greek-Cypriot minister. They were all eminently clear-sighted about the coming dangers, but they felt they had to maintain a "positive optimism." If things become really bad, a well-informed official told me—and he fully expected the East-West conflict to become much worse—Austria will have to abandon her present active role in international affairs and withdraw completely into her shell.

But will she be allowed to do so? An allied officer with much field experience demonstrated on his map how any Soviet advance into Yugoslavia would cut right across Austria.

I hasten to add that the officer was not an American. In fact, a very senior American officer shared the Austrian optimism and believed that (a) the Russians would stay out of post-Tito Yugoslavia whatever the temptation; and (b) that should they, contrary to expectations, succumb to temptation, they would scrupulously respect Austrian neutrality. The American was a naval man. Perhaps, in view of the growth of the Soviet naval might, he too has to maintain "positive optimism."

Yugoslavia, Eurocommunism, an enormous increase in Soviet weapons research expenditure, and five Soviet armies with reserves and back-up forces at our throat: This is the message for 1977. But in Europe the city lights were bright, the peoples' countenances happy, business brisk. It probably was the same in Rome just before Genseric sacked the city.

BILLY LANGDALE: A STUDY OF CONTRADICTIONS

HON. DAWSON MATHIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. MATHIS. Mr. Speaker, an extraordinary individual and one which I have been honored to call a good friend recently retired from the Lowndes County, Ga., County Commission after many years of dedicated service to the community. Mr. Billy Langdale's life could well serve as the subject of an outstanding novel. The Valdosta, Ga., daily newspaper recently published an article about this outstanding citizen and I am inserting it into the RECORD in order that my colleague can enjoy the story of the Honorable William Pope Langdale:

[From the Valdosta (Ga.) Daily Times, Feb. 13, 1977]

BILLY LANGDALE: A STUDY OF CONTRADICTIONS

(By Archie McKay)

It almost took an act of God to get him above the rank of private in the Marines. Some would say it was divine retribution that threw the man as a lieutenant on Bougainville with a handful of men to lead and thousands of Japanese soldiers to elude. William Pope Langdale Sr. is a study of contradictions. He eludes categories about as well as he eluded the Japanese during those days of World War II.

Langdale recently "retired" from Lowndes County commission after being on the board for 16 years. He is an officer of the Langdale Company, the Langdale Ford Company, Langdale-Willis Insurance Co. and Langdale-Shelton Oil Company.

The songwriter could well have had Langdale in mind when he penned the recently popular ballad: "Pilgrim."

"He's a poet . . . he's a thinker, a walking contradiction, partly truth and partly fiction . . ."

There are probably more stories about the man, his antics, accomplishments, exploits and lifestyle than any other person living in Lowndes County. Some are true, many have elements of truth and a few might come from fertile imaginations, but not many.

Langdale, Billy to most, is perhaps best known in the public arena as a politician. The stories there are legion.

His friends contend Langdale does not have a selfish bone in his body, he loves people and really has no burning desire to make piles of money or hold materiel stockpiles.

"Grandfather (the late Judge Harley Langdale Sr.) always said he had three sons: one to make money, one to save money and one to spend it," recalls W. P. "Bill" Langdale Jr., a Valdosta lawyer and son of Billy.

He pointed out "The Judge" meant that Harley Jr. could make the money and son John could save it. "You know who he was talking about spending the money," said the younger Langdale with a chuckle, meaning of course his father. But he spoke of the tale with fondness, something almost everyone who talks of Langdale does.

Langdale himself admits to feeling some pangs about not "pulling my load" at the family business, one of the largest wood processing companies of the area.

That would be disputed, and is, by his brothers, who call him a valuable member of the management team.

But Langdale said the company is a prime reason he left county commission.

"My oldest brother (Harley Jr.) has shouldered a lot of the burden here at the company . . . we are all getting older now and somebody has got to mind the store. I felt I needed to do my part, and too, it sort of seemed like we needed some new blood on the commission, some younger men with new ideas.

"I had been there so long and dominated some things so I felt it was better to get some other viewpoints in there.

"Scared? No, I felt deep down I would have had less trouble this time than the last time," said Langdale, asked about his decision not to seek reelection.

"You know I'll be 56 Thursday (last Thursday) and I would have been 60 when the term ended. I think we need some maturity on the board, but not a 60-year-old man," said Langdale.

If Langdale has outside interests, they surely revolve around fishing and what a former county official called "a little bit of nosiness . . . old Billy likes to know what is going on and he could do that as a commissioner. But he did a damn good job while nosing around and Lowndes is going to miss the devil out of him."

Langdale said he was proudest of the optional sales tax, which he helped guide to approval here, of all the things he had a part in during his political years.

He is an arch foe of property tax.

His disappointments are hard to get out of him. He concedes he wanted a county jail near the courthouse of which the county could be proud and other things, but mostly, he prefers the upbeat, he doesn't like to talk about the sad or bad times.

If Tom Sawyer grew up to be a responsible, conservative, unselfish man, then Mark Twain might have had Langdale for a model.

"You go fishing with him every time he asks you. If you don't learn something, though you probably will, you will enjoy it and if you think Billy loves you then you are mighty right," said Roy McLane, who was on the board with Langdale for 12 years.

"You can't sit there with two other men that long and not get to know them and to love them. I loved his daddy and I love Billy. He is the most unselfish man I know. You might say he is one of the last of the old school," said McLane, an open and frank admirer of Langdale.

Langdale went into the U.S. Marines in February of 1942 on the flip of a dime. Had the dime landed on the other side he and a fellow University of Georgia dropout would have been in the U.S. Navy.

When he left, not without a little politicking, in 1943, he had a bronze star, was a commissioned officer and had been in the thick of the Third Marine Division's South Pacific adventures.

The young Langdale sort of had in mind getting a forestry degree or going into the

law, but was finding it fairly difficult to concentrate on studies long enough to get his undergraduate degree in anything.

"We just sort of got patriotic—well I wasn't cutting too much ice in school anyway—and joined up. My parents didn't find out about it until a few weeks later," recalls Langdale.

He was a private and stayed a private, even after his platoon and higher group went to the South Pacific.

A number of officers were needed. The tough Marine in command rejected the idea of bringing in "90-day-wonders," young men who had just come in to the Marines and been commissioned, so it was decided to commission a few troops in the field.

"I had a platoon sergeant, a fine man, a veteran and he was later killed. I couldn't even make pfc and lo and behold he looked up one day and saw me, the most trifling, troublesome problem he ever had, walking down the company street as a second lieutenant. . . . I don't think he ever got over that," said Langdale.

It was about this time he and a few of his men boarded a sub, with one other officer and his small group of men, and were put off on Jap-held Bougainville, to scout out future landing sites and inland airfield sites, under the very nose of the enemy.

The other officer who went along is now commandant of the U.S. Marines.

"Well, we didn't have a chance to talk much on that sub and, I tell you, there wasn't no time to talk after we hit that island," said Langdale, choosing to change the subject when it got serious about his war record.

He prefers to tell how a friend working for a congressman, Country Johnson, and others helped free him from service after the Marines brought him back stateside for training duty and wouldn't let him return to the fighting. The war was partially over, and the Japs surrendered shortly after his discharge. He holds the permanent rank of lieutenant colonel in the Marine reserve.

If there is a key to Langdale, it is his attitude toward life. He exhibits no love for money, though he will spend it. He seems to like people, all types and would rather go fishing with a mill hand than the company president.

More often than not his fishing companions on a regular basis are Dr. Harry Mixson, Valdosta physician and one of his closest friends, or Buddy Meeks, an official of the sales force at the Langdale Ford Co., another close friend.

The stories abound about their tricks on each other while fishing. While being interviewed one day, he stopped long enough to call a man in Houston, Tex., trying to find out the name of a special bait, one he felt he could keep a secret from Dr. Mixson and outfish him next outing.

Two weekends ago he loaded up grandchildren, neighborhood children (plus two dogs belonging to a neighbor without his permission) and took them all "camping." The trip included hamburgers cooked by Langdale, two romps in a county sandpit which Langdale recommends highly over Disney World, and spending the night in a cabin.

"He has always been like that," said his son Bill, one of two boys and one girl in the family of W. P. and Jacquelyn Williams Langdale.

"He was a scoutmaster for years, even before we were old enough to be scouts and we were not even in his troop.

"He loves to do things for people, I don't understand it, I like to do things productive but he just has no selfish motives," said son Bill.

"He is just as unselfish with his time and I honestly don't think he cares about money or things like that. Daddy is not what you would call real careful about his dress,"

said young Langdale, who said his father buys shoes at a discount store and is "real proud of them."

"I had a brand new pair of shoes, the kind with tassles, and they didn't quite fit so I took them over and gave them to daddy . . . he wore them in the woods and lost one tassle and the next time I saw him the other tassle was gone. When I asked him what happened he said he took his pocket knife and cut off the other tassle so they would look alike . . . I would have thrown the darn things away but not daddy, he's proud of them," said the son, with a trace of pride and amazement.

Of all the stories, one is a favorite of many. One opponent of Langdales' in an election cited his lack of property ownership. Langdale didn't own a house but he promptly filed a return listing his fishing boat. An understanding tax commissioner, asked about Langdale's taxes, and they had recently increased because he (the tax man) had put on with the boat a hound dog.

"By gum, I bet I was the only man ever in Lowndes County history paying taxes on a blame old dog that wasn't worth nothing . . . well I sort of liked him but he wasn't much worth paying taxes on but I did . . . I think he (tax commissioner) felt he was helping me out."

FOREIGN-FLAG TANKERS

HON. GERRY E. STUDDS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. STUDDS. Mr. Speaker, the problem of oil tanker safety is one which has gained great prominence in recent months due to a series of major oil spill incidents on both coasts and on several of our inland waterways. It is more than coincidence that most of these oil spills have resulted from oil tankers flying the flags of foreign nations, particularly that of Liberia. Mr. John Kifner, a reporter for the New York Times, recently did a story on this subject which I believe would be of interest to my colleagues:

LIBERIA: A PHANTOM MARITIME POWER WHOSE FLEET IS STEERED BY BIG BUSINESS

(By John Kifner)

"The day of the gunboat is over," William T. Coleman, then Secretary of Transportation, told the members of the Senate Commerce Committee last month as the Senators, aroused by a series of oil spills and wrecks involving Liberian-flag tankers, began a series of hearings.

Explaining why there was little regulation or control over foreign-flag ships bringing oil to this country, he said that the United States could no longer "take a gunboat and put it beside Liberia and say, 'If you don't do so and so, we will not let your ships out.'"

But, in fact, Liberian-flag shipping, the largest merchant fleet in the world, has little to do with Liberia or Liberians.

Rather, it is a phantom maritime power that was created by American businessmen under a former American Secretary of State, the late Edward R. Stettinius Jr. It is crucial to the movement of oil around the world, and it serves the interests of the major oil companies and shippers.

To them, the flag of Liberia is an economic boon, a device that frees them of national restrictions and therefore lets them operate more cheaply and profitably. Liberia, too, benefits; it derives 8 percent of its gross national product from that system.

To critics, it is a system that allows dangerously unsafe ships and crews to ply the seas and pollute the shores.

HEADQUARTERS IN MANHATTAN

The ships flying the star and stripes of Liberia are controlled not from Monrovia, the man-made port built with American aid in the small West African nation, but from suites of offices at 103 Park Avenue in Manhattan.

Calls there are answered "683-2030."

That New York switchboard can connect a caller to Captain Alister Crombie, Deputy Commissioner for Maritime Affairs, the Liberian government official in charge of issuing licenses and overseeing shipping.

At the same number, the caller can also reach:

Guy E. C. Maitland, the executive director of a 62-member association of the owners of ships registered in Liberia.

Frank Wiswall, an admiralty lawyer with the New York firm of Burlingham, Underwood & Lord, who is the chief adviser to the Maritime Bureau, the director of the relatively new inspection system and Liberia's most important representative at international shipping conferences.

Fred T. Lininger, who is a senior deputy commissioner for maritime affairs, as well as a senior vice president of the International Bank of Washington, which owns the International Trust of Liberia, which in turn operates the maritime system.

None are Liberian.

INTERLOCKING DIRECTORATES

Mr. Lininger, who was for many years Mr. Stettinius's personal assistant, has run the Liberian shipping operation in New York since 1948. He is a senior vice president of the International Bank and chairman of the board of Liberian Services Inc., which is owned by International Trust and which provides services to the Liberian Maritime Administration and helps companies incorporate themselves in Liberia. The president of Liberian Services is Mr. Wiswall, the admiralty lawyer.

Mr. Lininger, Mr. Wiswall and Mr. Maitland of the owners' group also serve on Liberian delegations to the United Nations-sponsored international meetings to set maritime safety rules.

In a telephone interview, Mr. Lininger said that he saw "no conflicts" between what he described as "my corporate role and my government role."

But those who run the Liberian shipping operation are concerned that the publicity over the oil spills and the wrecks will hurt the system they have set up. They see it as the worst situation since 1971, when two Liberian-flag ships ran into each other in the English Channel, causing the authorities to announce that they had set up an inspection system.

The shipowners' association hired Carl Byoir & Associates, a prominent New York public relations firm, on Jan. 15. In addition, they are undertaking an investigation of the wreck of the Argo Merchant, which caused the largest oil spill off the United States coast. The investigation is being coordinated by Mr. Lininger.

Some ships flying the Liberian flag are owned by well-known companies and persons such as D. K. Ludwig of National Bulk Carriers Inc. and its subsidiary, Universe Shipping, America's largest shipowner, Y. K. Pao and C. Y. Tung, both of Hong Kong, believed to be No. 1 and No. 2 in worldwide shipping; Aristotle Onassis and Stavros Niarchos; and seven international oil companies, Exxon, Mobil, SoCal, Texaco, Gulf, B. P. and Shell.

TWO DIFFERENT FLEETS

Many of these ships are, as Mr. Maitland and other spokesmen for the Liberian shipping interests contend, among the newest, best equipped and most expensive in the world.

But, Robert J. Blackwell, the assistant secretary of maritime affairs in the United States Maritime Administration, told the Senate Commerce Committee recently, "You have two different types of fleets in that flag of convenience registry."

"Many are out to make the cheapest buck, to put on the cheapest crew," he said. "They avoid maintaining their vessels."

Thus, among Liberian-flag ships are those run by less well-known operators such as Amerships Inc., operator of the Argo Merchant, the ill-starred tanker that broke up off Nantucket Island in December, releasing 7.5 million gallons of oil. Amerships operated seven other second-hand ships, each owned by a separate Liberian corporation, a device which served to hide the identity of investors and to limit liability in case of suits.

"The fact is, you can't expect small countries who gather a great deal of their revenue from registering foreign ships or registering ships owned by other economic interests in their countries to exercise stringent control of those ships," Mr. Blackwell said. "They want that revenue. They want those fees. If Panama * * * to Liberia. If the Liberians do it, they go to Malaysia."

LIBERIA BENEFITS

Ship registration fees make up about 8 percent of Liberia's gross national product, according to Mr. Maitland of the shipowners' association. It costs \$1.20 a ton to register a ship in Liberia for the first time and 10 cents a ton annually thereafter.

One of the most important factors in shipowners' desire for Liberian registry, according to Philip J. Loree, the director of the Federation of American Controlled Shipping, which represents 20 American shippers using the Liberian and Panamanian flags, is the high cost of American maritime union labor. He contended the foreign-flag system is the only way to keep American shippers in the competitive market without the heavy government subsidies paid to American-flag ships.

For a 50,000-ton tanker, relatively typical of those bringing oil into American ports, a 32-man crew would cost \$1.7 million a year at American wages, Mr. Loree said.

In contrast, he said, by using the Liberian flag, a shipowner can hire crews of other nationalities at the following rates: all-Italian, \$600,000 a year; British, \$500,000; Spanish, \$450,000; Greek, \$325,000; Chinese, \$250,000, and Filipino, \$250,000.

What he described as a "motley crew," one made up of various nationalities, would cost about \$200,000 a year. Such a crew, of Greek officers and Pakistanis, Filipino, Honduran and other crewmen, manned the Argo Merchant.

Further, Mr. Loree said, the cost of using American shipyards, as required under American registration, would be about twice as much, again because of wages. He said a typical 200,000-ton supertanker costing about \$90 million in the United States could be built for about \$40 million in Japan.

The "flag of convenience" system goes back to the early days of World War II when, along with Lend-Lease, it was used to send aid to beleaguered Britain while preserving technical neutrality. For many years, Panama was the leading flag of convenience, allowing American shipowners, for example, to avoid such requirements of American registry as the use of American crews and shipyards.

The public rationale for this system was strategic: to keep American oil ships, which were being registered under other flags because of high labor costs, within "effective control" under the flag of a friendly nation in the event of war. Those involved made millions.

Stressing the slogan that the shipping was "American-controlled" and would be readily available to return to United States direction

In the event of war, the shipping interests have been able to defeat legislation that would have required more of the imported oil to be carried on American-flag vessels. However, the Liberian-flag fleet respected the boycott of Israel imposed by the Arab states in the Six Day War, contrary to American policy.

The Liberian registry emerged as a leading flag of convenience under the direction of Mr. Stettinius, just after the war. America was concerned over maintaining access to Middle Eastern oil, and that concern led to the waiver of antitrust regulations to permit the American oil companies to become part of Aramco, the Arabian American Oil Company. According to testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations, it also led to secret United States State and Treasury Department agreement on tax credits for payments to oil-producing countries. These credits permit the oil companies to pay practically no United States taxes despite huge profits.

After leaving the State Department in June 1945, Mr. Stettinius joined a group of American businessmen in forming the Liberia Company to develop and exploit Liberian natural resources, particularly, iron ore. Before joining the wartime government to run the Lend-Lease program, Mr. Stettinius had been president and chairman of the board of United States Steel.

Liberia, which had been settled by freed American slaves, had close ties to the United States; it uses the American dollar as its currency. Its dominant economic influence had been the Firestone Rubber Company.

What became known as the "Stettinius group" asked New York lawyers to draw up the corporate and maritime law that would accomplish their desires. That law was adopted by the Liberian government.

A commemorative history of Liberia's emergence as a maritime nation, published by the International Trust Company, recounts the development:

"To develop a legal framework in which a sound and viable program could grow, Liberia drew on the experience of the world's foremost admiralty law experts and specialists in international law. Out of these specialized efforts came the drafting of the Liberian Maritime Law, the Liberian Corporation Law, and a charter for the International Trust Company of Liberia to administer the maritime program. These were adopted as three companion laws by the Liberian Legislature in December 1948."

Mr. Niarchos, the Greek shipowner, registered the first ship under the Liberian flag in 1949, the tanker World Peace. The fleet grew rapidly.

Among the salient features of Liberian corporate law is a guarantee of anonymity. Thus the system can serve as a tax hideaway or a kind of investor's version of a Swiss bank account.

In addition, corporations that operate outside the country, as shipping firms do, are not subject to Liberian taxes.

For the large shipholders he represents, Mr. Loree said, the Liberian tax situation no longer provides a big advantage because of changes in the United States tax laws. Other sources, however, noted that it is still possible to use investment in a Liberian-flag ship to conceal income from the Internal Revenue Service.

Things did not go entirely smoothly for the Stettinius group. A number of them, most notably Julius C. Holmes, later President Kennedy's Ambassador to Iran, were indicted on charges of illegally selling war-surplus tankers to Mr. Niarchos and Mr. Onassis, who were just getting started in the business, and to Chinese nationalists. The Justice Department later dropped the charges, although the situation was something of a scandal at the time.

Today, 80.6 percent of the International

Trust Company of Liberia is owned by the International Bank of Washington, an international holding company of banking and insurance interests, located in its own modern office building at 1703 Pennsylvania Avenue, just down the street from the White House. Its tenants include the economic section of the Liberian Embassy.

ESTONIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, February 24 marks the 59th anniversary of the declaration of independence of the Republic of Estonia. Thirty-seven years is a long time for the people of one country to be under the domination of another against their own desires for independence and sovereignty. Yet, it is appropriate that we again call to the attention of all Americans and peoples of the world the sad plight of the people of Estonia, a nation occupied by the Soviet Union in 1940 and still held under the harsh and brutal yoke of Communist domination.

Mr. Speaker, the Estonian World Council submitted a memorandum to the European Security and Cooperation Conference regarding the status of Estonia, and a portion of that memorandum follows:

V. THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL SURVIVAL IN OCCUPIED ESTONIA

1. While instances of the Soviet occupation regime's oppressive policies and malfeasance are too numerous to be detailed in the Memorandum at hand, the Estonian World Council would herewith draw attention to a matter of the gravest concern: the systematic reduction of the native Estonian population.

2. There is evidence that Soviet authorities had developed plans for the large-scale extermination and deportation of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian nationals well in advance of the occupation of the Baltic Republics by the USSR.

NKVD Secret Order No. 001223, entitled "Deportation of Anti-Soviet Elements from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia," was signed by General Ivan Serov, deputy chief of USSR state security, and dated October 11, 1939. A copy of this infamous document was captured by Baltic partisans in 1941 and it has been published in its entirety in the Third Interim Report of the Select Committee on Communist Aggression, U.S. House of Representatives.

Although sporadic arrests and summary executions by the NKVD commenced immediately after the Soviet occupation in June 1940, Secret Order No. 001223 was not executed until the night of June 13/14, 1941. Under this particular order 11,157 Estonian civilians of both sexes and of all ages were slated for arrest and deportation.

It has been established that at least 59,732 persons were either executed or deported from Estonia during the first year of Soviet occupation (1940-1941).

3. The next mass deportations occurred after the reoccupation of Estonia by Soviet forces in September 1944. It is estimated that some 20,000 Estonians were deported in 1945-46. Deportations on a smaller scale continued throughout 1947 and 1948.

The greatest single wave of mass deportations struck Estonia between March 24 and March 27, 1949, and comprised about 40,000

persons. Reliable calculations place the total of Estonian deportees during the years 1945-1949 at 80,000 persons.

4. Although some wholesale deportations occurred during the period 1950-1954, these were on a considerably smaller scale than the mass deportations described in Paragraphs 2 and 3 of this section.

5. The deportations of Estonians referred to in Paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 above are estimated to have involved a total of some 140,000 Estonians.

6. More recently the Soviet occupation regime has come to depend upon different means to eliminate the national and ethnic identity of Estonia; these means involve the massive settlement of Russians in Estonia and a corresponding dispersal of Estonians (particularly Estonian youth) over the hinterlands of the USSR.

This systematic program of russification is being implemented without the overt application of KGB terror, but with the calculated and methodical application of administrative and economic pressures.

To date, this program of russification has proven extremely effective. According to USSR census statistics for 1970, Estonians constituted only 68.2% of the population of Estonia (as opposed to 88.2% in 1939).

Demographic studies published in 1973 indicate that the proportion of Estonians has declined even further (to 66.62%) since the 1970 USSR census. In connection with these statistics, it must be pointed out that Soviet military personnel stationed in Estonia, and their dependents, are not taken into account for census purposes, even though they represent a numerically substantial presence.

7. It is clear that a campaign of this nature and of these proportions presents a grave threat to the preservation of Estonian national and ethnic identity in the historic homeland of the Estonian nation. This crisis of national survival has been reported by Western journalists who have visited occupied Estonia. Their reports indicate that the program of russification is being intensified and is proceeding currently at the rate of one percentage point per annum.

8. The Estonian World Council reminds the participating Governments at the Conference that the USSR's policies and actions vis-a-vis the Estonian people (with reference to Paragraphs 2, 3, 4 and 5 of this Section) specifically violated the principles of international law established and affirmed in the Genocide Convention, the United Nations Resolution affirming the Charter of the International Military Tribunal (vide Article 6 (C) of said Charter), and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

9. The Estonian World Council further reminds the participating Governments that the USSR's current policies and actions vis-a-vis the Estonian people (with reference to Paragraphs 6 and 7 of this Section) constitute present and continuing violations of international conventions and covenants pertaining to genocide and crimes against humanity.

10. The policies and actions of the USSR referred to in Paragraphs 6 and 7 also contravene all international declarations and United Nations Resolutions condemning colonialism.

Mr. Speaker, it was for these reasons I introduced House Concurrent Resolution 5 on the first day of the current 95th Congress, expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to the incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union. A copy of House Concurrent Resolution 5 follows:

H. CON. RES. 5

Whereas the Government and the people of the United States of America have maintained and enjoyed excellent and friendly relations with the Governments and peoples

of the Baltic States Republics of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, during the years of independence of these Republics; and

Whereas the concept of liberty and freedom of choice of government is still alive in this country, as it has been constantly since the Declaration of Independence; and

Whereas the evidence produced at the hearings of the select committee of the House of Representatives to investigate the incorporation of the Baltic States into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics overwhelmingly tends to prove that the actions of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in relation to these free and independent Baltic Republics were contrary to the principles of international law and the principles of freedom; and

Whereas the people of this Nation have consistently shown great sympathy for the peoples of these three Republics, especially as a result of their enslavement and as a result of the inhuman exile and deportation of great numbers of law-abiding persons from their native lands to imprisonment in slave labor camps in the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of Congress that—

(1) the President of the United States of America should continue the American policy of nonrecognition of the unlawful absorption of the Baltic States Republics of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and continue the recognition of the diplomatic and consular officers of these Republics as the lawful representatives of these three nations in the United States of America; and

(2) the President should take such steps as may be appropriate, through the United States delegation to the United Nations, to raise in the United Nations the question of the forced incorporation of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and request the United Nations to conduct an investigation of conditions in the said Baltic Republics to the intent and purpose that Soviet armed forces, agents, and colonists be withdrawn therefrom, and that the exiled peoples of these Republics be returned thereto in freedom, and that free plebiscites and elections be held therein, under the supervision of the United Nations, to let the people, in freedom, make their own election and choice as to government.

Mr. Speaker, I proudly join with Americans of Estonian descent in my own 11th District, in the city of Chicago, and all over this country commemorating this 59th anniversary of Estonian independence as they share with Estonians everywhere the fervent prayer that their bravery and strength of character will soon be rewarded, that right will triumph over injustice, and that Estonia will be free once more.

THIRTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE VOICE OF AMERICA

HON. CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 35th anniversary of the Voice of America.

As you know, last year the Congress voted to give the Charter of the Voice of America the status of law. The

Charter states the governing principles of the Voice: First, to serve as a consistently reliable source of objective and comprehensive news; second, to present a balanced and comprehensive projection of significant American thought and institutions; and third, to present the policy of the United States clearly and effectively as well as responsible discussion and opinion on these policies.

In a recent VOA broadcast commemorating its anniversary, the Deputy Program Manager of the Voice, Mr. Clifford B. Groce, traced its history. I believe this broadcast would be of interest to Members of this Chamber, and would like to paraphrase a portion of it. I cannot quote him specifically since I am prohibited by section 501 of Public Law 402 from "disseminating within the United States, its territories, or possessions" material which was produced for broadcasts abroad.

As Mr. Groce noted, the Voice began as a wartime effort to report to the world. As the first broadcast—in Germany—said 79 days after Pearl Harbor on February 24, 1942, "The news may be good or bad but we shall tell you the truth."

During the war, VOA's efforts preceded those of the Office of War Information in bringing the message of the American war effort to the peoples of the world. It was incorporated into the OWI during the war years. Following World War II, it was concluded by the Government that it was important to maintain this kind of broadcast contact with the peoples of the world in order to continue to explain American policy and to bring to them a reflection of American life.

Due largely to changing political situations in different parts of the world, there have been differences of emphasis, differences of languages of broadcasts, and differences of hours of broadcasts through the intervening 35 years. For example, during the Korean War, a massive 2-year effort was undertaken in which programs were broadcast in almost 50 languages. However, since 1953 the Voice has been operating at substantially today's level.

After World War II, VOA, like all other overseas information activities of the OWI, was incorporated into the State Department where it remained until August, 1953. During those years the Voice was headquartered in New York City.

When the U.S. Information Agency was established in 1953, it was decided to incorporate the Voice of America and to relocate the headquarters in Washington alongside other information operations for our Government and other nations.

In closing, Mr. Groce noted that Americans generally cannot receive VOA broadcasts on domestic channels because the Smith-Mundt Act, which legalized the information program back in 1948, clearly designated the overseas information, including the Voice of America, as exclusively for overseas audiences. This was done deliberately lest there be the suspicion that these enterprises, governmentally funded, sponsored, operated, could be used to influence American public opinion.

Mr. Speaker, more than 50 foreign broadcasting services around the world have sent congratulations and commendations to the Voice on this occasion.

From Japan alone, four broadcasting systems have extended warm greetings.

Kazuto Yoshida, director of the Overseas Broadcasting Department of Japan Broadcasting Corp.—NHK—cabled:

On behalf of "Radio Japan" . . . I am happy and honored to offer sincere congratulations to offer sincere congratulations to VOA on its 35th Anniversary. As broadcasting services which regularly transmit programs overseas, introducing culture and arts of our respective countries and national traits and daily lives of our people, I believe both VOA and "Radio Japan" are similar in character and purpose. I congratulate able staff of VOA on a high caliber of programs, which during past years have been highly evaluated by listeners around the world. I like to think NHK has been of service through Japanese announcers we have assigned to work in previous years at VOA in Washington. Their experience with VOA's Japanese Language Service, now discontinued, has played an important role in promoting closer relations between U.S. and Japan. I earnestly hope that, in coming years, VOA will continue to contribute to better understanding and friendship among all peoples. With best wishes from myself and the entire staff of "Radio Japan."

Mr. Kiyoshi Hara, president of Aashi Broadcasting Co.—ABC—Osaka—cabled:

It is my great honor to express warm congratulations to you on your 35th Anniversary. The Voice of America has given me many excellent ideas and served as a source of courage in course of my 25-year career as broadcast.

We now have in Japan a shortwave listening "boom" while you, unfortunately, no longer have broadcasts in Japanese. I confess that I find absence of VOA Japanese broadcasts regrettable. Along with my appreciation and best wishes on your anniversary, may I ask you to consider resumption of the Japanese Service which would further deepen U.S.-Japan relations.

The director-general of Maritius Broadcasting Corp., Mr. Forest Side, cabled:

It gives me great pleasure to forward my congratulations on the occasion of Voice of America's 35th year of existence and to compliment VOA staff on the excellent job they have been putting out ever since their start in the war years when, along with BBC, they were our best and most reliable link with the outward world.

Radio Del Plata in Argentina, broadcast:

Undoubtedly, every 24th of February a significant event is celebrated in the world of transmissions. . . . And that event is, as it has occurred during the last 35 years, the celebration of a new anniversary of that moment when the Voice of America cut through the space carrying its American message of peace and friendship between countries. . . . Radio del Plata, Buenos Aires, Argentine private radio station, sends its brotherly and cordial salute.

The director of the Hellenic Radio and Television Network, Mr. John Lampsas, cabled:

The completion of 35 years of continuous operation by a broadcasting network whose transmission is not aimed at one specific nation is not a common event. It serves as evidence, in fact, of the success of a tremendous effort by thousands of people of all nationalities who work hard each day so that

the Voice of America can be heard in all the latitudes and longitudes of the world. It also serves as a point of departure for new ventures with lofty targets such as the free communication of ideas and mainly, the impartial informing of world opinion. With these thoughts, I address warm greetings to the listeners of the Voice of America, and may the Voice live to celebrate its Golden Jubilee.

Other broadcasting agencies sending greetings included Turkey, Egypt, Israel, the Republic of China, Nigeria, Malta, Liberia, and Sri Lanka. Personal letters were also received from the President of El Salvador and the President of Venezuela.

Mr. Speaker, I believe we as Americans can well be proud of our overseas voice which reaches out to the world. On this happy occasion, I would like to join in extending to all members of the Voice of America our congratulations, our thanks for a job well done, and our best wishes, as well, for at least a "golden jubilee."

SUDAN AND THE UNITED STATES

HON. DON BONKER

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. BONKER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased by the in-depth coverage the Washington Post has given recently to the Sudan, a country otherwise unknown to most Americans except for the romantic images conjured up by the name of the capital, Khartoum, located at the confluence of the Blue and White Niles.

In fact, Sudan has acquired increasing political influence, situated as it is near the volatile Horn of Africa, not to mention being literally and figuratively midway between the Arab world and black Africa. Its moderating influence offers to calm some of the present and looming tensions of the region, something the United States stands only to gain by encouraging.

For starters, the situation of the Afars and Issas, astride the entrance to the Red Sea, is unstable: a scheduled French withdrawal this spring may well tempt Somalia and Ethiopia to step in and square off. Superpower confrontation could ensue, since those two countries are extensively supplied with military aid respectively by the Soviet Union and the United States. A similar confrontation could flow from developments in Eritrea, where would-be secessionists, backed by the Soviets, are engaged in bloody battle with the Ethiopian Central Government, which, despite its Marxist and anti-American rhetoric, we still heavily support. Ethiopia depends on both Djibouti and the Eritrean province for ports and railroads and not surprisingly will do what it can to prevent antagonists taking them over. At the same time, the Eritreans have serious historic grievances and, given their substantial Islamic composition, strong Arab support; neither do the competing factions in Djibouti care to be absorbed by Ethiopia.

The prospect for violence is evident. Meanwhile, the United States is naturally apprehensive about the Soviets enhancing their presence in the Bab el Mandeb area even beyond their apparent concessions already in Berbera and Aden, not to mention the Indian Ocean generally. On this ground the previous administration pressed for, and the Congress finally approved, some higher American visibility on Diego Garcia.

Sudan maintains a long-standing offer to mediate some of the problems, though it is itself unavoidably becoming a party to the Eritrean dispute, what with refugees and possibly guerrillas crossing the border, something that may provoke Ethiopian reprisals. Already Sudan and Ethiopia have recalled their respective ambassadors and traded strong charges.

I do not believe that it will be necessary, and certainly not desirable, for the United States to line up definitely on one side or the other of the political and military warfare in the region. We should calculate exactly what stake we have in a Red Sea or Horn presence, or in blocking the Soviets from one; and whether the carrot or the stick is more effective in improving our status. It should at least be the rule of thumb that we seek friendly relations with all countries that offer us goodwill. Certainly one of them at the moment would seem to be the Sudan.

The Post articles follow:

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 27, 1977]

NIMERI EFFORTS, ARAB RIVALRY SEEN ENDING U.S.-SUDAN RIFT

(By David B. Ottaway)

KHARTOUM, Sudan, Jan. 26.—After a decade of periodic tensions and repeated setbacks in their relations, the United States and Sudan appear to be on the verge of establishing close ties.

If a breakthrough occurs, it will be due partly to the persistent efforts of Sudanese President Jaafar Nimeri and partly to shifts within big-power and Arab rivalries in northeastern Africa.

A broad array of Western nations and conservative Arab oil powers led by Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have come to the economic and diplomatic rescue of the Nimeri government which had depended heavily on Moscow for arms and aid until a few years ago.

Today, the Soviet Union and its new-found Arab ally, Libya, are regarded here as the country's prime enemies. The new backbone of Nimeri's foreign policy is an American-blessed triangular partnership among Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Sudan.

The overt and concrete support of the United States, which was previously lacking seems now to be in the making.

There is a steady stream of American businessmen to the Nile River capital these days. The U.S. Agency for International Development is cranking up a new, \$10 million to \$20 million economic assistance program and Washington just recently approved the sale of arms to this country.

"Relations between us and Sudan are developing in a very satisfactory direction and are now very good," says U.S. Ambassador William D. Brewer. "We are working to develop a very meaningful program here."

It has been a long, hard, uphill struggle for those favoring closer Sudanese-American relations to break a diplomatic logjam dating back to the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, when Sudan abruptly severed its ties with the United States.

Then, having taken the initiative among Arab states to renew relations with Washington in July 1972, Nimeri saw his overture spoiled by the assassination of U.S. Ambassador Cleo Noel and his top aide, George Curtis Moore here in March 1973. A heavy pall immediately fell over relations between the two countries, made even worse by Nimeri's decision under Arab pressure to release the Palestinian terrorists responsible for the deed.

In fact, Washington recalled Ambassador Brewer in June 1974 for six months in protest. Strong lobbying by the State Department's irate foreign service officers prevented any significant thaw in the prevailing coolness in relations until last year.

Now, however, things are visibly changing—and at a crucial moment in the life of the Sudan. Nimeri has veered sharply toward the West and the conservative Arab oil states in search of both economic and military assistance to bolster his hand against Libya and Ethiopia, the two neighboring nations he is now convinced are conspiring with Soviet blessings, to overthrow him.

The 47-year-old general is still recovering from the trauma of the nearly successful Libyan-sponsored coup attempt against him last July. That event has apparently removed any lingering doubts he might have had about the need to beef up his security apparatus and also to switch his source of military supplies from the Soviet Union to the West.

Reports circulating here say that Nimeri is considering the purchase of up to half a billion dollars worth of Western arms in the next few years, with the cost to be borne primarily by Saudi Arabia.

In mid-November, the outgoing Ford administration ruled that Sudan was now eligible to buy American military equipment. Pentagon sources said at the time that Nimeri's first request would probably be for communications equipment and sensors for monitoring anti-government activities within this sprawling, million-square-mile nation, the largest in Africa.

Actually, private American companies are already working here to improve the country's communications system. Northrop Page built the ground station to tie Sudan into the international satellite communications system, and another American firm, Harris Corp. of Cleveland, has an \$18 million contract to provide telephone, telex and television links between Khartoum and the country's 13 provincial capitals.

According to unconfirmed reports here, the United States proved its potential value to Nimeri in the security field when it intercepted a radio message among the conspirators involved in the July coup attempt and warned the president of the trouble that lay ahead shortly before his plane landed at Khartoum airport. He was returning from a visit to the United States and France.

Since the November ruling by Ford, a number of Sudanese have reportedly gone to the United States for security training, although there seems to have been no firm decision taken yet on any specific arms sales. U.S. embassy officials here are extremely reluctant to discuss the whole arms issue, however, apparently because of uncertainty over the new Carter administration's policy toward Sudan and arms sales in general.

Sudanese officials have long expressed to American journalists their desire for a closer relationship with the United States, and their frustrations over the slow progress in American-Sudanese ties. Even now that a breakthrough has apparently come, it is unlikely the United States will have a full-scale AID program before the 1979 fiscal year because of the cumbersome bureaucratic procedures involved in launching it.

AID Director Frederick Machmer said he

is planning projects in the areas of road building, agriculture extension, manpower development and health. But all await approval from Washington, and the final shape of the program is still uncertain. Thus, it seems likely that U.S. military assistance will precede any economic aid to the country.

The big spur to improve American-Sudanese relations came last June, when President Nimeri made a 20-day visit to the United States. Significantly, his trip was made after first consulting with King Khalid of Saudi Arabia and President Anwar Sadat of Egypt, whose governments are believed to have encouraged the whole reconciliation process between Khartoum and Washington.

During his stay, Nimeri met not only with President Ford, but with a wide range of Pentagon, congressional, World Bank and private business leaders. He reportedly made an extremely effective sales pitch on behalf of Sudan, stressing its strategic importance and its economic potential.

As a result of his personal diplomacy and also of the growing attraction of Sudan as a long-term investment market, American firms, particularly agribusiness concerns, are showing considerable interest.

Nimeri has established a special interministerial committee to foster Sudanese-American relations especially the expansion of the technical and economic cooperation. It is headed by Mansour Khalid, the former foreign minister and now special adviser to the President on foreign policy matters.

One of the main aims of the special committee is reportedly to help American investors overcome the voluminous government red tape and execute their projects with a minimum of delay. Dealing with the local bureaucracy is still a major obstacle for investors.

But with Sudan embarking on a \$6.5 billion six-year development plan, and the Arab nations planning to invest \$5.7 billion over the next 10 years, business prospects are regarded as excellent by Western economists and businessmen here.

Among American companies already working in Sudan or scouting investments here are Allis Chalmers Corp., Chevron Corp. and American Pacific International Inc. which are exploring for oil in the Red Sea and central Sudan; two Honolulu-based agribusinesses, Alexander and Baldwin, Inc., and Hawaiian Agronomics, plus King Ranch Inc. Tenneco, Inc. Bechtel-McLaughlin, Inc., Mack Truck Inc., Ford, Hilton Hotels Corp., whose new Nile Hotel opens here in March, Sheraton Corp. of America and Holiday Inn, Inc., and Northrop Page and Harris in the communications field.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 30, 1977]
SUDAN "BREADBASKET": A 3D WORLD MODEL?

(By David B. Ottaway)

KHARTOUM.—A highly ambitious plan to turn Sudan into the "breadbasket" of the Arab world is testing the strategy of combining Arab oil money with Western technology to help some of the Third World's poorest nations to develop rapidly.

If the plan succeeds here, it could well become the basis for a whole new model of development, providing an alternative to the socialist model that now exercises a magnetic attraction on an increasing number of developing countries.

Moreover, the combination of conservative Arab wealth and Western know-how could prove an irresistible political force capable of swinging a number of African states back toward the West. Already, Sudan has been swayed away from its former socialist path and close ties with the Soviet Union, and Marxist Somalia is currently being courted by Saudi Arabia with a promise of massive economic and military aid in return for the expulsion of the Soviets.

At this point it is still too early to judge the effectiveness of this strategy, but the initial prospects appear good, based on what is happening here in Sudan, the largest country in Africa. Sudan holds an enormous unrealized potential for food production.

Already, this country is posting a 4 per cent to 5 per cent growth rate, while most other African countries are barely holding even or are slipping backward. The Arab goal is to boost this rate to 7.5 per cent a year, making it an economic pace-setter on the continent.

Led by Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, the Arab countries have drawn up a \$5.7 billion investment program for Sudan, and a growing number of Western companies are proffering goods, skills and technology, often in partnership with Arab interests.

Far more than Egypt, seemingly a bottomless pit for Arab petrodollars with a dim outlook for any returns, Sudan seems to have all the ingredients for becoming a long-term paying Arab investment.

Unlike Egypt, this country has millions of idle acres of rich land and no problem of overpopulation. Indeed, with only 17 million people scattered over nearly a million square miles of land, it is, if anything, too sparsely populated. In addition, Sudan has large quantities of water still available from the two Nile rivers, an excellent climate and a fair number of technicians and administrators.

But there are still many obstacles to a rapid economic take-off, including a small labor force, few good roads (only 200 miles of hardtop until recently), limited port facilities, an inadequate overall transportation system and an easy-going work ethic that has yet to adopt to the rigors of a would-be booming economy.

Last year there was a shortage of migrant laborers to pick cotton, the country's big foreign-exchange earner, and skilled and even unskilled workers are emigrating by the thousands to the nearby Arab oil states. Gasoline shortages are chronic, even in the capital, and the projects under way are meeting long delays and huge cost overruns.

Some of these problems are on their way to a solution. For instance, a 500-mile pipeline carrying 4.2 million barrels of oil from Port Sudan to Khartoum is about to begin operating; the various pieces of the 750-mile-long road from the coast to the capital are nearing completion and new locomotives and rolling stock are increasing the railroads' capacity considerably.

For other problems such as manpower, no immediate solution is in sight. "There's a real movement of skills out of Khartoum to Jeddah," said one Western economist. "It's getting difficult even to find domestics because the salaries in Saudi Arabia are five to six times higher than here."

Undaunted by such bottlenecks, the oil powers of the Arabian Peninsula are becoming daily more committed to uplifting Sudan as part of their own long-term economic survival strategy, particularly in food production.

Saudi and Kuwaiti money in particular is pouring into Sudan by the tens of millions of dollars as projects are identified, studied and put into execution, usually by a consortium of Arab and Western companies. No one seems to know precisely how much Arab and Western capital is now tied up or committed here, but one estimate put the total sum at well over \$1 billion, with more coming all the time.

In addition, Saudi Arabia is thought to have provided something like \$350 million in the past few years in various disguised forms to cover Sudan's chronic balance-of-payments deficit. Western economists do not expect Sudan to default on its short-term debts of somewhere around \$500 million, because, as one of them put it, "the Saudis will bail them out."

The Arab commitment to Sudan's economic development is embodied in the about-to-be-established Arab Authority for Development and Agricultural Investment, which has been set up to implement the initial \$5.7 billion, 10-year Arab investment program here.

This is part of a 25-year plan to make Sudan the primary source of food for the whole Arab world and to create an alternative source of investment to the industrial West for excess Arab petrodollars. Reading between the lines of the 56-page Arab proposal, one clearly detects the unstated objective of freeing the Arab world from any kind of blackmail by oil-consuming nations, such as the United States, that might attempt to use their food exports as a bargaining chip against the oil producers.

By 1985, Sudan is projected to be providing 42 per cent of the Arab world's total vegetable oil consumption, 58 per cent of its basic food and 20 per cent of its sugar needs, according to the plan drawn up by the Arab Fund For Economic and Social Development.

To achieve this initial goal, the amount of land under irrigation in Sudan will have to be increased from about 3 million to 4.4 million acres and the rainfed crop area from 12 million to 17 million acres. Production of livestock will have to jump 35 per cent from its present level, the plan states.

Of the \$5.7 billion investment, the Arabs are apparently scheduled to provide \$2.75 billion in hard currency and Sudan to raise the rest in local savings.

The authors of the ambitious plan raise the question of this country's ability to absorb such a large infusion of outside capital and also to repay the principal and interest on loans expected to total \$4.25 billion. But they conclude that this is not a sufficient argument against the plan even if its completion is delayed several years due to the existing bottlenecks.

The plan describes at length the tremendous potential here for a massive expansion in agriculture. Only about 15 million acres have been put to use in this sprawling country, it says, while there are easily an additional 6 million acres available for irrigated land, 71 million for rainfed crops and 200 million for grazing land.

Everyone here seems to think in six-digit figures when planning new farming schemes and nine-digit price tags. For example, the new Rahad farm near Wad Madani, 110 miles southeast of the capital, which is scheduled to begin production this year, will cover 300,000 acres and is costing between \$250 million and \$300 million.

The Kenana sugar estate near Rabak in the White Nile Province will produce 350,000 tons of sugar a year when it begins operation late next year. It is expected to cost more than \$800 million before it is completed and to be one of Africa's largest.

Other projects under discussion to grow cotton, grain, peanuts and other export crops involve as much as 500,000 to 620,000 acres in a single development and are priced in the hundreds of millions of dollars.

American agribusiness representatives here are practically drooling over the prospects. "I have to say, it's a country that has tremendous potential for farming," says Wayne Richardson Jr., a top official of the Honolulu-based Alexander and Baldwin Co. who has worked in 60 different countries and is acting as a consultant to Kuwaiti interests here.

"It has more ingredients for good agribusiness than any country in the world," he said enthusiastically. "The climate is great and there is a lot of land waiting to be irrigated." But he added, "it's not a get-rich-quick kind of thing here. You have to think in terms of 10, 12 or 15 years and you'll need a lot of patience and understanding. But as you can see, I'm bullish on the Sudan."

Great optimism about the long-term with the short-term problems—this seems to be the prevailing attitude among Sudan's Arab financial backers and Western business partners as they plot together the making of a new Sudan.

ESTONIAN INDEPENDENCE

HON. JAMES J. BLANCHARD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. BLANCHARD. Mr. Speaker, February 24 marks the 59th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Estonia.

The United States has never recognized the occupation and annexation of Estonia or the other Baltic States by the Soviet Union. What we do recognize and admire is the courageous spirit of a people whose desire for freedom has not been diminished despite the cruel oppression they have been forced to suffer.

The people of Estonia and Estonian Americans have continued to achieve and excel in the face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles. Despite domination by Russia, the Estonians have achieved and maintained an exceptionally high educational level. They have also excelled in almost every field of sports. In addition, the Estonians can be particularly proud of their folklore which has won recognition for its originality, colorful variety, and great artistic value.

As an example of the bravery and determination of the Estonian people, I would like to include in the Record the story of Konstantin Pats as told in the booklet "Estonia—Story of a Nation":

KONSTANTIN PATS

Konstantin Pats was born on February 23, 1874, at Tahkuranna in Southern Estonia, near the Latvian border. His forefathers of four generations had been millers, from where stems also the family name "Pats," meaning loaf, as in loaf of bread.

His father Jakob Pats was a farmer, but moved after some years to the city of Parnu, where he took up his former building profession. This passion for building also remained with his son who became one of the founding fathers of the Republic of Estonia and the most prominent political leader in the Estonian nation.

The life story of Konstantin Pats reflects the history of the Estonian people for more than half a century.

Konstantin Pats' grandfather had converted to the Greek-Orthodox faith, which often happened as a protest against the German noblemen of Lutheran faith. The young Konstantin received his secondary education at the religious seminary of Riga (capital of Latvia), but he was not interested in the priesthood. He graduated from the High School Parnu, and continued in the Law School of Tartu University (1894-93) specializing in Roman Law. He declined an offer to prepare for a professor's chair at the University to devote himself to public life.

In 1900, he began his career as a young lawyer in Tallinn, the capital of Estonia. In 1901, he founded the newspaper Teataja (Review) which led the political campaign for more rights for all Estonians under the Czarist Russian regime.

It was a personal victory for Pats when at the elections to the City Council of Tallinn,

the Estonians for the first time gained a majority. He himself became deputy mayor of the capital.

A short, but flourishing period in the City's development came to an abrupt end in 1905, the year of the revolutionary movement in Russia. K. Pats now started a vigorous campaign, organizing memoranda to be sent to the Minister of Home Affairs with demands for free elections and a meeting of representatives of the Estonian people; assurances for citizens' rights; unification of Estonia and the Estonian speaking districts of North Livonia into one political entity; extension of rights for the Estonian language, etc.

These demands during such a critical period resulted in an arrest warrant for Pats by the Russian authorities. Konstantin Pats, together with some of his political friends, had to flee the country. The flight was organized via Poland with the help of clandestine Jewish emigration offices. He settled as a refugee in Switzerland, and there read in a Russian paper that he had been sentenced to death in his absence. He had left behind his wife, whom he married in 1901, and two small sons.

In 1906, Pats moved to Finland in order to be nearer his home country. Under an assumed name he maintained frequent contacts with Estonia. Still underground, from 1908 to 1910, he lived near St. Petersburg, editing the Estonian language paper in the Russian capital.

In 1910, Pats surrendered to the judicial authorities, and as some of the more severe accusations against him had in the meantime been dropped, he was sentenced to nine months imprisonment. During his stay in prison his wife died of a lung disease.

From 1911 to 1916, Pats continued to edit his paper in Tallinn, but being an officer in reserve he was called to active service in World War I.

He remained, however, in Tallinn and after the abdication of the Czar in February, 1917, he founded the League of Estonian Organizations which presented to the Russian Provisional Government a proposal for Estonian autonomy which also was granted in April, 1917.

In July of the same year, an all-Estonian National Congress met in Tallinn with Konstantin Pats as its chairman. He also organized a meeting of representatives for all Estonian soldiers and officers forming a Supreme Committee of Estonian Servicemen with Konstantin Pats as its leader, thereby laying the basis for a future Estonian army.

In the fall of 1917, the Estonian National Council (Diet) was created in accordance with the Autonomy Law, which appointed an Executive Committee (Provisional Government) with Konstantin Pats as its head.

After a period of Bolshevik rule in Estonia, during which Pats was also arrested, and before the German forces reached the country, a secret meeting of the National Council was held. A special Committee of three men, including K. Pats, was elected and given the powers to proclaim the independent Republic of Estonia. On February 24, 1918, the Republic was proclaimed and Konstantin Pats became Prime Minister of the first Provisional Government.

The German occupation authorities tried to arrange the incorporation of Estonia into Germany. Pats was organizing a vigorous protest against these attempts, and was arrested by the Germans and sent to a prison camp in Poland.

After the German defeat in November, 1918, he returned to Estonia. The Government was reformed with Konstantin Pats as Prime and Defense Minister. Only a week later the Red Army attacked Estonia which was the beginning of the Estonian War of Liberation.

During this critical period Pats played the most decisive role for the future of an independent Estonia.

After the successful end of the war, Konstantin Pats was continuously active in strengthening the young Republic. He was several times head of government and speaker of parliament. His conservative Farmers Party became the strongest political power in Estonia.

In the beginning of the 1930s, the veterans' movement was promoting a new constitution with strong executive power. Konstantin Pats had for years advocated a new constitution for the Republic with a better balance between the branches of government. When the people adopted the draft of the veterans then he saw the danger for democracy in the country. With the authorization of Parliament he halted this development and using his exceptional powers he led the nation to a third constitution, which came into force in 1938. K. Pats was then elected President of the Republic.

After a period of semi-authoritarian regime the people were promised that the system would gradually return to full democracy. The events during World War II never allowed the complete realization of this goal.

President K. Pats was deported to Soviet Russia in July, 1940. His fate has remained unknown.

Konstantin Pats helped create a prosperous, free country, and his memory of able leadership in critical days remains in the hearts and minds of all freedom loving Estonians.

Konstantin Pats belonged to the academic fraternity, Korporatsioon Fraternitas Estica. Members of the fraternity in exile have compiled this work to commemorate his 100th birthday.

THE REWRITING OF HISTORY

HON. JOHN P. HAMMERSCHMIDT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT. Mr. Speaker, for many Americans, including myself, memories of the period in our history known as the McCarthy era are deeply imprinted in our minds and on our national consciousness. For us, that time is not looked upon as a distant and blurry period of our past; it remains all too vivid.

I was therefore concerned recently over the television broadcasting of a program called "Tail Gunner Joe," which purported to be a realistic recounting of the life and times of Senator Joseph McCarthy. Because I believe that my memory serves me correctly, I was chagrined at the program's portrayal because it did not accurately represent actual events and did not sufficiently convey the mood of the country at that time. I believe it is important that the truth be known about that turbulent era.

In my view, the record has clearly been set straight by Mr. Leo Cherne, who has recently devoted an editorial column, which appeared in the Washington Star, to the program and the period. I feel that this man's perception of history and the truth is accurate and I am pleased to submit to the attention of my colleagues Mr. Cherne's excellent article:

[From the Washington Star, Feb. 20, 1977]
 REVISIONISM IN FULL BLOOM: THAT "TAIL
 GUNNER JOE" FABLE

(By Lea Cherne)*

Revisionist history blossomed in full flower on the evening of Feb. 6.

A sect of serious historians has labored for years to rewrite the history of post-World War II relations between the U.S. and the USSR. Another work propagated the thesis that the Korean War was actually precipitated by South Korea. In recent months, what had been an obscure cultish effort has been transformed into a chic intellectual vendetta.

Until now these passions have not engaged more than a fragment of American thought. But on Feb. 6 NBC's three-hour Big Event, the story of "Tail Gunner Joe," reached into some 9 million American homes with what purported to be a re-creation of Senator Joseph McCarthy—his life and times.

Since so much of television is by necessity fiction, what difference did this particular pseudo-documentary make? The answer is as complex as it is relevant to today's political attitudes.

First, it must be said that the portrayal of Joe McCarthy himself was essentially accurate, though in some ways he was more sinister than the intermittently comic character brilliantly acted by Peter Boyle. Yet so much else, including some things which have a factual base, was so wrong as to result in seriously damaging and destructive miseducation.

The falsehoods, distortions and omissions in the telecast fall into two categories:

(1) The period of American and world history in which the McCarthy phenomenon occurred was ignored, trivialized for falsified.

(2) "Tail Gunner Joe" would have us believe there was only isolated and sporadic opposition to McCarthy and virtually none in the political center.

These distortions do not simply rewrite a decade of American history. They seriously damage an understanding of some contemporary issues.

The glaring deficiencies in the TV "documentary" suggest the basic thrust of much of the more serious revisionist efforts to turn a painful period on its head. These include the falsification of history, introduction of a new set of heroes, the staining of America's motives, the diminishment of once admired leaders, and the obliteration of much that was liberal and decent in American life during that period.

Thus, in "Tail Gunner Joe," there was a virtually complete absence of the painful events which were happening and which made it possible for Joe McCarthy to exploit very real anxieties. The author will of course insist that he did indeed vividly describe the background events which made McCarthy possible. Here it is intact—all 51 seconds of the playwright's recaptured history:

"The time was ripe. Alger Hiss had just been convicted and thrown in jail. The Rosenbergs were arrested, found guilty and executed as spies, traitors to their country. A British atomic scientist named Klaus Fuchs, who worked on our atomic bomb—he was tossed into the slammer for 14 years for spying for Russia. There just seemed to be spies everywhere.

"The Cold War—listen it was a bad time. Sensible people like my wife and myself—building bomb shelters. And then North Korea, backed by Russia, attacked South Korea. The cold turned hot, and we were

*Leo Cherne is executive director of the Research Institute of America, chairman of the International Rescue Committee and chairman of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board.

literally, if not legally, at war with the Red menace.

"And, after all, World War II had been over for a couple of years, and I think there was a sense of loss. I mean it had been exciting to have an enemy—someone you could hate without feeling guilty."

That is it. That is the extent of the effort to acknowledge one of the most dangerous and painful tragedies, whose continuing effect clouds our present and shadows our future.

Not a word about Moscow's expansion into Central Europe that put the hammer and sickle above the ancient spires of Prague and the dreary streets of Berlin, and gave the Russians political control over a corridor of once-independent nations that stretched from the Baltic to the Adriatic, and did so in direct violation of U.S.-British-Soviet agreements. The plight of intellectuals in Poland and Czechoslovakia, so much in the news today, is but part of the continuing consequences of those violations.

There is no reference to the Berlin blockade or to the American airlift, no hint of the threat to world peace the Berlin issue posed for so long, no allusion to how close the Communists came to capturing power in France and Italy, nor to Soviet efforts to bring down Greece and Turkey.

Most striking of all the omissions, perhaps, is the absence of Joseph Stalin's name. It is as if he had been dropped into one of George Orwell's 1984 shredders. Yet the McCarthy era in the United States could never have come to life without the horrors that marked his rule.

All of these events are nearly non-existent facts to Americans under the age of 35. Since our median age is 28.5, more than half of America has only a dim sense of events, of how dangerous indeed that period was.

If, fundamental to revisionist history is the need to expunge the record of Soviet aggression and the betrayal of human freedom and the independence of small sovereign states, then there is the remorseless need to obliterate or libel the efforts of so many who were engaged in arousing opposition to those depredations. Revisionists can only permit a very few Americans through their own political filter. And those few who are acknowledged are isolated and rare exceptions. The same reticence is not required about those here and elsewhere who found little in Soviet life and behavior disturbing.

If we are to understand Joe McCarthy, the period during which he flourished and why and how he was finally brought down, we must understand how deeply decent men and women felt about the advance of the Soviet Union, and that their opposition to the senator, as well as to the Soviet Union, was a vigorous though difficult part of that period's political discourse.

In fact, McCarthy and his methods made it progressively more difficult, for liberals and conservatives alike, to express their concern about *communism* without risking the appearance of seeming to support the senator from Wisconsin. It is his deadly legacy to have tainted serious opposition to communism, and it is one of the ironies of McCarthy's demagoguery that the only group in America he helped were those attracted to the Communist cause.

"Tail Gunner Joe" would have you believe that all but a few of those who opposed the senator were craven or corrupt. Meanwhile the Communists and those enchanted with them, (almost never embarrassed by McCarthy's inquisition), emerge by reflection benign and pure.

A passage from Lillian Hellman's *Scoundrel Time* illustrates the contemporary revisionism which seeks the same blurring and distortion of our past as she tells of a conversation with Henry Wallace:

"When we had walked for a while, he asked me if it was true that many of the people, the important people, in the Progressive Party were Communists. It was such a surprising question that I laughed and said most certainly it was true. He said, 'Then it is true, what they're saying?' 'Yes,' I said, 'I thought you must have known that. The hard, dirty work in the office is done by them and a good deal of the bad advice you're getting is given by the higher-ups. I don't think they mean any harm; they're stubborn men.' 'I see,' he said, and that was that."

By Lillian Hellman's own account, the Communists did dominate an important political party and its bid for the presidency. Had Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party been a shade more effective than it was, Tom Dewey and not Harry Truman would have won that election in 1948.

The influence of the Communist Party in the United States in the 1940s cut deep and wide, but opposition to them was far wider and deeper. The Communists had succeeded in dominating a section of the U.S. labor movement. In Wisconsin they controlled the state CIO Council when McCarthy first sought a Senate seat in 1946. Did their support of Joe McCarthy (which he publicly welcomed) not deserve comment? Or the fact that in the judgment of political analysts studying that race, McCarthy's margin of victory was supplied by the Communist Party apparatus?

Am I suggesting that a new theater of the absurd replace the theater of revisionist history? Why would the Communist Party want a McCarthy victory in Wisconsin? It is curious that "Tail Gunner Joe" depicts and identifies a host of major historical figures of the time—Truman, the Kennedy brothers, Eisenhower, Senators Flanders, Symington and Margaret Chase Smith—but not the incumbent senator defeated by McCarthy. In the script, Robert La Follette Jr. was presented as a hapless, inarticulate and unnamed professor, a simple-minded foil for McCarthy's venom.

In truth, he was the skillful and courageous head of the Senate Civil Liberties Investigation. La Follette and his committee had already probed the infringement of civil liberties in several key areas of American life and had just begun the first intensive inquiry into Communist influence over U.S. labor unions. The Communists were determined to stop that investigation. It was stopped—by Joe McCarthy.

Here is what the most respected study of that time, Dector and Rorty's *McCarthy and the Communists*, says of this episode:

"McCarthy was elected to the Senate in 1946, as the result of a successful campaign against the incumbent senator from Wisconsin, Robert La Follette Jr. La Follette had been an extraordinary effective anti-Communist legislator. His clear, forthright opposition to Roosevelt policies at Casablanca, Teheran, and Yalta, unlike that of some other congressmen of the time, could not be and was not attacked by the Roosevelt supporters as stemming from a reactionary, isolationist position. For Senator La Follette was no longer an isolationist (as his father had been) and was among the most liberal members of Congress. Indeed, his combination of liberalism and anti-Communism, both effective, made him hated by the Communists.

"But McCarthy accepted the support of the Communists in his campaign to defeat La Follette, archenemy of communism."

This writer's interest in McCarthy was kindled by his challenge to La Follette and to the La Follette inquiry into civil liberties which I considered a vital contribution to the enlargement of freedom. McCarthy's election filled me with foreboding, well before his now-infamous speech in Wheeling, W. Va. It was no accident, therefore, that I was asked

to appear as McCarthy's opponent in his first exposure to a national radio audience on the then popular "Town Meeting of the Air," one month after his swearing in in 1947. The subject: "Should the Communist Party be outlawed?"

McCarthy took the affirmative; I, the negative. My reasons were a mixture of the traditional libertarian's view of the political process and a pragmatic realization of the consequences. I was not alone in my pragmatic assessment. J. Edgar Hoover's FBI then opposed outlawing the party, nor for libertarian concerns but because Canada's experience in banning it had shown that an underground Communist Party would be more difficult and dangerous to observe than one pursuing more openly its political goals.

I claim no special credit for my early opposition to McCarthy and what he stood for. Indeed, I cite my role only as illustration of the cross-section of Americans who did speak out against him—a group whose activities the writers of "Tall Gunner Joe" have consigned to the historical dust-bin.

Harry Truman is portrayed as a pre-McCarthy pioneer of McCarthy-like actions. Dean Acheson, whose effective career McCarthy destroyed, comes off little better. Eisenhower's moment of Wisconsin cowardice during the 1952 campaign is highlighted, but his years of quiet leadership in the battle White House and congressional forces waged against McCarthy is pointedly ignored.

John and Robert Kennedy emerge as McCarthy playmates—"tennis at Hyannis and all that." Robert Kennedy is shown as a member of Joe McCarthy's staff. But no mention is made of Bob Kennedy's transfer shortly thereafter to the group of Democratic senators on the committee which was investigating McCarthy.

That magnificent lady, Margaret Chase Smith, stands alone in being given a nearly adequate presentation. But of course there is no mention either of her long and tenacious opposition to communism in America.

And how can any fair accounting of the period be given without mentioning the role of so many others? Left-to-liberal Democrats formed Americans for Democratic Action to express liberal anti-Communist concerns.

Where in this rewriting of history is one to find Hubert Humphrey, Robert Nathan, Leon Henderson, and their numerous colleagues in the anti-Communist opposition to McCarthy? Where too the local political groups, like the Liberal Party in New York which was created to oppose that state's Communist-dominated American Labor Party? Freedom House, which labored for years to rally anti-McCarthy opposition, merely continued its historic antipathy to totalitarianism of any kind, left or right, communist or fascist.

Nor was the world of journalism as bereft of courage as this mean-spirited script pretends. The Luce publications—yes Luce—shared a deep and often-expressed antipathy to McCarthy and were willing to risk lost circulation and advertising revenue for their stand. And they did lose both. The show does show us Drew Pearson's courage. But Ed Murrow is mentioned only twice in passing. Yet his "See It Now" programs on McCarthy were one of the most powerful single events contributing to the senator's fall.

What about the pioneering works of a small journal, *The Progressive*, which dug out all of McCarthy's sordid political history—including that curious marriage of articles and editorials other magazines and newspapers ran against him?

To borrow a phrase Joseph Welch used to such effect, "Where in heaven's name" is there the slightest suggestion of the extensive efforts by many people in political life, in journalism, in broadcasting, in that large part of the American community which was appalled by what was happening elsewhere

in the world and not less appalled by Joseph McCarthy and his fake anti-communism?

The need for drama in a TV play does not explain what was presented, left out or distorted. There was more drama in "See It Now" than in the Pearson episode in the TV script—not only that of Murrow's journalistic surgery on McCarthy, but of CBS affording McCarthy time to reply just days later—at Murrow's behest. Only the Army-McCarthy hearings packed a bigger dramatic punch.

And there were so many other moments of high tension to choose from: McCarthy's seven-hour speech in the Senate, for one, in which he detailed charges of treason against Gen. Marshall and labelled Eisenhower as Marshall's chief aide in a Moscow-led conspiracy.

Ah! But it's all past, isn't it? No, it's not. The revisionist effort to rewrite the history of that period is now in full flower. And it is not simply their rewriting of history which is important. They are reshaping, or seeking to, our present perceptions. We as a nation must cope with present dangers even as we apply patient effort to reduce those dangers. To distort the origin or reality of those hazards, or to ignore them, is to alter our future ability to understand and respond.

That the author of "Tall Gunner Joe" understands this implication for the present is clear in the brief and outrageous dialogue which closes his TV drama:

"So what's your theory? How did he stay on top?"

"Because most of the media and most of the public stood around and watched. Because nobody who was really important stood up to him in time."

"What about Margaret Chase Smith, Murrow, and Pearson?"

"When I said important, I meant who happened to be president of the United States."

"He wasn't Hitler or Napoleon and fortunately people like that aren't born every day."

"You're right, but people like McCarthy are born every 30 seconds and that is the horror."

"What you're saying is it could happen again."

"Hasn't it?"

CONGRESS MUST NOT RATIFY CUTS IN THE U.S. DEFENSE CAPABILITY

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1977

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, the Carter administration has submitted its list of defense cuts for fiscal year 1977 and 1978, and I am distressed to report that the consequences of the proposed recessions and reductions are worse than many observers have feared. Faced with an avalanche of evidence about the character of the Soviet military buildup, the Carter administration has elected to cut bone and muscle in response to the demands of the shrillest elements of the left wing of the Democratic Party.

Before discussing the Carter defense cuts, I should spell out what I believe are the necessary objectives our defense programs should pursue in the coming fiscal year 1978.

First, we should be demonstrating to

the Soviet Union that our strategic nuclear force can be improved to the extent necessary to at least threaten the survival of the most menacing Soviet strategic systems, the SS-18 and SS-19. This means that we must maintain the capability to rapidly augment our existing strategic forces, both in numbers and quality.

Second, our NATO posture must eliminate any doubts that the United States will either allow its forces to be subtly disarmed through the erosion of their capability through underfunding of modernization or operation and maintenance or to emphasize a defense posture that will encourage fears that the United States may someday abandon its forward deployment in Europe by pulling its forces back to the United States.

Third, the United States should be taking vigorous efforts to rebuild its Navy, decimated by a decade of neglect to half of its size in the mid-1960's.

Having stated what I believe to be appropriate objectives for the Nation's fiscal year 1978 defense programs, I would like to review the significance of the Carter administration's changes in the defense budget.

CARTER'S INCREASES

The administration is seeking \$605 million in increases in defense expenditure over the proposals of the Ford administration. All of these increases deal with improvements to our conventional non-nuclear warfare capability. The most important elements include \$60 million for airfield improvements in Europe, \$60 million to expand facilities for prepositioned stocks of equipment in Europe, \$15 million to modify civilian aircraft for use in strategic mobility, and \$480 to increase overall combat readiness and domestic military construction and maintenance projects.

At first reading, one would assume that these proposals represent the administration's efforts to make good on its rhetoric about improving the U.S. military posture in Europe.

But, I fear, it will undermine the very values we wish to emphasize in our defense program with respect to Europe. Every significant element of the proposed increases can be justified in the context of a gradual reduction in our European forward deployment. Measures which are oriented toward pre-positioning of equipment, and the improvement of our airlift capability, when combined with the character of the cuts proposed in the fiscal year 1977 and fiscal year 1978 budgets can only serve to encourage speculation about the Carter administration's intentions with respect to the American commitment to NATO. Does the Carter administration intend to improve our NATO posture through the notion of enhancing our ability to withdraw under the cover of a cosmetic improvement in our ability to airlift forces to Europe? Perhaps not, but our needs in Europe are so well known that it is difficult to accept the notion that these needs were overlooked. Increases in Soviet manpower, tank and armored personnel carrier deployments, increased missile

and canon artillery, and substantial additions to the Soviet advanced tactical aircraft inventory demand that we respond with additional tank production, an acceleration of the conversion of "light" infantry divisions to "heavy" mechanized and armored divisions, and an increase in the rate of deployment of advanced tactical aircraft to the European theater. We are, in fact, cutting our capability in Europe to offset the Soviet build-up there, not enhancing it.

CARTER'S CUTS

One need draw no inferences from Carter's proposed defense cuts; the significance of most of them are extraordinarily clear for both our strategic nuclear forces, and our conventional or general purpose forces.

Faced with an unprecedented Soviet strategic nuclear build-up by the Soviets since the 1972 strategic arms limitation accords were ratified, the United States would be hard-pressed to develop means of reducing the magnitude of the threat posed to the survivability of U.S. strategic nuclear forces in the light of the deployment of several particularly threatening Soviet systems including the SS-18 and SS-19, as well as the initial deployment of new types of long-range submarine-launched systems and a land-mobile missile system that can be employed in an intercontinental role.

Last year, the Congress initiated a program whereby the United States would at least retain the option to deploy large numbers of Minuteman III missiles in a short period of time if there were a significant deterioration in the international climate by keeping the Minuteman III production line open. This seemed to be the minimum prudent step we could take so that we would have at least one strategic system in production while we were developing new strategic systems in our laboratories and simultaneously seeking to negotiate an equitable strategic arms agreement with the Soviet Union.

The administration has even eliminated this minimal program thereby bringing to a halt the only strategic missile production line in the Western World, and imparting a delay of up to 3 years if circumstances required that we deploy additional Minuteman missiles on an urgent basis.

The decision to terminate the Minuteman III production line, in lieu of Salt II treaty, reckless as I believe it is, should at least have stimulated greater efforts to develop alternatives to the Minuteman III so that a long period of time will not elapse between the closing of the Minuteman III production line, and the production of a newer and more capable ICBM to replace it. In fact, the Carter administration proposes to do the opposite. The MX ICBM program is to be cut by \$160 million, and the earliest date for initial deployment slipping into the mist of the future—1984 or beyond—while further studies be conducted to determine the best form of mobile basing for the missile. The evolution of the Soviet-American strategic balance that is

inevitable through the early 1980's unless the Soviet leadership opts for pacifism calls for development of the MX on an urgent basis; not the slowed down pace which the administration proposes.

The thoroughgoing decimation of our strategic defense program continues; the administration proposes to defer funds for the Follow-on Interceptor despite the fact that the Soviets have deployed supersonic intercontinental aircraft, have configured their new transport aircraft for the aerial tanker role, and that we are almost entirely devoid of anti-aircraft defense for the continental United States.

The manned bomber component of our strategic forces has fared no better. The B-52 bomber, designed in 1948 as a high altitude heavy bomber has undergone numerous modifications to make it suitable for a mission for which it was never designed—to penetrate hostile air defenses at low altitudes and at high speeds. The intelligence exploitation of the Soviet MiG-25B Foxbat aircraft in Japan demonstrates that we cannot count on the B-52 to be able to penetrate hostile air defense much longer. Its huge size compared to the B-1 makes it visible to Soviet radar in time to alert its air defense forces when the B-1 would slip by before air defenses could be brought to bear. Yet, the administration proposes as an interim measure to reduce the purchase of B-1 bomber aircraft from 8 to 5. Meanwhile the Soviet Union has deployed nearly 100 Backfire supersonic bombers with its naval and long range air forces.

Despite the high volume of administration rhetoric about enhancing our NATO posture, the administration is cutting the bone and muscle of our NATO modernization.

The F-15, the heart of our air superiority aircraft deployments in Europe to offset the rapid buildup of the new Flogger, Fitter C, Backfire, and Foxbat aircraft in Europe is being cut sharply—\$334 million. Thus the day when the United States can hope to guarantee air superiority to NATO forces slips further into the future.

The field air defense of U.S. Forces in Europe fares no better. It is vital for the U.S. to have a dense line of anti-aircraft missiles at the forward edge of the battle area—FEBA—if we are to prevent Soviet interdiction and close air support aircraft from disrupting our lines of supply or attacking our forces maneuvering in forward areas with armored and mechanized units. To provide adequate field air defense against the enhanced threat, more Hawk missiles are needed. The administration's response is to cancel the procurement of six additional Hawk battery sets. If we learned nothing else from the 1973 Middle East war, we should have learned that the old assumptions about combat consumption rates do not stand up well in modern warfare. Yet, Secretary Brown declares the additional Hawk battery sets to be "in excess of total inventory needs."

Witness after witness from the Navy has testified as to the urgent requirement

for a suitable platform to deploy the Aegis air defense system at sea for the urgent needs of the air defense of the fleet. Last week, the administration indicated its opposition to the modification of the cruiser *Long Beach* for an Aegis system. This week it supports cancellation of the nuclear-powered strike cruiser as an Aegis platform. The only alternative is the nonnuclear powered DDG-47 class ships. We are heading in a direction where our entire fleet may be headed for a 1980-style Pearl Harbor because of the administration's foreclosure of options for fleet defense.

The list is extensive and thorough. Even a warning system for chemical weapons attack is scheduled for oblivion by being consigned to low level production. No one should be confused by the character of these cuts; they go in the wrong direction. The direct threat to the survival of the United States and our allies has never been greater, and yet the administration offers an assortment of defense cuts that imply a dangerous degree of complacency on the part of the Carter administration. It is my hope that the Congress will exercise the kind of leadership it has so often done in the past as in the nuclear submarine program, and shipboard nuclear power program, antiballistic missile defense research, and so many other programs that have been forced on previous administration's grown too complacent to recognize the danger widely perceived by the ordinary American citizen.

SENATE COMMITTEE MEETINGS SCHEDULED

Title IV of Senate Resolution 4, agreed to by the Senate on February 4, 1977, calls for establishment of a system for a computerized schedule of all meetings and hearings of Senate committees, subcommittees, joint committees, and committees of conference. This title requires all such committees to notify the Office of the Senate Daily Digest—designated by the Rules Committee—of the time, place, and purpose of all meetings when scheduled, and any cancellations or changes in meetings as they occur.

As an interim procedure beginning February 21, and until the computerization of this information becomes operational, the Office of the Senate Daily Digest will prepare such information daily for printing in the Extensions of Remarks section of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Any changes in committee scheduling will be indicated by placement of an asterisk to the right of the name of the unit conducting such meetings.

Meetings scheduled for Friday, February 25 may be found in the Daily Digest section of today's RECORD.

The schedule follows:

SCHEDULED MEETINGS FEBRUARY 28

9:00 a.m.

Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry

To resume hearings on proposed legislation to amend and extend the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act.

Until: Noon

322 Russell Building

- Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
Subcommittee on International Finance
To resume hearings on S. 69 and 92, to amend and extend the Export Administration Act, including provisions on anti-boycott and nuclear proliferation.
5302 Dirksen Building
- 9:30 a.m.
Human Resources
Subcommittee on the Handicapped
To resume hearings to review programs for handicapped persons.
4232 Dirksen Building
- 10:00 a.m.
Armed Services
To hear Paul C. Warnke testify and answer questions in behalf of his nomination to serve as Director of ACDA, with the rank of Ambassador.
Room to be announced
Environment and Public Works
To hold hearings to review Presidential budget requests for fiscal year 1978 for the Environmental Protection Agency.
4200 Dirksen Building
Select Small Business
To resume hearings on problems of U.S. supplemental air carriers, including charter regulations, applications for low-cost scheduled service discriminatory enforcement of CAB rules, and military airlift contract procedures.
6202 Dirksen Building
- 11:00 a.m.
Indian Affairs
Business meeting on committee organization.
1105 Dirksen Building
- 12:00 Noon
Appropriations
Subcommittee on Labor-Health, Education, and Welfare
To hold hearings to receive testimony on proposed supplemental appropriations for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, to hear testimony on certain health programs and on special benefits for disabled coal miners.
S-128, Capitol
- Appropriations
Defense Subcommittee
To hold hearings on several pending proposed rescissions of budget authority for the defense establishment.
S-128, Capitol
- MARCH 1
- 9:00 a.m.
Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry
To continue hearings on proposed legislation to amend and extend the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act.
Until: Noon 322 Russell Building
- 10:00 a.m.
Commerce, Science and Transportation
Subcommittee on Science and Space
To resume hearings on S. 365, authorizing funds for fiscal year 1978 for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.
235 Russell Building
Energy and Natural Resources
Subcommittee on Minerals, Materials and Fuels
To resume hearings on S. 7, to establish in the Department of the Interior an Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement to administer programs to control surface coal mining operations.
3110 Dirksen Building
- Human Resources
Subcommittee on Health and Scientific Research
To hold hearings on proposed legislation authorizing funds for the National Science Foundation for fiscal year 1978.
4232 Dirksen Building
- 11:00 a.m.
Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
To consider S. 756, proposing the extension of the authority for the flexible regulation of interest rates on deposits and accounts in depository institution, (Regulation Q).
5302 Dirksen Building
- 5:00 p.m.
Joint Defense Production
Business meeting to discuss committee organization.
Until: 6 p.m. EF-100, Capitol
- MARCH 2
- 9:30 a.m.
Environment and Public Works
To hold hearings to review Presidential budget requests for fiscal year 1978 for the Economic Development Administration and the Appalachian Regional Commission.
4200 Dirksen Building
Human Resources
Subcommittee on the Handicapped
To resume hearings to review programs for handicapped persons.
3302 Dirksen Building
Veterans' Affairs
Business meeting, to discuss committee organization.
412 Russell Building
- 10:00 a.m.
Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry
Business meeting, to discuss budgetary and other committee business.
Until: Noon 322 Russell Building
Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
To hold hearings on proposed authorizations for major housing and community development programs.
5302 Dirksen Building
Energy and Natural Resources
Subcommittee on Minerals, Materials and Fuels
To continue hearings on S. 7, to establish in the Department of the Interior an Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement to administer programs to control surface coal mining operations.
3110 Dirksen Building
- Human Resources
To hold hearings on the nominations of Peter G. Bourne, of the District of Columbia, to be Director, and Lee I. Dogoloff, of Maryland, to be Deputy Director of the Office of Drug Abuse Policy.
4232 Dirksen Building
- Rules and Administration
To discuss committee rules and organization, to be followed by hearings on S. Res's. 5 through 12, proposing changes in Senate rules.
301 Russell Building
- 10:30 a.m.
Judiciary
To hold hearings on the nominations of Wade H. McCree, Jr., of Michigan, to be Solicitor General; Barbara A. Babcock, of California, to be an Assistant Attorney General (Civil Division); Benjamin R. Civiletti, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Attorney General (Criminal Division); Drew S. Days, II, of New York, to be an Assistant Attorney General (Civil Rights Division); Daniel J. Meador, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Attorney General (Office for Improvements in the Administration of Justice); and Patricia M. Wald, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Attorney General (Office of Legislative Affairs).
2228 Dirksen Building
- MARCH 3
- 9:00 a.m.
Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry
To resume hearings and proposed legis-
- lation to amend and extend the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act.
Until: Noon 322 Russell Building
- 9:30 a.m.
Environment and Public Works
To hold hearings to review Presidential budget requests for fiscal year 1978 for the Fish and Wildlife Service.
4200 Dirksen Building
- Small Business
To hold hearings on bills to provide disaster assistance to small businesses (S. 570 and 704).
3302 Dirksen Building
- 10:00 a.m.
Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
To hold hearings on proposed authorizations for major housing and community development programs.
5302 Dirksen Building
Commerce, Science and Transportation
Subcommittee on Science and Space
To resume hearings on S. 365, authorizing funds for fiscal year 1978 for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.
235 Russell Building
Energy and Natural Resources
Subcommittee on Minerals, Materials and Fuels
To continue hearing on S. 7, to establish in the Department of the Interior an Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement to administer programs to control surface coal mining operations.
3110 Dirksen Building
- Rules and Administration
Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections
To hold hearings on the proposed fiscal year 1978 authorization for the Federal Election Commission.
301 Russell Building
- Select Intelligence
Subcommittee on Budget Authorization
To resume closed hearings on proposed fiscal year 1978 authorizations for Government intelligence activities.
S-407, Capitol
- MARCH 4
- 9:00 a.m.
Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry
To continue hearings on proposed legislation to amend and extend the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act.
Until: Noon 322 Russell Building
- 9:30 a.m.
Environment and Public Works
To hold hearings to review Presidential budget requests for fiscal year 1978 for the Army Corps of Engineers.
4200 Dirksen Building
- 10:00 a.m.
Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
To hold hearings on proposed authorizations for major housing and community development programs.
5302 Dirksen Building
- 11:00 a.m.
Joint Economic Committee
To hold hearings on the employment/unemployment situation for February.
1202 Dirksen Building
- MARCH 7
- 9:00 a.m.
Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry
To resume hearings on proposed legislation to amend and extend the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act.
Until: Noon 322 Russell Building
- 9:30 a.m.
Environment and Public Works
To hold hearings to review Presidential budget requests for fiscal year 1978 for the General Services Administration.
4200 Dirksen Building

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations
Subcommittee on Military Construction
To resume hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1978 for military construction programs.

S-146, Capitol

Commerce, Science and Transportation
Subcommittee on Military Construction
To resume hearings on S. 365, authorizing funds for fiscal year 1978 for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

235 Russell Building

MARCH 8

9:00 a.m.

Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry
To continue hearings on proposed legislation to amend and extend the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act.

Until: Noon 322 Russell Building

10:00 a.m.

Rules and Administration
Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections
To hold hearings on the operation of the Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act (Public Law 94-203), and S. 703, operation of such Act.

301 Russell Building

Select Intelligence
Subcommittee on Budget Authorization
To resume closed hearings on proposed fiscal year 1978 authorizations for Government intelligence activities.

S-407, Capitol

MARCH 9

9:00 a.m.

Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry
To continue hearings on proposed legislation to amend and extend the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act.

Until: Noon 322 Russell Building

9:30 a.m.

Environment and Public Works
To hold hearings to review Presidential budget requests for fiscal year 1978 for the Federal Highway Administration.

4200 Dirksen Building

Small Business
To hold hearings to consider the impact of product liability insurance on small businesses, and on S. 527, authorizing the Small Business Administration to furnish reinsurance for property liability insurers for small business concerns which would not otherwise be able to obtain product liability insurance on reasonable terms.

6202 Dirksen Building

10:00 a.m.

Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
To mark up (1) proposed legislation authorizing funds for fiscal year 1978 housing program; (2) S. 417, the proposed National Neighborhood Policy Act; and (3) to review those items in the Presidential budget for fiscal year 1978 which fall within the committee's legislative jurisdiction.

5302 Dirksen Building

Commerce, Science and Transportation
Subcommittee on Science and Space
To hold closed hearings on S. 365, authorizing funds for fiscal year 1978 for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

235 Russell Building

Select Intelligence
Subcommittee on Budget Authorization
To resume closed hearings on proposed fiscal year 1978 authorizations for Government intelligence activities.

S-407, Capitol

MARCH 10

9:00 a.m.

Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry
To continue hearings on proposed legislation to amend and extend the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act.

Until: Noon 322 Russell Building

Until: Noon

Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs
To hold oversight hearings on the state of the U.S. banking system.

5302 Dirksen Building

Select Intelligence
Subcommittee on Budget Authorization
To resume closed hearings on proposed fiscal year 1978 authorizations for Government intelligence activities.

S-407, Capitol

MARCH 11

9:00 a.m.

Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry
To continue hearings on proposed legislation to amend and extend the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act.

Until: Noon 322 Russell Building

Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
To continue oversight hearings on the state of the U.S. banking system.

5302 Dirksen Building

MARCH 14

9:00 a.m.

Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry
To continue hearings on proposed legislation to amend and extend the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act.

Until: Noon 322 Russell Building

MARCH 15

9:00 a.m.

Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry
To continue hearings on proposed legislation to amend and extend the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act.

Until: Noon 322 Russell Building

Select Intelligence
Subcommittee on Budget Authorization
To resume closed hearings on proposed fiscal year 1978 authorizations for Government intelligence activities.

S-407, Capitol

MARCH 16

10:00 a.m.

Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
To hold hearings on corporate bribery and investment disclosure legislation.

5302 Dirksen Building

Select Intelligence
Subcommittee on Budget Authorization
To resume closed hearings on proposed fiscal year 1978 authorizations for Government intelligence activities.

S-407, Capitol

MARCH 17

10:00 a.m.

Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
To mark up the proposed legislation to extend the Export Administration Act and related matters.

5302 Dirksen Building

Select Intelligence
Subcommittee on Budget Authorization
To hold closed hearings on proposed fiscal year 1976 authorizations for Government intelligence activities.

S-407, Capitol

MARCH 21

9:30 a.m.

Commerce, Science and Transportation
To hold hearings to inquire into domestic communications common carrier (i.e., telephones, computers, etc.) policies.

235 Russell Building

Commerce, Science, and Transportation
Subcommittee on Aviation
To hold hearings on bills proposing regulatory reform in the air transportation industry, including S. 929 and S. 689.

5110 Dirksen Building

Small Business

To hold hearings to consider the impact of product safety regulations on small businesses.

318 Russell Building

10:00 a.m.

Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
Subcommittee on Financial Institutions
To hold oversight hearings on the activities of the Electronic Fund Transfer System Commission.

5302 Dirksen Building

MARCH 22

9:30 a.m.

Commerce, Science, and Transportation
To hold hearings to inquire into domestic communications common carrier (i.e., telephones, computers, etc.) policies.

235 Russell Building

Commerce, Science, and Transportation
Subcommittee on Aviation
To hold hearings on bills proposing regulatory reform in the air transportation industry, including S. 292 and S. 689.

5110 Dirksen Building

10:00 a.m.

Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
Subcommittee on Financial Institutions
To hold oversight hearings on the activities of the Electronic Fund Transfer System Commission.

5302 Dirksen Building

Select Intelligence
Subcommittee on Budget Authorization
To resume closed hearings on proposed fiscal year 1978 authorizations for Government intelligence activities.

S-407, Capitol

MARCH 23

9:30 a.m.

Commerce, Science, and Transportation
To hold hearings to inquire into domestic communications common carrier (i.e., telephones, computer, etc.) policies.

235 Russell Building

Commerce, Science, and Transportation
Subcommittee on Aviation
To hold hearings on bills proposing regulatory reform in the air transportation industry, including S. 292, and S. 689.

5110 Dirksen Building

10:00 a.m.

Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
To hold hearings on S. 406, the proposed Community Reinvestment Act.

5302 Dirksen Building

Select Intelligence
Subcommittee on Budget Authorization
To resume closed hearings on proposed fiscal year 1978 authorizations for Government intelligence activities.

S-407, Capitol

MARCH 24

9:30 a.m.

Commerce, Science, and Transportation
Subcommittee on Aviation
To hold hearings on bills proposing regulatory reform in the air transportation industry, including S. 292, and S. 689.

5110 Dirksen Building

10:00 a.m.

Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
To hold hearings on S. 406, the proposed Community Reinvestment Act.

5302 Dirksen Building

Energy and Natural Resources
To hold oversight hearings on the proposal for an international petroleum transshipment port and storage center located in the Palau District, Western Caroline Islands, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

3110 Dirksen Building

MARCH 25
 9:30 a.m.
 Commerce, Science, and Transportation Subcommittee on Aviation
 To hold hearings on bills proposing regulatory reform in the air transportation industry, including S. 292, and S. 689.

5110 Dirksen Building
 10:00 a.m.
 Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
 To hold hearings on S. 406, the proposed Community Reinvestment Act.
 5302 Dirksen Building

MARCH 28
 9:30 a.m.
 Commerce, Science, and Transportation Subcommittee on Aviation
 To hold hearings on bills proposing regulatory reform in the air transportation industry, including S. 292, and S. 689.

5110 Dirksen Building
MARCH 29
 9:30 a.m.
 Commerce, Science, and Transportation Subcommittee on Aviation
 To hold hearings on bills proposing regulatory reform in the air transportation industry, including S. 292, and S. 689.

5110 Dirksen Building
 10:00 a.m.
 Select Intelligence Subcommittee on Budget Authorization
 To resume closed hearings on proposed fiscal year 1978 authorization for Government intelligence activities.
 S-407, Capitol

MARCH 30
 9:30 a.m.
 Commerce, Science, and Transportation

Subcommittee on Aviation
 To hold hearings on bills proposing regulatory reform in the air transportation industry, including S. 292, and S. 689.
 5110 Dirksen Building

10:00 a.m.
 Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
 To mark up proposed legislation on corporate bribery and investment disclosure.
 5302 Dirksen Building
MARCH 31

9:30 a.m.
 Commerce, Science, and Transportation Subcommittee on Aviation
 To hold hearings on bills proposing regulatory reform in the air transportation industry, including S. 292, and S. 689.
 5110 Dirksen Building

10:00 a.m.
 Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Oceans and International Environment
 To hold hearings on S. Res. 49, expressing the sense of the Senate that the U.S. Government should seek the agreement of other governments to a proposed treaty requiring the preparation of an international environmental impact statement for any major project expected to have significant adverse effect on the physical environment.
 4221 Dirksen Building
APRIL 1

9:30 a.m.
 Commerce, Science, and Transportation Subcommittee on Aviation
 To hold hearings on bills proposing regulatory reform in the air transporta-

tion industry, including S. 292, and S. 689.

5110 Dirksen Building
APRIL 19

10:00 a.m.
 Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
 To hold hearings on proposed legislation on housing and community development, with a view to reporting its final recommendations on housing programs to the Budget Committee by May 15.
 5302 Dirksen Building
APRIL 20

10:00 a.m.
 Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
 To hold hearings on proposed legislation on housing and community development, with a view to reporting its final recommendations on housing programs to the Budget Committee by May 15.

5302 Dirksen Building
APRIL 21

10:00 a.m.
 Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
 To hold hearings on proposed legislation on housing and community development, with a view to reporting its final recommendations on housing programs to the Budget Committee by May 15.

5302 Dirksen Building
APRIL 22

10:00 a.m.
 Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
 To hold hearings on proposed legislation on housing and community development, with a view to reporting its final recommendations on housing programs to the Budget Committee by May 15.

5302 Dirksen Building

SENATE—Friday, February 25, 1977

(Legislative day of Monday, February 21, 1977)

The Senate met at 2 p.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by Hon. DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, a Senator from the State of New York.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal Father, show us how to walk the luminous trail of Him who was the Way, the Truth, and the Life. As we walk this highway make us to know that it leads to a cross of pain, to death and resurrection. Show us the truth that the giving of self is self-fulfilling, that losing life for others is to find it again resplendent and complete. May the President, the Congress, and all workers in Government be mastered by Him who came not to be ministered unto, but to minister and give His life for many.

In His name we pray. Amen.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. EASTLAND).

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

CXXIII—342—Part 5

U.S. SENATE,
 PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
 Washington, D.C., February 25, 1977.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate on official duties, I appoint Hon. DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, a Senator from the State of New York, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
 President pro tempore.

Mr. MOYNIHAN thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of the proceedings of yesterday, Thursday, February 24, 1977, be approved.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, there are various nominations on the Executive Calendar which are cleared. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider nominations on the Executive Calendar.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a moment?

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I yield.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I might advise the majority leader that the entire Executive Calendar, including the nominations for the U.S. Air Force, the U.S. Army, the U.S. Navy, and others, through the entire content of the Executive Calendar, have been cleared on the Republican side.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I thank the distinguished Republican leader.

NOMINATIONS ON THE EXECUTIVE CALENDAR AND ON THE SECRETARY'S DESK

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that all nominations appearing on the calendar today under U.S. Air Force, U.S. Army, U.S. Navy, U.S. Marine Corps, and the nominations placed on the Secretary's desk in the Air Force, Army, and Marine Corps be considered and confirmed en bloc.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Now, Mr. President, I yield to the distinguished majority whip who has an especial interest in two nominations that he may ask to have those called up for consideration