

Wuethrich, Don Leon.
Zacharias, Jerrold Matthew.
Zeisel, Richard Stephen.
Zoehrer, Herbert Alfred.

Comdr. Muriel J. Lewis, U.S. Navy, for permanent promotion to the grade of captain in the line, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law.

U.S. MARINE CORPS

The following-named disability retired officer for reappointment to the grade of first lieutenant in the Marine Corps, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Stevens, Arnold T., xxx-xx-xxxx USMC.

CONFIRMATION

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate September 14, 1970:

NATIONAL CREDIT UNION ADMINISTRATION

Herman Nickerson, Jr., of Maine, to be Administrator of the National Credit Union Administration.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ON THE NATURE OF A UNIVERSITY—ADDRESS BY OTIS SINGLETARY, PRESIDENT, UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

HON. MARLOW W. COOK

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. COOK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the sage comments of Dr. Otis Singletary, president of the University of Kentucky, regarding the role of the university in today's world. Dr. Singletary is serving well the people of his university and our society by recognizing the needs of both as fulfilled through the work of the university. I have great confidence in the future of the university under the leadership of a man possessed of such wisdom.

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

[From the Chicago Tribune, Sept. 6, 1970]

ON THE NATURE OF A UNIVERSITY

(By Otis Singletary)

(NOTE.—Mr. Singletary is president of the University of Kentucky. This is an excerpt from a speech he gave at Eastern Kentucky University.)

I think I owe it to you to make clear at the outset two basic beliefs that I hold. The first of these beliefs is that our colleges and universities are vitally important to this society and to the individuals who make it up.

I have spent nearly 35 years of my life on campus as a student, teacher, and more recently administrator, and have had ample opportunity to see and know these institutions. Try as I may, I am unable to take seriously any projection of the future that assumes a world in which demonstrated competence and trained intelligence will not be required.

I remain convinced that education has in the past and will in the foreseeable future continue to be the instrument for the fullest development of human potential. As has been observed before, the university is not a perfect institution; it is only the best we have. And I would add, it deserves better from some people than it has been getting.

HOPE OF THE FUTURE

My second admission is that I truly believe that your students, and the thousands of other young people in this country like them, are the hope of the future. I say this because I believe this nation has a future. For all its problems, I believe this to be the most lovely and livable of all nations; and for all our faults, I believe the record will show that Americans are basically a kind and generous and decent people: Not better—not worse—not freer from the limitations of the human conditions.

Having made these positions clear, let me now move to some more specific comments about the nature and purpose of the Amer-

ican university. Contrary to popular opinion, our institutions of higher learning are not operated exclusively for students—or for faculty members, or for administrators, or for trustees, or for all of these, for that matter.

Historically speaking, they have been created and supported by our society to perform certain important functions for the common good of society. This is the larger meaning of the term "public interest" as it applies to institutions of higher education.

With specific regard to students, the academic community has a dual obligation—to provide sound academic and intellectual training and to aid in the development of mature and ethical persons who are able and willing to act responsibly and who are sensitive to the humanity of others.

A college or university is not a supermarket whose customers are always right; nor is it a retreat dedicated either to the pursuit of faculty tranquility or to student comfort and contentment (there are larger and better appointed rest homes and recreation centers located elsewhere).

It is not a welfare agency or an arena where the pressing problems of the day are confronted and solved by carefully stockpiled experts. It is not just the larger society in microcosm. It is not and should not attempt to be a miniature of the world outside its gates.

A SPECIAL PURPOSE

The university is a special purpose rather than a general purpose community and what sets it apart from the larger society is its particular emphasis upon the gathering, sharing and using of knowledge. The university is a place where scholarship and teaching in the learned disciplines is a primary pursuit; a place that values truth, freedom, relevance, individuality and responsibility; a place where "learning" is the bond that all share in common.

The university is a place for asking oneself the central and eternal questions:

Who am I?

Whence have we come and whither may we go?

What kind of person do I choose to be?

What has man achieved in the way of truths to be known and beauties to be enjoyed?

I know of no place where questions like these are examined more fully and more seriously than in a good university.

Our universities play an exceedingly important role in our society by providing an "open forum" where the great issues and ideas [indeed, the controversies] of the day can be publicly debated and examined. Universities are not just luxuries in which societies indulge themselves, or ornaments with which they decorate themselves or toolbins from which they equip themselves.

FORUMS FOR DEBATE

Universities, if they deserve the name at all, are forums in which intelligent, concerned and knowledgeable men and women of every persuasion can and do debate the most important issues there are. Static societies need no universities at all; "closed" societies need only schools for technologists because they already "know" the answers to all the vital problems of value.

But the more "open" a society, the more desperately it needs its universities. To those who would close or drastically alter our universities, I have these words of caution.

I ask them to remember that—
Here work men of good will who desire a better world.

Here truths are discovered.

Here lives are examined.

Here young people civilize themselves.

Here lives human culture.

Amidst all the soul-searching, and blame fixing, and recriminations of our time, I would remind you that we, as a people, have never been more prosperous, or for that matter, more generous with our prosperity; we have never been more concerned than we are today about education, or social justice, or civil rights.

We have never been more engaged in trying to bring some kind of decency and order into a world desperately in need of decency and order.

We are, in short, trying more [and I would argue achieving more] but sometimes failing. And we seem to be developing [almost a national characteristic] a tendency to concentrate on what is wrong to the exclusion of what is right.

Believing this to be true, I would like to express the hope that you will look at the society as it deserves to be looked at—critically, responsibly, and with perspective. There is a very good chance that you will discover that you are a citizen of no mean country.

THE FOND DU LAC COMMONWEALTH REPORTER MARKS 100 YEARS

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, during the Labor Day recess I had occasion to take part in the 100th anniversary celebration of the daily newspaper, the Fond du Lac Commonwealth Reporter. The anniversary came to have added significance because just a week earlier Wisconsin suffered the loss of a promising daily newspaper, The Paper, published in Oshkosh—only 18 miles from Fond du Lac.

The sad closing of the Paper has made us keenly aware of the frailty of the daily newspaper as an institution vital to the flow of free information and free ideas. Achievement of a newspaper's 100th year is a benchmark worth noting, and it is a pleasure for me to again congratulate the Commonwealth Reporter on its continued, important work.

As part of my remarks I include the editorial entitled "100 Years of Comment," published in the August 20 edition of the Commonwealth Reporter.

100 YEARS OF COMMENT

In a century of editorial comment on events ranging from the Peshtigo Fire of 1871 to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, the Commonwealth Reporter has offered its readers direction, wisdom, sympathy and, not infrequently, an assortment of space-filling inanities.

On this Centennial occasion, a backward glance at what the paper said when it was really two papers—the old Commonwealth and the Reporter—as well as what it has said since the 1926 merger, portrays history in the making.

"Stop for a moment and reflect that only 75 to 100 miles north of us there are a thousand people destitute of food, clothing and money," the Commonwealth editorialized on the Peshtigo Fire. "As you dwell upon the fact, know that your help is needed . . . see to it that boxes of clothing are sent forward on the next train . . ." Local residents, believing themselves blessed because of rain during the dangerous dry season, came through generously, supplying not only the Peshtigo victims but those of the great Chicago fire as well.

In 1876, when Gen. George A. Custer and his troops were massacred by united tribes in an Indian War battle at Little Big Horn, the Commonwealth didn't get the news for 10 days. When details were learned the editors were outraged and they called for the extermination of all "troublesome" Indians.

"The policy of extermination, so far as the troublesome Indians are concerned should be adopted," said the Commonwealth. "If there are not enough regulars to exterminate the murderous fiends, swarm that country with volunteers . . ."

It was simply another way of saying, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian."

When President James A. Garfield was shot on July 2, 1881 the Commonwealth recalled the horror of President Lincoln's death and said "the mad disrespect for authority . . . is a sulphurous blaze that spreads and thickens upon its own fumes."

William Jennings Bryan delivered his "Cross of Gold" speech at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1896. The Daily Reporter later hailed his nomination for president by declaring: "He is a man of the people and for the people . . . He is worthy of the support of every Democrat . . ."

When the Wright Brothers flew Dec. 17, 1903, near Kitty Hawk, N.C., the Daily Reporter, and perhaps many other papers, seemed visibly unimpressed. A few days later, however, the Reporter carried a page one story about a Fond du Lac man, Thomas Abel, who'd been working on a "flying machine" for 12 years.

The U.S. declared war on Germany on April 6, 1917. "Today is the day when all loyal citizens must stand together under one flag and in a common cause," said the Commonwealth.

When the famous John T. Scopes "monkey trial" ended in July of 1925 the Daily Reporter remarked: "In proportion to the time and money expended, the results of the trial probably set a world's record for minor achievement . . . the whole thing may be considered what the English call most aptly a washout."

Charles A. Lindbergh's daring flight in 1927 stirred the imagination and hero-worship of all Americans. The Commonwealth Reporter also saw the achievement as indicative of great growth in commercial air travel.

"The feat of this daring young American marks a new era in the history of the world, not only in aviation, but also in many other things," said an editorial.

When Chicago gangsters lined up rival lawbreakers and gunned them down in the St. Valentine's Day "massacre" of 1929, the Commonwealth Reporter made no demands for law and order other than to needle the police department.

"Chicago police are always ready apparently to demonstrate their efficiency in any thing except the arrest of gangsters or others with a political pull," the newspaper observed.

With Adolf Hitler having sent his Nazi forces into Poland a day earlier, the Commonwealth Reporter of Sept. 2, 1939, appealed to American patriotism. "There is no time like the present for native born and naturalized Americans to realize that their first obligation and duty in any international crisis is to be true Americans in every sense of the word."

When the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor and the U.S. entered World War II, there was no shortage of words or editorial hesitancy about the eventual outcome.

"This nation not only will become stronger in a military way but its unlimited industrial strength and other capacity will assure ample material aid to the other nations toward the ultimate and certain defeat of armed aggression in its attempt to conquer the world," said the newspaper.

On Aug. 6, 1945, the U.S. dropped the world's first atomic bomb on Hiroshima. To the Commonwealth Reporter, the shattering explosion "drew back the curtains on the world of tomorrow" and the writer noted that any country with such a weapon should be able to keep world peace. The editorial also called for "civilian use and productivity" of nuclear energy and urged that its secrets "be closely guarded."

During the Cuban Missile crisis of October in 1962, when the fate of the world was in jeopardy, this newspaper warned: "Any impasse between two great power systems bears the seeds of disaster—the peril that tension may grow so great that the risk of self-destruction is preferable to it."

And concerning that sadly memorable day of Nov. 22, 1963, when President John F. Kennedy was murdered as he drove past cheering crowds, the Commonwealth Reporter waited to reflect later on the tragedy: "With the calamity in Dallas the lesson of the danger inherent in violent extremism may now be deeply implanted in America's conscience."

Subsequent events, of course, indicate that Americans have not learned the lesson of the dangers in extremism. But editorial writers are like baseball umpires—they call 'em as they see 'em.

And sometimes—over a 100 year stretch—they're bound to be wrong.

RESTRICTED DANGEROUS DRUGS— CALIFORNIA ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 66

HON. MIKE GRAVEL

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks, California Assembly Joint Resolution No. 66, relative to restricted dangerous drugs.

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

ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 66—RELATIVE TO RESTRICTED DANGEROUS DRUGS

Whereas, The rapidly growing and widespread abuse of restricted dangerous drugs, particularly of the amphetamines and barbiturates, has reached crisis proportions both nationally and in the State of California; and

Whereas, The illicit supply and availabil-

ity of these restricted dangerous drugs is to a great degree directly attributable to the diversion of dangerous drugs from legal distribution and dispensing channels into illegal markets; and

Whereas, One of the most glaring points of diversion of legally manufactured drugs into the illicit market is through the mail order purchase of restricted dangerous drugs from out-of-state wholesale drug firms which deal exclusively through the United States mail; and

Whereas, There is incontrovertible evidence that mail order drug firms regularly sell and ship large amounts of restricted dangerous drugs through the United States mail to unauthorized persons; and

Whereas, Such mail order drug wholesale firms are virtually uncontrolled and unregulated by federal law, and because of the interstate character of the distribution of drugs by mail the states are powerless to regulate such businesses beyond their borders; now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Assembly and the Senate of the State of California, jointly, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully request the Congress of the United States to enact legislation to ban sales and shipment of restricted dangerous drugs through the mails, or if this should prove unfeasible, to enact legislation to severely and strictly control the interstate distribution of restricted dangerous drugs; and be it further.

Resolved, That the Chief Clerk of the Assembly transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Attorney General of the United States, the House Select Committee on Crime, the House Committee on Ways and Means, the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States.

WHAT AMERICA MEANS TO ME

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, one of my constituents, Laura E. Boggs, of New Castle, has written a poem entitled "What America Means to Me," which was published in the New Castle News recently. In these times of turmoil in America, I commend it to the attention of Senators and other readers of the RECORD. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

WHAT AMERICA MEANS TO ME

(By Laura E. Boggs)

It means the song of wild birds' flight
The sound of laughter in the night,
The right to do, and think and say
Whatever I wish in my own way,
And children singing as they play,
While grown folks work throughout the day.

Then peaceful sleep, long winter nights,
The warmth and cheer of glowing lights,
And church bells ringing on Sabbath morn
Proclaim anew the Christ is born.
Then time to worship, prayer and praise,
Our voices in thanksgiving raise
To Him who made our Nation great,
And fitted it to man's estate

All this means home to you and me,
And to our boys across the sea,
And they will finish what's begun
And fight till final victory's won,
For they will make our country free
From human greed and tyranny,
And then shall come that golden span
The world-wide brotherhood of man,
When freedom's flag shall be unfurled
In every nation of the world.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS AMENDMENT MAY END PROTECTION

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, Richard Wilson's column in the Evening Star newspaper on Friday, August 14, outlines some of the reasons why I voted against the so-called "Women's Rights Amendment," and I think the article deserves wide attention. I would like to include it at this point in the RECORD.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS AMENDMENT MAY END PROTECTION

(By Richard Wilson)

Reading in the Congressional Record the hour of debate devoted to the so-called women's rights amendment is hard going but worth it for one reason.

The House of Representatives went on record in favor of a constitutional amendment without a very clear idea of what it will mean. When unnumbered millions of women find out that they will lose privileged status so that their militant sisters may claim rights—and responsibilities—equal to men, they may not be very pleased.

The woman who thinks that making a home and raising a family is the greatest career to which she aspires, and wishes to be protected in what she considers to be a noble and natural role, may quite conceivably find that she has lost some of this protection.

Let us take, for example, a young woman of 20 who wishes to marry and settle for a long, rewarding life with children in a comfortable home. First, she may be subject to the draft, although the women in Congress assure us that she will not have to fight if she is not fitted for it. Some girls of 20 are, of course, quite equal to the ardors of military campaigning if they so ably demonstrate in the sports arena, and some of them can shoot straight, too.

Once married, and if things go awry, some young women may find themselves liable to pay alimony to a wronged husband. The responsibility for the financial support of children may lie equally upon her instead of solely upon a wayward husband.

These details are mentioned with hesitancy and deference because we have the assurance of Mrs. Martha Griffiths, the able congresswoman who accomplished the amazing one-hour feat of putting across an amendment pending for 47 years, that 30 million women are at work nowadays and desire equality more than protection.

In practical effect, as under the social security program, this equality will extend to men such privileges as are accorded women. But Mrs. Griffiths has a little different twist on it. She wishes to reserve for women some existing privileges based upon physiological differences. She asserted in the debate that separation of the sexes by law would be forbidden under the amendment except in situations shown to be necessary because of an overriding and compelling public interest. "For example, in our present culture," she

said, "the recognition of the right of privacy would justify separate rest room facilities in public buildings."

However, it seems to be admitted on all sides that the equal rights amendment raises hundreds of other questions in many states concerning family relationships, divorce, separation, alimony, age of consent, military service, child custody, bastardy. The contention cannot be dismissed lightly that the equal rights amendment releases men from sole family and public responsibilities that society has traditionally imposed upon them and not upon women.

An overwhelming majority of the House of Representatives set aside these doubts, raised incidentally by orthodox liberals, largely out of conviction that women are discriminated against in employment. This is demonstrably true and women are unjustly discriminated against in other ways.

Mrs. Griffiths dismisses the idea that any real protection will be lost to women but her opposition raised a great many telling points, which were not explored in debate nor were they the subject of prior hearings in the House of Representatives.

The amendment was passed over Judiciary Chairman Emanuel Celler's plea to wait until after hearings he had scheduled in September. It can readily be understood that the women's rights advocates placed no trust in Celler's plea since in all the years he has been chairman of the Judiciary Committee he has been unmoved by continuous pressure for adoption of the amendment.

The House acted, and presumably the Senate will act also, under heavy pressure from women's organizations who desired this "Magna Charta" in tribute to the 50th anniversary of women's suffrage.

But much more seems to be expected from this simple amendment than it actually promises. Other enactments "liberate" women without sacrificing their protection. The prudent woman will wish her state legislature to take a long look at this deceptive amendment when the ratifying process begins. It was designed by men to get women's votes nearly a half century ago.

AIRPLANE HIJACKINGS

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, the airplane hijacking situation has reached international crisis proportions, as has been made all too evident over this past weekend.

The safety of American citizens is at stake in the Jordan desert. Hijacking of international civil aircraft is being used for both blackmail and as an instrument to determine foreign policy. Vigorous action is necessary to insure the safe return of all those still held hostage in the desert.

Whenever a specific crisis arises, all efforts have been and should be concentrated on obtaining the safe return of the innocent passengers and crews of the hijacked aircraft. However, we must not let the memory of this most serious emergency pass without taking steps, far stronger and more positive than before, toward a long-term solution to the air piracy problem.

Last week, I introduced House Concurrent Resolution 729, calling for the State Department to negotiate bilateral treat-

ties with other countries for mandatory extradition of hijackers to the country of the hijacked aircraft. Under these bilateral treaties, the returned hijackers would then be tried for the hijacking offense.

We have seen 79 air hijackings already this year and 250 altogether since this grotesque action has become internationally "popular." What is rapidly becoming at stake is the safe and reliable system of domestic and international airline routes.

The Tokyo convention, which has been signed by the United States and nearly 40 other countries, condemns hijacking but does not provide for the return of hijackers to the flag country of the aircraft involved to face prosecution. The American Pilots Association and the International Federation of Pilots have both indicated that if extradition treaties are negotiated, as called for in this resolution, they will boycott those countries which refuse to sign such treaties by refusing to fly into or out of such countries. This would be a very effective remedy.

I realize that even with the passage of this resolution, the negotiation of such treaties will take time. Additional measures are needed now to stop hijackings. During this interim period, armed plainclothes security guards should be placed on all international commercial flights. For U.S.-flag airlines, these sky marshals could be furnished by the Department of Transportation, the FBI, or the Department of Defense.

More thorough airport preflight search procedures should be used for all flights, including searches of both passengers and baggage. It is my understanding that sophisticated psychiatric and mechanical methods are becoming available for these searches, and they should be put to use immediately. In addition, suspected hijackers should be physically searched prior to boarding the plane.

Mr. Speaker, no one questions the seriousness of this situation. What we have lacked is strong, positive action to prevent the continuation of these hijackings. The President has called for strong steps to meet this emergency. I am confident that Congress will support these measures.

WHY FOOD BILLS KEEP GOING UP

HON. W. R. POAGE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of the Members of the House a column which appeared in the Washington Evening Star of Thursday, September 10, 1970, written by Sylvia Porter, noted financial writer.

It is written under the heading: "Your Money's Worth—Why Food Bills Keep Going Up."

It is most enlightening, and I am glad that millions of housewives throughout the Nation have had an opportunity to read this syndicated column and learn that food costs increases have been caused by rising charges for processing,

packaging, and handling, and because of the demands of housewives themselves for preparation of foods in a manner that reduces the time they spend in the kitchen.

I am inserting the article in the RECORD and commend it to my colleagues for their reading:

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH: WHY FOOD BILLS KEEP GOING UP
(By Sylvia Porter)

Even assuming the rate of rise in food prices continues to moderate—an assumption being shaken by the corn blight and the blight's threat to the prices of meat, poultry and eggs—our own food bills will remain in a relentless uptrend to ever higher peaks.

The reason: our ever-expanding demand for relatively expensive ready-to-eat, ready-to-heat, just-add-water foods which save time in the kitchen and give us a form of built-in maid service.

And there's absolutely no basis at all for expecting this trend to slow, much less reverse.

The farmer's share of our food dollar is still going down, to an average of 39 cents now out of every food dollar, against 50 cents in the late 1940s; for many food items, the farmer gets as little as 6 cents or 9 cents.

At the same time, the portion of our food dollar going for built-in convenience is still soaring. Of the \$1,226 the typical household will spend this year for farm-originated foods, a whopping \$742 will go to the middlemen who package, process, distribute and sell the food. Just consider how we are spending our food dollar:

Today, a full 10 percent of the eggs we consume are pre-empted and pre-processed, and by the end of this decade, says the Agriculture Dept., the proportion of eggs we eat in forms ranging from cake mixes to "instant" scrambled eggs will soar to 33 percent.

Today, our consumption of frozen foods is up to \$8 billion annually, and with the number of frozen food items on the market due to double by 1975, frozen food sales are projected at \$12 billion.

Today, 45 percent of all supermarkets have a delicatessen department, estimates the Super Market Institute, and virtually every new supermarket has such a department. Many of them also have their own kitchens and stock 60 to 100 different items—most of them higher priced convenience foods.

Since 1960 alone, our total bill for food marketing has soared 43 percent to \$63.2 billion. Here's how the bill breaks down and how fast each component of the bill has been increasing:

[Dollars in billions]		
Item	1969	Percent of rise over 1959
Labor.....	\$29.3	65
Transportation.....	4.8	20
Profits before taxes.....	3.9	86
Depreciation.....	2.2	57
Business taxes.....	2.3	92
Advertising.....	2.0	67
Rent (net).....	1.7	54
Interest (net).....	.5	150
Repairs, bad debts.....	1.2	71
Other (residual).....	15.3	22

A big hidden factor in that "other" column is \$7 billion for packaging-labeling-containerization.

As another revealing measure of the extent to which we have embraced convenience foods, the National Association of Food Chains estimates that if we were consuming the same foods in the same ways as a generation ago, our food bill would come to only 11 percent of our after-tax spending

in contrast to the 17 percent we are actually allocating to food in our real-life budgets today.

As still another measure, in the years before the big surge to convenience foods, the Grocery Manufacturers of America calculates that the typical housewife and mother of two spent 5½ hours a day preparing meals. Now, with the help of labor-saving kitchen devices as well as convenience foods, the preparation time has been slashed to a mere 1½ hours a day.

And now we're moving to the convenience of the whole take-home meal—the carton of chicken or fish-and-chips or whatever, bought at the fast food, limited menu store—and that certainly costs more than the made-from-scratch version.

Of course, you can save money by going back to the preconvenience ways of cooking and serving. But how do you value your time?

THE PLIGHT OF OUR GUADALCANAL ALLIES

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I am always pleased when I hear of the civic and philanthropic activities of Americans. It reaffirms my great faith in our people and our destiny as a Nation. An American who has devoted his life to helping others, often to his own economic detriment, is Lowell Bulger, a man I am honored to call a friend.

For many years, Lowell and I lived in the same community and, thus, I knew firsthand of his devotion to his fellow man. He moved to Northern California and I am extremely pleased that he has continued his fine work.

Mr. Speaker, at this point in the RECORD, I would like to insert an article that was in the August 2, 1970, edition of the Oakland Tribune. This article describes Lowell Bulger's efforts to ship food, clothing, and educational material to the Solomon Islanders. Lowell, a member of "Carlson's Raiders" during World War II, fought side-by-side with the Islanders and he feels that we owe a special debt to these proud people who so bravely aided our troops in the Pacific campaign:

BRAVE GUADALCANAL ALLIES DESTITUTE
(By Kevin Leary)

In November, 1942, an elite battalion of U.S. Marines under the command of Lt. Col. Evans F. Carlson, prowled behind enemy lines in the jungles of a previously insignificant South Pacific island. They fought the Japanese, disease, and the heavy jungle in one of the most agonizing battles of World War II.

The island was Guadalcanal, and the Marines were "Carlson's Raiders," known as "experts in death, demolition and destruction."

With the help of the Navy, other Marines and the army, and a group of heretofore unheralded Solomon Islanders, the United States took Guadalcanal, establishing a firm foothold in the Pacific.

Today, about 28 years later, a few survivors of that campaign are trying to repay an old debt they feel is due to the islanders who fought side-by-side with the Leathernecks.

Lowell V. Bulger of 825 Orchard St., Hayward, is the U.S. chairman of the Solomon Islands Education Fund (SIEF), a group of former Raiders, who believe they would never have survived the grueling guerrilla combat on "the Canal," if it hadn't been for the islanders.

"And now they are in desperate need for food, clothing, school books and educational supplies. We are trying to see that they get them," says Bulger, now a sales manager for an industrial tool firm.

During the past 18 months Bulger and other SIEF volunteers ("There have never been more than 10 of us at any one time.") have collected, sorted and packaged 37 tons of material ready to be shipped to the islands.

The ironic problem is that the supplies are worth more than \$200,000, according to Bulger, yet SIEF cannot afford the \$8,600 shipping charge from the West Coast to Guadalcanal, via Australia.

But Bulger is determined to collect the money, and soon, because he is paying the storage fees for the supplies out of his own pocket.

"There must be 50,000 veterans of the Solomon Islands campaign in the Bay Area," he says. "If only one out of five would contribute one dollar, we'd have more than enough money."

Bulger, who served as a private first class with the Marines, recalls his own experience on Guadalcanal: "The Raiders operated for weeks behind the Japanese lines in a hit-and-run type operation. The island natives showed us how to survive.

"They gave us food, acted as scouts, carried our dead and wounded out of the jungle, built us shelters and fought along side of us. Not once did a Solomon Islander ever betray an American."

Bulger says hundreds of downed pilots and ship-wrecked sailors were rescued by the Solomon Islanders—including one Navy Lieutenant named John F. Kennedy, skipper of the now-famous PT 109.

After the war, the islands returned to their pre-war obscurity, and many of the islanders have reverted to an almost primitive existence, says Bulger.

"Remembering what the Solomon Islanders did for us when we were fighting there," says Bulger, "sending these materials is the least we can do."

Persons interested in contributing to the project may send their checks to Lowell V. Bulger, U.S. Chairman, Solomon Island Education Fund, 825 Orchard Ave., Hayward, Calif. 94544.

Bulger said SIEF does not need any more supplies, but only requires enough money to ship the material already collected.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

HON. JOHN N. HAPPY CAMP
OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. CAMP. Mr. Speaker, an open letter which was sent to our President and also appeared in the Elk City Daily News is, I think, most timely and gives us much food for thought.

The letter is as follows:

During recent weeks, we had the opportunity to visit the Soviet Union and particularly its capital, Moscow, for a few days.

In the brief visit, we noted that young students from Africa, Asia, Latin America and likely elsewhere were being brought to Moscow, the queen city of the Soviet Union, by the thousands this summer.

These students, we observed, were not necessarily from Communist lands nor were they schooled in Marxist-Leninist ideology. But they were being brought apparently by the Soviet government to that country to see what the Soviet has accomplished and certainly to be told of the glories of that system—as well as to be entertained with an experience which a young high-school age mind would not soon forget.

These students, many of them, obviously were highly impressed by this venture.

I could not help but think that the good old U.S.A. has probably poured millions and in some cases hundreds of millions in aid into their countries to build highways, dams, etc., things that help commerce directly and otherwise helped the systems there and particularly the established governments.

The Soviet Union was trying to win the respect of people, and particularly young people, while the United States was concentrating on foreign aid and military assistance programs some of which may well not be appreciated by the people in those lesser developed countries.

In the United States of all places we value the worth of the individual more than any human built monuments.

Could it be that we are missing a major point about people when this country's outreach program is more in the form of gifts and grants rather than in challenging the intelligence and creativity of young people by inviting some of these to come to our country and see for themselves what is being done?

They hear about our problems but seldom about the solutions. They know more of our mistakes than our successes in this day and time.

With the millions and billions that we invest in world development and goodwill, would it not be possible or might it not be wise for us to consider a program that would bring young citizens of the world to see our country?

I understand that some of this is done and I assure you that the breadth of the Soviet program makes ours microscopic in comparison.

So much was I impressed by the thousands of young men and women at these teenage years in Moscow and the apparent reaction to it that it promoted me to call this to your attention.

A concerned American,

LARRY R. WADE,
Elk City, Okla.

CRISIS FOR TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY—AND THE PEOPLE

HON. ED JONES

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. JONES of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, next month the rates charged for electric power by the Tennessee Valley Authority will be 23 percent higher than their levels of July. Many factors have come together to force this increase, but the major cause has been the dramatic rise in the price of coal.

TVA uses coal in the generation of approximately 80 percent of its power and, naturally, the fact that the cost of coal has doubled during the past year has had an enormous impact on TVA's operating expenses.

During the recent recess, the Memphis Press-Scimitar, a highly respected afternoon daily newspaper which serves my district as well as others, published an

editorial on this subject. Because this editorial goes straight to the heart of the matter, I include it at this point in the RECORD:

CRISIS FOR TVA—AND THE PEOPLE

Memphis has become so used to the benefits of cheap Tennessee Valley Authority power—which first flowed here in 1934—that it's hard to realize what has happened recently, and dismaying to think of worse things that may happen.

The first thing that woke us up was a sharp pain in the pocketbook; announcement that TVA was increasing its charges to distributors of its power by 23 per cent . . . for everybody knew that all or at least a big part of this increase would be passed on to consumers.

But the "second shoe" dropped signals even more cause for alarm: the supply of electric power may have to be reduced, and the reduction may be drastic. Think of having to get along without air-conditioners in hot weather and electric heating in the winter.

But the effect would not only penalize householders—it would be disastrous to business and industry and the jobs they provide.

TVA has been sounding the alarm for months, and now the LG&W has added its voice after investigating the TVA's financial condition . . . and called for action by Congress and the Justice Department to "liberate TVA from the gravest economic situation the citizens of Memphis and TVA have faced since TVA was established."

The reason for the 23 per cent raise in TVA's charges, and for the fear that the worst may be yet to come is due to the following conditions, as listed by TVA Chairman Aubrey Wagner and confirmed by Calvin Henze, LG&W president:

The great increase in the price of coal, which TVA uses to produce some 80 per cent of its electricity . . . coal prices are running about double what they were a year ago.

The shortage of coal at any price. TVA in recent weeks has had on hand at its power plants only 12-days, or less, supply of coal. This contrasts with the 60-day supply it tries to keep on hand.

The shortage of railroad cars for shipping coal.

A sharp increase in the interest rates TVA has to pay on its old and new bond issues . . . under the law, TVA must pay interest on its debts at the average of the rates the U.S. Treasury is paying at the beginning of each fiscal year . . . rates now at record highs.

Of all these factors, TVA Chairman Wagner says the most critical is "the skyrocketing cost of coal." This is partly due, according to TVA and LG&W, to exports of coal, especially to Japan.

Chairman Wagner says the situation is complicated by the fact that oil and metal interests now own eight of the 10 largest coal-supply companies.

LG&W President Henze points to this fact as indicating "so clearly a developing monopoly condition that we believe the anti-trust section of the United States Justice Department must begin immediately an investigation. It appears only action by the Justice Department, Congress, or both will loosen the still-tightening coal market."

TVA Director Don McBride last week said Congress would be "going in the right direction if it had an investigation of this extreme rise in the cost of fuel."

Rep. William R. Anderson of Tennessee's Sixth Congressional District, this week said he had asked Rep. Wright Patman, chairman of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress to "use your position to focus attention on what I consider a major and potentially catastrophic problem in this area: increasing domination of all fuels by the oil companies."

This control of the fuels and their prices gives the companies a "stranglehold on the national economy," Anderson said. "An interruption of that supply could create economic chaos," he said, "and the security of the nation would also be threatened."

Senator Albert Gore in a speech in the Senate yesterday urged closing of tax loopholes which he said allowed oil conglomerates to buy up coal-producing concerns and profit by exporting coal to Japan.

What can the people of Memphis and other areas served by TVA do? LG&W Commissioner Robert I. Bowers suggests "raising Cain and carrying it through to Washington."

Those who feel like doing that to insure that our members of Congress know their constituents want to see some action—quick—can write:

To Senator Albert Gore . . .
To Senator Howard Baker Jr. . . .
To Rep. Dan Kuykendall . . .
To Rep. William R. Anderson . . .
To Rep. Ed Jones . . .
To Rep. Ray Blanton . . .
To Rep. Bill Brock . . .

To all other Congress members from Tennessee, northern Alabama, northeastern Mississippi and western Kentucky, whose constituencies are vitally affected by TVA.

You can write representatives in care of the House Office Building and senators in care of the Senate Office Building, Washington.

Memphis Light, Gas & Water Department has done its part. Now it's up to our members of Congress to do theirs.

And remember, this is not a matter of partisan politics. Staunchly supported by both Republicans and Democrats throughout the years, TVA belongs to the people and it serves the people.

With all the facts and conditions cited, we believe customers who depend on TVA power can readily see that the 23 per cent increase in TVA rates is nothing to get mad at TVA about.

We believe TVA is making every effort to conduct an efficient operation, under difficulties, and that it will search diligently to see if additional economies are possible.

But TVA must keep solvent . . . Chairman Aubrey Wagner recently reminded that under the law that set it up it cannot operate in the red.

What our Congress members must work on is changes in the law to ease the unreasonable interest rates TVA has to pay. And all members of Congress should take an interest in the supply and price of coal, for other power-producers over the country face the same fuel problem TVA faces.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

HON. ALBERT W. JOHNSON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon has sent a message to Congress containing an 11,000-word summation of his legislative program—what has been done about it, and what has not. One has only to glance at that summation to realize how much major legislation has been stalled, shunted aside, and pigeonholed by the Congress. And anyone who serves in this body knows who is to blame.

The Democrats who rule the committees, who outnumber us in both Houses, have maintained a steady campaign of attrition against the Nixon administra-

tion. Those Democrats have clung to their traditional policy of overspending, in the face of more-than-adequate funding requests by an administration trying to hold the economic line. They have denounced the President for attempting to wipe out inflation through sensible programs. They have attempted to block needed reform. Those Democrats have, in fact, given a new meaning to the word partisan—and it is a bad word.

The Nixon message gives a clear warning of the dangerous course taken by those Democrats. He says this:

What is at stake is the good repute of the American government at a time when the charge that our system cannot work is hurled with fury and anger by men whose greatest fear is that it will.

That should be plain enough. We are engaged in politicking in this election year and we are interested vitally in advancing our party fortunes, but let us think first of the country.

CHANCELLOR HEARD OF VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY DELIVERS ADDRESS ON CAMPUS UNREST AT NATIONAL PRESS CLUB

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, Chancellor Alexander Heard of Vanderbilt University in Nashville recently delivered an excellent address on the subject of campus unrest before the National Press Club in Washington.

Dr. Heard was appointed by the President to direct a special study of student unrest and recently reported to the President on the findings of this study.

The Vanderbilt Chancellor delivered a perceptive, in-depth address before the press club, providing a balanced perspective of the problems faced by our colleges and universities.

Following his remarks, he was subjected to a series of searching questions which he handled with skill and aplomb.

Because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this most important subject, I place the address by Chancellor Heard in the RECORD.

The address follows:

REMARKS BY ALEXANDER HEARD, CHANCELLOR OF VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the National Press Club: I am grateful for this opportunity to discuss with you the colleges and universities of our country. Our colleges and universities belong to all of us. All of us ultimately support them and influence them, and ultimately all of us benefit from their achievements or suffer from their failings.

What I want to do today, with you who inform the nation, is to discuss in some detail the nature of the national crisis in higher education. There will be no headlines in what I want to say. There may be no news, in your workaday sense, in it either. But there may be some thoughts and analysis that will be useful to you as you observe and report on higher education.

Why, in 1970, do I say that the conditions faced by higher education constitute a national crisis? After all, campus discon-

tent is not new. Dissent and disruption marked many a nineteenth century campus in America. The issues were public as well as educational. Police on campus and weapons on campus were live issues in some places. Students have confounded their elders at least as far back as the time of Plato, whose famous quotation went, I remind you, some 2,300 years ago, as follows:

What is happening to our young people? They disrespect their elders, they disobey their parents. They ignore the laws. They riot in the streets inflamed with wild notions. Their morals are decaying. What is to become of them?

Nor is student questioning of accepted national doctrine an innovation of the 1960's. A 1936 Roper poll among undergraduates conducted for *Fortune* magazine found 68 per cent of those interviewed favored a "revision of our attitude about property rights." Six per cent of them chose "communism" and 24 per cent chose "socialism" as terms that suggested ideas toward which they felt sympathetic.

Nor is anti-war sentiment on and off the campuses novel. At the height of World War II, in February 1944, a Gallup poll found 14 per cent of a nationwide sample saying it was a mistake for the United States to have entered that war. In April 1952 Gallup found a majority believing our entry into the Korean conflict to be a mistake. Polls among students also revealed substantial antagonism to the Korean conflict.

What, then, makes the present situation critical?

First, the scope and depth of anxiety among sincere, patriotic, rule-obeying students are the greatest in our history. College students now constitute a larger proportion of the country's total population than previously, drawn from more diverse backgrounds. It seems clear that the student protest movement last May and June was the largest we have known. Forty-eight per cent of a sample of students on four-year campuses of all types—large and small, prominent and obscure, public and private, north, south, east, and west, in all fields of study—said they took part in some kind of anti-war protest activity in May. And if you talked to many of these students, you know something of the deep intensity of their feelings.

The anxieties of these young persons extend beyond the conflict in Southeast Asia to many other concerns inside and outside the nation, on and off the campuses. Whatever the causes, there is in our country a segment of white and black young people who are baffled, disillusioned, angered.

And that leads to the second reason the situation is serious. Many talented individuals of great potential social influence are at an important psychological and intellectual stage in their development, a stage when lasting personal attitudes and convictions are shaped. If their disaffection remains deep and colors their continuing outlook, we all will feel the consequences.

Third, the unrest in our society is not confined to students. Attitudes and behavior on campuses—in all of their variety—stem in significant measure, although obviously not wholly, from the public issues of the day. There is a relationship between the state of the nation and the state of the campus.

The style and substance of American life have altered—to the joy of some and dismay of others—in speech, manners, dress, theatre, magazines, books, newspapers, music, motion pictures, radio, television, the arts in all their forms. The accepted ways of doing things in race relations, in rearing children, in churches, in labor unions, in corporations, in elementary and secondary schools, in government bureaucracies, in elected legislatures, in many other institutions of our society, including the family itself, have been questioned or defied. We find ourselves at odds not only over vital public policies, but over the customary ways of dealing with them.

Violence has grown generally throughout the society, and justice is everywhere delayed.

Fourth, on a limited number of campuses a virulent intellectual intolerance has developed that constitutes a real and present danger to the basic educational freedoms necessary for a college or university to function properly. Educational institutions are accustomed to threats to their freedom from without. Blind, self-righteous intolerance among a small minority of students and faculty on a campus—intolerance that obstructs the open forum, limits freedom of movement, and substitutes force for reason—is as grave a threat as ever came from without. This intolerance is sometimes linked with efforts to make the college or university into an engine of partisan politics.

Finally, fifth, the reactions among men and women of good will across our land to these developments in higher education are themselves another reason higher education, and the nation, face a crisis. State legislators, members of Congress, parents, alumni, taxpayers, citizens generally are divided among themselves in their understanding and reactions to what has gone on. Many are angry and hostile. In the United States, in the long run, higher education will never flourish or serve the nation best while there is aggressive distrust of it in any major sector, among old or young, on or off the campuses. A degree of tension has always characterized relationships between colleges and the places they are located, and between intellectuals generally and others in society. Hostility of new intensity, however, is now evident on the part of persons who don't understand what they see, or when they do, don't like what they understand.

The causes of all this are much debated. What is meant by "all this" also provokes dispute. I discover, when I discuss campus unrest with others, that one person equates the subject almost exclusively to the latest bombing, another to unkempt appearance and marijuana, another to the impeccable, highly motivated conduct of a son at home or the girl next door.

In all events, the campus conditions that preoccupy us these days embrace two important elements: on the one hand, an awareness of social responsibility and determination toward civic improvement, constitutionally encouraged, traditionally applauded, educationally appropriate, involving dissent and free expression and voluntary citizen action of many kinds; and, on the other hand, violation by some of the basic necessary rules of our society, including the civil liberties of other human beings.

Student unrest in a particular nation, or on a particular campus, at a particular time, will stem from the particular circumstances of that nation or that campus. Peaceable student dissent and violent student disruptions have occurred in nations where the contemporary issues are quite different from those in the United States.

Two years ago I discussed with officials in Ethiopia and Kenya the origins of student protest in those countries, and more recently I did the same in Nepal and India. Developing countries in many parts of the globe, highly industrialized nations like Japan, West Germany, France, and the United Kingdom, and nations on both sides of the iron curtain have experienced student movements in recent years. These movements are related to other social developments and their origins are difficult to sort out. We clearly have, nonetheless, a global phenomenon.

Basic tides are running that shake the static aspects of society in all world cultures. The traditional stabilizing influences of religion, family, social custom, historical teachings, political and economic conventions, education have weakened, creating greater susceptibility to challenge and change in all kinds of institutions. Imitation of

other nations may substitute for original causes in some places, but almost anywhere one looks in the world, one finds social ferment. Traditional attitudes all tend to be unsettled by the speed of social and institutional change, the rapidity of transportation, instantaneous communications, and increasing affluence, albeit unevenly distributed.

The enlargement and spread of egalitarian political ideas, the ramifications of existentialist thought, intellectual formulations of many diverse origins have affected the aspirations and behavior of people, including the young, everywhere. This world matrix also includes the political procedures developed in our century by Mahatma Gandhi. Militant nonviolence as conceived, interpreted, and applied by Gandhi constitutes an arsenal of concepts and techniques that, whether clearly understood or not, whether faithfully applied or not, have stimulated new forms of social and political action in many parts of the world, including the United States.

The immediate circumstances in the United States that underlie student unrest include unresolved public issues—Southeast Asia and the destiny of black Americans being, in my view, of foremost present importance. But they embrace other circumstances on and off the campuses as well.

The delay of entry into adult life is probably a basic factor. It has produced difficulties on campus not because colleges and universities have changed from the olden, golden days, but because the students coming to them have changed. Students are physically more mature and educationally better prepared than they used to be. And their families have reared most of them in greater economic abundance and with fewer self-restraints than used to be normal. The increasing diversity of students in their origins, preparation, and goals call for greater flexibility in requirements, a richer curriculum, greater independence in course selection, more useful student contributions to the governance of institutions, and more varied living conditions than previously permitted by most colleges and universities across the country. Subtle psychological stimulants, doubtless seldom understood by students themselves (or the rest of us), can affect what they advocate or protest about on or off the campus at a given time. Nonetheless, campus protest usually involves substantive issues, and these vary from one institution to another, just as they vary from one nation to another, just as they will vary from one time to another.

Colleges and universities are highly exposed social institutions, easily available for the organization of dissent. Large numbers of young people are gathered together on campuses. They are readily accessible to anyone from outside or inside who wants to appeal to them. Seldom need they fear that their activities will affect their livelihood. With not a little parental support, institutions have traditionally tried to be lenient in applying sanctions for student behavior that might be treated differently in the outside society, although that situation has been changing with the decline of the doctrine of *in loco parentis*. Ideologically, students are often more mobile than other citizens. They are less restrained by their own past beliefs and activities in given situations, where they are on record at all, and sometimes some of them seem to have a notable lack of concern for the instructional value of recent history.

In such a context—and these are obviously not all of the influencing conditions—opportunities for political exploitation exist for those who exercise initiative and leadership. The organizing skill, determination, and resources of on-campus and off-campus individuals and groups affect what occurs from year to year at individual institutions and in the nation as a whole.

The spirit in which dissent is received often determines the spirit in which dissent is expressed. The response on a campus to

expressed opinion, whether the opinion is of affirmation or dissent, and whether expressed by speech or demonstration or however, conditions the character and range of subsequent expressions of view. Skill and good judgment can contribute crucially to maintaining conditions of civility and peace—on the campus as well as in the streets.

I believe that most of us in the United States feel that colleges and universities are essential to our welfare. We look to them not only for education and training, but as a source of leadership and of ideas. As a nation we have invested huge sums of money in them, and as individuals some of us have invested much of our lives in them. And these are, after all, our children who go to them, and our children who express their concern about the quality of their lives and our lives. The young man or woman who comes to the campus as a student brings most of his basic equipment with him—ethical views, standards of taste, personal habits, even many of his intellectual concepts. We all had a part in making him what he is, and we all have a stake in the future.

This is true, also, of colleges and universities. We all had a part in making them what they are, and we are the ones with a stake in their future. The solution to this present national crisis will inevitably require much from most of us.

Each institution of higher learning must build among its faculty, students, trustees, and others who comprise it the consensus of support and mechanisms of government that enable education to go forward on that campus, free from coercion and violence. The goals and governance and academic programs of these institutions must command the respect of persons inside and outside them.

Persons young and old who have lost confidence in our ways of government—local, state, and federal—can recapture it, with help. That hope lies in the further hope that we can, through government, attack with success the problems that face us. When we have a policy in Southeast Asia that can be understood more clearly, there will be less vehement dissent. When we attack more effectively the problems of our black citizens, which are equally the problems of our white citizens, there will be less vehement dissent. When we move more effectively to meet other pressing needs in our society, there will be less disappointment and unrest.

I do not think that in the long run our leaders can lose, and I am sure our country cannot, by displaying compassion, and seeking understanding, and encouraging tolerance.

I believe that at all governmental levels concerned citizens—including young people and blacks and anyone else who feels disaffected—should, along with everyone else, be welcomed into the political processes. Many who have expressed their concerns in the past through traditionally approved methods need the proof that the system is truly open to them, and truly does work. Those who have deserted reason and law need the demonstration even more. Nothing is more important than the reasonableness of our laws and the quality and equality of their enforcement.

Most of all, however, I think that all of us must feel a common responsibility to labor on the many different fronts that will be necessary for the United States to attack successfully this crisis we now are in.

NATIONAL 4-H WEEK

HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, again it is my privilege and pleasure to pay trib-

ute to the 4-H Clubs of America as they prepare to observe their national week beginning October 4 through October 10.

The aims of this year's national week are grouped under the impressive label of "We Care" and certainly these particular young people are admirably qualified to cope with and alleviate many of the needs and problems of their communities through participation in one or more of the numerous projects offered in today's modern 4-H programs.

To me, one of the most appealing characteristics of this outstanding organization now totaling a membership of 3.9 million is the fact that everybody has a stake in 4-H, whether you are a member, leader, friend, or belong to the citizen public for the basic reason that 4-H is for everyone and 4-H benefits everyone. The actual 4-H'ers are young people in the 9- to 19-age group. The leaders are adults and teenage volunteers and friends are helpers and supporters.

As we know, the 4-H program grew out of the passage by Congress in 1914 of the Smith-Lever Act which provided for a National Cooperative Extension Service under which the "boys' and girls' club work" became 4-H and the answer to the desire of our pioneer schoolteachers and other educators who wanted to supplement their classrooms with a "living laboratory." The growth of this program has been astounding and the 4-H idea today circles the globe with approximately 75 countries adapting it to their own specific needs.

The diversity of the activities of our 4-H'ers is equaled only by their amazing success in programs and contests in at least 15 subjects that challenge the imagination and know-how of both our urban and rural youth.

Mr. Speaker, naturally I am especially proud of the tremendous success of this movement in Kentucky as a whole and in the Second Congressional District in particular. It is my information that only four or five States have more than 100,000 4-H'ers and I am indeed pleased to tell you that Kentucky is one of them with over 150,000 boys and girls 9 to 19 years old enrolled in 4-H in one way or another.

Certainly these statistics and those compiled for numerous other areas serve to reassure us that in this era of unrest and dissent among our young people there are 3.9 million boys and girls who have an important voice among America's youth, and are striving to make each tomorrow a better day because they sincerely care for their fellow men and their country. As they prepare to observe their national week, I want to wish the 4-H Clubs in Kentucky and everywhere continued success in all their future endeavors.

25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BLACK HILLS PLAYHOUSE

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, this summer marked the 25th anniversary of the

Black Hills Playhouse, a unique theatrical organization which has brought tremendous enjoyment to residents and visitors to the Hills, and has developed the talents of many promising young actors and actresses. Its founder, Dr. Warren M. Lee, is not resting on his laurels but is planning for even greater expansion in the future.

We in South Dakota are proud of the Black Hills Playhouse and join in extending heartiest congratulations to Dr. Lee and wish him many more years of success.

The Minneapolis Tribune for Sunday, September 6, contained an interesting story on the Playhouse, and I wish to insert in the RECORD excerpts from it which follow:

BLACK HILLS PLAYHOUSE

(By Irv Letofsky)

CUSTER STATE PARK, S.D.—A young honey-blond, tears flowing down her apple cheeks, was bidding a final farewell to Warren (Doc) Lee in the Snack Bar, a kind of barracks commissary, after the play.

A young actor shook his hand in another parting gesture to the patriarch of the Black Hills Playhouse.

Doc Lee, who started it all 25 years ago, was distracted from the sweet sentiments traditional in such departures by a swollen jaw, the result of an errant tooth. But the sentiment was there.

The Black Hills is great country for a vacation and would make good ground for Indian wars. (An insurgency band of Indians set up camp on Mt. Rushmore only last week.) It might seem ludicrous to establish a theater inside the splendid woods and expect anybody to buy a ticket.

But in these many years people have come to buy tickets, an average of 200 a show, to see the summer kind of fun inside a rustic-lodge theater that seats 400.

They are mostly "the locals," twisting and turning through the hilly land, from Hot Springs, Custer and Buffalo Gap. They wear suits and narrow ties and have a helluva good time.

Many of them drive through the thick of the scenic hills from Rapid City. It's a normal 45 miles, but the natives know three daring shortcuts that trim the distance to 26.

A few tourists eat buffalo steak at the nearby State Game Lodge, where Calvin Coolidge set up his summer White House in 1927 and chose not to run again, and then drive over and see the shows, every night but Tuesdays, 8:30.

This is really departure time. Most of the crew of 70 have already left, including about 40 kids taking credits through the University of South Dakota (USD), and a few children of staffers. ("Everybody gets on stage at some time," said a director.)

But, back to the beginning: Doc Lee grew up in Corning, Iowa, and studied at the University of Iowa. In the '30s he took the job of technical director of the University of Minnesota theater, returning after a few years to Iowa to take his doctorate in playwriting.

"He wrote such epics as 'Penny Anarchy' (on the Iowa farm troubles in the '30s), 'Saint Louie' (a farce on faith healing) and 'Gilded Prairie' (on the opening of the Kansas wheat frontier.) But young Lee had to get something published before getting the degree.

"So I had to write a potboiler," Lee said. "It was 'Shave and a Haircut, Six Bits.' I got \$150 and the publisher got all rights." It was one of those so-called "high school plays" and it was performed a few times.

In 1938 Lee came to USD's public speaking

department, the forerunner of today's theater. For several subsequent years he was dean of College of Fine Arts.

In 1946, that difficult summer, he came to the Black Hills. "The first year we lost \$3,000—and I was only making \$3,500 a year then. So we went nonprofit, because it was obvious that there was not going to be any profit. Then we lost \$6,000 the second year."

He started hustling for funds, and by the third year the debts were paid off, with donations like \$100 from the Rapid City Auto Association and a check for \$25 from the governor.

Once the makeshift theater at the old Civilian Conservation Corps encampment burned down 10 days before opening, so Lee and crew set up a tent theater, as big as the lengths of canvas would allow. A few seasons later the State Game, Fish and Parks Department, which leases the land and buildings to the players, built the playhouse.

They perform generally light summer fare. The first season, playing in running repertory, Lee did "Claudia" (in which he and his present wife Evie played man and wife), "Trouble Shooter" (another Lee potboiler), "Ladies in Retirement," "Penny Wise," "Angel Street" and "Private Lives."

Since 1948 the troupe has done "The Legend of Devil's Gulch," this season on Monday nights. This is a Doc Lee original, a roaring historical fantasy on the Hills.

In the early seasons of the 222 performances of "The Gulch," as its called, Evie played a dancing girl. "But I got a little too old," said Mrs. Lee, who teaches English, speech and drama at Vermillion High School.

"I think for four or five years she had annual farewell performances," Doc said.

Now Evie directs the show, one of the sentimental favorites on the playbill.

Doc Lee keeps his troops hopping. They work 13 days and get one off. But on that free day they are limited to travel within 150 miles of the playhouse, ever since one group one year went to Denver to see "Cleopatra" and the car broke down. They barely made it back.

Between June 17 and this Monday, the crew will have accomplished 73 performances, with barely enough time to learn lines.

One of the traditional performances internal to the crew is the annual Christmas party and skits on or about every July 25 complete with festive tree and decorations and 50-cent gifts all around.

Doc Lee turns 62 this month but he wears age well. Instead of retrenching into retirement, he has vague dreams of expanding the Black Hills Fine Arts Center.

This year the center, a relative of USD's College of Fine Arts, put on a four-week session for musicians, mostly string players, at St. Martin's Academy, a girls' school near Rapid City. It had the cooperation of the Black Hills Chamber Music Society and Black Hills State College. It had about 15 students this summer and Lee hopes for 30 or 40 next.

"I love to get something in the visual arts, film and dance, too," said Doc Lee, proving that where there's the will, the way can't be far behind.

MUNICIPAL BONDS AND PUBLIC NEEDS

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, last year I sponsored in the Committee on Ways

and Means a plan that would allow State and municipal governments to issue taxable revenue bonds as well as the existing tax-exempt issues to raise revenues for sorely needed capital improvement projects. Under my plan, such a decision would be entirely up to local officials. State and municipal governments would be given the opportunity to issue new obligations which will be full subject to Federal income taxation. In exchange, the State and local government issuing the bonds would receive a payment from the Federal Government which would compensate it for differences in interest yield between a tax-exempt bond and the taxable bond issued.

Unfortunately, this proposal was widely misunderstood, and misinterpreted as an effort to undermine the tax-exempt bond market. As a result of this misunderstanding, the provision was removed from the Tax Reform Act of 1969 during a House-Senate conference.

I find it interesting to note that the marketplace has begun to realize that in today's investment climate, a new approach to State and local financing is desperately needed. Mr. Kent Sims, writing in the July 1970, issue of the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco Monthly Review says:

State and local officials have balked at any suggestion that they should broaden their credit base beyond the sheltered market for tax-exempt bonds. However, the weight of financial necessity may force them to revise their position.

At a time when local governments cannot afford to be without resources, we must continually look for new ways that the Federal Government may help them. Because this article represents both a cogent economic analysis, and a lucid description of options available, I commend its inclusion in the RECORD:

MONTHLY REVIEW—MUNICIPAL BONDS AND PUBLIC NEEDS

The credit requirements of state and local governments, net of current repayment obligations, amounted to \$10-11 billion in 1969. These governments traditionally have met almost all of their requirements by selling tax-exempt, long-term municipal bonds to commercial banks, high tax-bracket individuals, corporations and others. But monetary restraint sharply reduced the flow of funds to the municipals market in 1969—for the second time in four years—and forced states and localities to seek other means of finance on a record scale.

Net long-term municipal-bond finance declined from \$8.3 billion in 1968 to \$4.4 billion in 1969, and the gross volume of municipal-bond sales dropped from \$16.4 billion to \$11.5 billion. A sharp rise in net short-term borrowing, from \$1.6 billion to an extraordinary \$4.1 billion, made up about half of the shortfall in net long-term bond sales, but state and local governments still found themselves more than \$1 billion short of their estimated net credit requirements at year-end. Moreover, this heavy reliance on short-term financing created the threat of a future liquidity crisis for many of these governments, unless they are able to refund a large part of their short-term obligations into long-term bonds as they mature.

Many observers attribute the depressed state of the municipals market to federal anti-inflation measures, and clearly the tight money policies of the last 18 months have exerted significant pressure on municipal-bond sales. However, it is possible to over-

state this case and to ignore important elements of the problem which will not be solved by a return to "normal" economic conditions. Before examining some of these elements, it is instructive to look at the recent trend of events in the market place.

In the 17 months between August 1968 and December 1969 the American bond market sustained its greatest price decline of the Twentieth Century, as long-term bond yields across the board climbed faster and higher than in any other period in the nation's history. All classes of long-term bonds declined by record amounts, but municipals fared much worse in the market than either U.S. Governments or corporate issues. During the 17 months ended last December, despite several abortive rallies, the price index for U.S. Governments dropped 24 percent, the index for seasoned utilities slipped 26 percent, and the price of 30-year prime municipals sank a whopping 36 percent. The yields on U.S. Governments rose 101 basis points, to 7.01 percent, seasoned utilities yields climbed 228 basis points, to 8.13 percent, and prime tax-exempt municipals yields soared 285 basis points to 6.90 percent. (Data from Salomon Brothers and Hutzler)

The severe decline in the municipal-bond market in the last two quarters of 1969 climaxed a series of three sharp drops in bond prices that have occurred since early 1965, and the 1965-69 decline itself was an acceleration and extension of a much longer downward trend in U.S. bond prices begun in 1946. This longer cycle began with the lowest municipal bond yields on record, 1.0 percent in 1946, and reached at least a temporary bottom at 6.90 percent last December.

Municipal bonds enjoyed a sharp rally in the first quarter of 1970 as prices rose 16 percent from their December lows and yields fell 90 to 100 basis points. However, as might have been expected, this marked improvement in the market called forth an avalanche of issues. The volume of new municipal bonds rose to almost \$1.5 billion in March, and the rally was swamped by mid-month. Prices fell sharply thereafter, and yields had climbed back to 7.00 by June.

PROLONGED DECLINE

The stage was set for the 1969 debacle when the market began to skid in early 1965. Prices of 30-year prime municipals dipped 18 percent in 1965-66, but recovered most of this loss by the beginning of 1967. Yields rose from 3.20 percent in January 1965, to 4.25 percent in September 1966, and settled back to 3.30 percent in January 1967.

The 1967 price drop was similar to that of 1965-66, but very little of this loss was recovered before the third steep decline began in August of 1968. Over the course of 1967, the yields of 30-year prime municipals rose 110 basis points, from 3.30 to 4.40 percent, but yields then dropped only 25 basis points in the first half of 1968 before beginning the record climb.

The 1967-68 cycle severely jolted traditional bond-market expectations, because bond prices fell sharply in the face of the Federal Government's 1967 easy-money policy, and bond yields pierced upper limits that had held firm for more than a century in this country and Europe. Thus the 1969 market began in the worst of circumstances.

A high rate of inflation was sustained throughout 1969, and business expectations remained buoyant despite the tandem application of restrictive monetary and fiscal policies. Short-term interest rates continued to escalate month after month. And after the experience of 1967, there seemed no longer to be any reliable upper limits to bear-market yields. All of these circumstances, but especially deeply entrenched inflationary expectations, made the demand for all classes of bonds much less elastic with respect to yields.

As yields rose across the board, the yield

spread narrowed between taxable issues and tax-exempt municipals. Average yields of 30-year prime municipals, which had been 78 percent of yields on taxable long-term U.S. Governments in 1965, rose to 82 percent in 1968, and to 92 percent of Government yields by the end of 1969.

By late spring in 1969 half a dozen states, including California and New York, found themselves excluded from the market by their own statutory interest-rate ceilings. By the end of summer, municipal bond yields had soared through the statutory interest ceilings of half of the states in the country or their political subdivisions. Some states (such as New York) were able to raise or suspend statutory ceilings by a simple act of the state legislature, but this was not immediately possible in other states (such as California) where these ceilings were embedded in state constitutions.

All these factors—high interest costs to state and local borrowers, below-market statutory interest ceilings, and investors' reluctance or inability to purchase municipals even at record high yields and very narrow yield spreads—combined to force a \$3.9-billion reduction in the volume of net long-term municipal bond finance during 1969. These factors also helped to create a substantial backlog of unsold issues; according to a recent Presidential report, more than 500 municipal bond issues totaling \$2.9 billion were "unsalable" last year. Many of these issues, together with a large volume of short-term debt in need of refunding, were carried forward and added to normal long-term credit requirements this year.

WESTERN SCENE

An examination of the 1969 Western scene highlights the difficulties described above. State and local governments in Twelfth District states recorded bond sales of \$1.8 billion in 1969, down from \$2.9 billion in 1968 and \$2.4 billion in 1967. However, California jurisdictions, with a \$1.3 billion drop in sales volume, accounted for the entire 1969 decline. Indeed, all other states except Oregon and Utah posted gains for the year, and Arizona and Hawaii each managed to record new highs for the decade.

The situation in California deserves special attention, since California ordinarily accounts for a little over two-thirds of District bond sales. In 1969, California jurisdictions were able to move only about half of the average annual volume of the five preceding years, primarily because of a 5-percent interest ceiling on borrowings by California school districts and by the state government.

California's state government and state agencies were virtually excluded from the market after March, and although some commercial banks continued to purchase school bonds at 5 percent and par well into the summer, they abandoned this practice when market yields approached 6 percent in August. With these important buyers out of the market for much of the year, the volume of bond sales fell sharply in both California and the District.

The year 1969 began on a sour note with the displacement of a \$30-million aviation revenue-bond issue offered by the State of Hawaii in early January. The largest displacement of the year then occurred less than a month later, when a \$98-million issue offered by the California Department of Water Resources failed to attract bids below its 5-percent statutory interest ceiling. Other large displacements included a \$22-million revenue issue offered by the Washington State board of Community College Education in September, and a \$19-million revenue issue offered by the Phoenix Civic Plaza Building Corporation in May.

In all, District state and local governments last year suffered 64 separate displacements totaling \$447 million. These displacements represented 20 percent of the value of bonds

brought to market in the District, compared to 17 percent displacements for the nation as a whole. (However, the District ratio would be about the same as the national average if California data were excluded from these totals.) In percentage terms, Hawaii was hit hardest with 31 percent displacements, followed closely by Arizona and California with 24 percent each. In dollar terms, California headed the displacements list with \$248 million, followed by Washington with \$65 million, Hawaii with \$62 million, and Arizona with \$40 million.

For the bonds they were able to sell, District state and local governments paid a price which clearly reflected national money-market conditions. The yield index averaged 5.73 percent for the year, rising from 4.90 in January to 6.78 in December, according to data compiled by the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco. These figures closely paralleled the movement of municipal bond yields nationwide.

County governments were the highest-cost borrowers, paying an average of 6.02 percent for long-term credit for the year as a whole, and in excess of 7.00 percent during the final quarter. School districts were the lowest-cost borrowers, paying an average of 5.40 percent. (However, this relatively low figure reflects the below-market purchases by California commercial banks during the first three quarters, and their notable absence from the market in the final months of the year.) Special districts borrowed at an average yield of 5.95 percent, state governments and state agencies at 5.71 percent, and municipalities at 5.60 percent.

State governments and state agencies issued \$575 million in bonds, or about 32 percent of the \$1.8-billion District total. Special districts of all types issued \$542 million worth of bonds, or 29 percent of the total. School districts accounted for 14 percent of the total, municipalities for 13 percent, and county governments for 12 percent.

General obligations of state and local governments accounted for 61 percent of the \$1.8-billion District total. The remainder was split between revenue bonds (35 percent) and bonds with limited tax security (4 percent). The average yield on general obligation bonds—5.59 percent—was 36 basis points below that of revenue bonds and 46 basis points below that of bonds with limited tax security.

NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

From the point of view of state and local governments, the 1969 municipal-bond market was an unrelieved disaster. The price of credit was high by almost any standard, and the volume of bonds sold (even at record levels) was low relative to the volume of their credit requirements. To make matters worse, most state and local governments were swept into the 1969 market on the crest of projected commitments which had been swollen by a decade of uninterrupted prosperity and by as many years of unfulfilled demands for capital improvements.

The 1969 market found many of these governments painfully over-extended. Some governments began construction before they discovered that there were no buyers for the additional bonds necessary for financing the final stages of the projects in question. As a result, they are now confronting costly construction interruptions, as well as the loss of return from sunk costs which will yield no benefit until sometime in the uncertain future. Other governments, acting on the assumption that the "bear market" would be of relatively short duration, borrowed short to maintain the continuity of projects already underway. These unfortunate jurisdictions will be sorting out their liquidity problems for at least the next year or two.

Almost without exception, state and local governments across the nation have been forced to modify their capital-improvement schedules to accommodate the sharp deteri-

oration which has occurred in the municipal-bond market. Moreover, many are now finding that their revised construction schedules must be based on vastly different assumptions about the costs and availability of finance than their original plans.

Many jurisdictions, as was mentioned earlier, have blamed their troubles on tight-money policies and consequent record-high interest rates. Certainly, anti-inflation measures have been responsible for a certain share of the plight of the state and local governments—but many of their credit problems will remain long after the 1969-70 credit squeeze has faded into history.

The long-run problem is more fundamental, and concerns the overall credit demands of the economy, the institutions which make it difficult to accommodate all of the growth in state and local government credit requirements even under conditions of monetary ease, and the factors which cause restrictive monetary policy to exert a disproportionately large impact on state and local government. This part of the problem is mired in the institutional structure of the municipal-bond market and in the nature of state and local government credit requirements in the years ahead.

INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

The market for state and local government securities is distinguished by the fact that the interest derived from the securities is exempt from federal income taxation. Since the Federal Government has not given the tax-exempt privilege to investors in its own securities since 1941, the states and their political subdivisions have acquired a monopoly in this particular segment of the bond market. Along with that monopoly, however, they have acquired the necessity of making their securities attractive to a rather specialized group of investors.

Municipal bonds are purchased by individuals, businesses and corporations whose tax brackets are high enough that the yields they derive from tax-exempt municipal bonds exceed the after-tax yields to them from taxable corporate bonds or taxable U.S. Government securities. In February 1966, for example, the yields from municipals were 72 percent of gross pre-tax corporate yields, while in February 1970, municipal-bond yields were 77 percent of the corporate yields. The tax brackets which equated municipal and corporate yields in the two periods were 28 percent and 23 percent, respectively. Municipal bonds offered investors in all tax brackets above the equal net-return brackets a tax subsidy amounting to the difference between municipals yields and the after-tax corporate yields in those brackets.

Municipal-bond yields are relatively high despite the financial advantage they offer to high-bracket investors, partly because overall credit availability is limited, but more importantly because the flow of funds to the tax-exempt market is both limited and subject to large fluctuations. Those provisions of our national tax laws which are designed to avoid or soften the "double taxation" of individual savers who save through non-bank

financial institutions have brought about an extraordinary concentration of savings in institutions which are subject to no tax, or are taxed at a rate less than half of the corporate-tax rate. Of the \$167 billion supplied to U.S. credit markets by non-bank financial institutions over the 1966-69 period, less than one-fourth came from institutions in tax brackets high enough that they would normally buy municipal bonds.

Life-insurance companies, savings institutions, and small private investors are generally excluded from the list of investors in tax-exempt municipal bonds. So too, are non-taxpayers such as pension funds, public retirement funds, foundations, endowment funds and political agencies. Consequently, the principal buyers of municipals are generally found among high tax-bracket individuals, commercial banks, fire and casualty insurance companies, and some business corporations.

For all practical purposes, trends in the municipal-bond market, as presently constituted, are set by only two investor groups—high tax-bracket individuals and commercial banks—with the latter being the more important. Bank portfolios contained nearly one-half of the \$128 billion in public holdings of municipal securities outstanding at the beginning of this year, and individuals' portfolios contained another one-third of the total. Banks play such an important role in the municipals market, because they are one of the few large financial sectors subject to the full corporate tax rate, and therefore, one of the few which find it profitable to accept tax-exempt bond yields lower than the yields available on taxable securities.

While households are also large investors in municipal bonds, the nature of their participation in the market differs somewhat from that of commercial banks. Individuals generally manage their portfolios with the single objective of maximizing after-tax income, whereas commercial banks adjust their portfolios to alter short-run liquidity, to claim capital gains and losses, and to derive tax-exempt income. This broader range of day-to-day objectives makes commercial banks the more active participants in the municipal-bond market and compounds the impact of their decisions on market trends. Therefore, the fortunes of the municipal-bond market generally vary in line with the strength of commercial-bank demand for tax-exempt securities.

MONETARY SQUEEZE

Recent tight-money policies have exerted more pressure on municipal-bond finance than on other financial markets (with the possible exception of residential mortgages), because these policies bore heavily on commercial banks. The Federal Reserve has used Regulation Q to keep the rate of interest that commercial banks are permitted to pay for deposits well below the market rate of interest, in order to restrict the banks' access to funds which would support loan expansion and feed inflation. As a result, commercial banks experienced a run-off in deposits during 1969, and they sold heavily from their investment portfolios (including

municipal bonds) to restore liquidity and obtain loanable funds.

Banks sharply reduced their demand for municipal bonds in 1969, and actually became net sellers of such securities for part of the year. In these circumstances, states and localities had little opportunity to sell the volume of bonds needed to meet their normal long-term credit requirements, even though the record high level of municipal-bond yields induced households to absorb a record \$3.8 billion of municipal bonds in their portfolios. The 1969 municipal-bond market provided painful evidence of the heavy dependence of state and local governments on commercial-bank credit, and of their consequent vulnerability to the drying-up of long-term credit flows during periods of monetary stress.

TAX SQUEEZE

The 1969 market also underscored the dependence of the municipal-bond market on a specific balance within the nation's tax system. State and local governments zealously guard the tax-exempt privilege their securities enjoy, because theoretically it enables them to borrow at a lower interest rate than would otherwise be possible.

Yet to clear the municipals market at these lower rates, there must be a sufficient number of buyers who can profitably take advantage of the tax-exempt feature of municipal bonds. In turn, the existence of these buyers in sufficient numbers depends upon the tax treatment of various investor groups, as well as on the tax-exempt status of municipal bonds themselves. Minor changes in the tax law at any point in the chain of interdependence can affect municipal-bond yields, the spreads between these yields and those of taxable securities, and ultimately the value of the tax-exempt privilege to state and local governments.

Prolonged Congressional deliberations on the Tax Reform Bill, which finally became law last December, seriously affected the demand for municipal bonds. For a time it appeared that the Congress might remove the tax-exempt status that municipals have traditionally enjoyed, and had this action been made applicable to bonds already outstanding, all holders of municipal bonds—commercial banks in particular—would have suffered capital losses on their portfolios. As it was, Congress did not eliminate the tax-exempt feature of municipal bond interest, but the mere suggestion that it had the power to do so and might consider such a move considerably dampened the demand for tax-exempt bonds.

What ultimately emerged from the Tax Reform act of 1969 was a slight reduction in the yields of municipal bonds to commercial banks, because of less favorable tax treatment of the profits banks can make by purchasing government securities (of all types) at a discount and selling or redeeming them at higher prices. Formerly such profits were taxed as capital gains, but as a result of the new law, profits made in this manner on government securities purchased after July 11, 1969, will be taxed as regular income at the full corporate income-tax rate.

NET AFTER-TAX YIELDS OF CORPORATE AND MUNICIPAL BONDS

	FEBRUARY 1966				FEBRUARY 1970			
	Gross Yield, High-grade Corporate Bonds	Income Tax Bracket Assumed	Net Yield (After Tax), Corporate Bonds	Net Yield, Municipal Bonds	Gross Yield, High-grade Corporate Bonds	Income Tax Bracket Assumed	Net Yield (After Tax), Corporate Bonds	Net Yield, Municipal Bonds
Top bracket investors.....	4.95	70	1.48	3.54	8.50	73.5	2.25	6.54
Corporate bracket.....	4.95	48	2.57	3.54	8.50	52.8	4.01	6.54
Medium bracket investors.....	4.95	40	2.97	3.54	8.50	40	5.10	6.54
Equal marginal bracket.....	4.95	28-29	3.54	3.54	8.50	23	6.54	6.54
Low bracket private investors ²	4.95	20	3.96	3.54	8.50	20	6.80	6.54
Non-taxpayers.....	4.95	0	4.95	3.54	8.50	0	8.50	6.54

¹ Corporate bracket includes commercial banks, fire and casualty insurance companies, and business corporations.

² Low bracket includes many life insurance companies, many savings institutions, and many small investors.

³ Non-taxpaying group includes pension funds, public retirement funds, foundations, endowment funds, and political agencies.

Note: Corporate-bond yield (gross) from First National City Bank of New York, series of average yield on new issues of high-grade corporate bonds adjusted to "Moody's Aaa" basis. Municipal bond yield from Moody's 20-bond index.

Commercial-bank demand for municipal bonds suffered still another tax shock early this year when the Internal Revenue Service served notices of tax deficiency on several banks for deducting interest expense upon indebtedness—primarily Eurodollars and Federal Funds—which IRS claimed was incurred by the banks in question to purchase or carry tax-exempt securities. These deficiency notices were based on a provision of the tax law which prohibits investors, who borrow money to buy or hold in inventory tax-exempt municipal bonds, from deducting the interest expense incurred on such borrowings as a business expense for tax purposes.

In the past, IRS had made little attempt to allocate an investor's interest-expense tax deductions among his various investments, except in cases where there was clear evidence of abuse. The IRS initiatives in this regard were apparently occasioned by recent Supreme Court decisions which, in effect, require insurance companies and investment-banking houses to pro-rate their interest deductions among various investments and to exclude the portion of their total interest expense allocated in this manner to municipal-bond portfolios. The banks have indicated their intention to resist the application of the new standard, and IRS has yet to issue its final ruling. In the meantime, however, this administrative change remains a negative factor in commercial-bank demand for municipal bonds.

FUTURE REQUIREMENTS

Under present conditions, the near-universal dependence of state and local governments on the tax-exempt securities market as their basic source of long-term credit tends to compound the difficulties of financing public improvements. This institutional arrangement severely limits the flow of

funds from which these governments can borrow, and ties them to sources of finance which are subject to wide fluctuations because of periodic changes in national monetary and fiscal policies.

State and local government officials generally have balked at any suggestion that they should broaden their credit base beyond the sheltered market for tax-exempt bonds. However, the weight of financial necessity may force them to revise their position. Many governments could not sell their tax-exempt bonds in the 1969 market, and even those who could soon found that the shrinkage in the yield spread between taxable and tax-exempt securities had considerably reduced the proportion of the Treasury's tax subsidy which they were able to capture. Although 1969 was an especially rough year for the municipal-bond market, it may be more typical than the early 1960's of the type of market that state and local governments will face in the years ahead.

State and local governments increased their outlays for public facilities at an annual rate of about 7 percent during the last decade—from \$15 billion in 1960 to an estimated \$28 billion in 1969. At present there is no reason to anticipate a slowdown in this area in the 1970's; and there is ample support for the case that financial requirements for public facilities may be considerably greater in the decade ahead.

Communities will have to keep pace with traditional demands for schools, streets, highways, parks, hospitals, police and fire stations, and the like, and they also will be confronting a host of new demands for facilities associated with environmental control, the redevelopment of cities, and the rehabilitation and expansion of urban transit systems. Pollution control alone may require ten of billions of dollars.

State and local governments financed

nearly one-third of their investment in public improvements during the 1960's through increased debt, so that the decade ended with a \$67 billion increment in total state and local debt outstanding. The capacity of the tax-exempt securities market to accommodate growth of this magnitude in the 1960's was quite impressive, especially since the market placed the entire debt increment with the public. (By contrast, the public absorbed less than half of the \$71-billion increment in Federal debt during the same period, the balance being placed with federally sponsored credit agencies, the Federal Reserve, and the Federal Government itself.) Nevertheless, the magnitude of the credit demands prospective for the 1970's suggests that the municipals market as presently constituted may not be able to accommodate all of them without further increases in bond yields.

The long-term credit requirements of the entire economy promise to be quite large in the decade ahead. In addition to the extraordinary requirements of state and local governments, business demands for credit should rise sharply as technological advances are translated into new industrial plants, and additional pressures on credit markets will be added by a growing volume of private credit demands being met through new and expanded programs of Federal credit assistance.

Net borrowing from the public by federally guaranteed borrowers and the Federal National Mortgage Association may exceed \$20 billion in fiscal 1971—a one-third increase over the record \$15 billion these programs are expected to raise in fiscal 1970. Such programs pre-empt real and financial resources just as if they were included in the Federal budget (which, of course, is their purpose) and reduce absolutely the flow of funds available for rationing among other credit users.

STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT FLOW OF FUNDS

[In billions of dollars]

Year	Tax receipts	Social insurance and grants received	Total receipts	Total purchases of goods and services	Net interest and transfer payments	Total paid	Net surplus ¹	Retirement credit to households	Gross savings
1950	17.8	3.3	21.1	19.5	2.8	22.3	-1.2	0.7	-1.9
1951	19.6	3.7	23.3	21.5	2.2	23.7	-.4	.7	-1.2
1952	21.2	4.0	25.2	22.9	2.4	25.3	(?)	1.0	-1.1
1953	22.9	4.3	27.2	24.6	2.4	27.0	.1	1.3	-1.1
1954	24.2	4.6	28.8	27.4	2.5	29.9	-1.1	1.5	-2.6
1955	26.5	4.9	31.4	30.1	2.6	32.7	-1.3	1.3	-2.6
1956	29.3	5.3	34.6	33.0	2.6	35.6	-.9	1.4	-2.3
1957	31.7	6.5	38.2	36.6	2.9	39.5	-1.4	1.6	-3.0
1958	33.5	8.1	41.6	40.6	3.4	44.0	-2.3	1.5	-3.8
1959	36.5	9.6	46.1	43.3	3.5	46.8	-.8	2.0	-2.8
1960	40.3	9.5	49.8	46.1	3.5	49.6	-.2	2.3	-2.1
1961	43.2	10.4	53.6	50.2	3.9	54.1	-.5	2.5	-3.0
1962	47.1	11.5	58.6	53.7	3.9	57.6	1.2	2.5	-1.6
1963	50.5	12.9	63.4	58.2	4.0	62.2	1.9	2.8	-1.2
1964	54.9	14.5	69.4	63.5	4.3	67.8	1.7	2.8	-1.1
1965	59.8	15.6	75.4	70.1	4.4	74.5	1.0	3.3	-2.4
1966	65.8	19.4	85.2	79.0	4.9	83.9	1.3	4.0	-2.7
1967	71.5	21.5	93.0	89.3	5.7	95.0	-2.0	4.6	-6.6
1968	81.3	24.9	106.2	100.7	6.9	107.6	-1.5	4.3	-5.7
1969	92.8	27.6	120.4	112.7	8.3	121.0	-.6	5.0	-5.6

¹ Note: Negative numbers indicate a deficit on flow of funds accounts.
² Less than \$0.050,000,000.

Source: Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

Much of this expansion in Federal credit assistance is intended to help implement the housing goals set forth in the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968. For those goals to be achieved on schedule by 1977, the housing pace in coming years would have to be double the average pace (1.5 million starts) achieved during the 1967-69 period. Indeed, over \$100 billion in additional mortgage credit would be required, even allowing for as much as a 20-percent shortfall in housing starts.

Private business requirements for external finance could be substantially higher in the 1970's than in any other period in our history, assuming the economy manages an early return to a normal rate of real eco-

nomical growth. The pace of technological change has never been faster, nor the imperative to innovate in order to stay abreast of stiffening domestic and international competition, stronger. The economy will require not only new plant and equipment to provide the large increments in output demanded by a fast growing and increasingly affluent population, but also an as yet undefined, but unquestionably large, investment to comply with much stronger environmental controls.

Moreover, the business sector entered the decade of the 1970's with a very low liquidity base, and liquidity is not likely to be much improved by the internal cash flows now in prospect. Hence, this sector will need sizable

injections of external funds for rebuilding liquidity along with the funds required for financing new investments.

The projected growth of state and local government credit requirements bids fair to outpace the growth of either GNP or the total flow of funds to the nation's credit markets. Thus, these governments may need to compete for a progressively larger share of the credit available to all sectors of the economy, at a time when they are having difficulty just holding their own. In these circumstances, it is difficult to be optimistic about the municipal-bond market.

SHORT-RUN OPTIONS

In the period immediately ahead, there is an urgent need to get municipal-bond

finance back on the track so that the current backlog of credit requirements can be met without further dislocation. Given the magnitude of prospective credit demands from all sectors of the economy, and the several factors which presently restrict the flow of funds to the tax-exempt securities market, it would seem impractical for public officials to expect a sharp decline in municipal-bond yields in the immediate future. States and localities can avoid some of the current pinch by shifting as much of their expenditures as possible to a "pay as you go" basis. However, there obviously are strict limits to this strategy in a time of tight budgets and heavy tax burdens. Even at its present inflated price, credit remains a necessity.

States and localities should take prompt action to raise or eliminate the artificially low debt and interest ceilings which now act as effective constraints on their borrowing. In many cases, such ceilings are the artifacts of another era—an era when market rates were relatively low, more limited sources of revenue were available to states and their political subdivisions, and anticipated public facilities requirements were based on the needs of a low-density, predominantly rural population.

Modifications also may be needed in the statutes which unduly restrict the management of public funds. State and local treasurers are increasingly attempting to manage public portfolios to secure the highest available return consistent with a sound investment policy, and some state treasurers are already using public deposits to shore up commercial-bank demand for their securities, in much the same manner that the business community "buys" its line of credit with deposits.

Past experience suggests that borrowing costs are significantly higher for smaller units of government than for comparable larger units. Smaller units may take some steps to improve their competitive position in the market, but they can seldom overcome the basic disadvantage of being low-volume, high unit-cost borrowers. Some state governments have devised a partial solution to this problem by extending credit assistance to smaller governmental units through direct loans, state credit guarantees, and technical assistance in floating local bond issues.

The elimination of artificial interest ceilings, the judicious management of public funds to preserve a market for state and local securities, and state-operated credit assistance programs are a few examples of the actions which states and localities can initiate on their own. Although these efforts will not relieve the fundamental pressures now confronting these governments in the capital market, they can make it somewhat easier for them to cope with the current situation.

In addition, some Federal Government accommodation may be necessary if the state of the economy does not permit a relaxation of credit conditions within a reasonable time-frame. The Federal Government would be mistaken if it attempted to negate the market pressures which are forcing long-overdue changes in the institutional arrangements for financing state and local capital improvements; however, it would be equally unwise if it assisted the existing institutions into their coffin prematurely.

The long-run solution to the problem of financing public improvements will require new initiatives at all levels of government and a large measure of intergovernmental cooperation—all of which will take time to work out and make operational. In the interim, even relatively minor adjustments can make the difference between credit shortage and credit crisis, especially when the effects of such adjustments are compounded as they are in the municipal-bond market.

LONG-RUN OPTIONS

A number of proposals, generally involving some form of Federal credit assistance, have been developed to help state and local governments permanently broaden their credit base. Two of the most widely-debated proposals—the Subsidy-Guarantee Plan and the Agency Plan—should be mentioned here. Both aim at relieving the pressure on the municipal-bond market without compromising the "right" of state and local governments to issue tax-exempt obligations.

The *Subsidy-Guarantee Plan* would provide state and local governments with the option of financing capital improvements by issuing taxable state and local obligations. The Federal Treasury would back these securities with a Federal credit guarantee, and would bear a portion of their interest cost. The credit guarantee is designed to eliminate (or at least minimize) differences in interest cost to individual jurisdictions on account of their size or creditability; and the direct interest subsidy is intended to help offset the additional interest cost associated with borrowing in the taxable (rather than the tax-exempt) securities market.

The *Agency Plan* involves issuance of securities through a Federal Agency or "Bank." This agency would issue its own taxable securities backed by the full faith and credit of the U.S. Government, and would reloan the proceeds to state and local governments at subsidized interest rates, either directly or by purchasing tax-exempt state and local obligations from private underwriters. The Federal Treasury would absorb the losses incurred by this Agency because of the difference between the interest rates it would charge state and local governments and its own borrowing costs.

Both approaches involve similar costs to the Federal Government, with the subsidy being financed directly by Federal tax revenues or by the sale of U.S. Treasury obligations. Both approaches would help reduce the cost of state and local borrowing, and could provide an extra volume of credit to supplement what is already available from the municipal-bond market. Hence, choices between them turn on refinements of relative costs—and on a number of important non-economic considerations.

It is not our purpose here to undertake a detailed evaluation of these or other proposals that have been advanced, but rather to emphasize the pressing need for some type of initiative to broaden the credit base of state and local governments. The case for some form of Federal credit assistance rests upon more than the present financial condition of these governments. It also rests upon the unique position of state and local borrowers in the nation's credit markets.

The business and household sectors of the economy share the cost of their borrowing with the U.S. Treasury by tax deductions for the interest expenses they incur. Similarly, the Federal Government automatically recovers part of the cost of its borrowing with the Federal income tax, and it typically refunds its debt at maturity so that for all practical purposes the principal is never repaid.

State and local governments comprise a distinct third class of borrowers—neither private, nor public in the same sense as the Federal Government. They pay no taxes from which they could deduct interest costs as businesses and households do, and they lack the debt-management options available to the Federal Government by virtue of its twin control of the Federal Reserve and the Treasury.

The exemption of municipal-bond interest from Federal taxation traditionally has acted as an "equalizer" to place the states and their political subdivisions on a more equal footing with Federal and private borrowers in the market place. Even though events may

have overtaken this institutional arrangement and rendered it inadequate to meet total state and local credit requirements, the unique position of these governments *vis a vis* other borrowers in the market remains substantially unchanged. Hence, proposals to broaden the state and local credit base all include some form of Federal credit assistance.

The proposals for the use of taxable securities revolve around a crucial point discussed earlier—namely, the tendency for state and local long-term credit requirements to grow faster than the flow of funds to the tax-exempt securities market. Since income taxes are progressive, and since the volume of tax-exempt bonds is too large to be absorbed by persons in the biggest tax bracket, municipal-bond yields periodically must be raised to attract investors in successfully lower tax brackets. Each time this occurs, all potential municipal-bond investors in higher tax brackets reap windfall gains, the cost of tax-exemption to the U.S. Treasury increases, and the value of tax-exemption to state and local governments declines.

While efficiency is not the only important consideration in devising a scheme for solving state and local government credit problems, it is certainly an important one. The interest saved by state and local governments on account of the tax-exempt status of their securities has amounted to less than two-thirds of the revenue lost by the U.S. Treasury in the postwar period, and therefore, it would seem worthwhile to at least investigate other institutional arrangements as the Federal Government contemplates augmenting its assistance effort.

KENT SIMS.

FREEDOM HAS NO PRICE TAG

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, to those who continually ask, What are we doing in Southeast Asia, I offer a poem, written by Mrs. Charles Eckles of Aurora, Mo.

Mrs. Eckles, a 23-year-old housewife and mother, has set down with simple eloquence her thoughts on the confrontation between East and West in Indochina.

The poem follows:

FREEDOM HAS NO PRICE TAG

I stood, bent, tears blurred my eyes on that melancholy November day,
Over the cross marked grave where an unknown soldier lay.
As wind-sent leaves fluttered over the bare mound,
My heart cried out to that one beneath the ground.
Weary and thoughtful I stopped beside the grave . . . and wondered . . .
What is the price of this freedom we hold dear?
Is it worth sending our best, our loyal, our brave
To march via charred hopes, blood, and tears,
To limitedly fight—for freedom crave?
And, if all eligible young men could form a line,
Simply by choosing, how many lives
Would be the price of sacrifice?
My eyes close; my temples pound;
I can hear those troops approaching.
Trudging through steamy, infested jungles
and rice paddies,
Ambushed by foe—finally—
One here, one there, in the mud, dying.

Alas, a pity to die alone, perhaps soul unprepared,
Upon a foreign field, as if no one cared.

Often, time also masquerades as enemy,
Slashing through oblivion,
Leaving gulfs and gullies,
Demanding a bridge to reach the sun.

That bridge is freedom
It beckons Christendom

But now, that bridge that arched the abyss
of hell and feudalism

Is but a treacherous, rotten rope ladder
Casting freedom into the jagged depths of
Communism.

Where once the bridge was sturdy steel,
Esteemed by all the world,
It is now a frail cord
Clinging to that chilly gorge.

For now, we live, we laugh, we love
Because those sacrificed soldiers
Have reinforced this heritage—
Their bodies pave our way.

Hours pass, the cold wind howls, the sky
is grey with snow,

But I have found an answer; my embittered
heart's aglow.

If just one innocent child clutched in his
mother's embrace,

Is snatched from the chains of slavery,
This death was not in vain.

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF A BILL
TO AMEND THE DISTRICT OF CO-
LUMBIA MILK ACT OF 1925

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill today which would amend the District of Columbia Milk Act enacted February 27, 1925. The amendments update the provisions of the 1925 act and bring it generally into harmony with those in effect in a majority of the States. In addition, it will authorize the importation of safe, wholesome milk into the District of Columbia without the requirement of a previous inspection by District inspectors where inspection and certification of the sources of supply have already been adequately accomplished by a milk sanitation rating officer certified by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Under the provisions of this bill, any milk or milk product which meets U.S. Public Health Service standards would be exempt from a special inspection by District of Columbia authorities prior to importation of the products into the District. On the other hand, since the Commissioner of the District of Columbia retains the authority to issue and suspend permits and conduct periodic inspection of milk and milk products shipped into the District of Columbia, there is continued assurance that wholesome milk and milk products consumed in the District will meet U.S. standards of physical, bacteriological, and chemical purity. Thus while District surveillance will end its duplicative and more expensive inspection system, it will retain that portion of its surveillance that will assure adherence with Federal standards pertaining to the purity and sanitary quali-

ties of milk and milk products transported into the District. The District would also retain authority to confiscate such products as it deems unsafe for human consumption.

Because it would eliminate to a great extent the requirement of inspection by District of Columbia Public Health Department representatives, there would be a considerable annual saving to the District government, estimated at \$269,000, as a result of the enactment of this bill. Certainly the testimony of all the District officials during the last year and reports and hearings of the committees that deal with District revenue and appropriations reflect that any measure effecting such savings to the District of Columbia would be greatly welcomed.

District officials themselves have indicated that as far as finding new revenue sources in the District of Columbia, they are "scraping the bottom of the barrel." Accordingly, those who wish to see economy and efficiency in the local government should welcome a bill such as this.

However, there are other reasons for the introduction and enactment of this bill. Among those reasons is the shortage of supply of wholesome milk for the District of Columbia as expressed by Graham W. Watt, Assistant to the Commissioner, in a recent letter:

The Washington "milk shed" is growing increasingly short of supply to furnish the needs of the District of Columbia and the remainder of the Metropolitan Area. This shortage is cumulative and will become greater because the economic factors creating the shortage are increasing. The Commissioner believes that there is now no public health reason whatsoever that would indicate the necessity of refusing to permit the sale within the District of any wholesome milk from any of the certified sources within the United States. The title further provides for the issuance of a local permit for the sale or importation into the District of any milk, cream, milk product, or frozen dessert, and for the seizure and destruction of unsafe dairy products.

In addition, Dr. Raymond L. Standard, Jr., Director of the District of Columbia Department of Health, has listed a number of changes which have taken place since 1925 which suggests reasons for the amendment of the 1925 Milk Act:

1. The State Public Health Service Program for Certification of Interstate Milk Shippers was established in 1950. This program is now operational in all contiguous States. The criteria under which the program is being conducted provide for application of the 1965 PHS Grade "A" Past. Milk Ordinance and other pertinent standards thereby insuring a high quality of safe milk.

2. State and local health jurisdictions are staffed to permit full discharge of their responsibility under the Interstate Milk Shipment Program.

3. Technological developments in the milk industry have reduced the sanitation problems incident to transportation of milk over long distances.

The present Act requires on-the-spot inspections of all milk and frozen dessert sources by District health authorities. Approximately two-thirds of the milk so inspected is sold outside the District in metropolitan areas. The legislative proposal would result in reduced costs to the District of inspecting sources by authorizing acceptance of inspections of other jurisdictions. For

milk and creams these products would be certified as having a sanitation compliance and enforcement rating of 90 per centum or better as determined by a Milk Sanitation Rating Officer certified by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The Department believes that there is now no public health reason, whatsoever that would indicate the necessity of refusing to permit the sale within the District of Columbia of any wholesome milk from any of the certified sources within the United States. The legislation is designed to permit the importation into the District of Columbia of safe and wholesome milk without previous inspection by the District Department of Public Health, where inspection and certification has already been adequately accomplished by a duly authorized Federal or State Agency. In addition, a number of definitions and standards relating to milk and milk products and other obsolete provisions of the 1925 Act have been omitted from the legislation as being more suitable for revision by regulation, from time to time, as necessary.

The primary responsibilities to be retained by the District would involve surveillance over two pasteurization plants and two frozen dessert plants located within the District, laboratory surveillance, over the milk and frozen dessert products retailed in the District, and the issuance of permits.

It may be well to also point out with respect to Dr. Standard's statement, that while he observes that there are two dairy pasteurization plants in the District, I understand that even these plants may in all probability move to the suburbs within the near future. Accordingly, the surveillance requirements by the District Department of Health for plants located within the District of Columbia may soon be virtually nonexistent.

In light of the above, there is little reason under the circumstances as they exist today in the District of Columbia why milk and milk products, such as frozen desserts and sterilized creams, produced in areas such as the Midwest should be denied a market in the Nation's Capital. It may be that, because of the transportation costs involved, midwestern milk could not compete effectively with milk produced in the marketing area adjacent to the District. However, it does appear that such manufactured or processed milk products as frozen desserts or sterilized creams produced in the Midwest could effectively compete for the market in the District.

There is thus reason to believe that by expanding the number of States and producers who may ship milk and other milk products into the District, there may be a beneficial effect on the pricing of certain milk products to the consumers in the District of Columbia. Accordingly, I believe there may be considerable consumer interest in this bill.

I understand the Small Business Administration favors legislation similar to that incorporated in my bill as beneficial to small businesses which is further reason for its early enactment.

In conclusion, I believe that the proposed amendment of the Milk Act of 1925 as contained in my bill will update that act, as appears eminently necessary, and put the District of Columbia in step with more progressive State milk programs throughout the country.

U.S. FLAG MERCHANT MARINE
DECLINES

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the tragic plight of the American merchant marine was eloquently described in a release by Joseph Curran, chairman of the AFL-CIO Maritime Committee here in Washington.

Mr. Curran has performed a notable public service by calling this situation to the attention of Congress and the American people for indeed as we move toward a \$2 trillion gross national product by the end of the 1970's, an effective merchant marine fleet may very well spell the difference between success and failure of our economic growth.

I shall view with great interest the plan being developed by the AFL-CIO Maritime Committee to deal with this very serious American shortcoming.

Mr. Curran's statement follows:

U.S.-FLAG MERCHANT MARINE DECLINES

On August 25, 1970, the AFL-CIO Maritime Committee Executive Board met to consider and act on the many problems facing our U.S. flag merchant marine.

We noted that on July 1, 1970 our flag flew on only 792 active merchant ships which aggregated only approximately 13,500,000 deadweight tons. This meant that we lost another 50 ships in the past year. This picture is even more bleak when we note that 75 percent of our merchant ships are now over 20 years of age.

On July 1, 1970 our U.S. seagoing employment declined to 38,382 which was a drop of about 12,000 jobs from a year ago. A big factor in this decline is the deplorable lay-up of 5 passenger ships which resulted in the loss of some 3,000 shipboard jobs or the loss of employment to 5,000 to 6,000 seamen.

Another reason for the drop in seagoing employment was the decrease of General Agency Agreement (GAA) ship operations to Viet Nam. This operation decreased from 144 ships a year ago to only 1 ship today. This one ship is the SS *Contest*, which is a reefer operating to the Far East.

The one result of our U.S. flag merchant marine's decline is that our merchant ships in 1969 carried only 4.8 percent of our U.S. non-military waterborne cargoes as compared to 6.0 percent in 1968.

SHIP SCRAPPING CONTINUES

Our AFL-CIO Maritime Committee Executive Board noted that during the 12 months ending April 1, 1970 private U.S. interests transferred 124 ships foreign for scrapping. Of these 124 ships, 10 were C-3's, 43 C-2's, 3 C-1's, 16 Victory's, 24 Liberty's, 16 tankers, 9 bulk ore carriers, 2 car ferries, and 1 reefer. Seventy-five percent, or 89 ships, were transferred to Taiwan where scrap prices were up to \$70 a ton as compared with \$48 in our domestic market.

TRANSFER FOREIGN FOR ACTIVE OPERATION

In the 12 months ending April 1, 1970 there were 37 privately owned U.S. flag merchant ships, aggregating 294,630 deadweight tons, transferred to foreign flag for active operation. In this group was the American President Lines, *President Roosevelt*, an 18,920 gross ton passenger ship, sold to Chandris Lines to fly the Greek flag.

The 37 ships included 1 passenger ship, 10 reefers, 10 C-2's, 5 Victory's, 1 Liberty, 4

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coastal tankers, 1 oceangoing tanker, 1 oil well drilling vessel, 1 oil well tender, and 3 drilling work barges. These 37 ships have increased the transfers foreign of privately owned ships since World War II to 883 ships, aggregating 8,464,268 deadweight tons.

As bad as our state of the U.S. merchant marine is, it looks even worse when we realize that there are 452 mostly new and modern ships, aggregating 20,480,532 deadweight tons, flying foreign flags for foreign subsidiaries of U.S. parent companies.

On July 1, 1970 a total of 53 commercial ships, of 2.1 million deadweight tons, were under construction for U.S. registry in the domestic yards. There were 33 dry cargo ships and 20 tankers in this total of new ships being built.

AFL-CIO MARITIME COMMITTEE MOVES ON

The Executive Board approved a wide ranging program of activity which will keep the AFL-CIO Maritime Committee moving hard and fast. The Board voted to meet the problems confronting our merchant marine with constructive and progressive thinking and actions. The problems can be solved and we shall do our utmost to help solve them.

RUSSIA'S SEAGOING CHALLENGE

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, growing evidence rolls in over the increasing power of the Soviet Navy, a fact which is overlooked by too many Members of Congress who seek to weaken our country's defense posture rather than maintain it.

Two editorials have recently come to my attention—both of which emphasize the Soviet military challenge to the free world—an editorial in the Tuesday, September 1 Chicago Daily News and an editorial by Copley Press Correspondent Dumitru Danielopol in the Friday, August 28 Sacramento, Calif., Union.

The editorials follow:

[From the Chicago Daily News, Sept. 1, 1970]

RUSSIA'S SEAGOING CHALLENGE

Ever since World War II (in which struggle the U.S. Navy played a decisive role) opponents have been clamoring for the scuttling of U.S. sea power. First it was the long-range land-based bombers, later the intercontinental ballistic missiles, that made naval power "superfluous."

But if that is true, why is the world's second greatest power—Russia—launching a "drive to attain supreme sea power"? The words are those of Jane's Fighting Ships—the authoritative naval reference book.

The answer, we believe, is that the propaganda of the anti-sea power elements in the United States has to a considerable degree obscured the role the Navy still plays in the security picture. Russia has not been so afflicted.

The nature of naval power has, of course, undergone great change. The battleship was replaced by the attack carrier in the backbone role, and the carrier is now steadily being supplanted by the submarine as the mechanism for the Sunday punch.

And yet in any time in the foreseeable future the maintenance of open sea lanes for the transport of masses of men and supplies will remain vital, and it is noteworthy that some types of surface ships as well as

submarines are elements of the Soviet expansion.

The Russian buildup has been widely noted in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean; but the expansion in the Atlantic also has the momentum, in the eyes of some experts, to provide Soviet dominance by 1975.

A great power's defenses, of course, must depend upon a balance of many weapons, and particularly the ability to meet radical new challenges that arise. So it would be tragic if the U.S. edge in so significant a branch as naval power were lost because of the superior eloquence of anti-Navy voices on Capitol Hill.

[From the Sacramento (Calif.) Union,
Aug. 28, 1970]

RED NAVY WORRIES BRITONS

(By Dumitru Danielopol)

LONDON.—The Soviet navy is giving Britain the jitters.

"The Russians are establishing themselves as a world-wide naval power," says The London Economist. "If they become the major naval power in the Indian Ocean, they could pose a threat to the busy shipping route around the Cape of Good Hope, along which the giant oil tankers from the Middle East have to ply."

Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas-Home keeps reminding the British people—in his arguments for sending arms to South Africa—that Soviet warships are steaming around the cape, where they can soon become a major threat to vital British interests.

There are many more reasons to worry, says The Manchester Guardian.

There can no longer be any doubt, the magazine says, "that Russia, the great land power, is now challenging Anglo-American dominance at sea in a deliberate and fundamental fashion."

"In the last few years, the Soviet Union has made tremendous efforts to become an oceanic power," The Guardian says. It points at their program which "Covers the whole spectrum of naval activity—military, merchant and fisheries."

More than 150 Soviet ships were involved in maneuvers in the Atlantic, Mediterranean, Indian Ocean and the Pacific to celebrate Lenin's Birth.

"Since 1961, the Soviet merchant marine has been growing by about one-billion tons a year," The Guardian says, and its trawler fleet is now the third largest in the world after the Peruvian and the Japanese.

"Trawler hulls make convenient platforms for electronic surveillance equipment," it adds.

The once defensive posture of the Soviet navy has been changed to an offensive strategy, the British say, pointing out that it is being used to bolster Egyptian morale, to organize military aid to India, to show the flag in Cuba and "for winning friends and influencing governments in Black Africa."

The sea-minded British don't underestimate the importance of the Soviet challenge.

The British fleet ruled the seas from 1588, when it defeated the Spanish Armada until World War II.

It was the Royal Navy under Nelson that broke Napoleon's grip on Europe and blunted his ambitions of world conquest.

It was British naval power that in World War II kept beleaguered sealanes open, until the United States could rebuild its own two-ocean navy and the "Bridge of Ships" that finally crushed Adolf Hitler and Japan.

Today, an impoverished Britain can no longer cope with the Soviet challenge. That role has passed to the United States.

It's for this reason that the British are alarmed at congressional cuts in naval budgets.

The Soviet Commander-in-Chief Admiral Gorshkov has issued a fair warning.

"The flag of the Soviet navy now proudly flies over the oceans of the world," he said recently. "Sooner or later, the United States will have to understand that it no longer has mastery of the sea."

Words like that carry cold chills in an island nation like Britain.

**PAUL O'DWYER PETITIONS FOR
CIVIL LIBERTIES IN NORTHERN
IRELAND**

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished fighter for human rights, Mr. Paul O'Dwyer of New York, has recently submitted a powerful and persuasive document to the United Nations protesting the oppression of Catholics in Northern Ireland. Mr. O'Dwyer's petition traces the pattern of discrimination in housing, employment, education, right to assemble, enforcement of the law, and social services against Ulster Catholics, and he calls for sanctions against the Government of Great Britain until such time as civil liberties are universally restored in Northern Ireland. Sharing Mr. O'Dwyer's deep concern over this injustice, I consider his petition worth bringing to the attention of the Congress in the hope that it will lead to increased support for diplomatic steps toward a climate of peace and freedom in Northern Ireland.

To: United Nations—New York; Economic and Social Council; Commission on Human Rights; Sub Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

The petition of Paul O'Dwyer respectfully shows:

1. That he is a citizen of the United States and of the State of New York, and resides at 350 Central Park West, New York City.

2. That this Petition is presented in accordance with the provisions of Resolution 728F (XXVIII) and 1235 (XLII) of the Economic and Social Council.

3. That the United Kingdom of Great Britain is a member of the United Nations and is subject to and governed by its rules to the extent outlined in the United Nations Charter and subsequent regulations.

4. That in the year 1171 A. D., Henry II, King of England, with the blessing and approval of Pope Adrian, with intent to subdue and conquer, entered into the land of Ireland, and over the following centuries said country and its people were brought under English domination and successive rulers of England and Great Britain have exercised uninterrupted sovereignty over Ireland until 1920. After 1920 and up to the present time, Great Britain has continued to rule over what is now known as Northern Ireland which comprises the six Northeastern counties of Ireland and in which the acts herein-after complained of have taken place.

5. That prior to 1171 the land in Ireland, including Northern Ireland, was owned by the people under a Clan system. Chieftains of the people were elected and there was no inherent right of succession. That the conquest continued from the 12th and was virtually completed during the Reformation and in place of the Clan system the lands were confiscated and were bestowed on Crown favorites who introduced the Feudal system. Ninety percent of the land continued to remain and still remains in

the hands of the ruling class who maintain power by manipulating and encouraging religious differences and by fostering a feeling of bitterness and hatred between religious sects.

6. That at different times and particularly during the Reformation, English monarchs, by force of arms, caused the inhabitants of the area now known as Northern Ireland, to flee from the more productive lands and with the connivance of the new owners caused the rich lands to be tenanted by immigrants from Great Britain who adhered to the Protestant faith.

7. That as a result of these acts of oppression and religious persecution the native Catholic population was made to occupy marginal lands, hillsides and boglands, and since that time they and their descendants have been living in an impoverished state.

8. That whereas in the six counties making up Northern Ireland, the total population is in the ratio of 2 to 1 favoring Protestants, in four of the six counties the majority of the population is Roman Catholic. Yet through a system of manipulating and gerrymandering, Protestant adherents of the ruling class are in control of the government machinery in each county and exercise their power to the prejudice and detriment of the Catholic population in the manner hereinafter set forth.

9. During World War I various public pronouncements by the Government of Great Britain and President Wilson caused the people of Ireland to truly believe that the proclaimed rights of small nations to self-determination meant their deliverance. At an election held in 1918 and conducted by the Government of Great Britain, 85% of the people of Ireland voted to sever ties with Great Britain and to establish the Independent Republic of Ireland.

10. That the failure of the Government of Great Britain to honor the wishes of the people caused civil unrest and outright rebellion. That following the Black and Tan War a truce was arranged and the Ireland Act of 1920 was passed in the British House of Commons.

11. That the Ireland Act of 1920, ignoring the will of the people, provided for two governments in Ireland, both under the Crown, and caused a physical division of the country based on no natural boundary. That the plan to divide the country was never submitted to a plebiscite of the people and the opportunity to approve or disapprove it was never afforded to the Irish people.

12. That by the provisions of the aforesaid Ireland Act, six northeastern counties of Ireland, known thereafter as Northern Ireland, were cut away from the north, south and western part of the Island and a separate government was thereafter established which provided, among other things, for representation in the British House of Commons.

13. That the members of Parliament so elected to the British House of Commons have equal voting rights with other members of Parliament from various parts of the United Kingdom.

14. That in addition to representation in the House of Parliament, the Ireland Act of 1920, among other things, established a type of colonial and local government for North Ireland, hereafter to be known as the Stormont Government which has its seat in the City of Belfast.

15. That in about 1947, Great Britain, in response to constant demands of the people of England, began radically to alter its outlook as to captive nations under its jurisdiction, withdrew its troops and abandoned its policy of Colonialism in all territories over which it had dominion. The sole exception was its nearest neighbor. That the architects of anarchy who devised the partition plan for Ireland have long since left

the scene, but each succeeding government of Great Britain, be it Labor or Tory, have continued to maintain this lone reminder of more evil days.

16. That the partition of Ireland not alone divided Ireland, but in addition cut off six of the nine counties of the traditional and historic province of Ulster and was deliberately designed to hit one million Protestant citizens against half a million Catholic citizens in accordance with an Empire policy which had proven to be so successful for centuries in varied parts of the world.

17. That from its inception up to the present time, the Government of Stormont, as planned, has been in the hands of the Unionist Party, a political organization made up exclusively of members of the Protestant faith and ruled by landowners and men of wealth and power, many of whom hold titles under the British Crown. Roman Catholics have been and are excluded from membership in the Unionist Party. That one of its earliest Prime Ministers as head of the government, proclaimed his to be "A Protestant Government for a Protestant People." That distinguished gentleman was then a British Peer and since the official pronouncement referred to, he has been advanced to a higher position in peerage.

18. That notwithstanding numerous complaints by both Irish and English members of the Parliament and the cries of English civil rights groups, no action was ever taken by the British House of Commons or other governmental body to ban, to regulate or control, or even discourage the aforesaid sectarian Political Party, but on the contrary, the Government of Great Britain from time to time expressed its approval of the Stormont Government.

19. That the Stormont Government from time to time, caused enactments to be passed which were in direct contradiction of the provisions of the Magna Carta and otherwise obliterated civil rights and rendered the Habeas Corpus meaningless and all such acts curtailed the rights and limited the privileges of the Catholic impoverished minority.

20. That among the enactments was one known as the Special Powers Act, a copy of which is attached hereto, and the above enactment is now in full force and effect.

21. That in certain towns within Northern Ireland, the Catholic population outnumbered the Protestant population. Nevertheless, by government action, the districts were so gerrymandered that in each such town a majority of the representation would be and were members of the Unionist Party and consequently of the Protestant faith, and this state of affairs has persisted for over half a century.

22. That the Stormont Government, by various schemes, excluded members of the Roman Catholic faith from civil service employment.

23. That nowhere was the aforesaid exclusion more evident than in the Police Force known as the Royal Ulster Constabulary, where by devious methods the Roman Catholic representation could not and never did exceed 10% of the total.

24. That in addition to the regular police force, there was established the force known as the B Specials. That membership in the B Specials was restricted, not merely to adherence to a Protestant religion, but the prospective member was required to be committed to the discriminatory and sectarian practices of the Unionist Party.

25. That public demonstrations by civil rights organizations have been regulated and controlled by either or both of these bodies and invariably both the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the B Specials not only failed to protect the demonstrators, but in numerous occasions took the side of the tormentors and brutalized the marchers and all without punishment or even reprimand.

26. That the pattern of discrimination in public employment has been followed in private employment. As an example, one of the so-called moderate leaders of the Unionist Party (its Prime Minister up to two years ago) in advertising for a house servant, publicly specified membership in a Protestant religion to be an essential to employment. The employer in question has just recently been rewarded by admission to British peerage.

27. Public housing for working people has been in effect in Great Britain for almost a century and people have come to rely on it much more so than in other areas of the world. In Northern Ireland Catholics have been by and large excluded from public housing and token assignments are allotted to the "Catholic Sections."

28. That the birth rate in the Catholic ghettos is higher than in other areas, but in order to meet and keep a safe ratio, social services have been denied to the Catholic workers and they have been encouraged to leave their homes and their country. During the last half century, over 450,000 Catholics have migrated and in some areas, notwithstanding the high birth rate, the Catholic population has dwindled.

29. That a system of education exists whereby the Catholic and Protestant children are compelled to attend schools especially designated for members of the respective sects with the result that the seeds of suspicion and hatred are inculcated at an early age. Each child is taught the history of the Reformation as seen through the eyes of the particular religious sect and attitudes are developed at the school level which hinder further communication and revive the memories of the human slaughter and the savagery of the respective Protestant and Catholic sovereigns, and the oppressions of centuries ago are made to appear to be today's attitudes and all of these teachings having deeply affected the adult lives of the inhabitants.

30. That for the past two years civil rights organizations in Northern Ireland have publicly protested the many indignities and injustices which the Catholic minority have been caused to suffer, but the civil rights demonstrators, Protestant and Catholic, have been subjected to beatings, have been brutally assaulted by lawless mobs under the eyes of the authorities and in some instances, the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the B Specials have joined in brutalizing the demonstrators and marchers.

31. That during the many riots, over five hundred Catholic families have been left homeless and only burned ruins of their nests remain. That no action has been taken to restore these citizens to their homes. Public subscriptions have been taken up in many parts of the world and the children have been caused to suffer the indignity of living off the bounty of friends.

32. That one civil rights representative, who gained international prominence as a defender of the Catholic minority and a pleader for justice, was prosecuted before a hostile Stormont Court for exhorting the people to defend their homes. She was defended by renowned civil rights lawyer, Anthony Somers and distinguished barrister Sir Dingle Foot, both members of the London Bar. She was convicted and sentenced to six months in jail. Notwithstanding her reelection to the House of Commons some months before, she was not permitted to have her case heard by the House of Lords. At the present time she, Bernadette Devlin, M.P., is serving her sentence in the Armagh Women's Prison.

33. That in contrast, many members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary on the basis of undisputable proof, have been positively identified as having, at different times,

brutally assaulted demonstrators and marchers, including Queens University students, yet no charges were ever preferred against any of them and they were not even subjected to any departmental reprimand.

34. That a Commission was appointed by the British Government to inquire into the facts although all of the conditions were well known to them. The Cameron Commission confirmed that the acts of discrimination were indeed practiced by the Stormont Government and recommended changes.

35. That each and every allegation hereinbefore contained has been reported by the British press and by impartial reporters from various parts of the world, and your Petitioner begs leave, in the event the same seems necessary, to present the abundance of proof to establish each of the aforesaid allegations.

36. That by reason of demonstrations, marches, elections and investigations, and a personal visit to the scene by the Home Secretary, a change has come about in the B Specials organization. It has reappeared under another name, and participation of Roman Catholics in said force is prohibited beyond 20% of its strength.

37. That other so-called reforms have been enacted dealing with the inequities of previous gerrymandering but the new provisions are more evil and more discriminatory than the old in that they, for all intents and purpose, abolish the concept of Home Rule in Catholic communities transferring the power to the Central Government in Belfast and to make matters worse, the power is assigned to a commission, a majority of which are Unionists and Protestant.

38. That notwithstanding the foregoing, no action was taken by the British Government to relieve the distress of the victims, except to deploy thousands of soldiers who were at first welcomed by the Catholic population. It is well known that because of a consistently favorable climate in Great Britain, religious discrimination has greatly diminished and the English soldiers reflected this attitude in their behavior in Northern Ireland. That more recently and within the past six weeks, however, in response to the complaints of the Unionist Party, other soldiers were selected from the Scottish Regiments with pronounced religious positions and whose faith match that of the militant majority. That soon after the arrival of these Scottish soldiers in the course of a search for arms, homes of Catholics were raided and looted, their possessions destroyed or stolen and poisonous gasses were used against unarmed demonstrators. The Protestant sections, where it is well known firearms are readily available, were left intact.

39. Notwithstanding a system of taxation which leans heavily on the poor and middle class, the Stormont Government is operated at a deficit of £3,000,000 annually and the deficit is met out of the British Treasury.

40. That the foregoing allegations are in no way meant to describe all of these conditions of humiliation under which this minority are living, nor does it completely outline the atmosphere of terror now prevailing.

41. That the only solutions which the Government of Great Britain can conjure up is the intervention of "peacekeeping troops" which by their most recent conduct hereinbefore described, have been responsible for further aggravating a difficult situation and have provoked the minority to the point of desperation.

42. That when it became apparent that the victims were no longer able to withstand these injustices, and when the minority was threatened with annihilation, the Prime Minister of the Dublin Government requested the London Government to invite the United Nations to protect the minority. The London Government rejected the plea claiming exclusive dominion over the area.

43. That notwithstanding the charges heretofore set forth against the Government of Great Britain or its satellite, wherein reference has been made to members of the Catholic and Protestant religions, it should be made clear that there is no intention to cast aspersions on the Protestant population of Northern Ireland, the vast majority of whom are honorable and peace-loving people, many of whom have been taught and sincerely believe that the attitudes which prevailed in the Catholic Church and which precipitated the Reformation still exists, and that the Government of Stormont and Great Britain stands as their only protection against being required to live under a church domination similar to that of the time of the Inquisition; that Catholics still accept political domination of their clergy and the Pope, and that the religious liberty of Protestants in Northern Ireland is in constant jeopardy. In addition to early training this fear is reinforced by the leaders of the Unionist Party who continue to exhort them at public meetings and in the legislative halls at Stormont to maintain a sectarian stand, or woe will come to them if they in any way relinquish their position of special privilege.

Wherefore, your Petitioner prays that the Sub Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and the Human Rights Commission examine this information and that the Human Rights Commission make a thorough study of the situation and report with its recommendations to the Economic and Social Council and to take the further actions outlined in paragraphs 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 of Resolution 1235 (XLII) and all other necessary provisions and resolutions, and to take whatever steps are necessary to impose sanctions by the nations of the world against the Government of Great Britain until the rights of the Catholic citizens to personal safety and safety in the home, to equal opportunities in public and private employment, to participate in every phase of government, to freedom of speech and freedom of assembly and until the Ireland Act of 1920 be amended so as to eliminate the possibility of a recurrence of death and destruction which has marked the past two years in Northern Ireland.

PAUL O'DWYER,
New York, N.Y.

THE SPECIAL POWERS ACT Northern Ireland

Under the Act, the authorities are empowered to:

1. Arrest without warrant;
2. Imprison without charge or trial and deny recourse to habeas corpus or a court of law;
3. Enter and search homes without warrant, and with force, at any hour day or night;
4. Declare a Curfew and prohibit meetings, assemblies (including fairs and markets) and processions;
5. Permit punishment by flogging;
6. Deny claim to trial by jury;
7. Arrest persons if it is desired to examine as witnesses, forcibly detain them and compel them to answer questions, under penalties, even if the answers incriminate them. Such a person is guilty of an offense if he refuses to be sworn or answer a question;
8. Do any act involving interference with the rights of private property;
9. Prevent access of relatives or legal advisors to a person imprisoned without trial;
10. Prohibit the holding of an inquest after a prisoner's death;
11. Arrest a person who by "word of mouth" spreads false reports or makes false statements;
12. Prohibit the circulation of any newspaper;

13. Prohibit the possession of any film or gramophone record;

14. Arrest a person who does anything "calculated to be prejudicial to the preservation of peace or maintenance of order in Northern Ireland and not specifically provided for in the regulations."

THE DRYCLEANING INDUSTRY AND GOOD GROOMING WEEK

HON. ROBERT A. ROE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. ROE. Mr. Speaker, members of the National Institute of Dry Cleaning are planning a special week of commemoration to "National Good Grooming" during the period November 16 through November 22, 1970, as a tribute to the more than 38,000 small businessmen and over 300,000 employees in the drycleaning industry throughout urban, suburban, and rural America who provide continuing and unheralded service to all of the people of our Nation. They seek national recognition and reinforcement of these efforts through a Presidential Proclamation declaring November 16 through November 22 as "National Good Grooming Week."

The letter to the President from Mr. Robert V. Archibald, Vice President of Little Falls Laundry in my congressional district and one of 12 directors of the National Institute of Dry Cleaning, is stated as follows:

THE DRYCLEANING INDUSTRY AND GOOD GROOMING WEEK

Mr. President, the more than 38,000 drycleaners in America are proud of their role as one of the active forces that help Americans maintain their status as the best groomed people in the world.

Representatives of the drycleaning industry are located in every community in the United States, and employ over 300,000 persons.

Thanks to this industry, Americans may go to work, to school, to church, or to social gatherings in clean freshly pressed garments composed of a variety of materials and styles.

The National Association of this industry maintains research facilities and schools which insure that the nation's drycleaners will be able to service whatever new styles and materials that the American public might wish to wear. They also maintain liaison with the garment manufacturing industry to insure that new fashions will be serviceable.

Last year Americans spent over two and a third billion dollars on drycleaning. This figure shows that United States' citizens are still very much concerned about their appearance and grooming, despite indications to the contrary.

Therefore America's drycleaners, acting as representative small businessmen serving citizens in virtually every community, urge that a joint resolution be passed designating the period of November 16 through 22, 1970, as "Good Grooming Week." During this period the drycleaning industry may be joined by all business and community groups who wish to emphasize the importance of good grooming in a joint effort to promote the virtues of this desirable character trait throughout our nation.

I hope that all my colleagues will join with me in supporting this joint resolution which is so necessarily desired by the drycleaning industry as a tribute to all Ameri-

cans who recognize the importance of good grooming habits in their everyday life, and in doing so, convey a most favorable impression of the American people to the rest of the world.

CHARM, WARMTH, SINCERITY OF HAWAIIAN PEOPLE PERFECTLY EXPRESSED IN ACRONYM FOR "ALOHA"

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, for many years, one of the most precious assets of the State of Hawaii has been an intangible quality, which we in the islands have termed the "Aloha spirit." Many of my colleagues have asked me to define "Aloha," from time to time, and I have found it rather difficult to give it a precise definition.

Recently, Mrs. Pilahi Paki, speaking impromptu at the Governor's Conference on the year 2000, defined the Aloha spirit almost perfectly by assigning to each letter of the word "aloha" an appropriate meaning.

So that Mrs. Paki's thoughtful expression of the Aloha spirit might attain the wide readership it deserves, I would like to submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article which appeared recently in the Honolulu Sunday Star-Bulletin and Advertiser and which quotes Mrs. Paki:

[From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin & Advertiser, Aug. 9, 1970]

PUT THEM ALL TOGETHER, AND THEY SPELL "ALOHA"

An unscheduled speaker was the surprise hit of yesterday's Governor's Conference on the Year 2000 public session in the East-West Center's Kennedy Theater.

In a question-and-answer period after George S. Kanahale's task force report, some audience members discussed what should be meant by "Aloha Spirit."

A woman in a long, red-and-white flowered muumuu rose, stood up and introduced herself as Mrs. Pilahi Paki.

"I would like you to all understand that 'Aloha Spirit' is the coordination of mind and heart," she said. "It's within the individual—it brings you down to yourself. You must think and emote good feelings to others."

"Permit me to offer a translation of the word Aloha:

"A stands for akah'i, Hawaiian meaning kindness, to be expressed with tenderness.

"L stands for lokahi, Hawaiian meaning unity, to be expressed with harmony.

"O stands for olu'olu, Hawaiian meaning agreeable, to be expressed with pleasantness.

"H stands for ha'aha'a, Hawaiian meaning humility, to be expressed with modesty.

"A stands for ahonu'i, Hawaiian meaning patience, to be expressed with perseverance.

"These are the traits of character that express the charm, warmth and sincerity of Hawaiians. It was the working philosophy of my ancestors," she said.

When she finished there was a hush in the theater. Then the audience broke into applause, rising from their seats to give the Hawaiian woman a standing ovation.

After the meeting many people crowded around Mrs. Paki, asking her to repeat her acronym. At first she declined, but relented when she saw the eagerness of her new fans.

"That woman expressed it perfectly," said one admirer. "We can't package or institu-

tionalize Aloha Spirit—it's up to each individual to fill his heart with good vibes, and to communicate these to others."

"We've been muddling around for four days, trying to find directions for Hawaii's future," said another man in the group. "No one else even thought of what that woman said. She's got the answer."

Mrs. Paki, who was born in Lahaina, Maui, is a Hawaiian consultant and teaches private classes in basic fundamentals of Hawaiian language. She lives at 330 Wanao Road, Kailua.

She translates and speaks three dialects of Hawaiian, and for ten years has been creating and selling Hawaiian greeting cards. She published the 1970 Hawaiian Lunar Calendar and is writing about "the language of the lei."

As she talked with her admirers, a woman rushed up and gave her a warm hug.

"I just came because she made my husband and me cry," said the woman, Mrs. Sunhild Hamson of Austria. "What she said was beautiful—my husband still has tears in his eyes."

RECEIVES WEATHER AWARD

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, I have learned with pleasure that Dr. Walter S. Hough of Winchester, Va., is among 25 volunteer weather observers selected to receive the John Campanius Holm Award.

Dr. Hough is a distinguished entomologist who has made many contributions to Virginia agriculture, and orchardists are particularly in his debt.

Over a span of 40 years, his volunteer work in monitoring the weather at Winchester has provided valuable data for studies in climatology.

Because his work is a significant example of the contributed service of more than twelve thousand observers throughout the United States, I include the text of the announcement of the Environmental Science Service Administration of the Department of Commerce as follows:

WASHINGTON.—Dr. Walter S. Hough of Winchester, Va., a volunteer weather observer for the Weather Bureau since 1930, is one of 25 volunteer observers selected nationwide to receive the John Campanius Holm Award according to the Environmental Science Services Administration (ESSA) of the Department of Commerce.

These awards, created in 1959, are presented annually to honor volunteer observers for outstanding accomplishments in the field of meteorological observations. The award is named for John Campanius Holm, a Lutheran minister, who is the first person known to have taken systematic weather observations in the American colonies. In 1644 and 1645, the Reverend Holm made records of the climate without the use of instruments near the present site of Wilmington, Del.

Dr. Hough was recognized for 40 years of dedicated service in keeping complete and accurate weather records at Winchester.

In 1963 Dr. Hough retired from the Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station where he was an entomologist and where he had also been taking the weather observations. A short time later, the equipment was moved to his home where he continued his excellent long-term service as both weather and rainfall observer.

The Weather Bureau has more than 12,000 volunteer observers throughout the United States who make and record daily weather observations. The information they gather is processed and published by the Environmental Data Service, another ESSA component, and is invaluable in recording the climate of the Nation.

TRIBUTE TO EDWARD LEDWIDGE
WRIGHT

HON. DAVID PRYOR

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. PRYOR of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, it is a distinct pleasure for me to pay tribute to a distinguished Arkansan, Mr. Edward Ledwidge Wright, the newly elected president of the American Bar Association. Mr. Wright, who is the senior member of the law firm of Wright, Lindsey, and Jennings of Little Rock, has been widely recognized for his outstanding record as a lawyer and active citizen.

He is a past president of both the Arkansas Bar and Pulaski County Bar Associations and a former chairman of the American Bar Association's House of Delegates. He is also a member of the American Law Institute, the American Judicature Society, the International Association of Insurance Counsel, and served on the Second Hoover Commission Legal Task Force in 1954-55.

Mr. Wright helped draft the Arkansas Probate Code in 1948 and was a commissioner of the National Conference of Commissions on Uniform State Laws from 1945 to 1957. He served as chairman of the Arkansas Board of Law Examiners from 1938 to 1941 and was president of the American College of Trial Lawyers in 1965-66.

An active member of the American Bar Association since 1930, Mr. Wright has been a State delegate to the ABA House of Delegates for 21 years. In 1963, he was appointed alternate delegate to the First World Conference on World Peace Through Law held in Athens, Greece.

His many honors and distinctions include the following: The Outstanding Lawyer Award of the Arkansas Bar Association; the Brotherhood Award of the Arkansas Chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews; the Hatton W. Sumners Award from the Southwestern Legal Foundation for his contribution to the improvement of administration of justice and preservation of the democratic form of government; the Papal Honor of Knight of Malta; an honorary doctor of laws degree from Georgetown University from which he received his LL.B. in 1928, graduating first in his class.

This outstanding Arkansan has been chairman of the ABA's Special Committee on Evaluation of Ethical Standards since 1964. This body has recently come forth with a Code of Professional Responsibility. Mr. Wright won the unanimous approval of the ABA's House of Delegates for this new code. He has said that he will labor diligently during his term of office to help secure its adoption by the courts and local bar associations.

Mr. Speaker, the citizens of the State of Arkansas are proud of the accomplishments of Edward Ledwidge Wright. I might also add that he is the second Arkansan to head the ABA. The late U. M. Rose of Little Rock held the office in 1901-2.

I appreciate having the opportunity to direct to the attention of my colleagues some of the highlights in the career of Mr. Wright. I am confident that he will serve with distinction as president of the ABA this year.

I request permission to include at this point in the RECORD a question and answer interview that Barry Schweid of the Associated Press conducted with Mr. Wright, in which he discussed Supreme Court nominees, his impressions of Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, trial disruptions, and the functions of the ABA. This news article appeared in the August 16 issue of the Arkansas Gazette:

[From the Arkansas Gazette, Aug. 16, 1970]

ARKANSAN WHO HEADS ABA EXPLORES NOMINATIONS, BURGER, AND TRIALS

ST. LOUIS—From now on the Nixon administration will ask the American Bar Association to check the worthiness of not one but three possible nominees when there is an opening on the Supreme Court.

This procedure, says the new ABA president, Edward L. Wright, may spare the administration the embarrassment of Senate rejections by funneling any detrimental information to the attorney general.

In an interview, Wright, of Little Rock, discussed Supreme Court selections, his impressions of Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, trial disruptions and the functions of the ABA.

The questions and answers:

Question. Attorney General (John N.) Mitchell has agreed to submit prospective Supreme Court nominees to the ABA for a check of their credentials. Does this give the ABA a sort of veto? Will it keep creative but not necessarily distinguished lawyers off the Supreme Court?

Answer. I think that the answer to both of your questions is definitely no. The procedure that has been inaugurated just very recently by the attorney general is that on possible nominees to the Supreme Court three names will be given to the ABA committee on the federal judiciary, which will report with as much confidence as could be in the circumstances. I think it is a matter of common knowledge that any time a broadside investigation goes out that the rumors begin to follow very closely. This has a protective device for the Department of Justice.

Heretofore, when a single nominee has been submitted or a single name has been submitted for possible nomination, the public and the media just treated it as fait accompli that this was the nominee. Now * * * if there is serious objection to them, those objections can be generated and relayed to the attorney general and save administrations from embarrassment of having rejections that we know have occurred in the past.

Question. Is it your understanding that in all instances three names will be submitted?

Answer. Yes.

Question. And will they be rated in some relationship to each other?

Answer. No, the ABA will rate them as either qualified or not qualified.

* * * Three elements of rating are first, character; secondly, judicial learning, proficiency as a professional; thirdly, judicial temperament.

Various * * * philosophies of the gentlemen whose names are proposed are not examined except as they might properly relate to their judicial work. The recommenda-

tion of the committee will simply either be "qualified" or "not qualified." There will be no comparison.

Question. Will they go into deep background? Would they find things like money improprieties?

Answer. I understand it, the three names will be given simultaneously to the committee with a request for a quick report. I don't know whether quick involves three days or 10 days but certainly a matter of days. This would go into the three areas that I speak of. Obviously, it couldn't be the probing kind of inquiry that would turn up many things that we know have come to light * * *.

It's interesting to me that practically all of the dramatic disclosures on legislative and judicial levels that have come to light within my period of observation result from one of two things: Either a searching, probing representative of the press, of the news media, who got a lead or smelled something and who kept persistently until it broke, either way, or some volunteers, a former employe or some person in lowly status who knew something and who, sometimes anonymously and sometimes openly, would report that to authorities.

The point I'm making is one could have the might and the dollars of the government, manpower and dollar-wise, and search us and not turn up something private in our lives that a contemporary knew and remembered.

If the ABA were given either a veto power or a power of high persuasion I'd be opposed to it.

Question. The ABA's proposed ethics code would not require judges to report their investments and stock holdings. Doesn't public confidence require full public disclosure?

Answer. I certainly favor full disclosure * * *. The proposed code of ethics for judges is still in the draft stage. I can't predict the particular form it will come out in. But to answer your question, personally I think disclosure is a wholesome, desirable and proper thing.

Question. Does the American Bar Association speak for the average American lawyer or only the rich one? Can it be made more representative and how would this be done?

Answer. My acquaintance with rich American lawyers is rather limited * * *. The American Bar Association as represented by the House of Delegates, the Board and the officers is most conscientious in its efforts to represent everyone. The phrase "grass-roots lawyer" is frequently employed. We have many, many solo practitioners who not only are members of the Association, but are active members. There is a cross-section representation generally speaking on all major committees.

I feel that within the limitations of an organization that has 145,000 members with diverse geographical, political and social views, the Bar does a good job of speaking for the overwhelming majority of lawyers. Obviously, any program of importance or innovation can't be received or will not be received fully by every member or every segment of the Bar.

Question. The American College of Trial Lawyers recently criticized disruptive defense lawyers. What is your view of their behavior?

Answer. Without at all ducking any issues I am going to speak generically to the problem of disruptive trial tactics. I am not referring to any person by name. I am not referring to any trial. But certainly I'd be blind and ought to be condemned if I am not aware of what has happened in the last 15 years in certain celebrated trials.

I condemn to the fullest trial tactics by parties, or lawyers, that tend and have as their object to destroy the sanity, the health and the very being of the judge who presides. I condemn heartily tactics that all of us have seen reported in recent years.

I heartily endorse the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States handed down on March 31, 1970, in the now cele-

brated case of People of Illinois v. Allen approving the removal of disruptive defendants from the courtroom where for the first time that I'm aware of a blueprint was given to trial courts as to how disruptive litigants could be handled.

Question. What do you think of the quality of President Nixon's nominees to the Supreme Court?

Answer. I knew and knew well Mr. Justice Burger at the time of his appointment as chief justice and I knew better and longer Judge Harry A. Blackmun at the time of his nomination. I think they are great jurists; I think they are outstanding jurists.

I did not know Judge Carswell and I had met Judge Haynsworth on one occasion. Since the matter of the nomination of Judges Haynsworth and Carswell is now history, I would decline to comment on your question as specifically phrased.

Question. Do you think that any damage has been done to the Supreme Court or the judicial system by the open fighting over these nominations that didn't pass?

Answer. My answer is no. I think it has done this: It has quickened an interest in the man in the street—whoever he is. It has alerted and stimulated a public interest, that is good. No, I don't think the court as an institution or the court as composed has been damaged.

I think there has been a very wholesome stimulation of interest * * *.

I don't think a court should be aloof from very rigid public interrogation if the courts are going to function * * * as decent citizens think they ought to, they should be under scrutiny.

Question. Earl Warren kept arms length from the ABA. Warren Burger is working very closely with the Association. Which practice is preferable for a chief justice?

Answer. I feel strongly that there should be active rapport of all segments of the legal profession * * *. I feel that there should be and happily I can say there is, an active participation of bench and Bar in the efforts of the organized Bar as it's never been before. Now it should be noted that Chief Justice Burger was extremely active in the affairs of the organized Bar before ever becoming chief justice * * *. I think that he's given a leadership and an example that's been tremendous.

Question. How does Chief Justice Burger compare to past chief justices? What do you see as his strong points and his possible weak ones?

Answer. I have long been an admirer of Chief Justice Burger for his breadth of interest, for his deep interest in areas of deficiencies in the law relating to human beings. It so happens from a long personal experience I have a deep interest in correctional reform or correctional improvement. Coincidentally, he does.

But his concern for human beings and doing something about it on a practical level are to me outstanding attributes of the man. One can't think and act like the chief justice without having those fine qualities reflected in his judicial output. I think he is a man of courage, I think he is a man of foresight, I think he's a man of great human compassion.

PARENTS SHARE LETTER

HON. CHARLES E. WIGGINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. WIGGINS. Mr. Speaker, the following letter which I recently received from my constituents, Mr. and Mrs. Glen N. Bone of Azusa, Calif., concerns their

son who is presently serving in the U.S. Army.

This young man, Glen A. Bone, enlisted in the Army after considerable thought following an apparent wrong turn down the road of life. All of this is explained in the accompanying newspaper article from the San Gabriel Valley Tribune, which includes a letter from Glen to his parents.

In view of the problems which confront our youth today, I believe that we can all gain inspiration from these letters, which I wish to include in the RECORD at this time:

AZUSA, CALIF.,
August 18, 1970.

Congressman CHARLES WIGGINS:

DEAR SIR: Hello there. We are a pair of proud parents of a lost generation. Teen age son who seems to have found what he was hopelessly searching for in the U.S. Army.

Enclosed is a recent newspaper clipping from our hometown paper. We thought you might like a copy of the article—it might be a refreshing pause to find a boy and there are more like him, I am sure—who wanted to join the Army—who wanted it so badly he hassled with us for months for permission to join the service on his seventeenth birthday—who wanted Army so badly he went out and got an Army tattoo on his arm—and in his heart.

We are proud of him as a son and soldier; in the Army of his country. We are proud of his declaration of love to his country in these "torn up teen age days." This boy was once not too different from the "protesting generation"—for a short time he was one of them—dirty feet—long hair—no ambition with one exception—he found a strong resolve within himself that will be the making of a fine, clear thinking adult. I prefer to think of our country in the hands of young adults like him—and our country will thrive generations to come.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. GLEN BONE,
Azusa, Calif.

[From the San Gabriel Tribune, Aug. 6, 1970]
ONE OF THE BEST—PARENTS SHARE LETTER

AZUSA.—"Several months ago a young boy came to me, wanting to enlist in the Army. He wasn't an everyday typical lad, but a high school drop-out with long hair, beard and barefoot. He didn't impress me at all. His slumped shoulders and negative attitude didn't reflect any ambition or purpose in life," writes Army recruiter Sgt. Jim Hegyi.

"Later his parents told me that after he had dropped out of school he sat around the house for a couple of months and got into all sorts of trouble, drinking, uncaring, defiant. When his father took him to task for his unsocial behavior, the lad said, "Give me a little while to straighten myself out, Dad." On his own initiative, and just after his 17th birthday, he came to us here to enlist.

"Today Private Glen A. Bone is one of the best soldiers in the U.S. Army. Presently he is at Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri, attending the heavy equipment operators course. Then he will go to the non-commissioned officers academy. During basic training he was a platoon guide, where he demonstrated superior leadership qualities and was promoted to the next higher grade ahead of his contemporaries.

"The proud parents of this young man are Mr. and Mrs. Glen Bone, 5820 Rockvale Ave., Azusa.

"The change in this young man is reflected in his letter he wrote to his parents recently. Mr. and Mrs. Bone would like their community to know what the Army can do for a young boy who can't find his place in this world.

"Dear Mom & Dad—

Today I'm sitting in Fort Leonard Wood hospital, Missouri, thousands of miles away from home, waiting for x-rays.

I'm reading a newspaper about people protesting a war in which they haven't fought, of people who protest work they haven't done, and people who condemn society of which they never or probably will never contribute anything to.

As I'm sitting here, I see young men just returned from Vietnam, missing arms, legs, and minds. Then I think of the students on our country's college campuses protesting for peace while we are out keeping the country free, so they can have the right to protest.

The greatest future leaders of the country sit and say stop the war, bring our men home, and what do they do about all Protest!! Demonstrate!! Riot!! They say, stop the war, and yet they don't get up and fight to stop it because they will have to get a hair cut. They smoke pot, carry signs, condemn my country, that's right. My country, not theirs, but mine, like millions of people fighting to keep it ours and our children's for generations to come. That's the way it's been for a long time. The men who founded this great nation had to work, fight and pray to make it what is today. That's why I say, "America, love it or leave it."

A lot of men have left it, to fight for it, to fight for freedom and have never come back to enjoy it. It wasn't their war, it wasn't mine, but it is my country's.

One of my gladdest thoughts is, that I'm part of this generation. Not the protesting part, but the fighting part. The freedom loving part of the generation, that got a haircut and decided to keep this nation a free one for everybody, yes even for the people who demonstrate and protest.

God help us if some day they'll run this great country of ours. It's not really theirs, it's ours, we are the ones who made this country what it is—FREE.

Private Glen A. Bone
Ft. Leonard Wood, Mo.
Love ya,
Glen"

GEORGE BUSH PRAISED FOR OIL IMPORT ROLE

HON. JOHN P. HAMMERSCHMIDT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 14, 1970

Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT. Mr. Speaker, in mid-August the White House announced that President Nixon had accepted the recommendation that his administration drop consideration of a tariff system to regulate foreign oil imports.

Many concerned Members of Congress believe that a change to a tariff system holds great danger for this country's national security capability, and so notified the President.

A number of us joined together to fight the proposal, and we are all indebted to the Honorable GEORGE BUSH of Texas for his able help and leadership.

GEORGE BUSH's knowledge of the industry and the dire consequences of the proposed tariff regulation system were instrumental in bringing about a decision consistent with the true needs of the Nation.

The Texas press has taken widespread note of GEORGE BUSH's key role in this matter, and I insert three pertinent editorials at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Dallas Times Herald]

THANKS, MR. BUSH

Texas has cause to be thankful that Houston Congressman George Bush was in Washington this summer. Bush gets no small share of the credit for persuading the President not to tamper with the present system of mandatory oil import quotas.

As a Republican and a former oilman, Bush had special credentials for bringing to the President's attention the salient arguments against switching to a tariff system that would admit a flood of foreign oil to this country. Such a system would not only have made us dependent on the notoriously erratic supply of Arab oil—it also would have undermined seriously the economies of oil states like Texas.

Bush readily understood what was at stake. And we thank him for an important service to his state and his nation.

[From the Midland Reporter-Telegram]

OIL OUTLOOK BRIGHTENS

The oil industry looks to the future with a great deal more spirit and confidence than it did just a few days ago.

Monday's White House announcement that President Nixon will discontinue consideration of a proposed tariff system to regulate foreign oil imports was the action which touched off industry enthusiasm.

The tariff proposal was scrapped in favor of the present import quota system.

The President's decision on the tariff proposal was made on recommendation of George A. Lincoln, director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness.

Lincoln, incidentally, was chairman of the cabinet-level task force which recommended six months ago that a tariff system supplant the quota system. This would have opened the oil importing business to any companies willing to pay the tariff, thereby flooding the country with foreign oil. Results would have been disastrous to the domestic oil business.

The recommendation accepted by the President Monday was offered unanimously by task force members, who finally had seen the light.

Congressman George Bush of Houston, formerly of Midland, must be credited to a large degree with bringing about the panel's reversal in policy and certainly in gaining the President's acceptance.

Bush declared his opposition to the tariff proposal at the very beginning, citing sound

reasons why it wasn't expedient. He has been a leader in the campaign which now has led to the proposal's withdrawal.

Lincoln explained that recent developments "have increased misgivings about moving to a tariff system at this time and about a tariff system as a feasible method of controlling oil imports."

He said that among the considerations was a reappraisal upward of domestic petroleum requirements because of the delay in the recovery of vast Alaska oil reserves. He said also that developments in the Middle East have had such a drastic effect on the oil situation that the price of Middle East oil delivered to New York now is higher than that of domestic oil.

One of the aims of the tariff proposal was to lower the price of domestic crude and raise the price of foreign oil imports until the two met somewhere in the middle. But it didn't work out this way—as industry spokesmen warned from the start.

Lincoln said there had been a complete turn-around from the situation which existed when the task force made its initial proposal.

And Nixon's acceptance of the latest recommendation also has resulted in a complete turn-around in the outlook of the oil industry.

As Ford Chapman, president of the Permian Basin Petroleum Association, said, "It's wonderful . . . simply wonderful!"

[From the Longview Daily News]

BUSH VIEWS OIL POLICY

Congressman George Bush of Houston was understandably proud Monday when it was officially announced in Washington that President Nixon has accepted a recommendation that his administration discontinue consideration of a proposed tariff system to regulate foreign oil imports and that the United States instead continue with efforts to improve the present import quota system.

This action was recommended by George A. Lincoln, director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness. Mr. Lincoln revealed at a White House briefing that he had recommended abandonment of the tariff plan and retention of the quota system in a letter dated Aug. 13.

George Bush, Republican nominee for the U.S. Senate from Texas, said he was "delighted" with the White House action—and well he should have been, for he was highly instrumental in helping to bring it about.

Congressman Bush, being an experienced Texas oil man in his own right, is one of the best informed men in Congress on petroleum matters. It was only natural that he would be active in oil policy decisions.

"It would have been idiotic, in the face of today's international situation, for the Oil Policy Committee to have taken any other course than to junk the tariff plan and keep the quota system," said Mr. Bush.

The Texan outlines his views on this important decision in the following additional comment:

"The Ways and Means Committee appropriately signed it as the death toll to the ill-conceived tariff system when we passed out a provision ruling against tariff on oil.

"Now the administration has buried the tariff scheme entirely.

"This decision will once and for all remove the cloud that has been hanging over the industry, fostering indecision and inhibiting investment. The tariff scheme would have damaged the domestic industry at this time when we are facing critical gas shortages at home and mounting insecurity abroad.

"My faith in the administration's policy on oil and gas has been partially restored. I plan now to redouble my efforts to try and get full understanding at the White House level on this gas shortage.

"Only by encouraging more drilling can the gas shortage be whipped. We need less control, more incentive to drill, more realistic pricing policies, prompt contract approval by the FPC and sanctity of contracts.

"We now have won the biggest battle of all—killing the ill-conceived tariff scheme that would have caused severe damage to our state and country. Now we must keep battling to help break the gas shortage.

"Jobs in Texas are at stake, but so is the whole general welfare of the country. I pledge to hang in there and keep fighting for more government understanding of what makes this risky business work.

"Industry and labor can solve this shortage problem, but only if government policies are responsive and designed to encourage exploration.

"I'm sure this was a tough decision for the Policy Committee, but it was the right decision.

"A tariff system, designed to weaken domestic industry, would have been sheer lunacy, given the existing world situation."

SENATE—Tuesday, September 15, 1970

The Senate met at 9:30 a.m. and was called to order by Hon. JAMES B. ALLEN, a Senator from the State of Alabama.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O God of men and nations, who has taught us to worship as we work, tune our spirits to Thy spirit that this day may be lived in fellowship with Thee and with one another. As here we seek to solve hard problems, to initiate far-reaching programs, and authorize vast sums of money, so may we also bring to the people a good spirit—the spirit of compassion, mercy, and peace.

May we share with the nations of the world our best lest they share with us their worst. Enable us to labor for that day when Thy kingdom comes and Thy will is done on earth as it is in Heaven.

Guide us through this day. Where the way is hard, the burdens heavy, the hours strenuous, we beseech Thee to replenish our energies and renew our strength. And

when evening comes give us a good conscience, a peaceful soul, and a holy rest.

And to Thee shall be all glory and praise. Amen.

DESIGNATION OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication from the President pro tempore of the Senate (Mr. RUSSELL).

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,

Washington, D.C., September 15, 1970.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. JAMES B. ALLEN, a Senator from the State of Alabama, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

RICHARD B. RUSSELL,
President pro tempore.

Mr. ALLEN thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, September 14, 1970, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. At this time, in accordance with the previous order, the Chair recognizes the distinguished Senator from Arkansas