

through such grant will be so used as to supplement and, to the extent practical, increase the level of non-Federal funds which would, in the absence of such grant, be made available for the purpose for which such grant is requested.

#### "PLANNING GRANTS

"SEC. 766. (a) For the purpose of assisting medical schools and hospitals (referred to in section 761) to plan projects for the purpose of carrying out one or more of the purposes set forth in such section, the Secretary is authorized for any fiscal year (prior to the fiscal year which ends June 30, 1973) to make planning grants in such amounts and subject to such conditions as the Secretary may determine to be proper to carry out the purposes of this section.

"(b) From the amounts appropriated in any fiscal year (prior to the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973) pursuant to section 762(a), the Secretary may utilize such amounts as he deems necessary (but not in excess of \$5,000,000 for any fiscal year) to make the planning grants authorized by subsection (a).

#### "ADVISORY COUNCIL ON FAMILY MEDICINE

"SEC. 767. (a) The Secretary shall appoint an Advisory Council on Family Medicine (hereinafter in this section referred to as the 'Council'). The Council shall consist of twelve members, four of whom shall be physicians engaged in the practice of family medicine, four of whom shall be physicians engaged in the teaching of family medicine, three of whom shall be representatives of the general public, and one of whom shall, at the time of his appointment, be an intern in family medicine. Members of the Council shall be individuals who are not otherwise in the regular full-time employ of the United States.

"(b) (1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), each member of the Council shall hold office for a term of four years, except that any member appointed to fill a vacancy prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the remainder of such term, and except that the terms of office of the members first taking office shall expire, as designated by the Secretary at the time of appointment, three at the end of the first year, three at the end of the second year, three at the end of the third year, and three at the end of the fourth year, after the date of appointment.

"(2) The member of the Council appointed as an intern in family medicine shall serve for one year.

"(3) A member of the Council shall not be eligible to serve continuously for more than two terms.

"(c) Members of the Council shall be appointed by the Secretary without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service. Members of the Council, while attending meetings or conferences thereof or otherwise serving on business of the Council, shall be entitled to receive compensation at rates fixed by the Secretary, but not exceeding \$100 per day, including travel-time, and while so serving away from their homes or regular places of business they may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5703 of title 5, United States Code, for persons in Government service, employed intermittently.

"(d) The Council shall advise and assist the Secretary in the preparation of regulations for, and as to policy matters arising with respect to, the administration of this title. The Council shall consider all applications for grants under this part and shall make recommendations to the Secretary with respect to approval of applications for grants under this part.

#### "DEFINITIONS

"SEC. 768. For purposes of this part—

"(1) the term 'nonprofit' as applied to any hospital or school of medicine means a school of medicine or hospital which is owned and operated by one or more nonprofit corporations or associations, no part of the net earnings of which inures, or may lawfully inure, to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual;

"(2) the term 'family medicine' means those certain principles and techniques and that certain body of medical, scientific, administrative, and other knowledge and training, which especially equip and prepare a physician to engage in the practice of family medicine;

"(3) the term 'practice of family medicine' and the term 'practice', when used in connection with the term 'family medicine', mean the practice of medicine by a physician (licensed to practice medicine and surgery by the State in which he practices his profession) who specializes in providing to families (and members thereof) comprehensive, continuing, professional care and treatment of the type necessary or appropriate for their general health maintenance; and

"(4) the term 'construction' includes construction of new buildings, acquisition, expansion, remodeling, and alteration of existing buildings, and initial equipment of any such buildings, including architects' fees, but excluding the cost of acquisition of land or offsite improvements."

And amend the title so as to read: "An act to amend the Public Health Service

Act to provide for the making of grants to medical schools and hospitals to assist them in establishing special departments and programs in the field of family practice, and otherwise to encourage and promote the training of medical and paramedical personnel in the field of family medicine."

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I move that the Senate disagree to the amendments of the House of Representatives to S. 3418 and request a conference with the House of Representatives, thereon, and that the Chair be authorized to appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer (Mr. ALLEN) appointed Mr. YARBOROUGH, Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. NELSON, Mr. EAGLETON, Mr. CRANSTON, Mr. HUGHES, Mr. DOMINICK, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. PROUTY, and Mr. SAXBE conferees on the part of the Senate.

#### ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 10 a.m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock and 8 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, December 3, 1970, at 10 a.m.

#### CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate December 2, 1970:

##### NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

Ralph E. Kennedy, of California, to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board for the term of 5 years expiring August 27, 1975.

##### NATIONAL MEDIATION BOARD

David H. Stowe, of Maryland, to be a member of the National Mediation Board for the term expiring July 1, 1973.

##### ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

William D. Ruckelshaus, of Indiana, to be Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### PRESNELL CHAMPIONS RANDOLPH'S HERITAGE

#### HON. NICK GALIFIANAKIS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. GALIFIANAKIS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues the enterprising effort and perseverance of one of my outstanding constituents in Randolph County, N.C.

Tom Presnell is the driving force behind the Randolph County Historical Society which has carefully chronicled the hardy heritage of one of North Carolina's most historically colorful counties.

My commendations go also to Rip Woodin of the Greensboro Daily News who has so aptly chronicled the activities of Tom Presnell and the Randolph County Historical Society.

The article follows:

#### PRESNELL CHAMPIONS RANDOLPH'S HERITAGE

(By Rip Woodin)

ASHEBORO.—Most people are too worried about the present and future to care what happened in past years but Tom Presnell is an exception. He is intrigued with Randolph County history and intends to preserve for future generations, the heritage which past generations fashioned with blood and sweat.

Presnell is the motivating wheelhorse of the Randolph County Historical Society which is the oldest continually operating such organization in the state. He said the society has seen periods of inactivity but

has always had a slate of officers since it formed in 1911.

The present officers were elected in 1967 when two old covered bridges and a Civil War battle flag rejuvenated the society's waning interest. Presnell, who is vice president of the 150-member society, said a Civil War history enthusiast, Dr. Marion Roberts of Hillsborough, wrote to the Asheboro Chamber of Commerce asking if there was an organization in Randolph which would preserve the hand stitched flag bearing the words "Randolph Hornets" on one side and "Onward to Victory" on the other.

Presnell explained that there are apparently five Randolph counties in the south and that Dr. Roberts finally learned that the flag was carried by Ramseur and Liberty men of Company D, 22nd Regiment, North Carolina Troops of the Confederacy.

At the time the flag was offered to Randolph, the society was also preserving Pisgah

and Skeen's Mill covered bridges. Presnell said the bridges, both in Randolph, are only two of three such structures remaining in the state.

The society's third and most potent boost came in November, 1969 when the remaining members of the W. J. Armfield family offered their old home to the society for use as a museum. Presnell, an energetic man, has assumed the responsibility of transforming the old stately mansion and grounds on the corner of Salisbury and North Fayetteville Streets into a museum.

He said the house, which was built in 1903, will be deeded to the society if a good job of development is accomplished. A retired adult probation officer, Presnell already has installed a sprinkler system in the house's thirteen rooms.

Presnell is also a retired army colonel and knows how to get things done. He has had undergrowth cleaned out, a parking lot paved and plans drawn for walkways and shrubbery beds. "I'm working harder now than I did before I retired," he said.

Presnell explained he took on the job because he was interested in it and "wanted to see what I could do with it. I hope the property can be developed through communitywide interest with the historical society furnishing the leadership."

The development of the house, Presnell said, has gone thus far without raising funds. "Now is the time to raise some money," he said. Satisfaction is Presnell's salary and there will be no admission charge when the museum opens.

Presnell hopes the museum will be completed by spring or summer, depending on the weather. He expects to display native rocks and fossils, pioneer farm tools, early textile tools such as the spinning wheel and Indian artifacts. Several local craft displays such as carving, basket weaving and candle making have already been offered.

Presnell also hopes to get help from the N.C. Department of Archive and History because on the museum property is an old dilapidated board house which was built in the 1830s. He explained that the Asheboro Female Academy, which was the only girl's school in the county, used the house until the Civil War and then reopened it as a coed school until the state took over education in the 1880s. "Three people were born in the house when families lived there later," he said.

Presnell said the house is the oldest building in Asheboro and even had the first piano in the county. Young girls were taught reading, writing, philosophy and how to make wax flowers. "It was said when a girl finished she was quite an educated lady," he stated.

Presnell is currently trying to have the building placed on the National Register of Historic Places which would help the society by giving money and restoration knowledge.

The building was near collapse, so as a project the Southwest Randolph High School bricklaying class laid a new foundation. They are also laying walkways modeled after those on the UNC-CH campus.

**SENATOR ROBERT C. BYRD RECOGNIZES SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT BY PRESENTING U.S. SAVINGS BONDS TO THE VALEDICTORIAN OF EVERY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL HIGH SCHOOL IN WEST VIRGINIA**

**HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH**

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, U.S. savings bonds are an important investment in our country and equally impor-

tant to the future of those who receive them. By purchasing these bonds one receives a guaranteed rate of return.

Mr. President, my distinguished colleague from West Virginia, Senator ROBERT C. BYRD, began 2 years ago presenting a \$25 U.S. savings bond to recognize outstanding scholastic achievement in the public and parochial high schools in West Virginia. The recipient of this exemplary award is the valedictorian in each school.

I commend my colleague for honoring these superior students and for helping to start them on a program of personal savings.

Mr. President, the Department of the Treasury has issued a news release entitled "An Investment in the Future," written by Senator BYRD. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

**AN INVESTMENT IN THE FUTURE**

(By HON. ROBERT C. BYRD)

Two years ago, I began a scholastic recognition program, presenting the valedictorian of every public and parochial high school in West Virginia with a \$25.00 United States Savings Bond.

The scholastic recognition program has been a two-fold investment: the Bonds have been an investment in the future of the United States; and they have been an investment in the future of the individual students.

United States Savings Bonds purchase programs have taught the values of thrift and of planning ahead to many millions of people. These programs have been in operation during the most spectacular financial years of the Federal Government's existence. Wars, recessions, inflation—all have required Federal Government action, both to ameliorate hardship and to facilitate continuing growth of production.

U.S. Savings Bonds provided almost one-fifth of the private funds borrowed by the United States Government in World War Two, and, after World War Two, enabled the Treasury to reduce its debt to banks, savings and loan associations, insurance companies, and other private lenders.

Personal savings, by financing the Government, have restrained inflationary individual purchasing as well as inflationary credit expansion by government.

The earnings and the principal of the Savings Bonds are absolutely certain of payment. The terms of interest accrual and redemption value are stated clearly for Savings Bonds. The only changes in terms occur when the Treasury or the Congress improve them. The holder of Savings Bonds is protected; his older Bonds also gain in rate of return when rates are raised on new issues.

A nonspeculative, absolutely safe, above-board security, yielding an attractive rate, the Savings Bond is available with an unmatched degree of convenience, and an unmatched record of usefulness to the public of the money saved and invested in these Bonds.

When I decided to establish a Scholastic Recognition Award, the U.S. Savings Bond was a natural choice with which to reward students who had compiled distinguished scholastic records. Since the award program was first begun two years ago, I have presented 476 Savings Bonds to West Virginia high school students. Additionally, students at the West Virginia Schools for the Deaf and the Blind and juveniles with outstanding records at the Robert F. Kennedy Youth Center at Morgantown have received awards.

If the program encourages the recipients of the Bonds to begin their own savings

program, and if it encourages students to seek the rewards that a good education offers, then I feel that my Scholastic Recognition Award program will have served its intended purpose.

**TRADE BILL WILL CAUSE ECONOMIC DAMAGE**

**HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 1, 1970

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, each day now the reports and analyses come in warning of the tremendous damage which will be done to the national economy when the trade bill as passed by the House becomes effective.

One of the more perceptive articles which I would like to share with my colleagues was that written by Hobart Rowen in the Washington Post of November 29, 1970.

The article follows:

**NOT ONLY CONSUMERS WILL SUFFER IF PROTECTIONIST MEASURE PASSES**

Sometimes, a single statistic or isolated phrase is able to capture and dramatize an important issue better than reams of copy and volumes of speeches.

Thus, the need for tax reform came to life better than ever before when Treasury Secretary Joseph W. Barr in the dying days of the Johnson Administration suggested that "a taxpayer's revolt" against the inequities of the tax system was imminent.

Although Barr presented nothing essentially new, the phrase focused press and congressional attention on the problem, and was influential in forcing the Nixon Administration to come up with its own tax reform proposals.

In recent weeks in the welter of propaganda and counter-propaganda on the Mills trade quota bill, nothing put the case against the bill so well as a single dollar figure estimated by Andrew F. Brimmer, a member of the Federal Reserve Board.

Brimmer made an abstract concept simple: if legislation imposing quotas on textile and shoe imports gets through, he said, American consumers by 1975 would be paying \$3.7 billion a year more in higher prices for clothing and shoes. That's a lot of money.

The logic of the argument is inescapable; foreign textile and shoe prices are cheaper. Thus, if the protectionist legislation passes, consumers will have to buy more of the domestically produced and higher-priced goods.

And as Brimmer points out, the consumer will pay the costs of protection—even though insulating the textile and shoe industries from imports will not preserve smaller firms, who find it difficult to survive against the competition of larger and more efficient American companies.

But the economic damage of the Mills bill won't be limited to higher consumer prices: the legislation would endanger a wide swath of American exports that are sitting ducks for retaliation.

Take farming, for example. Ralph Dahrendorf, an official of the European Economic Community, has said bluntly that the Common Market "is ready to act in unison" if the trade bill passes. A special series of reports by Washington Post foreign correspondents, published a week ago, bears out the vigor of the EEC intent.

The first planned retaliation is against soybeans—the biggest American farm export. Common Market countries alone bought about \$600 million last year; Japan bought \$200 million.

A trade war involving soybeans, ironically enough, would hit hard at Southern states which have instigated the demand for protection of the textile industry: to replace lessening demand for cotton and tobacco, many southern farmers have been turning to soybeans for export.

In a further move to show their serious intent to strike back, Commart officials also say they will limit American investment in Europe. That could mean that American firms would no longer be free to start up or invest in factories on the Continent.

Curiously enough, American industry has not been playing a major role in the fight to block the bill; nor have consumer activists, who are constantly on guard against many threats to the public interest, but who have a blind spot for the dangers of protectionist trade legislation.

The fight has been carried on largely by exporting interests in Japan and Europe; by American farm organizations; by a liberal trade bloc in the Senate; and by concerned individuals in and out of the government who understand the dangers of the bill.

Whatever happens to the trade bill, there is a lesson in all of this, underscored by Brimmer's \$3.7-billion figure: there is a need for an organized way of letting the public know what various actions (or inactions) of the government will cost.

Among the many excellent features of the recent report by the Committee for Economic Development on wage-price guidelines was a suggestion for a "public defender."

A public defender or advocate could "cost out" legislation like the trade bill. For example, such an agency could say some interesting things about the dollars that the powerful oil lobby wrings out of American consumers.

According to Mr. Nixon's own cabinet Task Force Report on Oil (February, 1970), existing oil quotas cost consumers an extra \$5 billion a year, and that figure will rise to \$8.4 billion by 1980. As Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) has pointed out, restrictive oil import quota gimmickry not only causes higher-than-necessary prices, but tends to assure a shortage of oil products.

Now, the lobby has persuaded the House Ways and Means Committee to impose mandatory quotas on oil imports for the next six years. Thus, if the protectionist bill passes, tariffs—a less obnoxious form of import limitation—could not be substituted for oil quotas, as the Cabinet Committee had recommended.

If a "public defender" existed today, the message would be: for the sake of consumers and the economy as a whole, defeat the Mills bill.

#### PRISONERS OF WAR

### HON. J. CALEB BOGGS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, the Wilmington Evening Journal on Monday published an editorial which points out a rather basic contradiction between the attitudes Hanoi has taken on the prisoner-of-war issue and on the recent bombings.

The editorial predicts that:

The North Vietnamese are going to find it more and more difficult to maintain there is nothing to be concerned about in their years of unobserved detention of American prisoners.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

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

#### DODGING THE POW ISSUE

The North Vietnamese in Paris are considerably more taken by U.S. bombing last week than by the unsuccessful commando attempt to rescue some American prisoners of war near Hanoi.

They are constantly interested in beating the propaganda drum over the bombing raids, not only embellishing U.S.-acknowledged reports but insisting that far greater "inhumanities" occurred.

On the other hand, they are absolutely uninterested in discussing the commando raid slightly more than 20 miles from Hanoi in which a party of would-be rescuers searched a site for prisoners that weren't there and escaped without suffering a serious casualty.

A request by United Nations Secretary General U Thant for International Red Cross inspection of conditions to which American prisoners are subjected got a very quick dismissal. North Vietnam considers it sufficient to maintain that it treats American and South Vietnamese prisoners humanely and correctly.

Hanoi's unyielding position on this is interpreted as indifference to world opinion. But she shows no such indifference in seeking to milk every ounce of propaganda from the brief U.S. resumption of bombing.

It has also been Hanoi's practice to encourage internal antiwar sentiment in the United States for whatever international capital could be made of it. The result was not, as some Americans claimed, sufficient aid and comfort to convince Hanoi that public impatience inevitably would force the United States to withdraw.

But the North Vietnamese have been sufficiently encouraged by American dissent that they have shown no evidence of interest in serious negotiations since the Paris "peace talks" opened.

Perhaps Hanoi will misinterpret the growing public concern over American prisoners of war. The unsuccessful commando raid itself was an Administration attempt to respond to that public pressure for action on the POWs.

If the question of North Vietnam's treatment of prisoners is still not on any official international agenda, at least it is on the international mind. Hanoi's negotiators can hammer away at the issue of a few hours of renewed U.S. bombing but they are going to find it more and more difficult to maintain there is nothing to be concerned about in their years of unobserved detention of American prisoners.

#### COMMENTS ON THE RECENT MARYLAND REFERENDUM ON THE SCHOOL PRAYER DECISION

### HON. J. GLENN BEALL, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. BEALL of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, following my remarks is a statement by the Reverend Robert G. Howes, national coordinator of the Citizens for Public Prayer. Reverend Howes has been ex-

tremely active in the effort among thousands of our citizens to do something about the Supreme Court decision affecting prayer in the schools several years ago.

I am inserting Reverend Howes's statement, which comments on the recent Maryland referendum on the school prayer decision, in the RECORD so that my colleagues can have this valuable information:

#### MARYLAND PRAYER VOTE ON NOVEMBER 3 OF MAXIMUM NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE

Maryland voters, in the first official referendum on free school prayer since the Supreme Court prayer-ban decisions several years ago, overwhelmingly disagreed with the Court. The Maryland vote on ballot question No. 9 was 409,050 for, 152,706 against the following proposed constitutional amendment:

"Nothing shall prohibit or require the making reference to belief in, reliance upon, or invoking the aid of God or a Supreme Being in any governmental or public document, proceeding, activity, ceremony, school, institution, or place. Nothing in this article shall constitute an establishment of religion."

This 73% favorable majority was substantially larger than that accorded to any other of eleven ballot questions. In context, the Maryland vote is even more significant. The amendment had been attacked as "meaningless" on a number of occasions. The Maryland Attorney General's office had decried it as changing nothing. Members of Governor Mandel's staff in Annapolis had worked to prevent the question from appearing on the ballot, and the Governor himself during the Maryland campaign was at best neutral and probably negative. Question No. 9 was not one of the eight questions to which the Governor's organization specifically recommended a favorable response. Still, despite no evident organized campaign to promote it, the proposed amendment was endorsed by a higher percentage of Marylanders than endorsed any other ballot question! It is also interesting to note that the "Washington Post", in an editorial which appeared the morning of the election, had specifically recommended a no vote on Question No. 9.

Since the election, the effort to minimize the importance of the Maryland vote has continued. If it is not attacked as "meaningless" what almost seems to be a conspiracy of silence seeks to relegate it to obscurity.

There are, obviously, at least two ways of viewing the matter. So long as the Supreme Court's prayer-ban decisions remain in place, no state vote can circumvent them. In that sense, the vote has changed nothing. There is, however, another assessment which can and should be made by objective observers. The Maryland vote, coming as it did exactly three weeks after the Senate by a margin of 56 recorded for against 23 recorded against had approved a prayer amendment, clearly demonstrates that the American people in Maryland continue in substantial majority to dissent from the Court on this most critical issue.

We believe that the Maryland vote, in its context, has maximum national significance. It says loud and clear that Congressional inaction on hundreds of prayer amendment bills cannot any longer be tolerated. It says loud and clear that, even if circumstances now forestall implementation in Maryland of the massive will of its people, this must not be the end of the matter. Those circumstances themselves must be changed. A national prayer amendment, worded similar to the Maryland amendment, must be enabled. All this is by no means "meaningless." All this deserves much more than a blanket of silence.

What emerges emphatically is that Marylanders, demonstrating what other polls have

indicated is a clear national will, have won a battle but that the war itself continues. Just as every voter in Maryland who endorsed Question #9 must now direct his active attention to the Congress, so every American who believes in public prayer must now realize that only a constitutional amendment at the national level can do the job which must be done. The people of Maryland, however, given their geographic proximity to Washington, are in a particularly advantageous position to spear-head the national effort. If they meant what they said on November 3, 1970 they should now visit, telephone, write their Senators and their Congressmen demanding immediate action on those hundreds of prayer amendment bills which remain locked, on the House side, in the Judiciary Committee chaired by Emanuel Celler, and on the Senate side, in the Constitutional Amendment Subcommittee chaired by Birch Bayh.

Despite the favorable Senate vote on October 13, it now appears that effective Congressional progress on a prayer amendment will occur only when the new Congress convenes in January 1971. At that time, in the Senate several anti-amendment votes will have been replaced by pro-amendment votes. There would seem to be a good chance that this could result in early action, but only if the American people everywhere, and especially Marylanders, make their voices heard now strong and powerful. If there is not just such a national NOISE FOR PRAYER at this time, the prayer issue could once again fade away and be lost in the files of recalcitrant committee chairmen.

Formed more than seven years ago, Citizens for Public Prayer continues to press for democracy on the question of public prayer. Wholly non-partisan and non-sectarian, Citizens for Public Prayer is convinced that while prayer itself is important in our schools involved in the issue is the matter of public reverence in its entirety. It is abundantly clear that Mrs. Madalyn Murray O'Hair and other opponents of school prayer regard their Supreme Court victory not as an end in itself but as a vital beginning in the drive to remove God completely from our public life. Supporters of free school prayer must similarly be aware that they fight for a whole cluster of issues, indeed for the very survival of the concept that America is "One Nation Under God!"

Citizens for Public Prayer has prepared an excellent background paper entitled "Questions and Answers on Public Prayer", available at \$.50 the copy postpaid. Other literature is available free to those who send a self-addressed and stamped envelope to Citizens for Public Prayer, 3004 Adams Street N.E., Washington, D.C., 20018.

Meanwhile, as seldom before, there is need for union in prayer and noise everywhere for prayer. Seldom has it been more necessary than it is right now that America become again a Nation on Its Knees in Prayer!

**MISS KIMBERLEY DIANNE GRAHAM,  
MORROW, GA., NAMED MISS  
AMERICAN TEEN-AGER**

**HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE**

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, the State of Georgia is very proud of Miss Kimberley Dianne Graham, of Morrow, Ga., who has been named "Miss American Teen-Ager." This is indeed a high honor, and I wish to extend my personal

congratulations to Miss Graham and her parents.

Kim, 14, a ninth-grade student at Babb Junior High School in Forest Park, Ga., describes herself as "just a regular teenager." She is enthusiastic about representing America's teenagers for the next year and describes her generation as "happy, full of life, and willing to speak out for what they want."

As for coping with any problems crossing the generation gap, Kim insists that there is no generation gap as far as she is concerned. She says:

We don't have that problem in my family. I think if parents would get together and understand their children, things would turn out all right. My own family is very close.

Kim who is of the Baptist faith, attends the Second Baptist Church in Forest Park, Ga., where she sings in the church choir.

Also active in 4-H Club work, in which she has been a dedicated member for the past 4 years, she won the first place talent award for the past 3 years in the Clayton County 4-H Clubs talent competition. She is likewise proud of her winning honorable mention in the 1970 Science Fair.

Kim is a member of the drama club at her school and is very interested in the Little Theater work. Her ambition in life is to be part of the entertainment world. She plans to attend college but does not yet know where.

Following her coronation as "Miss American Teen-Ager," Kim wrote a poem about herself. I ask unanimous consent that the poem and a news release concerning her award be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MISS AMERICAN TEEN-AGER, INC.,  
PALISADES AMUSEMENT PARK,  
Palisade, N.J.

Kimberley Dianne Graham, 14, of Morrow, Georgia, winner of the 11th annual Miss American Teen-Ager Contest at Palisades Amusement Park, N.J., is a perfect example of beauty and brains that exists in many teen-agers today. Kim, the oldest of two daughters of Mr. and Mrs. C. D. Graham, came out of a battle with death at the age of four. She topped a field of 51 national finalists selected from more than 250,000 girls between the ages of 13 through 17 who entered the 1970 Miss American Teen-Ager Contest. Following her coronation on September 11th at Palisades Amusement Park, N.J., she returned home and wrote a poem about herself which is as follows:

ALL ABOUT ME

(By Kimberley Dianne Graham)

A long time ago, at the age of three;  
I dreamed of a Ballerina, the star was me.  
I awoke each morning, with the sun in my face;  
To gaze at the little shoes that lay in their place.

I danced through the years and I sang here and there;  
Still Building my castles in the air.  
I did a bit of acting along the way;  
Wanting by now, to be an actress someday.  
I became a registered model about a year ago;

Here my talent was allowed to show.  
I worked hard in the life, of which I chose;

And I prayed each night to succeed, God knows.

I prayed for God to let me see;  
The world of entertainment must have a place for me.  
And in my heart, I guess I knew;  
Bigger, Bigger things I must pursue.

I entered the Georgia Pageant for teen-age queens;

My head was filled with such lovely things.  
I remember thinking should failure come to me;  
The tears that I shed no one would ever see.

I would not give up if I did not win;  
Who Knows? ? ? Grandmother of the year twenty hundred and ten.  
But in the year 1970, on August one five;  
I was the happiest teen-ager alive.

For I won that title that I wanted to win;  
Now I don't wait for twenty hundred and ten.

I was excited! I was scared! for I knew what this means;  
I was to compete with the nations top teens.

But I vowed to myself, my cool I would keep;  
Though the climb to the top seemed so very steep.

So I took my place among the beauties so rare;

I began to wonder what was I doing there.  
But I decided to give it all that I had;  
And I guess Georgia's teen was not really so bad.

Though all that I hoped for was to place in top ten;

I really didn't think I had a chance to win.  
And then by some miracle right out of the blue;

I had a chance to show what a Georgia girl could do.

They asked for a dancer and I raised my hand high;

I don't know what prompted me, I don't know why.

I was given the lead in the opening skit;  
I'm not bragging, but I made a hit.  
In the final call left standing, the girls numbered five;

I felt numb, not even alive.

I cannot express my feeling within;  
When I, Kimberley, took the crown again.  
I walked down that ramp with my head held high;

Not daring to ask of myself why.

My heart and my being was so full of love;  
God must have liked me from somewhere above.

I cannot think all that was said;  
For such unbelievable things filled my head.

And now all this attention that I am receiving;

Miss American Teen-Ager is still not believing.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RECENT  
SOVIET SPACE FLIGHTS TO THE  
MOON

**HON. GEORGE P. MILLER**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, recently I requested Mr. George M. Low, Acting Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Admin-

istration, to advise me on the significance of the recent Soviet space flights to the moon. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to bring Mr. Low's response to my request to the attention of my colleagues:

NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE

ADMINISTRATION,

Washington, D.C., November 25, 1970.

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER,

Chairman, Committee on Science and Astronautics, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in response to your request for my views on the significance of the recent Soviet space flights to the moon. In addressing this subject, I found it best to discuss four related issues: the direct comparison of Apollo 11 and 12 with Luna 16 and 17; a review of the trends in United States and Soviet space programs; a discussion of the use of manned and unmanned space systems; and a brief conclusion about the significance of these flights, now and in the future.

COMPARISON OF APOLLO AND LUNA

Luna 17, with its self-propelled vehicle Lunokhod, and Luna 16, with its automatic sample return, are technically impressive; but as isolated events, their import to science and technology is relatively minor. We demonstrated United States scientific and technological leadership with Apollo 11, and that lead is still ours. We have now had four men on the surface of the moon—they have had none. We have returned 123 pounds of lunar material—they have returned 3 or 4 ounces. We brought together the best of our manned and unmanned capabilities when our astronauts emplaced an automated station on the moon that has now sent back scientific information for more than a year: we have gained an enormous amount of information about the moon, about its structure and composition, about its age and its properties—the Soviets have added very little.

So, when we view Luna 16 and 17 in the light of Apollo 11 and 12, the conclusions are clear: the United States leads today in space science and space technology. If we have any doubt about this, we need only imagine the reverse situation—Soviet cosmonauts on the moon, followed more than a year later by a few small automated American spacecraft. As a nation, we would not be satisfied with that situation.

TRENDS IN U.S.S.R. AND U.S. CAPABILITIES

But when we view Luna 17, not as an isolated event, but in the context of the overall trends in the Soviet space program and in ours, we must reach another conclusion. These are the facts:

Our launch rate has been steadily decreasing, while theirs is increasing (see attached charts).

In 1970, so far, they have placed 74 payloads into space, while the United States has had 31.

They have seldom missed a launch window in the exploration of Venus and Mars; our planetary program has many gaps.

Soviet commentators have implied that the USSR has plans to return samples and use self-propelled vehicles on our neighboring planets; we have no such plans.

The Soviets have a systematic continuing manned space flight program. Soyuz 9, an 18 day mission and the longest manned flight to date was their latest step.

They have demonstrated a capability, with their Zond spacecraft, for manned circum-lunar flight, and could soon conduct such a flight.

The Soyuz and Zond programs could also lead to a manned earth orbital space station. The Soviets have stated that they expect to fly a space station before we do.

It has been reported that the Soviets are developing a booster in the giant Saturn V

class; we have suspended production of ours. With such a booster, they would then be able to have permanent space bases in earth orbit, a manned outpost on the moon, or an automated planetary sample return capability.

We are rapidly losing the capability that made us first. On NASA programs alone, total employment has decreased from 420,000 in 1966 to a level of 160,000 now. Engineers and scientists are leaving the field by the thousands; young men are no longer going into these fields, because the future is uncertain. When the need again arises to rebuild our aerospace industry, to meet military requirements, or to meet a desire to move forward more rapidly in the exploration of space, we may no longer have the ability to do so.

Soviet research and development is estimated to be significantly greater than that of the United States—and growing at a rate of at least ten percent per year; United States research and development has leveled and is dropping.

Estimates of actual expenditures indicate that the USSR is spending somewhat more each year on their space programs than we are on ours. (In terms of percentage of gross national product, their space expenditures are more than double ours.)

From these facts, I can reach only one conclusion: unless we reverse the current trends in the U.S. space program, we must be prepared to give up our lead.

MANNED VERSUS UNMANNED SYSTEMS

The Soviet successes with Luna 16 and 17 have once again stimulated a debate on manned versus unmanned systems. Some of the Soviet statements and some of the comments in the U.S. have given the impression that Luna 16 and 17 show that the Soviets can accomplish unmanned (and at lower cost) what we seek to do manned (and at higher cost).

The fact is that the Soviet program, like our own, recognizes that manned flights offer important advantages in exploration and other complex missions. As I have already stated, they have a continuing manned program, appear to be increasing their manned capabilities, and are supporting a total space program containing strong manned and unmanned components. Today the Soviets are proud of Luna 16 and 17; but only a few months ago, they were just as proud of their cosmonauts' achievements with Soyuz 9, and rightly so.

In the United States, both manned and unmanned systems have made great contributions in the first 12 years of the space program. Our unmanned spacecraft have evolved into increasingly sophisticated and useful devices, including experimental and operational meteorological and communications satellites; geophysical and astronomical observatories; lunar spacecraft like Ranger, Orbiter, and Surveyor; and planetary probes like Mariner that brought back the first closeup pictures of Mars. Manned systems include Mercury, which demonstrated man's capability in space; Gemini, where man developed operational proficiency; and Apollo, where man first set foot on another body in space.

The principal goal of Apollo was to establish and to demonstrate United States pre-eminence in space science and technology through a manned lunar landing. But Apollo did more than that: it also demonstrated that important scientific results can be attained in manned space flight. It is virtually impossible to conceive of practical unmanned systems that could accomplish many of the most important things done by our astronauts—the discovery of unexpected features of the moon, the careful selection and documentation of lunar samples, and the reporting of conditions on the moon other than those measured directly by instruments selected in advance. Unmanned robot systems

approaching the capabilities of the astronauts would, through their complexity, tend to approach manned systems in cost without ever matching their capability.

One may, in my view, generalize from these remarks as follows: when the details of a space mission can be defined in advance and when the task to be performed is relatively straight-forward, an unmanned system can best do the job; however, when objectives cannot be fully defined in advance, when we seek to explore the unknown or to perform tasks of great complexity, the presence of man with his unique intelligence and versatile physical capabilities offers essential advantages. And while individual unmanned systems may be less costly than those that are manned, a total unmanned program, which attempts to approach the capabilities of a manned system, would not be substantially cheaper. For these reasons, the U.S. space program makes use of manned and unmanned system—each has its place in exploration of the unknown.

CONCERN ABOUT THE FUTURE

In summary, if we view Luna 16 and 17 as isolated events, when we view them in the light of our past achievements, we can still be proud of what we have done—we can still state that we have demonstrated that our science and technology, produced by our way of life and in our system of government, is superior to theirs. We can still be proud of the high rate of scientific results and technological progress our total national program is providing.

But when we view Luna 16 and 17 in the context of the trends in our program and theirs, then we must be concerned about our future in aeronautics and space—about our position of leadership that we have worked so hard to achieve.

I am sending a similar letter to Chairman Clinton P. Anderson of the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, in response to his request.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE M. LOW,  
Acting Administrator.

EARTH ORBITAL, LUNAR AND PLANETARY PAYLOADS  
UNITED STATES AND U.S.S.R., CALENDAR YEAR 1970,  
AS OF NOV. 19, 1970

Month	United States	U.S.S.R.
January	3	5
February	2	3
March	3	5
April	7	16
May	2	2
June	2	9
July	2	3
August	4	8
September	3	6
October	1	14
November	2	3
Total	31	74

Source: Satellite situation report.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—  
HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, a child asks: "Where is daddy?" A mother asks: "How is my son?" A wife asks: "Is my husband alive or dead?"

Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,500 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

## EDUCATION'S EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE ENVIRONMENT

**HON. J. CALEB BOGGS**

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, manpower development programs have been an important aspect of several of the pollution control laws adopted recently by the Congress. Pollution control legislation simply cannot work unless there is manpower trained to implement it.

It is heartening to me that many colleges across the Nation have accepted this challenge and have initiated courses in pollution research and pollution control technology. Colleges in my own State of Delaware have been particularly active in this field.

Recently, I was very much impressed by an article that appeared in the Sun magazine, published by the Baltimore Sun newspaper, on the environmental activities at the Charles County Community College in our neighboring State of Maryland.

The article discusses the college's 3-year-old program in pollution abatement techniques, and the success the program has had.

As this article effectively describes the work that is repeated in many States and in many colleges, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

### A COLLEGE INTENDS TO IMPROVE THE ENVIRONMENT

People at Charles County Community College are just as proud of a sewage disposal plant as they are of the attractive new colonial buildings on their campus. It's not that the facility looks glamorous but it means something special to many of the faculty and staff, to some of the students and even to residents of the area served by the college.

The plant symbolizes the college's efforts to distinguish itself by contributing to manpower development and eventually to the improvement of the environment.

Long before Earth Day and the many political proclamations began, Charles County Community College had announced that environmental control education was a field in which the institution could specialize, much as the University of Maryland might make a name for itself in agriculture or the University of Michigan in law or medicine.

More than three years ago, the college began seeking funds to organize educational programs for men and women who "care about fields, plants and animals, streets and inland waterways, beaches and shore lines, the air we breathe." Federal, state and local support was obtained to develop programs in pollution abatement technology and in solid waste technology, according to J. N. Carsey, president of the college.

He credits Belva Jensen, head of the biology department, with developing the project. Several county sanitary inspectors took a course in biology under Mrs. Jensen. Upon completing the course, they decided that they would have done their jobs differently and better had they had the benefit of the course earlier.

From this experience, Mrs. Jensen decided that a course specially designed for pollution control might prove effective. At the

time, for example, there were, according to state health authorities, only three certified sewage treatment plant operators in Maryland.

Mrs. Jensen, with backing from Mr. Carsey, who helped find federal support, planned a three-point program: curriculum development, construction of a science and technology center for laboratories and classrooms and building the sewage disposal plant to serve the college and community while giving students practical experience. All have been realized. In the fall of 1969 classes began with some 20 students enrolled—including one "committed housewife."

"Community colleges," says Mr. Carsey, who was one of the youngest college presidents in the country when he took the post five years ago at the age of 35, "are ideally suited to work in the pollution control field. The improvement of the environment is really a local problem which has to be tackled on a local basis—naturally with help and direction at the national level.

"Moreover," he continues, "much of the work that needs to be done in improving the water and air can be accomplished by well-trained technicians."

Charles County Community College is in an ideal area for the investigation of pollution problems. Natural laboratories abound: The Tobacco River, the Potomac, even Chesapeake Bay. The college is near Port Tobacco. These "labs" are used for the testing equipment and training in pollution control techniques.

When all the environmental equipment is installed, the college will prepare men and women to manage sewage and water treatment operations, do research and analytical work on pollution control and engage in laboratory and field operations. Those who complete the program can look forward to well-paying jobs since there is a shortage of personnel in the field.

Carl Schwing now is in charge of the pollution control program at the college. He describes himself as a white hat—a sanitary engineer—who worked his way through college as a sewage plant engineer. He can trace pollution control techniques through the centuries from the Babylonians to the present. He feels the Babylonians probably had systems as good or better than those in operation today.

Schwing is optimistic about the college's efforts at improving the environment and providing careers. But he knows it is not easy to glamorize some of the work areas in sewage disposal.

In addition to what has already been accomplished by the college, there are plans to use the campus for demonstrating the first complete recycling operation in the country. All wastes—liquid, solid, heat and even noise—will be reused within the system. For example, instead of burning used exam papers as is the custom now, they will be remade into new examination papers. The heat now pumped into the atmosphere from air conditioners in the summer will be stored and used by the college. The college will make extensive use of its large computer installations for machine teaching to allow students to advance at their own pace.

Charles County Community College is appropriate in many ways as the site for pioneering efforts to educate men and women to improve the environment.

While the campus is in a beautiful wooded setting, once a tobacco farm, the institution serves an area which lost its major industry when slot machines were banned in Maryland several years ago. The college is in LaPlata, on the once bustling 301 strip. Abandoned motels are reminders of the halcyon days.

Opened in 1958 at a vacant Nike missile site, the college has become a major cultural resource for the community. It has an enrollment of about 1,000 students, drawing from the surrounding area.

It offers work leading to transfer to four-year colleges and universities at the end of two years—and offers, in addition to the pollution control technologies, a variety of other technical courses of study. Its new computer center serves the community as well as the students.

"And that," says Mr. Carsey, "is why we exist. For we are a community college. Our job is to improve the community. If we can help clean up the environment and simultaneously prepare people for rewarding jobs, then we will have gone a long way toward fulfilling the promise of the community college."

## A NEW PROPOSAL FOR STREAMLINING OUR TRANSPORTATION REGULATIONS

**HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, December 1, 1970, Mr. John A. Creedy, president of the Water Transport Association at a Transportation Association of America meeting here in Washington proposed a new idea for possibly streamlining our transportation regulations through the creation of a multimodal transportation court of review.

Mr. Speaker, I found Mr. Creedy's ideas interesting and request permission to include them at this point in the RECORD as food for thought for all the Members:

### PROPOSAL FOR STREAMLINING TRANSPORT REGULATION THROUGH A FEDERAL TRANSPORTATION COURT OF REVIEW

Suggestions for the reform of transportation regulation have long been among the livelier topics of conversation wherever transportation people have gathered. It is difficult to have a considered reaction to many of the proposals brought up at these times because they are seldom precisely defined. This is so with the single regulatory agency idea. But in a time of rapid development we must, above all, be receptive to change.

Most reactions I have heard so far on the single regulatory agency represent fears of what might be. Regaling you with a list of such fears would simply parade objections which might be quite irrelevant to the exact proposal.

For example it would be important not to confuse a complete rewriting of transport law with a proposal for streamlining and expediting the regulatory process. One can have serious doubts about the usefulness of the former, but no objection to the latter.

Since we do not have a precise proposal before us, it is hopeless to try to develop a considered industry reaction. I will therefore give you some personal views from the standpoint of one who has been very close to the key policy problems of surface and air transportation over many years. If I had a dollar for every hour I have spent participating in discussions on the general topic "what would really help promote a better transport system" I would be wealthy enough not to need to be here at all.

At the end of one such session, years ago, the late Captain A. C. Ingersoll, Jr., then president of Federal Barge Lines, choosing his words very carefully, said: "I guess what we all really need is for Congress to pass a law which says the regulatory agencies have to do what the laws which Congress has already passed say they should do."

Anyone who has followed the issues of the past 15 years in the Congress cannot help but be impressed by the fact—as President Kennedy discovered for himself—that there are no votes in solving the transportation problems of the country. The issues are just too complex and too immediate. The old saying that on questions of foreign policy you leave party behind at the water's edge also curiously applies to transportation; party is left behind in the consideration of transport issues. There are no party positions on most of these problems; there are only very senior and very experienced men of both parties trying for fair solutions to extremely difficult public interest problems.

Congress over the years has created equitable and balanced broad mandates. These mandates have, of course, necessarily required expert interpretation and application by the regulatory commissions.

Between the broad mandates of the Congress and the final interpretation of a sentence or a phrase by the Supreme Court, a great deal of time passes, a lot of it very necessary because large issues are involved, a lot of it, many believe, unnecessary.

The suggestion is made that the regulatory agencies be merged so that the unnecessary part of the process can be eliminated. The major fear is that this will necessarily mean a re-writing of all the transport statutes and that the precedents which give certainty to so much of transport law will thereby be lost. For those carriers and shippers who have invested millions in legal fees to help establish such certainty as exists and beyond that more millions in equipment and facilities relying on that certainty, the prospect of having to start all over from the beginning is indeed appalling. Since Congressional mandates, however well drawn, are necessarily broad and sweeping and necessarily require interpretation in the light of experience, no one can deny that a general re-writing of the transport law would be viewed with alarm by almost everyone. However, if we focus on the needs of the transport industry and the public it serves, no such re-writing appears necessary.

In a brief paper such as this one can do no more than indicate the major areas in which improvement is needed. But there will be general agreement on what they are: streamlining the regulatory process, invigorating competition so that self-regulation reduces government intervention and a new approach to the revenue and earnings requirements of the industry as a whole. Solve these three problems and the rest will go away.

The new permanent chairman of the ICC, Mr. George Stafford, has recognized and appears ready to tackle the first major requirement: a general streamlining and improvement in regulatory practice. Some eight years ago, a noted judge of the Federal bench, Henry J. Friendly, laid out in a book on the Federal regulatory agencies some pragmatic suggestions as to how general mandates of the Congress can be reduced to workable, stable, dependable precedents so that much more certainty will prevail and the present burdensome repetitive law suits eliminated. "I do suggest," Judge Friendly writes in his book, "that during three quarters of a century of regulatory experience in the railroad field and several decades in others, many patterns have recurred frequently enough so that now it should be possible to articulate bases of administrative determination more specific than we have generally had, even though these cannot be expected to be as immutable as the law of the Medes and the Persians." In a recent speech, Mr. Stafford noted, "I agree with Judge Henry Friendly that there has been undue concentration on

procedure at the expense of substance. It seems to me we must steer away from ad hoc consideration of each issue. Similar issues should be grouped in order to produce unified policy declarations."

A second major requirement is unquestionably to invigorate competition within the modes and between the modes. Competition is the great self-regulator and is most likely to bring home to the people the fruits of good management and technological innovation. We hear much favorable mention today of lessening the regulatory restraints. The water carriers would be the first to agree that the less intervention there is by government, the better. We have long been much attracted by the idea of carrying over into the transportation field some of the more successful principles which are applied to the economy generally under the anti-trust statutes.

As any student of transportation would at once agree, transport ratemaking, as we know it today, is an elaborate system of price discrimination. The existence of widespread discrimination of course provides the opportunity for cross-subsidization of abnormally low rates and many other abuses of economic power. The nub of the problem of promoting competition, at least intermodal competition, it seems to us, is the development of an objective standard to determine the relative efficiency of the various means of transportation. Once that is done, a more efficient carrier or an equally efficient carrier should not be precluded from competing for the traffic by power tactics having nothing to do with efficiency. Encouraging price competition based on relative efficiency seems to us to be a readily attainable goal and one that would ensure the revitalization of competition which is so essential to the attainment of maximum business productivity. What's needed here is the adoption of reliable, meaningful standards for determining efficiency and restraining monopoly power plays. This is well within the capacity of the Commission in the first instance as the expert agency.

The third major requirement is to establish some clear guidelines in the area of revenues and earnings. On the one hand, we see a tremendous public need for new investment in transport facilities to serve our expanding economy, and, particularly, to take advantage of the productivity rewards of new technology. On the other hand, we see what amounts to a flight of capital from transportation which is assuming serious proportions.

The problem isn't an easy one; but we know the Congress and the Supreme Court are far ahead of any of us in their thinking on this subject. They have laid down broad mandates to the regulatory agencies to deal with it. Such encouraging phrases on rate levels as these proceeded from the Supreme Court in 1923 in decisions involving the Transportation Act of 1920. The Act sought, according to the Supreme Court, "to enable carriers 'properly to meet the transportation needs of the public,'" and, "to give due consideration to the 'transportation needs of the country . . . and the necessity of enlarging [transportation] facilities,'" and again "to 'best meet the emergency and serve the public interest,'" and still again, to "best promote the service in the interest of the public and the commerce of the people."

In 1925, Chief Justice William Howard Taft, speaking for a unanimous court, in a case involving the Dayton-Goose Creek Railway, made specific reference to the need "to secure a fair return upon the properties of the carriers engaged."

So, really, there can be no doubt of the long time sympathy of the Congress, the Commission and the Courts for the revenue and earnings needs of the carriers. It is the

water carrier view that the transport industry itself needs to speak with a much more sophisticated and unified voice on the subject of its own needs. Today, the fashion is to cite wage and materials cost increases as justification for needed increases in rates. We play a game of catch-up in which rate increases inevitably lag a year or more behind the wage increases. There is, in our view, a failure of imagination on this subject and a great need for a new look at the whole concept of what constitutes an adequate rate level.

As I go about the country discussing this issue, shippers do not say they don't want to or can't pay reasonable rates. Nor would they oppose a plan to help transportation break out of its cost and rate increase lock-step through investment in more productive ways of doing the job. Far from it. Increasingly, they are becoming alarmed about the deterioration of the service and the lack of adequate investment.

The industry has, it seems to me, failed to make a case to its customers as to what it would do with improved revenues and earnings. For it is true in transportation as it is in manufacturing that the way to stable rates and even, perhaps lower rates, can only come through investment in increased productivity and there is plenty of increased productivity in transportation to be purchased.

That's why the Water Transport Association has been urging a forward survey of the capital requirements of the transportation industry so that the shippers, the executive branch of government and the Congress can understand the size and shape of our problem. That's why we have urged that the ICC recognize in rate increase cases not only the obvious labor and material cost increases, but the true current cost of capital and the true current replacement cost of the equipment and facilities which have to be replaced.

And that's why the Water Transport Association has recently been urging, in the light of the critical need for new thinking in this important area, that the transportation industry develop an all-transportation package of reform beneficial alike to railroads, truckers, water carriers and such others as may be interested in working with us. We borrow our money from the same bankers, appeal to the same investors, service the same public. It is only logical that we should have the same approach to adequacy of revenues and earnings.

Transportation is, after all, the most necessary of industries. A common approach by all modes would be far more effective in developing necessary reforms, particularly in providing an adequate incentive and return for investment capital, than our present splintered programs, most of which, if the past is any guide, are doomed in advance because they concern themselves mainly with benefitting one group at the expense of another. The fact is that the economy under-values transportation and its services and this is the fundamental idea the public has to recognize sooner or later.

I have balled down to three main issues the principle concerns of the transportation industry: improving the regulatory process, invigorating competition and more sophisticated recognition of the revenues and earnings needs of the carriers.

What sort of single regulatory agency would assist in solving these fundamental concerns without exposing us to the danger that such an agency might simply pyramid the present commissions and add still another layer to the bureaucracy? It seems to me there is much to be said for more intensive use of the judicial review or appeal stage. There has been some criticism of court processes in the past, but this might well be dramatically

improved if a special bench of Federal judges were to be convened basically for the purpose of helping give precision and clarity to necessarily broad Congressional mandates. The statutes would remain the same, the precedents would in no way be disturbed, the Commissions would retain their present powers, but above it all would be a transportation bench establishing lasting principles, insisting that repetitive issues be grouped, that proper standards be developed and that the Commissions fulfill the leadership role intended for them as administrators of the overall objectives of the Congress.

Under this system, an issue would go first to the expert body, the Commission, then to the Transportation Bench and then to the Supreme Court.

To avoid the danger of judicial specialization and to bring to transportation the breadth of experience which comes from familiarity with issues in the economy generally, I would not have appointments to the Transportation Bench made permanent. I would rotate service on this bench from the general roster of Federal judges throughout the country.

As one reviews the objectives stated for the single regulatory agency—impartial treatment of all forms of transportation, non-discriminatory rates, workable competition, the integration of the several forms of transportation in an efficient, economical and progressive national system, consistency of decisions with the broad body of public policy objectives—the idea of a Federal Transportation Bench becomes quite attractive. One can read the statutes in vain for any language which presently precludes decisions which do all of that. There seems no need to rewrite the statutes. The problem, to the extent there is one, seems more of a type that would yield to judicial review. A Transportation Bench might therefore be a most economical short cut to the objectives we all seek.

**CAPT. LOREN TORKELSON  
IS ALIVE**

**HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE**

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, since 1967, Mr. and Mrs. Leland Torkelson of Crosby, N. Dak., and their daughter-in-law, Mrs. Loren Torkelson of Sacramento, have anxiously watched the mail deliveries, hoping against hope that word would come from North Vietnam that Captain Torkelson was at least alive.

Last week, the Torkelson family received 3 letters from the Captain. The efforts of the Torkelsons were rewarded, but only to a degree. Captain Torkelson is still a prisoner of war.

Mrs. Leland Torkelson is the North Dakota Coordinator of the League of Families of Prisoners of War, and we are all familiar with the tremendous efforts they have made on behalf of the nearly 1,500 men who are either prisoners of war or listed as missing in action. Their efforts have not been in vain, because the flow of letters is beginning. But the league and all of us must keep the pressure on Hanoi to abide by the Geneva Convention and, at the very least, give these men the humane treatment they as human beings deserve.

The Torkelsons have not given up, and we must not give up, either.

Following is a news story which appeared in the November 28 edition of the *Minot Daily News*:

**LETTERS FROM CROSBY MAN HELD PRISONER  
ARRIVE**

CROSBY.—The wife and parents of a prisoner of war who has been held captive for 3½ years received three letters last week from North Vietnam.

Capt. Loren Torkelson, who was captured in 1967 when his plane was shot down over North Vietnam, sent three letters to his wife, now teaching school in Sacramento, Calif., and his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Leland Torkelson of Crosby.

The letters indicated Capt. Torkelson was in good health. They acknowledged receipt of a package in August and requested some items for Christmas.

The letters were postmarked in August, September and October.

**HOUSE SMALL BUSINESS COMMITTEE  
ISSUES REPORT CALLING  
FOR VIGOROUS ENFORCEMENT  
OF ANTITRUST LAWS—INCLUDING  
THE ROBINSON-PATMAN ACT**

**HON. JOE L. EVINS**

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the House Select Committee on Small Business, of which I am privileged to serve as chairman, has recently issued a report entitled *Small Business and the Robinson-Patman Act*. This is a study of enforcement of the antitrust laws by the Federal Trade Commission—specifically the Robinson-Patman Act. Copies of this report, No. 91-1617, are available upon request from our committee.

The declared national policy, both by way of legislation and judicial pronouncements, is that small business is a cornerstone of our Nation's economy. One of the solid foundations upon which small business exists is the antitrust laws, including the Robinson-Patman Act, with its insistence on fair pricing policies for small businessmen.

In recent years a number of task forces or study groups have reported upon our public policy of antitrust law enforcement. Some of these reports have seemed to have as their purpose the design of weakening of the antitrust laws—with recommendations against vigorous enforcement of the Robinson-Patman Act.

As chairman of the House Small Business Committee, I appointed a special subcommittee to make a comprehensive and objective study and inquiry into the matters covered by these reports, particularly with respect to their implications for the small business community. This subcommittee held hearings on October 7-9, 1969, February 4-6, 26-27, and March 3, 4, and 11, 1970, and developed a thorough and extensive record regarding the Robinson-Patman Act and its enforcement by the Federal Trade Commission.

The report of this special subcommittee has recently been released and I ask unanimous consent that the recommendations of the report be included in the RECORD.

The recommendations follow:

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

As a result of the hearings, the subcommittee recommends that the Federal Trade Commission:

(1) In order to clarify its position and dispel uncertainty in the business community, the legal profession, and the Congress of the United States with regard to its intentions, promulgate and publish in the *Federal Register* a public statement on the agency's enforcement policy under the Robinson-Patman Act.

(2) Prepare a report to this committee and other appropriate committees of the Congress covering enforcement proceedings brought by the agency and the compliance activities undertaken. Empirical data must be developed upon which a determination can be made as to whether the act has been enforced as originally intended by Congress and in accordance with the agency's publicly stated policy.

(3) That while the agency study and report is in progress, and until directed otherwise by the Congress, the Commission vigorously enforce all sections of the Robinson-Patman Act as enacted by the Congress.

(4) Upon completion of the report we recommend that the Federal Trade Commission file its conclusions and recommendations with this committee, and other appropriate committees of the Congress.

(5) On a periodic basis, as requested by the committee, make available such pertinent data as Robinson-Patman Act investigations initiated and closed, assurances of voluntary compliance accepted, consent orders negotiated, complaints issued, and decisions rendered by the Commission in the public interest.

**FEDERAL PAY RAISE**

**HON. CHARLES M. TEAGUE**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, I received the following telegram from my constituent, Mr. Roshan W. Dyar of Oxnard, Calif., who is anxious that the message it contains reach all Members of Congress.

OXNARD, CALIF., November 29, 1970.

CHARLES M. TEAGUE,  
*House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.*

Please have this message read, loud clear, before the house or Representatives, and the Senate. Inasmuch as the Congress is determined to continue giving away tax money by the billions in the form of deductions, exemptions, allowances, benefits, and incentives, to the affluent and big money—enterprises at the expense of untenable payroll deductions it is only fair that the congress guarantee their million and a quarter on organized federal employees the annual cost-of-living pay adjustment promised by the pending pay reform bill. Organized labor wins unlimited pay increases far beyond the increase cost-of-living indexes.

Collective bargaining is impossible with government employees because their management is powerless to comply with any decision.

There is no wage classification breakdown in Government employment to differentiate between the rights of engineers, clerks, lawyers, mechanics, supervisors, janitors, doctors, and mail carriers. The total cost of taking your two million federal-postal work force out of financial slavery would be far less than you now cheerfully give away in the form of farm subsidies, oil allowances, foun-



dations, and foreign aid, while our own organized poor and welfare recipients destructively march on our cities and campuses, just as the French peasants once marched on the Bastille and destroyed the aristocracy.

ROSHAN W. DYAR.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON S. 2224 TO  
AMEND THE INVESTMENT COM-  
PANY ACT OF 1940

**HON. RAY BLANTON**

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, the conference report, House Report 91-1631, does not fairly represent the position of the Subcommittee on Commerce and Finance in connection with the pending amendments to the Investment Company Act of 1940, which is a great disappointment to me. When we debated this bill on the House floor on September 23, I said:

Mr. Chairman, although I voted for H.R. 17333 in the subcommittee and in the full committee, it was only on the basis of my understanding that our committee and its senior members on both sides of the aisle would strongly support the bill on the floor and in conference with S. 2224, a substantially different bill, which was approved by the Senate May 26, 1969.

When the Senate considered this legislation in May of 1969, economic conditions were vastly different on Wall Street, in the mutual fund industry, and in business communities across the Nation. Many important aspects of the legislation were not even discussed by the SEC, witnesses, or Senators at that time.

When the legislation came before our subcommittee in the House we held extensive hearings and had before us an entirely different economic situation in the country. As a result of very careful study and the testimony of competent and impartial witnesses, we included in H.R. 17333 a number of provisions which we considered vital to improving investor protection and at the same time adequately providing compensation for securities salesmen and an opportunity for profitability for securities brokers, dealers, and underwriters. Senior Members on both sides of the aisle reportedly gave assurances that these provisions of the House bill would be defended in conference if we would support the legislation. A number of us voted for the bill only on the understanding that a good faith effort would be made to bring out a balanced bill, reasonably meeting the requirements of increased investor protection.

As I read the conference report, the House bill has literally been gutted and we have an even more restrictive bill than the Senate itself proposed. The Senate bill included in section 32a authority for the Securities and Exchange Commission to go into Federal court and sue mutual fund managements for breach of fiduciary duty in proper cases, but only where personal misconduct might be involved. This provision is consistent with basic principles of corporate democracy. Certainly no investment adviser or man-

ager should be sued for a breach of fiduciary duty on allegations of something less than personal misconduct. The conference committee removed this provision, and under S. 2224 it is now provided in section 32a that the Securities and Exchange Commission may go into Federal court and sue an investment adviser, asking not only for an injunction, but "such other relief as may be reasonable and appropriate in the circumstances." It seems to me that this opens the way for the SEC staff to challenge the judgment of investment advisers with which it does not agree, or to threaten court action for all kinds of activities which may not only be lawful, but which may well be in the interest of shareholders.

I think the conference committee made a serious mistake in not retaining in the bill they reported the provision of the House bill which would allow reasonable opportunity for profit for brokers and dealers and underwriters. We intended this provision as a protection for small business. There are some 4,000 broker-dealers registered in the United States, and about 80 percent of them would be classified as small businessmen. If the NASD, under the conference bill, can set mutual fund sales loads at a figure which does not allow a reasonable opportunity for profit, some of these small businessmen may be forced into bankruptcy or liquidation.

In the House bill we carefully considered the front-end load problem, and determined that investors would be adequately protected by permitting them a right to request a refund within 1 year of 80 percent of the sales load paid in purchasing a contractual plan. The conference committee rejected our provision, reduced the percentage to 15 percent and extended the time to 18 months. It is my understanding that this will make it virtually impossible for contractual plan sponsors to continue to provide this very favorable investment vehicle. The contractual plan allows persons of moderate income to become investors in mutual funds on the basis of periodic payments. The free enterprise system requires an ever-increasing number of investors participating in American industry. Most American families never have enough extra cash at one time to make a minimum investment in a mutual fund. The contractual plan permits this moderate income group to purchase mutual funds the same as they purchase their homes, automobiles, boats, and TV sets; that is, on an installment basis. This encourages thrift and savings and allows millions of persons to participate in risk taking in the securities markets through the vehicle of a mutual fund. The mutual fund itself provides continuous professional management and reduced investment risk by broad diversification of investments. A mutual fund shareholder actually purchases an interest in a pool of investments, and has the same advantage of professional management and diversification through this medium that has been heretofore available only to persons of high income and great wealth. The action of the conference committee in

rejecting the House provisions will deprive many Americans of a reasonable opportunity to become investors in the free enterprise system.

In the area of performance fees, the conference committee eliminated the provisions of the House bill which would have exempted American investment advisers of offshore, or foreign based funds, from the restrictions on performance fees that will now apply to U.S. mutual fund advisers. Performance fees are commonplace throughout American business. Every salesman who works on a commission basis is paid a percentage of the results he achieves. The contingent fee, based on performance, is a fundamental business incentive and is one of the great engines that motivates the free enterprise system. It is important to the U.S. securities industry that foreign investors be encouraged to purchase American mutual funds and the securities of American companies. This not only gives depth, liquidity and continuity to U.S. securities markets, but has an important affect on reducing the balance-of-payments deficit.

In yet another area, the Conference Committee rejected the House bill provision that would allow fund holding companies to have the same total sales load as the other mutual funds with which they compete. Under the Senate bill, the sales load will be limited to 1½ percent. This is not only unfair discrimination, but a case of Federal price fixing, unjustified by any evidence in the record before our subcommittee.

All of these considerations suggest to me that the Conference Committee simply did not take into account the vastly changed economic conditions that prevail in the securities markets today. In the House we had the advantage of a much closer relationship to events than existed in the Senate in May 1969, when they considered this legislation. I believe the Conference Committee made a serious mistake, and I for one would not have voted for the bill had I known that this would be the ultimate result. I believe S. 2224 in its present form is regressive, antisocial business, antisalesman, and antimiddle American investor. I would have hoped that we would strengthen the industry, increase investor protection, and make it possible for millions of more Americans to become equity participants in U.S. business. I am afraid S. 2224 turns back the clock and will limit these opportunities to the well-to-do, will stifle the growth in the number of shareholders in the United States, and will freeze the development of mutual funds.

1ST LT. ROBERT CHINQUINA

**HON. CLARENCE D. LONG**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, on July 28, 1970, 1st Lt. Robert Chinquina, of the 11th Armored Cavalry Division, was killed in Vietnam. In addition to his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph

Chinquina, he is survived by his wife, Ramona Vollerdt Chinquina, and his infant son, Robert, Jr. Lieutenant Chinquina was a graduate of the Pennsylvania Military College in Chester, Pa.

On November 5 of this year, Lieutenant Chinquina was posthumously commended and given an award by General Patterson (Ret.) on behalf of *Armor Magazine* for being one of the two most outstanding lieutenants commissioned from ROTC units or military colleges in the United States into the armored branch. Mrs. Chinquina received the award in her husband's name.

I should like to honor the memory of this young soldier by including this in the *RECORD*.

#### WASHINGTON'S BUILT-IN DESTABILIZERS

### HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the pressing problems of inflation and unemployment continue to cause untold hardships upon untold numbers of Americans. I have taken a strong stand against the Nixon administration's efforts and non-efforts in handling these problems.

Recently Dr. Virgil Salera, a former senior staff member of the Council of Economic Advisers, wrote an article on the inflation problem. I feel that it is most important that all Members of this Chamber and the readers of the *RECORD* to be fully aware of the alternative views on this issue. At this point, Mr. Speaker, I insert in the *RECORD* Dr. Salera's article, "Washington's Built-In Destabilizers," and I commend the reading of this article to my colleagues:

#### WASHINGTON'S BUILT-IN DESTABILIZERS (By Virgil Salera)

There's a new way to focus on the question whether Washington's so-called stabilization role is worth as much as it costs. While we've been taught that some transfer payments and taxes provide modest built-in stabilizers, we haven't paid attention to the Government's own powerful built-in destabilizers. In particular, the neglect of Washington's adverse impact on productivity—that is, output per man-hour worked—has been nearly disastrous. It's time we developed an awareness that growth of productivity is unpredictable, and yet not autonomously, cyclical.

For nearly 40 years Washington has believed that it alone controlled all the key levers for stabilizing a dynamic economy. Specifically, it thought it was fortunate to be able to count on increased aggregate spending to result in greater employment without inflation. The concurring view of most of the academic community was a powerful assist. Nearly everybody agreed that growing output per man-hour would prevent augmented total spending from markedly boosting prices and causing distortions in the economy.

#### CYCLICAL RISE

But what if productivity moved in jerky fashion, up in some periods and down in others—while yet conforming to a secular rise of some 3% a year? Then, our ability to attain and sustain economy-wide stability

would depend on a complex and as yet little-understood relationship. Stability would depend on whether Washington could adjust the policy instruments within its control—fiscal and monetary—so that Government-induced changes in aggregate demand would dovetail with unstable short-term productivity developments which, once unleashed by excessive demand, were outside Washington's control.

The complexity of the dovetailing process is indicated in part by the conditions under which Washington does and does not influence the short-term rate of productivity. Surely Washington is virtually without influence when the nation's aggregate demand has remained for some years safely below inflationary levels. It is only when Washington flirts with serious inflation that the Government's own policies set in motion productivity-lessening forces over which there is no central control.

It will be noted that all this is a far cry from the usual reassuring views about the safely dependable long-term sources of productivity growth: The gradual improvement of labor skills, increased capital per head, and more or less steady assists on the technological front. It was not until these forces took off about two centuries ago that mankind in most Western countries was able to free itself from virtual stagnation.

Growth admittedly has created new problems of major scope. "Quality-of-life" issues readily come to mind. We don't, however, want to meet such challenges by way of returning to a stagnating situation. Thus, we have to be sure that we can cope successfully with stability requirements. The outlook would be more reassuring if the totality of Government operations exhibited sufficient flexibility.

The substantial difficulties Washington is likely to face from here on stem largely from habits of aggregate demand management coupled with the size and momentum of the programs that pressure groups now ask the national Government to finance. Most taxpayers are painfully aware that expenditures follow an expansionism all their own. The thousands of Washington spending programs are ratchet-governed: Operations move along a one-way street—upward and outward.

We've shaped an enormous machine that lacks a reverse gear. Imagine the reactions of constituents to legislators who, at a time of nose-diving productivity, indicated that the right thing was to vote for "reverse gifts"—fewer "free" benefits.

Our analysis need not proceed on the purely hypothetical level. Its significance is well illustrated in terms of Lyndon Johnson's record budget deficit of fiscal 1968 and its lingering repercussions. Skyrocketing Government outlays were occurring just as productivity was diving. There was not a peep out of Washington about the productivity aspect of the situation. The "guidelines" had been quietly abandoned in 1966, and less formal White House "jawboning" had taken their place. Washington thought it could meet major companies, and talk them out of proposed price increases despite strong inflationary pressures. Business volume was high, so why shouldn't price moderation reflect assumed "economies" of production at high rates of capacity utilization? Actually, workers were getting more dollars but producing less per dollar. Productivity was in steep decline. Washington, not labor, was at fault, since it had made the fatal mistake of overstimulating aggregate demand.

#### THREE NEGATIVE EFFECTS

The Government's easy spending on a lavish scale had neglected at least three adverse effects. The spending facilitated massive job-hopping, encouraged business firms to go for heavy overtime, and sharply curtailed the rate at which our economy weeded out inefficient managers. Job-hopping at an excessive

pace makes for a socially wasteful rate of company recruiting, training and retraining, thus augmenting unit production costs that for a short period can easily be covered by raising product prices.

Heavy overtime, of course, is a classic productivity-lessening method of operation. And unintentionally making it easy for poor managers to survive just assures that the country gets small mileage from scarce resources under the control of those who should not be managing. Incidentally, Washington's flood of statistics sheds no light on these critical quantities.

It should be noted that an overemployed economy induces a marked fall in productivity. There is nothing autonomous about the drop in output per man-hour. The chief productivity-lessening developments at this stage in the cycle—high job hopping, excessive overtime and undue longevity of poor managers—are themselves the unintended effects of sloppy Washington aggregate demand management when the economy is already operating in the very high-employment range.

At other times, to be sure, long-term factors largely govern the rate of productivity growth.

Put another way, the more Washington goes in for "fine-tuning," trying to trade a little less unemployment for what it hopes will be only a "little more inflation"—as was the fateful case under Lyndon Johnson—the more Washington depresses productivity. Something like the converse is also true, of course. At the limit, Washington-induced income expansion simply results in large doses of unsustainable wheel-spinning. The real economy stagnates even though the outward, statistically reported, evidence is one of "high activity." As soon as the underlying mess is foreseen by sharp people who are not mesmerized by Washington's official line, revised values are placed on the worth of enterprises and everybody notes a well-justified plunge in the stock market. Debtors loaded with high-interest obligations shortly face a liquidity squeeze; bankruptcies skyrocket; even liquid businesses pull in their horns, and recession sets in or looms. This is hardly a pattern of "stabilization."

#### A FEW SUGGESTIONS

The foregoing suggests we should urgently reconsider the status of some sacred policy cows.

First, should we continue to rely mainly on Government-stimulated aggregate demand rather than old-fashioned market adjustments to attain good employment levels?

Second, we must note that the deceptive "gap" concept—the hiatus between the economy's actual output and its potential real GNP—was formulated in the auspicious Kennedy period when, as luck would have it, inflationary expectations were absent. Should we continue to employ the discredited "gap" concept, as even Mr. Nixon's advisers have done, at such time when such expectations are far from dead—as is shown by the way in which mean first-year wage-fringe settlements continue to exceed productivity gains and even 1969 awards?

Thirdly, can we justify permanently expanding an already overexpanded Washington operation in the name of short-term fiscal stimulus to attain employment goals, when the tax bite is of today's gargantuan proportions?

Finally, should we make another attempt to include reasonable price stability as an explicit objective of the Employment Act? During the Eisenhower years the Congressional majority turned down the suggestion on the argument that amendment was unnecessary—such price stability was said to be implicit in the statute. Perhaps the legislative majority would pay greater heed if the fuzziness of the implicit were replaced by the action-sparking clarity of the explicit.

**NORTH COUNTRY NATIVE DECORATED BY PRESIDENT NIXON**

**HON. ROBERT C. McEWEN**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to have been a sponsor of House Resolution 1283, which commends the official command, officers and men involved in the military expedition of November 21, 1970, seeking release from captivity of United States prisoners of war believed to be held by the enemy near Hanoi, North Vietnam.

Those of my colleagues who sponsored House Resolution 1283, and identical resolutions, commend the command, officers and men for the courage they displayed in this hazardous and humanitarian undertaking which has lifted the hopes and spirits of our brave men imprisoned and fighting, as well as Americans everywhere.

I am especially pleased to be a sponsor of this resolution because a native of Morrissonville, N.Y., in my congressional district, was a director of the daring helicopter raid. He is Brig. Gen. LeRoy J. Manor, son of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Manor. General Manor was in Washington recently to receive the Distinguished Service Medal from the President. He also joined Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird in disclosing details of the operation. Secretary Laird, in a statement before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on November 24, said of those taking part in the raid: "What they did, in my view, was to demonstrate to all our citizens and to all the world that our prisoners of war are not forgotten."

I call to your attention, Mr. Speaker, and to the attention of my distinguished colleagues, a story which appeared in the Plattsburgh, N.Y., Press-Republican on Wednesday, November 25, 1970, which deals with General Manor's participation in the heroic raid.

The newspaper story follows:

**MORRISVILLE NATIVE LED AIR FORCE IN RESCUE TRY**

(By Forrest Cleland)

**PLATTSBURGH.**—A U.S. Air Force brigadier general who is a native of Morrissonville, was a director of the daring helicopter raid last weekend on a Communist prisoner of war camp only 20 miles west of Hanoi.

Brig. Gen. LeRoy J. Manor, son of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Manor of Rand Hill, directed the airborne part of the raid which, although unsuccessful, was hailed by Defense Secretary Melvin B. Laird as indicative of the nation's concern for prisoners of war in North Vietnam.

General Manor and Army Col. Arthur D. Simons of New York City, who directed the ground force involved in the raid, returned Monday to Washington where they joined Laird in disclosing details of the operation.

General Manor paid tribute to the volunteer troops who participated in the extremely dangerous action. He called them "the most elite group of men with whom I have served."

General Manor's mother Tuesday said she and her husband are very proud of our son. "We didn't know he was doing this," said Mrs. Manor, "and it is just as well we didn't because we would have been terribly worried."

After conferring with officials at the Pentagon and appearing on a national telecast, General Manor phoned his parents here.

"He said he had just gotten back and that he was very tired," his mother said. She said General Manor plans next to return to his home at Eglin AFB in Florida for a rest.

The unsuccessful but daring raid took place at 2 a.m. Saturday (2 p.m. Friday, New York time).

While U.S. bombers hammered Communist missile and gun sites in North Vietnam, a highly trained volunteer force made a controlled crash landing by helicopter in the middle of a former PW compound at Son Tay.

Under cover of darkness the American volunteers entered and searched the compound, but were unable to locate any prisoners.

Laird told a Pentagon press conference that it was later learned the camp had recently been vacated.

General Manor did not say how many American prisoners of war had been at the camp. He did, however, disclose that at one time it held "a large percentage of those believed to be in Red hands." The move of the prisoners to another camp had been unknown to American intelligence, General Manor said.

He was born in Morrissonville at Rand Hill and was a graduate of the Cadyville High School which has since burned.

He is married to the former Dolores Brooks of Schenectady. They have three children. Alan is a teacher in Virginia and was co-director of the Twin Valleys Outdoor Education program at Lewis, N.Y., last summer. The husband of their daughter, Mrs. Mary Ayres, is with a U.S. Army helicopter command in Vietnam. A son, Dean, is a college student in Virginia. General Manor's brother, Lawrence, also of Rand Hill, is an investigator with the State Police Bureau of Criminal Investigation.

General Manor told his parents he expects to visit them soon, but is unsure of the exact date. His mother says he occasionally is sent to Boston and that he usually pays them a visit during his stay there.

General Manor is a graduate of the old Plattsburgh State Teachers College and taught at the "little Red School House" on Rand Hill before enlisting in the Air Force as an Air Cadet in 1942.

He has remained in the Air Force since that time, rising through the ranks to the position of brigadier general to which he was promoted in February.

**U.S. "BLOOPER" ON SOVIET INSULT**

**HON. RAY J. MADDEN**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the incident involving the Lithuanian sailor who escaped from a Russian Communist trawler and was picked up by the U.S. Coast Guard ship has caused great consternation throughout the country. The decision of the captain of the American ship in negotiating with the officers of the Communist trawler to return the Lithuanian sailor to the Communist vessel has not been duly explained by our Government authorities. I am requesting the State Department to make a complete public explanation as to the circumstances which allowed this unfortunate incident to terminate in the

release of this Lithuanian escapee to his Communist superiors. I also wish to commend the House Foreign Affairs Committee, which has announced that they are going to hold hearings on this unfortunate incident which I trust will provide some kind of explanation of the actions of our Coast Guard officers.

Mr. Irving L. Lewin, businessman and special radio commentator over station WJOB, Hammond, Ind., submitted an excellent broadcast criticizing the action of our Government in not giving a full explanation of the treatment of this Lithuanian escapee from the Communist ship. I am including with my remarks excerpts from Mr. Lewin's broadcast of yesterday morning.

It is apparent to the Lithuanian people that have been dominated for so long by the rotten Russian Government, that lipservice is about all they can ever expect from our Government officials when it comes to American taking direct action on international insults from the Soviets. The American Coast Guard Cutter, Vigilant, had a chance to save a Lithuanian seaman who was beaten senseless by the Communists in the presence of American servicemen, but for some reason or other such was not the case. Yesterday Albert Vinick, of East Chicago, Ind., representing the Lithuanian American Council urged Congressman Madden or Senator Bayh to intercede on behalf of the Lithuanian Embassy to stop any further detention of the Lithuanian refugee. This was done because Congressman Madden and Senator Bayh have on many occasions professed deep sorrow for the plight of the overrun country of Lithuania by the Russian hordes. The real question that President Nixon should ask Admiral Bender is what was the Coast Guard Cutter, Vigilant, doing playing footsie with the Soviet defiance in the first place? I contend the Russian Government once again is laughing up their sleeves at our apparent international mistake.

Mr. Speaker, I also wish to incorporate with my remarks the following letter which I received from Mr. Albert G. Vinick, president, Lithuanian American Council, Lake County, Ind., pertaining to this unfortunate incident.

**LITHUANIAN AMERICAN COUNCIL,  
Lake County, Ind., December 1, 1970.**

HON. RAY J. MADDEN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Pursuant to our conversation this morning pertaining to the forceful return of a Lithuanian seaman while in the Russian service on a fishing boat Sovietskaja Litva. The other ship was a United States Coast Guard ship Vigilant, commanded by Captain Ralph E. Eustis, operating out of the Port of New Bedford, Mass. U.S.S. Vigilant intercepted the Russian fishing boat for a routine checking on fishing rights. Both ships were along side for several hours, when this Lithuanian seaman jumped from the Russian ship onto the U.S.S. Vigilant, and requested political asylum. I will not endeavor explaining other details of protocol.

Robert M. Brieze, president of the Seafood Producers' Association was on board the U.S.S. Vigilant, with several associates, gave this report to the news media.

"When I first saw the defecting seaman his face was bloody, and when he saw us he fell on his knees and cried out: 'Oh God! Help Me.' We tried to intercede for the defecting seaman but Captain Ralph E. Eustis ordered us to his cabin, as we were leaving, the Russian crewmen on board the U.S.S. Vigilant, proceeded to punish their victim.

While we were in the Captain's cabin, the defecting Lithuanian seaman broke into the cabin, his face was bloody and he was in his undershirt, he was shouting Help, help, help. Not getting any help he ran towards the deck of the ship, said Brieze.

Mr. Brieze said he learned that the Russian and the American Captains were in communication with Rear Admiral William Ellis, who approved orders to return the seaman.

Mr. Brieze further said that he learned the man could speak four languages—German, Russian, Lithuanian and English. He carried with him his books, note books, letters from his wife and her picture. After witnessing this depressing episode he did not want to see any more action.

Fortunately Robert M. Brieze and associates were witness to this denial of political asylum, otherwise the public would never have known of this incredible incident.

As president of the Lithuanian American Council of Lake County, I have in the past written numerous requests and received your whole hearted support for which our country is ever grateful. Now I am advising you that our Lithuanian American community and other ethnic groups are angered about this denial of asylum to a Lithuanian sailor, and we request you use your influence to get a public announcement from President Nixon and the State Department that the United States will continue to grant political asylum to those requesting it. We want this statement so that all Radio programs sent over the Iron Curtain may encourage others not to lose faith in the United States, as during the Hungarian revolution of some years ago.

Sincerely yours,

PETER INDREIKA,  
ALBERT G. VINICK,  
President.

### THE BOMB RAID ON NORTH VIETNAM

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, the San Francisco Examiner, in its editorial "The Bomb Raid on North Vietnam," writes that the last thing which can be questioned about the air raid is the President's sincerity as a peacemaker.

President Nixon has said several times that if our withdrawing troops were in danger, he would take strong and effective action. As in the Cambodian incursion, events warranted strong action on our part to protect our troops. That this action was taken should come as no surprise to our enemies abroad and our war critics at home. As the Examiner states, "The President is trying to wind down the war in every way, but his first priority is to protect our remaining troops."

I commend this editorial to my colleagues:

#### THE BOMB RAID ON N. VIETNAM

As could have been predicted, the doves in Congress and Communist spokesmen everywhere came up squawking exactly the same themes in response to this nation's bombing of North Vietnam over last weekend.

What the chorus claimed, in effect, was that the aerial raids were both an outrageous violation of President Johnson's "unconditional" bombing halt and—by allegedly threatening to widen the war—a refutation

of President Nixon's own sincerity as a would-be peacemaker.

It certainly is easy to understand why our enemies and their apologists in Washington should react to the raids with howls of anger and alarm—as they did over our incursion into Cambodia last spring. Questioning the President's sincerity is another matter entirely.

Ever since Mr. Nixon announced his continuing policy of gradually withdrawing United States troops from South Vietnam, he has stressed the risks involved by frequently warning Hanoi not to take advantage of the withdrawals. He declared in a speech to the nation last April 20, only 10 days before our Cambodian action:

"I repeat what I said Nov. 3 and Dec. 15 (1969): If I conclude that increased enemy action jeopardizes our remaining forces in Vietnam I shall not hesitate to take strong and effective measures to deal with the situation."

The warning went unheeded and our month-long campaign to destroy the build-up of enemy depots in Cambodia resulted. The bombings last weekend, similarly, resulted when the enemy kept firing at our unarmed reconnaissance planes and staging a massive new build-up of men and material clearly meant for a fresh offensive in the south.

So the bombings should have surprised nobody. President Nixon, in ordering them, only did what he had warned he would do—and what he no doubt will do again whenever the safety of our withdrawing forces becomes ominously menaced. As he most assuredly should.

It surpasses our understanding, incidentally, that the domestic critics of the war show no indignation over the North Vietnamese attempt to re-escalate their invasive war in the south, and their continuing attempt to conquer Cambodia.

The President is trying to wind down the war in every way he can but his first priority is to protect our remaining troops. Henceforth, hopefully, his warnings to that effect may be taken more seriously both by the enemies abroad and the war critics at home.

### REVOLUTIONARY ANTIMILITARISM—II

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, in "Why Communism," M. J. Olgin said:

A time comes when there is demoralization above, a growing revolt below; the morale of the Army is undermined. The old structure of society is tottering. There are actual insurrections; the Army wavers. Panic seizes the rulers. A general uprising begins.

The history of Communist conquest is the history of the destruction of the forces standing in opposition to their global advance.

This destruction takes place before war is officially declared, during the war if declared, and after the war when peace supposedly has been reestablished. It takes place at all times as long as there are any forces opposed to the seizure of total power by the Bolsheviks.

The major military opposition to the designs of the Soviet warlords is the combined Armed Forces of the United

States. Imagine a United States without an effective Army, Navy, Marines, or Air Force. If you are not visualizing an America partially in rubble and occupied by Soviet forces, you do not understand the situations we face today. You do not understand the supreme danger of what the Communists call revolutionary antimilitarism.

From Engels, who said: "Surely the fact is evident that a disorganized army and a complete breakdown of discipline has been the condition as well as the result of every victorious revolution," and Lenin, who said: "Not a single revolution has ever refrained from 'disorganizing' the army and cannot now refrain from doing so," to the current crop of Communist strategists "Marxists have always been aware of the importance of winning away the army from the bourgeoisie"—World Marxist Review, October 1969, the necessity of destroying the effectiveness of the opposition's armed forces has been emphasized as a prerequisite for conquest.

Before me on my desk are several newspapers which are being distributed around the military bases in the 35th Congressional District. They are classic examples of Soviet-type propaganda designed to undermine the morale of soldiers, turn them against those in authority, and organize everyday, run of the mill gripes and complaints into rebellion and mutiny. They are aimed at destroying the discipline and effectiveness of the Marines at Camp Pendleton and El Toro as well as of the sailors in the San Diego area.

Reading through this material is like turning back the pages of history to papers like "The Soldier's Pravda," "The Trench Pravda," and "Worker and Soldier"—all put out by Lenin and the Bolsheviks in 1917 as part of their successful effort to destroy the integrity of the Russian Army and thereby make possible their seizure of power.

Communist themes never really change except insofar as they are updated to relate to conditions existing at any particular time and place. The first aim of Soviet propaganda during a war, as prominent French Communist Andre Marty learned from his experience in helping direct the mutiny of the French fleet in 1919, is to convince the soldiers that the war they are engaged in is unjust. The Vietnam conflict is utilized to try to make this point.

Another major objective of this type of propaganda is to capitalize on the normal grievances of soldiers in any armed services. Obviously, most young men would rather be doing something else on Saturday morning than going on a military detail. The agitators attempt to turn this preference into outright hostility and disobedience.

Communist propaganda has always sought to promote, exaggerate, and capitalize on differences. The differences between officer and enlisted man; between soldiers enlisted or drafted for one term and the professional military man; between black soldiers and white soldiers, are turned into conflicts of interest when in fact no such conflicts exist except as they are manufactured by the professional sowers of dissension and hate.

These newspapers, designed to help destroy the forces opposing the Soviet drive for a global conquest, are not confined to the 35th Congressional District. They are part of a nationwide chain of papers centered around something known as Liberation News Service located in New York City. They appear around practically every military base in the country, and are coordinated with a nationwide string of "coffee houses" where soldiers get the personal indoctrination treatment.

Subversion of the individual soldier is reinforced by a nationwide psychological warfare campaign designed to undermine the military as a whole in the eyes of the general public.

A recent publication available directly from the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, entitled "The Human Cost of Soviet Communism," will give anyone who takes the time to read it a preview of what lies in store for him if the campaign against the military succeeds.

All the freedoms we have depends, in the final analysis, on the maintenance of military forces capable of withstanding Soviet attack. The American Armed Forces should be supported by every American, in direct proportion to his desire to preserve these freedoms.

**MEDICAL DIRECTOR FOR SOUTHEASTERN STATES**

**HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER**

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, located in my district is a Veterans' Administration Center comprising a large medical, surgical, and psychiatric complex. During the past 3 years this complex has been directed by L. B. Lamm, M.D., I have received nothing but praise and gratitude from constituents about the quality of medical care performed by this Center. I was informed recently by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs that Dr. Lamm had been appointed Regional Medical Director for the 10 Southeastern States, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. The staff of the Center, under the direction of Dr. Lamm has done such an outstanding job, I want to record my appreciation and the appreciation of the countless beneficiaries served by the Center.

During Dr. Lamm's tenure, many changes have been made to improve patient care, and sometimes under adverse conditions, the greatest of which was the disaster caused by Hurricane Camille. Without time for in-depth planning, the Center evacuated 741 patients to eight other VA hospitals without incident. The magnitude of this evacuation was astounding when one realizes the tremendous logistic problem, which normally would require weeks of planning, was accomplished in a matter of hours.

Congressman BRYAN DORN very appropriately inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on September 11, 1969, his praise of the excellent work performed by the

Center staff during and after Hurricane Camille.

We regret losing Dr. Lamm, but must agree with the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs that his executive abilities should be utilized at the higher level of management to which he has been assigned. On behalf of the veterans and their families served by the Center, I offer best wishes and continued success to Dr. and Mrs. Lamm and their children, Florence, Monica, and Wiley.

**PRINCETON UNIVERSITY RESPECTED AND ADMIRED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD**

**HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. A recent spate of commentaries on campus problems and unrest has provided much constructive thought. Unfortunately, however, some of the discussion seems to have been designed to discredit our colleges and to turn whatever gap exists between them and the rest of the community into a chasm. Whether the motive has been political or punitive toward a generation for the youthful errors of some, this rhetoric has done a disservice to our students, our institutions of higher learning, and to the Nation. Dialogue, reconciliation, and understanding between our academic and our larger communities will serve us well; for the sake of our own future we need to dispense with acrimonious contention as though between pots and kettles.

An example of the diatribe I have in mind, introduced by the gentleman from California (Mr. SCHMITZ), and published October 9, 1970, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, is an article by Mr. Al Capp. In his article Mr. Capp proclaims the "inferiority of college students to any other class" and tries to malign one of our great, independent universities, Princeton, which we are proud to have in the State of New Jersey. This article so discredits itself by weaving together distortions and fabrications that, except for its publication in the RECORD, it deserves no notice. Worth mentioning, however, is the service of Princeton University to the State of New Jersey and to the Nation.

In much of the talk of campus unrest there has been a tendency to overlook or undervalue the education of our youth and the expansion of knowledge for which our universities and colleges have been responsible. Nevertheless, this progress continues at a higher rate than ever before, without enough being said about it, and has more significance than anything else that has been happening on our campuses.

As a center of learning and research, Princeton is respected and admired throughout the world for the scholars it has produced and for the contributions its studies have made to our society and the human condition. In recent times of

tension there has been concern, emotion, and distress at Princeton, mainly expressing student disagreement with the slow pace of social progress and our continued involvement in a costly war in Southeast Asia. Last spring there was on this campus a noncoercive "strike" against the war and at least some interruption of normal academic pursuits. It was by no means the first expression of discontent there. As long ago as 1774 a student was disciplined for stimulating a demonstration against the British. By 1776 his motives had been widely accepted.

It may be helpful for us all to understand how this private, national institution of higher learning worked through the stress and provocations of last spring, not by decree, but by the rational decisions of its representative council to uphold the university's basic educational function while assuring for all members of the university community the opportunity to exercise their prerogatives as citizens.

The "strike" was directed against the war in Indochina, not against the university, which remained open so that students could pursue their education although a minority postponed their examinations. Those who chose to involve themselves in political action were free to do so. The university responded to a student and faculty desire to rearrange the academic calendar by sacrificing scheduled holidays in order to have 2 weeks to become engaged in politics at their homes or elsewhere as they saw fit before the elections in November. In the public print this has been referred to as "the Princeton Plan" and was adopted on some other campuses. In late October and early November, some of the Princeton students joined the political campaign workers for candidates of both parties; others studied or took holidays.

I have no doubt that in the time of tension which increased so markedly on our campuses last May that mistakes were made at Princeton as elsewhere. But there emerged on that campus a strong reassertion of support for these sound principles:

First, the central mission of the university is to teach and to inquire. In order to fulfill this role the university must be open. It must be free for the expression of any opinion and free from coercion by minorities or majorities.

Second, as a center of learning and inquiry, the university must be neutral in the political arena. Political objectives should be pursued through constitutional procedures by individuals or voluntary groups of the university community as they see fit.

When we view the differences and the antagonisms which have brought about the problems and sometimes hostility between campus groups and other segments of our society, it seems all the more important for our National, State, and community leadership to pay attention to such campus undertakings to work within our system of government. The gravity of the lack of understanding has been well reported by Chancellor Alexander Heard of Vanderbilt University, while serving as special adviser to the President, and by the President's Commission

on Campus Unrest, chaired by former Governor William W. Scranton of Pennsylvania. As the latter report put it:

Less and less do students and the larger community seek to understand or respect the viewpoint and motivations of the other. If this trend continues, if this crisis of understanding endures, the very survival of the nation will be threatened.

Stopping this trend is urgent national business. Patience and rationality are required. It is clear that this problem cannot be made to go away by undermining higher education and a great university like Princeton, for, if efforts such as Mr. Capp's could succeed, the future of our Nation would be undermined as well.

REVIEW OF THE PUBLIC LAND LAW  
REVIEW COMMISSION REPORT BY  
THE HARD MINERALS COMMITTEE  
OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

HON. WALTER S. BARING

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, I believe it is of general interest to everyone involved in public land and mining issues to read the following "Review of the Public Land Law Review Commission Report by the Hard Minerals Committee of the American Bar Association":

REVIEW OF THE PUBLIC LAND LAW

(NOTE.—This report was drafted by the Hard Minerals Committee at a meeting held on October 19, 20 and 21, 1970. Copies were sent to all members not attending the meeting for their comments or suggestions.)

On June 20, 1970, the Public Land Law Review Commission Report was submitted by the Commission to the President and the Congress. The Commission is to be commended for its work in compiling this exceptionally fine study.

The chapter in the Report pertaining to mineral resources contains policy guidelines and specific recommendations relating to the retention and management or disposition of Federal lands.<sup>1</sup> These guidelines and recommendations are of vital concern to the Nation in the development of its natural resources. The purpose of this paper is to comment on certain of the Commission's recommendations and to present the view of the Hard Minerals Committee on that portion of the Report dealing with Mineral Resources.

I. IMPORTANCE OF MINERAL DEVELOPMENT

The Hard Minerals Committee endorses the Public Land Law Review Commission on its recognition of the importance of mineral development on our public lands. In its introductory remarks the Commission stressed the economic and industrial dependence of this country on the production of its fuel and nonfuel minerals. Moreover, as stated in the Report:

"... [O]ur survival as a leading nation depends on our mineral supplies. The close relation between minerals and our national security is too apparent to require detailed explanation.

"We strongly favor, therefore, an overriding national policy that encourages and supports the discovery and development of domestic sources of supply.

Footnotes at end of article.

"Public land mineral policy should encourage exploration, development, and production of minerals on the public lands."<sup>2</sup>

The Commission acknowledges that the private enterprise system fundamental to this country would be best served by reliance upon the private sector for the development of mineral resources.

"The Federal Government generally should rely on the private sector for mineral exploration, development, and production by maintaining a continuing invitation to explore for and develop minerals on the public lands. We are satisfied that private enterprise has succeeded well in meeting our national mineral needs, and we see no reason to change this traditional policy."<sup>3</sup>

As a basic premise, the Commission also concluded that it should be the policy of public land legislation to encourage mineral prospecting and to give preference to mineral exploration and development over other land uses. In this respect, the Commission stated:

"... We have concluded that it is in the public interest to acknowledge and recognize the importance of mineral exploration and development in public land legislation. Also, a decision to exclude mineral activity from any public land area should never be made casually or without adequate information concerning the mineral potential."<sup>4</sup>

Further the Report declares:

"The public interest requires that individuals be encouraged—not merely permitted—to look for minerals on the public lands. The traditional right to self-initiation of a claim to a deposit of valuable minerals must be preserved."<sup>5</sup>

This Committee supports and endorses the foregoing policy guidelines.

II. MODIFICATION OF EXISTING LOCATION—PATENT SYSTEM

In keeping with the report of the Public Land Law Review Commission, the Hard Minerals Committee of the American Bar Association recommends that the basic principles of the present mining law should be retained with such amendments as may be necessary to cure deficiencies and prevent further abuses thereunder. The Commission has recommended many needed changes in the basic mining law. For example, the distinction between lode and placer claims is eliminated and a new kind of mining claim for exclusive use in locating all locatable minerals is created;<sup>6</sup> extralateral rights in future mining locations are eliminated;<sup>7</sup> and claims are to be located in conformance with the public land survey or natural monuments.<sup>8</sup> The Committee endorses all of these changes. But the framework proposed by the Commission represents a clear departure from the General Mining Law by incorporating many features of the Mineral Leasing Act—system.<sup>9</sup>

The new system recommended by the Commission is summarized in the following excerpts from the Report:

"Unless a public land area is closed to all mineral activity, we believe that all public lands should be open without charge for nonexclusive exploration which does not require significant surface disturbance. However, we also conclude that different conditions should prevail if the prospector desires an exclusive right, or if heavy equipment is to be used that will result in significant disturbances of the surface."<sup>10</sup>

"Whether a prospector has done preliminary exploration work or not, he should, by giving written notice to the appropriate Federal land management agency, obtain an exclusive right to explore a claim of sufficient size to permit the use of advanced methods of exploration. As a means of assuring exploration, reasonable rentals should be charged for such claims, but actual expenditures for exploration and development work should be credited against the rentals.

"Upon receipt of the notice of location, a permit should be issued to the claim-holder, including measures specifically authorized by statute necessary to maintain the quality of the environment, together with the type of rehabilitation that is required.

"When the claimholder is satisfied that he has discovered a commercially mineable deposit, he should obtain firm development and production rights by entering into a contract with the United States to satisfy specified work or investment requirements over a reasonable period of time.

"When a claimholder begins to produce and market minerals, he should have the right to obtain a patent only to the mineral deposit, along with the right to utilize surface for production. He should have the option of acquiring title or lease to surface upon payment of market value.

"Patent fees should be increased and equitable royalties should be paid to the United States on all minerals produced and marketed whether before or after patent."<sup>11</sup>

"[W]e . . . recommend that locators be required to give written notice of their claims to the appropriate Federal land agency within a reasonable time after location."<sup>12</sup>

"Congress should: (a) establish the maximum size of an individual exclusive exploration right and the aggregate acreage held by one person; (b) specify the period of time for which that exploration right is granted; and (c) establish performance requirements designed to assure diligent exploration as a condition of retaining or renewing the exploration right."<sup>13</sup>

"Up to the time commercial production commences, exploration, development, and production plans should be reviewed by the land managing agency for consideration of environmental factors, but administrators should be required to approve or disapprove the plans within a reasonable time."<sup>14</sup>

III. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE HARD MINERALS COMMITTEE

It is axiomatic that mineral, exploration, development and production on the public lands is possible only under sound and workable mining laws. The Hard Minerals Committee is of the view that the positions and recommendations set forth below will best insure the maximum benefit to the public and preserve a viable mining industry.

A. Need for pre-discovery protection

The Commission has recognized the need for pre-discovery protection as follows:

"The General Mining Law provides inadequate protection to the explorer until he has made a discovery of a valuable mineral deposit. Throughout his pre-discovery prospecting effort, he is subject to adverse actions by Federal land managers allocating the land for other uses, such as withdrawals from mineral entry for an administrative site. With regard to third parties, he is protected only to the extent that he can prove the area was in his actual possession, which may be difficult under prevailing legal concepts. This approach is inadequate for a typical exploration effort today because an area large enough to warrant the expenditures for modern technological methods will nearly always be much larger than that which can be held effectively in actual possession. As we have noted, Federal policy should invite mineral exploration in order to encourage future mineral discoveries."<sup>15</sup>

For a prospector to obtain the desired protection under the system proposed by the Commission he must seek to obtain an exclusive exploration permit by filing notice of his claim with the appropriate Federal land office. A better approach has been suggested by the mining industry.

In a statement before the Public Land Law Review Commission on behalf of the American Mining Congress, Washington, D.C., January 11, 1968, it was urged that the mining laws should be amended to provide for pre-discovery protection. In regard to this subject, it was stated:

"One of the most urgent changes needed in the mining laws is legislation enlarging pre-discovery rights of mineral locators. The Hoover Task Force Report recognized this problem as early as 1949. In reviewing the General Mining Law of 1872, the report concluded: 'The system has worked well, and the committee favors the retention of location and patenting for mineral deposits to which it now applies.' The report, however, recommended a revision of the mining laws to afford pre-discovery protection due to: The inapplicability of the law to concealed deposits because of its requirement of exposure of valuable minerals in order to establish a valid claim. Most of the valuable minerals with surface exposure have probably already been discovered; however, concealed deposits remain to be explored and utilized. History since 1949 has borne out the desirability of such a change in the mining laws, and the American Mining Congress has, for the past several years, proposed such a change. Attached to this statement . . . is a study draft of possible legislation which has had the support of the Public Lands Committee of the American Mining Congress. This provides that one searching for mineral deposits may locate on the public domain exploration claims, each of which may be 160 acres or less. These claims require no mineral discovery and a locator may hold in a state at any one time up to a maximum of 5120 acres by such locations. These claims pre-empt the ground from location of regular mining claims or subsequent exploration claims. Exploration claims may be held for a maximum period of five years, provided, during each of the first three years, at least \$10.00 for each acre so claimed must be expended on exploration and, during each of the last two years, at least \$20.00 for each acre so claimed must be expended on exploration. Verified reports setting forth exploration work performed must be filed with the appropriate county recording office. If a mineral discovery is made, the holder of an exploration claim may locate a conventional mining claim and thereafter hold the ground under this claim. Provision is made for recording notices of location of the exploration claim and a survey of the claim in the applicable county recording office so its location on the ground may be definitely identified. There are other detailed provisions in this study draft protecting not only the interests of the government but others who may have located mining claims prior to the location of the exploration claim. Such legislation would permit one searching for buried mineral deposits to take an area of interest in a state not exceeding 5120 acres and explore it for five years, selecting those targets for drilling and more intensive exploration that may be indicated by the use of tools and techniques of modern prospecting. If the holder of such a claim is fortunate and finds a mineral deposit, the ground covered by the deposit may then be located with mining claims."<sup>18</sup>

The foregoing quotation and the pre-discovery protections outlined therein are endorsed by the Hard Minerals Committee. In the Committee's view, amendment of the General Mining Law as advocated by the mining industry would provide adequate protection without the necessity of seeking an exclusive exploration permit as required under Commission's proposal.

#### B. Surface rights

The Commission states as follows regarding surface rights:

Footnotes at end of article.

"Under present law locators may obtain a patent to the mineral lands—both surface and subsurface. The payment of the current fee of \$2.50 per acre for placer claims and \$5.00 per acre for lode claims is merely nominal and does not justify sale of fee title which may carry valuable surface rights. We recognize that the patent system has provided security of title and has provided an incentive to search for concealed minerals on the public domain. To avoid windfalls and to prevent misuse of the mining laws for nonmineral purposes, we propose that a mineral patent should carry only a right to use the surface necessary for the extraction and processing of the minerals to which patent has been granted.

"Mineral operators, however, should have the option of acquiring title or a lease to the needed land areas when they are willing to pay the market value of the surface rights."<sup>19</sup>

The Committee accepts and endorses this recommendation of the Commission. These alternatives to the present system eliminate any incentive to locate a mining claim for purposes other than mining while allowing purchase or lease where demanded by sound business reasons. Moreover, payment of fair market value eliminates any claims of a government giveaway to the mining industry.

The Commission's recommendation also makes another much needed change in the present mining laws. Millsite claims are currently inadequate for tailing ponds, plant facilities and waste areas. The Commission's recommendation gives the locator of a mineral deposit the right to acquire a reasonable acreage of ground adjacent to or near his mineral discovery for such facilities and disposal areas on paying the fair market value of the ground.

#### C. Royalties

The Hard Minerals Committee is opposed to the imposition of production royalties by the Federal government, either before or after patent, as recommended by the Commission. The additional expense of royalty payments would be tantamount to a reduction in ore reserves in that the amount of minerals that can be extracted at a profit would be reduced. Mining operations are subject to the taxing powers of both federal and state governments and a decrease in mineral production would affect revenues collected. Thus, a direct return to government is already being paid by the mining industry in tax revenues and the indirect returns in the "assurance of a metals supply, creation of jobs and the stimulation of the local and national economies"<sup>20</sup> must not be overlooked.

In a recent brochure of the Nevada Bureau of Mines entitled: "Nevada's No. 1 Basic Industry," in commenting on the significance of mining, it was stated:

"The importance of the mineral industry to the national and State economy as well as to man's everyday life is not always apparent unless one stops to ask himself where he would be without it—without iron and steel, oil and gas, coal, building materials . . . *The very strength of a nation can be measured in the production and use of its mineral products.*

"For every child born in the United States, years of research and applied technology are required to provide him with the tons of ore, pounds of metal, and barrels of oil he will use in his lifetime. It is an unremitting cycle.

"Significance of the mineral industry may be gauged by these facts:

"On a national level:

"*Nearly one-half of the national industrial labor force is employed in metal-working industries.*

"*About one-half of the value of output of all manufacturing activities in the U.S. is from metal-working industries.*

"*More than one-half of all railroad freight traffic in the United States is made up of raw mineral materials.*

"On State level:

"*Total impact of the mineral industry on the economy of Nevada is \$450,000,000 a year.*

"*Among Nevada's basic industries, mining is three times greater than agriculture, its nearest competitor.*

"*Approximately 80 percent of all rail freight revenues originating in Nevada comes from the mineral industry.*"<sup>21</sup>

The impact of the mineral industry on the economy of the other western states could be similarly compared.

The Committee endorses the following statement appearing in the article "General Mining Law—Current Proposals" appearing in the Rocky Mountain Mineral Law Institute:

"Conservation groups and the Department frequently allege that the miners obtain a free ride and do not have to pay to the United States compensation for the resources that they extract. The mining industry urges that this is a criticism that is not justified.

"When the mining laws were passed the Government did not participate to any large extent in the wealth created by the development of mines under the mining laws. The Government concluded that making minerals free for development was more in its interest than trying to control and take large royalty payments. Since that time, however, the sixteenth amendment has been enacted and the Government has expanded its prerogative that private land owners do not have, namely, the power to tax. The Federal Government has become a carried working interest owner that is not required to advance any of the costs of development or operation and still, through corporate income tax, participates in up to some 50 percent of the net profits. What the Federal Government foregoes in rentals or royalties it recoups in increased net profits.

"Moreover, the imposition of royalties would be an anti-conservation measure. In mining the large low grade disseminated mineral deposits, which, incidentally, constitute the bulk of present mining activities on public lands, every additional fixed cost substantially reduces ore reserves and the amount of minerals that can be extracted at a profit. The parties urging increased costs on the mining industry do not understand the distinction between a mineral occurrence and an ore deposit. Ore is a concentration of minerals or metals that can be mined and sold at a profit. Any change which affects the cost of winning a product will influence the cutoff of what will constitute an ore body. The imposition of a royalty on gross revenue, like the addition of any other fixed cost, could significantly reduce the ore reserves and prevent the maximum recovery of these resources. The widely dispersed bulk low grade deposits have such a low profit margin and the value-tonnage curve is so flat that minor adjustments in the cost of mining will have larger effects upon the ore reserves. Good conservation practices require the maximum removal of minerals while the mine is open, and, to do this, as much of the mineral as possible should be categorized as ore."<sup>22</sup> (See also Hansen, *Why a Location System For Hard Minerals?*)

#### D. Protecting the environment

The Committee agrees that environment must be protected. Air, water and mined land reclamation are constant, daily subjects in national and state legislatures. However, the Committee does not agree with the Commission that the Federal government should be the policing power for all mining operations. This should be done by state and local authorities who are acquainted with local conditions, including weather, climate and the areas being mined. In our view, the Federal

government should provide guidelines but regulation of mining operations should rest with the states in which the operations are located.

#### E. Rehabilitation

The Commission's recommendations regarding rehabilitation of mined lands are as follows:

"Where mineral activities cause a disturbance of public land, Congress should require that the land be restored or rehabilitated after a determination of feasibility based on a careful balancing of the economic costs, the extent of the environmental impacts, and the availability of adequate technology for the type of restoration, rehabilitation, or reclamation proposed. Rehabilitation does not necessarily mean restoration, but rather the maximum feasible effort to bring the land into harmony with the surrounding area.

"Up to the time commercial production commences, exploration, development and production plans should be reviewed by the land managing agency for consideration of environmental factors, but administrators should be required to approve or disapprove the plans within a reasonable time. Plans of this kind must be submitted before the development and production of certain minerals under the existing leasing systems, and we believe it is in the public interest to require a similar procedure for locatable minerals. Essentially, this recommendation would merely formalize the voluntary process already employed by some mining companies. Under the principles of our recommendations . . . adverse determinations would be subject to judicial review."<sup>22</sup>

The proposed requirement of submitting plans for governmental approval prior to commencing mining operations is, in our view, an unreasonable and unworkable proposal. How could a locator submit a mining plan for Kennecott's mining operation Bingham, Utah, or the mining operations in Butte, Montana, or the states of Arizona and Nevada which were commenced approximately fifty years ago? In this fast changing world, plans submitted today may be impractical several years from now. Again the Committee believes state and local supervision are more advantageous to all concerned rather than centralized supervision by the Federal government.

#### F. Prudent man rule of mining law

The Department of the Interior has imposed on mining claimants the rule of present marketability to determine the validity of a mining claim. The Committee agrees with the following statement of the Commission that federal agencies are not equipped to judge what is a prudent investment:

"To us it seems clear that Federal land agencies are poorly equipped to judge what is a prudent mining investment, and this issue should be closed when the mineral explorer is prepared to commit himself by contract to expend substantial efforts and funds in the development of a mineral property."<sup>23</sup>

The Committee, therefore, recommends the legislative abolition of the present marketability rule in favor of a return to the basic mining law in which intention, good faith and diligence were the tests underlying a valid discovery.<sup>24</sup>

#### G. Rentals and increased fees

The Public Land Law Review Commission recommends a rental payment on mining claims to be credited against annual assessment work. It also urges an increase in patent fees. The Hard Minerals Committee concurs with these recommendations insofar as such increases shall be of a nature that the general public will still have the incentive to go on the public domain and search for minerals and will not be discouraged by prohibitive rentals and fees.

#### H. Annual assessment work

The Commission made the following proposal regarding annual assessment work:

"So-called assessment or performance work is required under present law only to prevent third parties from preempting a claim and to obtain a patent. To prevent speculation and assure diligent effort, an explorer should be required to pay rental, subject to offsetting credits for the actual performance work completed."<sup>25</sup>

The Hard Minerals Committee recommends that uniform requirements for performance of assessment work be enacted by all state legislatures under Federal guidelines and that drilling, geological, geophysical, geochemical, mapping and surveying work be permitted under such requirements. When such work is relied upon to satisfy the assessment requirements, it should not be necessary to divulge confidential information by the filing of detailed reports. If rentals are to be paid in lieu of annual assessment work, the Committee endorses the Commission's proposal for a credit against such rentals for the performance of exploration and development work.

#### I. Recordation of Claims

The Commission recommends no change in local recording requirements but suggests that "locators be required to give written notice of their claims to the appropriate Federal land agency within a reasonable time after location."<sup>26</sup> It is the Committee's opinion that official recordation should continue to take place within the county where a claim is located, as is the general property law in most states. A contemporaneous filing of documents filed in a county with the appropriate Federal land agency, however, is desirable in order to advise the Federal Government of the claim and the Committee, therefore, endorses the Commission's recommendation.

#### J. Boundaries of new Mining Claims

The Commission has recommended that Congress should "establish the maximum size of an individual exclusive exploration right and the aggregate acreage held by one person."<sup>27</sup> As previously indicated, the Committee does not think an exclusive exploration permit is required under its approach to pre-discovery protection, but the Committee endorses the concept of establishing the maximum size of an exploration claim which is large enough for modern mining techniques and which exceeds the present 20-acre claim limitation. This approach to claim size, as suggested by the Commission, eliminates the reason for a distinction between lode and placer claims as well as the need for extralateral rights. The Committee endorses the elimination of these antiquated concepts and the legal problems which they have produced.

#### K. Elimination of dormant claims

The Commission recommends that Congress establish a conclusive presumption of abandonment if the holder of an existing mining claim fails to file appropriate notice with County and Federal agencies within a reasonable time.<sup>28</sup> The Hard Minerals Committee recognizes the need for clearing the record of an estimated 5.5 million dormant claims and agrees that such a presumption is desirable in order to avoid expensive contest proceedings. However, we feel the presumption should not arise unless the owner of a claim fails for more than three successive years to file any instrument sufficient to show an affirmative intent not to abandon the claim.<sup>29</sup>

#### L. Administration

The Commission has recommended that: "The Department of the Interior should continue to have sole responsibility for administering mineral activities on all public lands, subject to consultation with the department having management functions for other uses."<sup>30</sup>

The Hard Minerals Committee concurs in this recommendation, but urges that the Department's procedures and practices should be changed in the following respects:

"(a) A full Administrative Procedure Act-type hearing be made available in every public land case where there is a genuine issue of material fact.

"(b) All judicial functions, both trial and appellate, be placed directly under a judicial officer within the office of the Secretary of the Interior, entirely separate from the office of solicitor.

"(c) The Rules of Practice of the Department of the Interior be modernized along the lines of the present rules of procedure of federal courts, as interpreted by those courts."<sup>31</sup>

#### IV. CONCLUSION

The Hard Minerals Committee of the American Bar Association recommends the retention of the basic framework of the present mining laws in order to promote the development of the Nation's resources and provide the maximum benefit to the general public. Many of the changes suggested by the Public Land Law Review Commission are essential to the promotion of sound, workable mining laws and the Committee endorses these changes as indicated. The additional changes recommended by the Committee, however, are necessary to the fulfillment of this goal and the Committee submits this review in order to strengthen the basic mining laws which have served this country and its people so well.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Public Land Law Review Commission, *One Third of the Nation's Land*, Chapter Seven (1970).

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* at 121.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.* at 122.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Id.* at 125.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* at 127.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Id.* at 126.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.* at 124 and 126.

<sup>10</sup> *Id.* at 124-125.

<sup>11</sup> *Id.* at 126.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *Id.* at 127.

<sup>15</sup> *Id.* at 126.

<sup>16</sup> A brochure entitled: *The Mining Industry and the Public Lands*, at 17 (1968), a statement on behalf of the American Mining Congress before the Public Land Law Review Commission.

<sup>17</sup> Public Land Law Review Commission, *op. cit.* supra note 1, at 128.

<sup>18</sup> Hansen, *Why a Location System for Hard Minerals*, 13 *Rocky Mountain Mineral L. Inst.* 1, 15 (1967).

<sup>19</sup> A brochure entitled: *Nevada's No. 1 Basic Industry*.

<sup>20</sup> Edwards, *The 1969 View of the 1872 Law: Current Proposals to Modernize or to Replace The General Mining Laws*, 15 *Rocky Mountain Mineral L. Inst.* 139, 151-152 (1969).

<sup>21</sup> Hansen, *op. cit.* supra note 18, at 15-17.

<sup>22</sup> Public Land Law Review Commission, *op. cit.* supra note 1, at 127.

<sup>23</sup> *Id.* at 128.

<sup>24</sup> Forman and Dwyer, *The Prudent Man's Changing View of Discovery Under the Mining Laws of the United States*, 2 *Natural Resources Lawyer*, 109, 110, 117 (1969).

<sup>25</sup> Public Land Law Review Commission, *op. cit.* supra note 1, at 126.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *Id.* at 130.

<sup>29</sup> American Mining Congress, *op. cit.* supra note 16, at 22.

<sup>30</sup> Public Land Law Review Commission, *op. cit.* supra note 1, at 136.

<sup>31</sup> American Mining Congress, *op. cit.* supra note 16, at 3.



## MOVE A MOUNTAIN, INC.

## HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of this body a project currently being undertaken by students at Southwest Minnesota State College in Marshall, Minn. This is Minnesota's newest state college and I am proud that it is located in the 6th Congressional District and that while a member of the Minnesota Senate, I played a part in its establishment.

Reflecting on SMSC's brief history—construction was authorized by the Minnesota Legislature in 1963, first dirt was turned in the fall of 1966 for physical facilities and 509 students registered in the charter class in September, 1967. Interested students at that time asked themselves what they as students could do to contribute a positive, enduring memorial to this new 4-year liberal arts and technical college that will honor the charter class at commencement in June, 1971. Students agreed the transition from cornfield to campus in 4 years spelled a need for urgent landscaping.

The landscaping idea was immediately endorsed by the president of the college, Howard A. Bellows, who suggested that rather than just plant a few trees the students launch a total landscaping project—from trees and shrubs to, perhaps, an amphitheater, fountain-aquatic pool, gardens, arboretum, and so forth. Many of these concepts are long range and not to be accomplished in a single year, but the initial efforts should tie to the future with professional assistance from a landscape architect to insure planned, master growth.

The germ of an idea soon became reality. Move a Mountain, Inc., MAIMI, was incorporated in March 1970, and was issued a charter by the State of Minnesota as a nonprofit, student corporation. MAMI officers, directors and members are volunteers. There is no compensation and no record of the man-hours of labor that have gone in the project to date. SMSC students are putting their shoulders to the wheel, and individuals and organizations on the campus are coming in with offers to work, to solicit funds, to contribute a planting, et cetera. There is and has been guidance from SMSC administrators, but the project belongs to the students.

These students are concerned with pollution, and soil erosion—windswept prairie scorches by summer's sun and bitten by winter's frigid temperatures, preservation of native plants and varieties that have given way to the plow, the reaper, the combine, the drainage ditch and man's ever-encroaching march on what was once splendid, virgin prairie. This concern has grown to a constructive project of great ecological, cultural, and educational values. They want the citizens of the future to know a tree and a rose as something "natural" as opposed to a specimen in a hothouse. Citizens of the future will be insured the

beauty and firsthand knowledge of the short grasses and prairie flowers of the early plains, the cottonwoods and the willows, the Scotch and ponderosa pines.

The student directors and officers of this project deserve a great deal of credit for their imagination and for their commitment in carrying this task to completion. The young men and women of Southwest Minnesota State College are dedicated to a project that is unique, and they are going to make it.

## THE FAMILY PLANNING ACT

## HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, on November 16, by a vote of 298 to 32, the House of Representatives passed the Family Planning Services and Population Research Act of 1970.

There was a time, not so very long ago in our history, when Americans would have risen up in almost unanimous anger and outrage over the passage of a Federal law with a title like that. Former President Eisenhower is reported to have said that he could conceive of no subject less suitable for governmental action.

But now—fragmented, confused, assailed by discordant voices crying havoc over a so-called population explosion, when our birth rate has been steadily and steeply declining for more than a decade—too many reach for excuses to justify not taking a stand against a program which they know in their hearts is wrong. They say this is an issue of private moral and religious conviction. So it is. But it is much more than that. When we are facing a law before the Congress of the United States, when we are facing an appropriation of more than a quarter of a billion dollars of the taxpayers' money, when we are facing an obvious Government campaign for the limitation of birth, then it becomes everybody's business and we must ask bluntly: What right does Government have in your bedroom?

Surely by now we should have learned how this kind of legislation and governmental action works. It almost always begins with a "voluntary" program and "only a little" money—if \$267 million a year can be called little. It almost always starts small, then grows big—and often, ultimately, monstrous. Once Government gets into a field, it is almost impossible to get Government out of it. The time to keep Federal bureaucrats out of your family life is when they first knock at the door, not after they have a foot in it.

There are people in our Government today who want power over who shall live and who shall die in these United States. For them, the Family Planning Act of 1970 can only be a very significant step toward the fulfillment of their ambition. We should never forget this as we hear the enthusiastic welcomes some are giving to it.

As I said in a major speech on the

Floor of the House, in opposition to the Family Planning Act of 1970:

I will ask Members of the House this question: In your own careers in Congress how many bills have you seen that have started out as voluntary measures and have then become mandatory? I served 5½ years in a State legislature, and one of the most common procedures was to change 'may' to 'shall.' After we put through a voluntary bill, we then moved on to make it mandatory...

I will make a prediction at this point. Mark my words. If this bill passes today, in a few years you will see 'may' changed to 'shall' when it is found out that the objectives stated in this bill cannot be achieved by voluntary means... I regard it as a long step toward a Nazi-like tyranny in our land.

The bill contains no restriction whatever on the age or the marital status of persons who may receive contraceptives paid for by the funds it appropriates. According to testimony presented by supporters of the bill in the committee hearing on it, contraceptives are now being given to young teenage children in family life classes in several large cities. Thus it is simple truth to say—unpalatable as a blunt statement of that truth may be—that in practice it will amount to officially condoning and sanctioning not only fornication, but statutory rape.

The bill is now in a Senate-House Conference Committee which will be debating, among other things, whether to allow abortion as one of the Government-supported methods of family planning. Following action by the conference committee, it will come back to both Houses of Congress for another vote. Both Senators and Representatives need to hear from their constituents around the country about the Family Planning Act. Unless opposition to this bill and others like it is greatly intensified, we may expect to see the Federal Government telling once-free Americans how many children they can have—and very likely sooner than 1984. George Orwell may have been an optimist.

## TRIBUTE TO HON. GEORGE H. FALLON, OF MARYLAND

## HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, permit me to take this means of paying a brief but sincere tribute to my beloved friend and colleague, the gentleman from Maryland (GEORGE H. FALLON) who is retiring from the Congress at the end of the 91st session following 26 years of distinguished and dedicated service as a Member of the House.

GEORGE FALLON has served his district, the State of Maryland, and the Nation well and faithfully. He has rendered outstanding service to the growth and progress of all America as chairman of the Committee on Public Works. Throughout America many projects which he has championed stand as mon-

uments to his foresight and dedication to the public interest.

Chairman FALLON always has had a vision of a great America—a land of promise and hope and fulfillment—a land of progress and prosperity. His leadership as chairman of the great Committee on Public Works has provided needed water supplies for our people, flood control for our cities and farms, roads and highways to meet the unprecedented demands for modern transportation, the generation of electric power to meet ever-increasing demands for more and more power by our increasing population, among many other important elements in the water resources development programs for progress in America.

GEORGE FALLON, in addition to being an outstanding legislative leader, is a wonderful person—my good friend, an esteemed colleague, and a true gentleman. I have known GEORGE for many years—we came to Congress at about the same time. We shall miss him as he leaves the Congress for a well-deserved retirement. I wish for GEORGE the very best of good luck, health, and happiness in the years ahead.

#### DROP THE PEACE CORPS

### HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I call attention to a recent newspaper article which outlines clearly the present state of the expensive farce known as the Peace Corps.

The state to which this outfit has sunk is no surprise to some of us in the House who, since the beginning of this sham, have pointed out that it was merely another way to fleece the taxpayers and add another layer of useless fat to the foreign handout program.

It is past time to call a halt and disband this outfit before it wastes another dime.

I submit the article for inclusion in the RECORD at this point:

SHOPWORN PEACE CORPS HEADING FOR THE SHELF

(By William Steif)

Despite its director's talk about "new directions," the Peace Corps has lost much of its popular appeal and appears headed for consolidation with other federal volunteer programs.

Director Joseph H. Blatchford continues to wear an optimistic air, but figures gathered in a new "internal" study showed today that:

Applications have fallen from a 1966 peak of 42,246 to 19,022 in the most recent fiscal year, 1970.

Volunteers working overseas have fallen from the Feb. 28, 1967, peak of 12,866 to 7,889 on Oct. 31.

Nearly one of every three volunteers fails to finish his two-year stint.

Maurice R. Berez, a 27-year-old ex-volunteer in Nigeria, expressed the changed attitude of many younger Americans toward the Corps this way:

"The Peace Corps is just becoming another

bureaucratic federal agency, like AID (Agency for International Development)."

White House officials talk of merging the corps with its domestic counterpart, VISTA Volunteers, and possibly the Teachers Corps.

Mr. Blatchford has taken some steps in recent months to bolster the Corps.

He employed 178 recruiters (141 full-time, the rest part-time) to seek the older, skilled volunteers he said many nations wanted.

He recently acquired a new public affairs director—his third in a year—from a large New York ad agency.

He has breathed new life into the Corps' 25-member National Advisory Council, which met in Los Angeles for two days this month.

But despite these efforts to improve the corps' "image" the agency has slipped within the Administration and on Capitol Hill.

Mr. Blatchford brought his top staff from all over the world to a meeting 14 months ago at Fredericksburg, Va., to lay out his "new directions" program. He wanted to recruit 500 skilled craftsmen, farmers and other specialists, and 200 families with technical skills to go overseas.

He sought to bring more minority volunteers and more over-30 volunteers into the corps. He said he would "provide the volunteer with increased technical and logistic support by tapping other overseas agencies and local industries for assistance."

In a few highly special areas—mostly pertaining to over-30 teachers—Mr. Blatchford has succeeded.

But the overall total of trainees has dropped from 7,936 in 1968, to 6,318 in 1969, to 4,911 last year. Applications in some skill categories—health, mathematics, science, business, for example—are down half to two-thirds from their peak years.

The minority recruiting drive netted 252 applicants from predominantly black colleges, an increase of 72 from the previous year. Seventy black trainees were picked, 50 to go to Sierra Leone or Liberia after training at two predominantly black U.S. colleges.

The Corps' push to send families overseas has fizzled. Twenty-one families, instead of 200, have departed, and 40 more are in training. One corps official compared the family program with an ill-fated 1967-68 project to recruit and train U.S. Indians for corps posts overseas.

The Corps continues to be embarrassed by its own fumbling eagerness.

Early this year Mr. Blatchford announced volunteers would be sent to the Maldiv Islands, a new nation in the Indian Ocean, although an agreement for a volunteer contingent hadn't been signed. The Maldives, sensitive over their new-found sovereignty, promptly reneged.

More than 14 months ago Mr. Blatchford said the Corps would send a contingent to Mali, in West Africa. One volunteer is there. A program was announced for the Congo last February. Three volunteers are there.

Other nations with token peace corps programs include Turkey, Ceylon and Malta, each with two volunteers.

The change in youth attitudes toward the Corps has eaten at what was its chief strength—idealistic collegians taking generalized courses who were willing to invest two years of their lives to helping poor, backward peoples. In 1966 more than 28,000 of this kind of youngster applied; by 1969 that total had dropped to 12,575, and in fiscal 1970 it slumped to 8,155.

With a paid staff of 1,337 and a budget of nearly \$100 million, the Peace Corps is all geared up to be the stellar program President Kennedy and Sargent Shriver hoped it would be when they launched it nearly a decade ago.

But some Corps officials gloomily admitted that if present trends continued, the Corps would have only 3,200 volunteers overseas by December, 1971—fewer than three volunteers for every staff member.

#### THE ISSUE OF SOUTH VIETNAM

### HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Mr. Patrick A. Kirk, who recently completed 3½ years military service, the last 13 months of which were spent in South Vietnam, wrote me what he believes to be the issue of South Vietnam.

I would like to share his views with my colleagues and submit his letter for insertion in the RECORD:

CINCINNATI, OHIO,

November 2, 1970.

To: Mr. ROBERT TAFT.

Re: The Issue of South Vietnam.

DEAR MR. TAFT: I am respectfully writing to you to help you, perhaps, to see the issue of Vietnam in a light that seldom trickles down through the news media and advisory committees in our state and national governments.

Having just completed three and a half years in the Air Force with the last thirteen months having been spent in Da Nang, Vietnam, I believe that the issue of Vietnam has MANY vital points which have not even begun to be conclusively considered.

The purposes for our presence in South Vietnam have been and are noble and absolutely necessary. However, military provision with the hope of establishing a democracy in South Vietnam using the past and present methods for execution of such an establishment are obscure and futile.

We are militarily and politically working to aid in founding and maintaining a democracy to a country whose people for the most part are illiterate and do NOT even have a common national language spoken by all or even a majority of its people.

The Mountainyard tribes of South Vietnam have fifty-three dialects, and some of these tribes are a distance of only five miles apart from each other. These tribes for the most part are still hunting heads and wearing loin cloths. A majority of the people of these tribes and many of these who live in the Plains and Lowland areas do not have the vaguest idea of what a printed word is and have not yet a single word written down on paper of their tribal tongue. Many do not even have an alphabet or any such concept such as an alphabet formulated for their dialect.

The Christians' Missions Alliance (CMA) have done MUCH toward making a foundation upon which to construct a democracy. Representatives from CMA have studied at the SLI (Summer Linguistics Institute) in Santa Anna, California, training for the fields of South and North Vietnam. There are many representatives of the CMA who are now working with these Vietnamese Mountainyard tribes, with who they live for a period of two to three years in order to learn the tribal dialect. After this is accomplished, they then formulate an alphabet for that tribal dialect which agrees with it in tone and in character. The alphabet is then taught to the tribal peoples so that they can for the first time read and write in their own native tongue. After this is accomplished, the CMA representatives then teach these tribesmen the national language, which is the general Vietnamese.

Until these people have an education and common national language, democracy for them is as feasible as a two month old baby trying to program a computer. The longevity of a democracy under the above-mentioned circumstances would be and shall be at best short and shallow and quick to obliterate.

My point is that I cannot understand the gross naivete exemplified by many of our country's politicians in their thinking that an end to the war in South Vietnam will mean a military victory which will solve Vietnam's problems with a "democracy". The illiteracy and disunion of the South Vietnamese people, especially in regards to a common national language, have been preyed upon by outsiders for centuries. It is utterly asinine for us to think that somehow might will make ALL "right", particularly under these circumstances as previously mentioned.

I ask as a twenty-three year old voting citizen of Ohio, that you read thoroughly and disseminate the contents of this letter to as many of our country's men in office of public service such as that which you now hold. Otherwise please give this letter to your successor and ask him to disseminate its contents respectively.

I also add that a military victory in South Vietnam will be at best only half of a victory because the South Vietnamese people are not prepared or equipped at present to handle a democracy or its accompanying responsibilities due to their lack of education and a common national language.

I sincerely thank you for your time and consideration in these regards. I am hoping that this will aid your job in knowing that we care enough as citizens to let you know our side of the story once in a while. Please reply if at all possible.

Thanking you again, I remain, respectfully, and

Very Sincerely yours,

PAT KIRK.

**NORMAN ROBINSON A CHAMPION  
BLOOD DONOR AFTER 195 PINTS**

**HON. FRANK J. BRASCO**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, the New York News of November 15, 1970, reported on a champion blood donor from Jamestown, N.Y., who recently gave his 195th pint of blood at the Jewish Hospital and Medical Center of Brooklyn for any unfortunate person in need of blood.

Norman Robinson, a grandfather of three gave his first pint of blood in 1941 in the name of the Knights of Pythias, the fraternal order. Since then, he has given the equivalent to 15 times the amount of blood in the body. This was done in line with the Pythian Order's credo—friendship, charity, and benevolence.

Kings County Chief Assistant District Attorney Elliott Golden, grand chancellor of the 82,000-member Grand Lodge of the Knights of Pythias was present when Mr. Robinson donated his 195th pint of blood in the name of the grand chancellor.

Mr. Robinson is probably the leading blood donor in the United States. Yet he has never sought glory, but only sought to encourage other people to give blood—the life fluid for which there is a crying need in our Nation.

I want to congratulate Mr. Robinson and the Knights of Pythias for their fine, humane program. The following is the text of the New York News article on Mr. Robinson:

A champion blood donor from upstate New York has given his 195th pint at the Jewish Hospital and Medical Center of Brooklyn, 555 Prospect Place.

While visiting friends in Brooklyn, Norman Robinson, 59, a grandfather of three, of Jamestown, N.Y., decided to give blood at the Jewish Hospital "to help any unfortunate person in need of blood."

"My aim is to reach the 200 mark," he said. "After that, if I remain in good health, I will be happy to continue to help the sick."

"Giving blood is about the easiest thing to do. All it takes is one hour of one's time."

Robinson's donation was made at the hospital's blood bank, which is supported in part by the Knights of Pythias Associated Health Foundation. Robinson is a past district deputy and past chancellor commander of the Jamestown Pythian Lodge.

In the last 29 years, he has given 15 times the amount of blood in his body. He has donated blood throughout the State to aid the afflicted in the name of the Knights of Pythias.

He gave his first pint of blood to the Red Cross in 1941. Red Cross records credit him with donating 182 pints through that organization, and 12 pints to outside hospital sources.

"Praise the Lord," Robinson said after making his latest blood donation, "the only time in my life that I ever needed the services of a doctor was when I broke my arm at the age of 10."

His hobbies are bowling, golf, and practicing the loving principles of Damon and Pythias—"a practice we sorely need in this world in which we live."

**ECONOMIC PLIGHT OF THE  
FARMER**

**HON. JOHN M. ZWACH**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, for the past several days I have been inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD excerpts from Frank M. LeRoux's book, "1961 to 1970, the Farmers' Worst Nine Years."

With your permission, I will continue to make these insertions in an effort to bring to the attention of the Congress the deplorable economic plight in which agriculture finds itself.

There are many facts we should know if we are to deal intelligently with our agriculture problems.

In 1968, 1,286,000 farms, 42 percent of the total, sold less than \$2,500 worth of farm products; 327,000 farms, 11 percent of the total, sold farm products worth \$2,500 to \$4,999; 420,000, or 14 percent, sold farm products worth \$5,000 to \$9,999; 1,021,000, or 33 percent of the total, sold more than \$10,000 worth of products and only 194,000, or about 7 percent of the total, had sales of more than \$40,000.

Mr. Speaker, the way I interpret these figures, 67 percent of our farmers had a net income from farming in the poverty level. And yet these people have never gone on a strike. They have always met the food needs of our country and a good share of the rest of the world as well.

But what lies ahead?

The population of the United States will increase by more than 30 million people in the next 10 years.

This will require the production of an additional 5,160,000 beef cattle, 762,510 dairy cows, 12,990,000 hogs and 39,000,000 hens.

If we expect our farmers to be able to meet these needs within the next 10 years we must lift them above the poverty level income which 67 percent have at present.

**THE REALITY OF ANTI-JEWISH  
ACTIVITY IN THE SOVIET UNION**

**HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the persecution of Soviet Jews has recently reached an alarming climax, which can no longer be tolerated by the free people of the world. The trial of 33 Jews scheduled for November has been postponed for the second time. Twelve of these people have been accused of attempting to hijack an airplane from Leningrad last June. Some sources have reported that this would be but one of four trials to be conducted in Leningrad, Riga, and Kishinev.

The accused have been held incommunicado since their arrests in June and August. The continued incarceration of the accused who have no hope of appeal or defense is appalling. Reports of the alleged hijacking attempt indicate that the accused were entrapped by a KGB official who posed as a pilot who would fly them out of the country. The government is not only exaggerating and taking advantage of certain occurrences, but is overtly creating incidents for those who only wish to leave the country and live in peace.

The most recent victim of the Soviet Government's anti-Semitic campaign is Leonid G. Rigerman, who has been actively helping others to emigrate. Mr. Rigerman recently applied to the American Embassy to be recognized as an American citizen. Upon his arrival at the Embassy, he was turned away by Soviet guards. He was later arrested on the basis of allegedly defying orders to leave. I have joined 66 of my colleagues in sending a letter to Secretary of State William Rogers urging the State Department to confirm immediately the U.S. citizenship of Leonid Rigerman.

Although the Soviet Union denies charges of anti-Semitism, the arrest of the 33 Jews and Mr. Rigerman on drummed-up charges ranging from slander and anti-Soviet activities, to attempted hijacking, is clearly a government policy to publicly denounce and intensify the persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union.

The climax of events in the Soviet Union is obviously an attempt by the government to further repress any feelings of Jewish national identity and particularly to halt the demands regarding emigration to Israel.

The fate of the 33 accused, who are conveniently being used as public scapegoats by the Soviet Government, can be life imprisonment or even death. The upcoming trials are clearly a reversion to the Stalinist ploy of public show trials and denunciations. The limits of the Soviet anti-Israel campaign cannot be predicted. It is shocking to realize that the current Soviet Government finds it necessary to launch a campaign against the Soviet Jewish minority of 3 million whose only collective crime is that they were born Jews and wish to teach, practice, preserve, and perpetuate their Jewish religion and culture.

The United Nations ought to denounce this barbaric circus trial, and censor the Soviet Union for its persecution of minorities. All free governments should keep this matter before the public eye and use all means at their disposal to get the Soviet Union to release these innocent people and, hopefully, bring the Soviets into the 20th-century world of human decency, humanitarianism, freedom, and liberty for their citizens.

#### THE DOCTOR IN THE TV SET

### HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the November 27 issue of Life magazine describes a unique system now being used by Massachusetts General Hospital and the Veterans Administration Hospital in Bedford, Mass., which has already brought immense benefits to patients and medical staff alike and, I am convinced, holds vast potential for increasingly greater progress.

This "teleconsultation" system, as it is called, facilitates the efficient exchange of critical information and special expertise between the two hospitals, to a degree that would not be possible under traditional modes of communication without placing an impossible burden on hospital and medical personnel already plagued with busy schedules and heavy demands.

It has, moreover, been put to additional use for more effective patient care, for example, in bringing together, through "teleconsultation," patients who require specialized treatment and those outside experts who are capable of providing it, but would not ordinarily be able to travel to the Bedford hospital to administer treatment in person because of heavy schedules.

The creative application of this new system is not only a tribute to the resourcefulness of facilities such as the Bedford VA Hospital, but is also a tremendously valuable demonstration of the kinds of areas where the new technology and management skills developed by the private sector over the past decade can be put to work in creating a better life in America. It is an encouraging illustration of the potential role that technology can play in solving some of our critical problems, such as health care,

and I am including the Life article in the RECORD for the attention of my colleagues:

A NEW SYSTEM FOR DIAGNOSIS AT A DISTANCE:  
THE DOCTOR IN THE TV SET NOV. 27, 1970  
LIFE MAGAZINE

There were no doctors on hand in the clinic at Boston's Logan International Airport when Kevin Smith, 5, arrived with a severely gashed wrist. But in the time it took a nurse to flick a switch, Dr. Kenneth T. Bird at Massachusetts General Hospital, nearly three miles away, was examining the injury over two-way closed-circuit television. In his office at the hospital, Dr. Bird pushed a control lever and a close-up of the cut appeared on his monitor in crisp detail while he shot questions at Kevin—"Move your fingers! Does it hurt?" There was no nerve damage, he determined, so there was no need for Kevin to take a troublesome trip to a downtown hospital. Instead, Bird suggested Kevin wait for the clinic's regular doctor to arrive and the boy eventually wound up with six stitches. To a world chronically short of doctors, the two-year-old MGH system had once again shown how technology can make qualified personnel go farther—miles farther.

Mass General's TV link with Logan Airport is a pilot project designed to demonstrate how a doctor's presence for diagnosing illness and injury can be extended at low cost to many places at once. Dr. Bird, who originated the system and calls it "telediagnosis," has found the arrangement to be effective in 90% of the 1,000 cases, ranging from sprained ankles to heart attacks, so far encountered at the airport clinic. It works so well that Mass General has put into operation a variation on it called "teleconsultation." Using the same sort of two-way TV hookup, the hospital is connected to another fully staffed facility 17 miles away, the Bedford Veterans Administration Hospital. Each hospital can call upon specialists from the other for consultation without their wasting valuable time traveling from one place to the other. Because the Bedford VAH is a psychiatric facility, "teleconsultation" is used primarily in doctor-patient sessions, but both hospitals have been resourceful in finding additional uses for it. An example is the speech therapy session shown here, conducted by a busy, Boston-based therapist, for a patient at the VA hospital. Other uses include teaching—students are able to listen in on psychiatric sessions—and visual professional consultation between doctors, nurses, technicians and social workers.

#### WHY NOT LEND-LEASE FOR ISRAEL?

### HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, W. Averell Harriman's long and distinguished public career as national statesman and Governor of New York speaks for itself. And his valuable service to his country continues. A most recent example is his essay, "Why Not Lend-Lease for Israel?" which appeared on the second editorial page of the November 24, 1970, New York Times.

Ambassador Harriman's views receive and deserve wide publication. I introduce them into the RECORD at this point. They constitute a valuable contribution to the Middle East debate.

#### WHY NOT LEND-LEASE FOR ISRAEL?

(By W. Averell Harriman)

President Nixon's request to the Congress for \$500 million for arms to Israel makes urgent the immediate reconsideration of how we should aid Israel in her struggle for survival.

After Israel's success in the Six-Day War, the immediate military threat posed by its enemies disappeared and it was hoped that a peaceful settlement guaranteeing her security would shortly follow.

Unfortunately, no settlement was reached and hostilities continued. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union poured arms into Egypt and Syria. The United States tried both through representations to the Soviets and by holding back on military supplies for Israel to check a Middle Eastern arms race. However, the Russians built up Egypt's and Syria's armaments far beyond what they had been before the Six-Day War.

The flow of Soviet weapons, provided in substantial part virtually as gifts, has required an economically costly and increasingly burdensome Israeli response. Israel is currently spending at least 25 per cent, and perhaps 30 per cent, of its gross national product on national security.

The American percentage for military expenditures, including Vietnam, for fiscal 1971 is about 7.7 per cent. Prior to the Six-Day War, Israel spent less than \$200 million annually on military imports. The cost of military imports has quadrupled. Israel's balance of payments now shows an annual deficit of \$1.2 billion on a current accounts basis.

The Israelis have the determination and ability to defend their democracy without support from outside forces—provided Israel's military equipment is adequate—not inferior in quality although obviously inferior in quantity. It is clearly essential to insure that Israel has sufficient weapons to defend herself. But it is also vital that Israel not be compelled to spend herself into bankruptcy or to undermine the fabric of her society. The recently passed Jackson amendment to the military procurement authorization bill recognizes Israel's need for financial relief by authorizing the sale of military equipment on a credit basis.

But credits must be repaid, and a skyrocketing external debt would further strain Israel. I well remember the unfortunate situation that occurred as a result of the inability of various nations to repay the large loans we made to them during World War I.

One possible alternative would be for the United States to make military equipment available to Israel on a grant (free) basis. Almost every nation threatened by Communist or Communist-supplied arms has at some time received American military grant assistance. Even such Arab countries as Jordan and Iraq have been given American arms. Israel is virtually unique in having had to contract to pay for all arms she received from the United States. Arab arms have been supplied without cost by not only Russia and China but also by Great Britain and France. However, at this late date to begin to give free arms to Israel would be seen by the Arabs as a provocative act and might impede our effort to bring about peace.

In December 1940 President Roosevelt made a brilliant proposal "to get away from the dollar sign" while providing arms to nations whose survival we wanted to support. He devised Lend-Lease—the loaning of military equipment on the basis that when it was no longer needed the unexpended part would be returned to the United States.

It seems to me that a similar program should now be adopted in supplying to Israel certain needed sophisticated military equipment. The great advantage of Lend-Lease is that under Lend-Lease the Arab nations could be assured that after peace had been

achieved, major items of sophisticated military equipment would not be kept by Israel but would be returned to the United States.

We must recognize that many Arabs have a real, although unrealistic, fear, based in part on misinformation on what brought on the June 1967 war, that Israel is an imperialistic state bent on expanding her position. The knowledge that in the event of peace Israel would relinquish much of its sophisticated armament could serve as an incentive for the Arab states to negotiate. Equipment supplied under Lend-Lease should be carefully limited, as Israel, like her neighbors, must be encouraged to accept the fact that security lies not in strength of military forces but in a genuine peace settlement.

#### THE RAIL PASSENGER PLAN

### HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the Members an article from yesterday's Boston Herald Traveler dealing with the rail passenger bill, which I sponsored here in the House. In it, Columnist Tom Wicker points out that America has made a start toward redeeming intercity rail passenger service. He goes on to point out that we in Congress must adequately finance this system if we hope to put rail passenger service on a stable footing to serve the needs of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, priority in the next session should be given to attempts to strengthen the rail passenger system. We should take Mr. Wicker's advice and not continue to give "outsized preference to the highways and the airlines."

Mr. Speaker, I submit the article at this point in the RECORD:

#### THE RAIL PASSENGER PLAN

WASHINGTON.—Congress, the Nixon administration and Secretary of Transportation John Volpe have made a small, shaky start on redeeming intercity rail passenger service from the limbo into which American railroads and national policy have cast it. The designation of a basic national passenger network, to be operated by a single corporation, offers hope for the future—but at the same time it suggests the immense problems remaining.

The network announced by Volpe, for instance, includes no north-south lines on the West Coast. This is not only an appalling gap, omitting what many had thought would be the profit-promising corridor route between Los Angeles and San Diego; it is also apparently the product of cost-cutters in the administration who held down the scope of the system. This does not augur well for their faith in it or in rail passenger service generally.

Volpe pointed out, moreover, that no new equipment can be expected in operation for at least two years, which is not much less than the guaranteed life of the designated network. Yet, it is the provision of clean, comfortable, speedy trains upon which rests any projection of a new public acceptance of rail service.

Moreover, the new rail corporation is expected to operate fundamentally on its own profits. The federal government is investing only \$40 million directly in the corporation,

although it will guarantee \$100 million in loans to enable railroads to invest in the corporation. It is at best uncertain whether, under these limitations, and after decades of neglect of the passenger by the railroad companies, the new corporation can approach a profit by July 1, 1973. After that date, if it does not, it will be empowered to reduce the basic network now designated.

This niggardly approach stands in stark and utterly senseless contrast to the \$290 million further investment Congress even now is being asked to make in that unnecessary and uneconomic monument to pollution and technological chauvinism, the SST.

The small Attention and sparse investment accorded passenger trains makes even less sense judged against the action by the House last week in authorizing \$17.3 billion more to complete the 42,500-mile interstate highway system by 1978. This not only represents a staggering level of investment for paving a great deal of the countryside, bulldozing under much of our cities, and turning a high proportion of American air blue and noxious; it is also an investment stupendously out of proportion to the low efficiency and poor cost-effectiveness of automobile transportation.

Since it takes only a fourth as much thrust to improve a railway car on steel rails as it does to move a rubber-tired vehicle on concrete, a modern train requires only about 15 relatively pollution-free horsepower per passenger to perhaps ten times that for a pollution-belching auto. One highway lane can handle 1,200 cars, or perhaps 2,000 passengers, an hour—compared to 40,000 passengers an hour on a single railroad track.

Former Assistant Secretary of the Air Force Robert Charles, who now is working with the Geo-Transport Foundation of New England, has pointed out that with an investment of several hundred million dollars in new roadbed, present train technology could provide a Boston-New York rail schedule of two hours, fifteen minutes. That would be competitive with the airlines and beat the automobile on a time basis, and leave both far behind in passenger capacity.

However, Charles pointed out to the New England Council, one-fifth of all planes landing at New York's three airports are from Boston and Washington. New York long contemplated another airport; Boston is now discussing the expansion of its Logan airport. But the new airport now being built for Los Angeles will cost an estimated \$900 million, while one for Montreal may reach \$1 billion. The provisions of high-speed, comfortable, frequent rail transit between New York and Boston might spare both cities that kind of airport costs and at the same time provide better and more efficient service.

By every such measure, the case for modern rail passenger service in America is overwhelming—if largely unrecognized. Designation of a basic system, even under existing handicaps, was a beginning. The more important step comes next, when President Nixon appoints three or more incorporators to set up the single operating corporation; the incorporators, in turn, must choose the executive management of the corporation.

Those Nixon appoints, therefore, must meet one overriding requirement. They must genuinely believe in the necessity for, and the good prospects of modern rail passenger service—speedy, clean, convenient, with courteous service, computer-managed ticketing, and efficient scheduling. The defeatist attitude that descended on the railroads in recent years will be just as fatal as dirty coaches and slow trains; indeed, it will inevitably produce them.

As for Congress and the administration, if they continue to give outsized preference

to the highways and the airlines nothing anyone else can do will redeem the passenger train.

#### UNITED NATIONS BACKS HUMANE TREATMENT FOR POW'S

### HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I was gratified to learn today that a committee of the United Nations' General Assembly has adopted a U.S.-sponsored resolution concerning prisoners of war.

By an overwhelming vote of 60 to 16, the committee called upon all parties to comply with terms and provisions of the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the humane treatment of prisoners of war.

Without specifically mentioning Vietnam, but with the POW situation there clearly the cause for the action, the resolution asked compliance with the convention by permitting inspection of prisoner camps and by permitting repatriation of all seriously sick and wounded prisoners.

It is interesting to note that the only votes against this humane appeal came from the Soviet Union and its allies.

It is my hope that this action by the United Nations will turn worldwide attention on the flagrant violations by North Vietnam of the Geneva Convention. The convention itself, I might point out, has been issued as a print by the Subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments, of which I am chairman. Members who are interested in obtaining copies of this important document may obtain them from the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

I believe that congratulations and commendations are due to the United Nations for having taken this positive action. At this point, I insert in the RECORD the account of the United Nations vote in today's New York Times and the text of the resolution adopted yesterday by the Social Committee of the General Assembly:

#### PLEA TO PROTECT PRISONERS OF WAR IS ADOPTED IN U.N.

(By Kathleen Teitsch)

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., December 1.—A United States proposal aimed at getting protection for American war prisoners in Vietnam was approved today by a committee of the General Assembly.

The resolution, which 11 other countries sponsored with the United States, calls for regular inspection of prison camps and humane treatment of all war prisoners, without specifically mentioning Vietnam.

The proposal was approved 60 to 16, with 34 abstentions, by the assembly's Social Committee, whose membership includes all the members of the United Nations. It was opposed by the Soviet Union, Hungary, Algeria and some others, who termed it a pretext for diverting attention from American actions in Vietnam and accused the United States of grave abuses, including the slaying of civilians at My Lai.

[In Paris, the American delegate to the Vietnam peace talks, in a news conference

charged that the Vietnamese Communists were demonstrating a "shameful attitude" toward American prisoners and refusing to negotiate.]

#### WEIGHS ON CONSCIENCE

Final General Assembly approval of the resolution on prisoners is regarded as a formality, and Charles W. Yost, the United States delegate, said the decision demonstrated that "treatment of prisoners weighs on the conscience of the world."

He also reiterated United States concern for the 1,500 Americans estimated to be missing in Southeast Asia and spoke of the "positive evidence of the inhumanities to which they have been subjected."

The likely impact of the new resolution is viewed here as questionable since until now North Vietnam has refused to allow inspection of the prisoner camps by the Red Cross or any other humanitarian organization, as provided for under the 1949 Geneva Convention.

Red Cross authorities who have been in contact with Hanoi have indicated that they are not encouraged that North Vietnam will change its policy.

Hanoi has insisted that the prisoners are "war criminals" not entitled to the protection of the 1949 Geneva Convention, which lists in 143 articles the measures that should be taken for the treatment of prisoners—providing for their identification on capture, medical care and housing, repatriation of the sick and possibly those long held in captivity.

#### THANT PLEAS IGNORED

Hanoi has not indicated any interest either in the series of appeals from Secretary General Thant regarding war prisoners—the most recent one last week. The resolution specifically asks Mr. Thant to continue his efforts. The resolution was also modified by Hungary to ask Mr. Thant to work particularly to assist those captured while fighting aggression or in wars of liberation—a point favored by African members.

North Vietnam is one of the 127 nations that have accepted the convention. The United States has also stressed—and Mr. Yost repeated this today—that it is abiding by the Geneva regulations, giving access to its camps to the International Committee of the Red Cross and correcting any abuses reported by the inspection teams.

Allies of Hanoi have also insisted that Hanoi is abiding by the Geneva accords.

The United States proposal tended to overshadow the other resolutions discussed and approved today, which were all raised under the broad heading of "Respect for Human Rights in Armed Conflict." These included a proposal by Britain and 12 others that looks toward supplementing the Geneva conventions to take account of internal conflicts such as the Biafra war and other new situations.

The International Committee of the Red Cross intends to hold a preliminary conference next May to discuss possible new regulations.

Without dissent, the committee approved a proposal by France and seven other countries suggesting that the United Nations prepare an international agreement to protect journalists on dangerous missions and provide them with a guaranteed identity document.

[From the New York Times, Dec. 2, 1970]  
TEXT OF RESOLUTION ADOPTED IN U.N. ON WAR PRISONERS

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., December 1.—Following is the text of the United States-sponsored resolution on prisoners of war adopted today by the Social Committee of the General Assembly:

Believing therefore that the treatment accorded to victims of war and armed aggression is a concern of the United Nations.

Noting Resolution adopted by the international conference of the Red Cross at Istanbul calling upon all parties to the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the treatment of prisoners of war to insure that all persons entitled to prisoner-of-war status are treated humanely and given the fullest measure of protection prescribed by the conventions, and that all parties involved in an armed conflict, no matter how characterized, provide free access to prisoners of war and to all places of their detention by a protecting power or by the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Considering that direct repatriation of seriously wounded and seriously sick prisoners of war and repatriation or internment in a neutral country of prisoners of war who have undergone a long period of captivity constitute important aspects of human rights as advanced and preserved under the Geneva Convention and the United Nations Charter.

The General Assembly.

Recalling that the preamble of the United Nations Charter affirms faith in the dignity and worth of the human person.

Recalling that the United Nations has as one of its purposes achievement of international co-operation in solving international problems of humanitarian character and promotion of respect for human rights.

Reiterating the obligation of states members for the urgent termination of all armed aggression as envisaged in Articles 1 and 2 of the charter and in other relevant documents of the United Nations.

Noting the obligation of states members under the Charter of the United Nations to promote universal respect for, and observance of human rights.

Recalling resolutions requesting the Secretary General, in consultation with the International Committee of the Red Cross, to continue to study, inter alia, (1) steps which could be taken to secure the better applications of existing humanitarian international conventions and rules in armed conflicts; and (2) the need for additional humanitarian international protection of civilians prisoners and combatants in all armed conflicts:

1. Calls upon all parties to any armed conflict to comply with terms and provisions of the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the treatment of prisoners of war so as to insure humane treatment of all persons entitled to the protection of the convention and, inter alia, to permit regular inspection in accordance with the convention of all places of detention of prisoners of war by a protecting power or humanitarian organization, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross;

2. Endorses the continuing efforts of the International Committee of the Red Cross to secure effective application of the convention;

3. Requests the Secretary General to exert all efforts to obtain humane treatment for prisoners of war especially for the victims of armed aggression and colonial suppression;

4. Urges compliance with Article 109 of the convention, which requires repatriation of seriously wounded and seriously sick prisoners of war and which provides for agreements with a view to direct repatriation or internment in a neutral country of able-bodied prisoners of war who have undergone a long period of captivity.

5. Urges that combatants in all armed conflicts not covered by Article 4 of the Geneva Convention of the Aug. 12, 1949, relative to the treatment of prisoners of war, be accorded the same humane treatment de-

fining by the principles of international law applied to prisoners of war;

6. Urges strict compliance with the provisions of the existing international instruments concerning human rights in armed conflicts and urges those who have not yet done so to ratify or accede to the relevant instruments in order to facilitate in all aspects the protection of the victims of armed conflicts.

#### ADDITIONAL TESTIMONY ON THE FUTURE OF BOXING

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, on Monday I included in the RECORD testimonies of several witnesses who participated in the recent informal congressional hearing which my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New York (Mr. BIAGGI), and I held on the future of boxing. Today, I would like to include additional testimonies obtained at this hearing:

BOXING FROM THE CRADLE TO THE GRAVE, 1971

(By Barney Felix, the Nation's senior professional boxing referee)

As the nation's senior professional boxing referee, I have been around a long, long time. As a boxer, I ran the gamut from settlement house, amateur athletic union, collegiate to pro boxing. As a boxing referee I followed the same trail. From the newspaper and no-decision days through the rein of the Walker Boxing laws.

As a growing boy I was inspired by the boxers and persons associated with the boxing game. As the years went by with the economy and living conditions improving, boxing seemed to recede into an inferior position, control was taken over by the voracious few who squeezed everything out of the game and gave it nothing.

I don't blame the youngsters for not seeking a career in the boxing profession. While the rate of pay has been increased in every category of work, the young preliminary boxer still gets \$10.00 a round, in some states they get even less. The supervision of the game is down to a new low. Recently the New York State boxing chairman, Edwin Dooley, disgracefully ceded his power by surrendering to the dictates of the Patterson-Greene fight group who were scheduled to box in the main event at Madison Square Garden. They insisted that Chairman Dooley evict Referee Dave Feld bodily from the boxing ring after he had officially assigned Feld to work this bout. This I maintain is the straw that broke the camel's back.

A strong, disciplined Federal Boxing Commission must be instituted to handle all categories of boxing in the nation. This commission will be administrative and act as a watchdog for any wrong-doing by the promoters, managers and seconds to the poor exploited professional boxer who winds up his career with nothing but a couple of cauliflower ears and a rattled brain. There must be closer supervision of all those earning a living in pro boxing and the wrong doers must be expelled.

This Federal Commission should have first and last word in all areas of boxing, be it schoolboy boxing, settlement house boxing, collegiate boxing, A.A.U. boxing or professional boxing. As things stand now the only phases alive are the Golden Gloves Tour-

ney, which holds forth once a year and professional boxing such as it is. There was a time when New York City had 14 pro boxing shows going in one week. This in addition to at least twenty weekly A.A.U. amateur shows. Settlement Houses and Community Centers all had boxing teams and held an annual championship in the armories. We coaches knew that some of the participants would wind up boxing professionally. Those that did not turn pro learned the fundamentals of self-defense which came in handy as they went through the problems of life.

We have found that boxing, when properly taught, inculcates in the character of a growing boy phases of self reliance, self respect, respect for others and prepares him to face the hard knocks of life with equanimity.

Most of my peers and colleagues feel as I do about organizing a Federal Commission with a "Czar" of boxing at its head, who will be far-visioned enough to bring the game back to its former status and be strong enough to keep the influence of the voracious and unruly under control. Persons like Commander Gene Tunney, Abe Greene, the Jersey State Commissioner who in essence is the Elder Statesman of Boxing, Morris Mogelev, a newspaperman and boxing official who has been associated with boxing all his life and has made a thorough study of the ills of boxing. To bring the sport back to the heydays of the "Twenties" with the enticement of "top pay for hard work" to our growing generation. You will see how quickly these youngsters will start getting haircuts and stop using drugs. We must give them an incentive and the respect they deserve to say nothing of the fame and honor and their acceptance by the good people in our society.

Let me offer an example of a case in hand . . . my own experience. Soon after World War I, we found ourselves living in the ghetto of the Lower East Side of New York City. We were seven children living in two tenement house rooms. The kitchen had a coal burning stove in it but it never got the luxury of being fed coal. We youngsters had a daily chore of going out on the street and gathering wood for the kitchen fire. The food supply was below par, we were thin, emaciated looking and anemic. My father was earning ten dollars a week. As soon as we entered our teens we discovered boxing. At thirteen we were paid fifteen cents a fight to do battle before a group of grown-ups on the roof (shop) of 18 Orchard Street. The lower east side was the "hot bed" of boxing and many great fighters came from there. We grew older and improved and from rooftop boxing we entered the A.A.U. amateur bouts and through this medium we entered the halls of the New York Athletic Club, The City Athletic Club and many other citadels of the upper classes and we were interested in what we saw. There was inspiration all over the place. In due time we turned pro. My brother, Harry Felix, who for many years was the contender for the lightweight title received 40 dollars for his first four round fight. This was as much as my father earned in one month. At last my parents began realizing something of their investment in us kids. As the money and the ring injuries kept rolling in we were able to move out of the ghetto into a home all our own in the then countrified Brownsville in Brooklyn. We retired my father at the age of 41. This is what boxing did for us and could still be doing for many of the large "have not" families struggling along today. The supervision of boxing was good in those days. Jim Farley was the com-

missioner and he had a dedicated staff. Not what "can you do for me" group.

I was taught never to criticize unless I could come up with something constructive, so, I take the opportunity to put some of my thoughts on paper:

1. To stimulate the interest of the growing boys in pro boxing, I suggest that a scale of pay be targeted towards the present economy. A prelim boy still gets \$10.00 a round or less for a 4 round bout. This was the rate fifty years ago. How unfair can you be. In those days an errand boy got \$8.00 per week, today he gets \$70.00.

2. Stimulate the interest of *Big Business* in boxing. I am speaking now of conglomerates . . . corporation, private wealthy individuals to invest in the talent of young boxers. These outfits to organize a boxing division in their companies administered by a manager with business knowledge. Sign these boxers to a yearly contract and pay them weekly, in turn these boxers will participate in pro bouts as arranged by the company manager. The company will supply training quarters, hire trainers and seconds and set up hard and fast rules with which the boxer must comply. If a boxer does not adhere to the training rules he will be suspended without pay. Boxer is gradually promoted to higher rate of pay by merit and he can advance to main event boxer eventually with main event pay. I have a whole master plan governing such activities. At least it will take the boxer out of the hands of scheming, selfish managers who give nothing and take all.

3. The Federal Government should investigate the professional boxing situation in the City of Miami Beach, Florida. Here exists truly a boxing trust. One exclusive promoter is licensed by the Miami Beach Council, no one else may promote boxing in the City. The Promoter receives the use of the 2 public halls at a low, low fee and has managing contracts with all local boxers who are used on the shows. He also owns the local boxing gymnasium where these fighters train. A very disgraceful situation exists here where this promoter usually opens his professional boxing show with two or three amateur bouts. This is an unheard of practice.

4. This Federal Boxing Commission should allow officials, boxers and other boxing personnel to join a benevolent association where they can meet socially, discuss various inequities that exist in the sport, hold boxing clinics for growing boys and boxing seminars for college students who plan on entering the teaching profession. There was such an organization and I was the secretary. It was highly successful but was ordered disbanded by the former boxing chairman, the late Eddie Eagan. When I returned from serving four years in the U.S. Navy during World War II, I was told the bad news. We were a well disciplined group and never showed our displeasure at Mr. Eagan's ruling.

5. All officials should be required to pass a written and practical test to check on their knowledge of the sport, and physical and medical tests to confirm their good health and stability.

6. On-the-job-training seminars should be held for all referees, judges, inspectors and deputies. I do not ever remember that such instructive meetings were held.

7. There should be a rotating assignment of officials and not assignments through political influence as is found now.

8. The free ticket list to deputies and commission by promoters should be abolished.

9. Free boxing from any and all political entanglements. This can be done only if a strong and knowledgeable Chairman of the Commission is selected.

10. Set up a standard national scoring system devised so that an honest decision is rendered. It's tough enough for a kid to be in there battling away and getting hurt without having to fight the referees and judges.

11. The present day boxer is not insured and has no protection whatever. Arrangements should be instituted where he and his family will be cared for in the event that injuries are serious enough to put him out of commission the rest of his life.

#### BRIEF: AL "CHINK" LIND

Born March 21, 1907, in New York City. Raised in Harlem. New York State licensed referee.

City Mission Society camp counselor in charge of boating and swimming at Camp Minisink, N.Y.S.

Professional boxing referee, N.Y.S., 1952-present.

#### OBSERVATIONS

I first became interested in becoming a professional boxing referee after the Joe Louis-Max Baer contest. However, I confided in my best friend whom I had taught the art of boxing and officiating only to see him get the job because of his political inroads.

I however made preparations and spoke to Comm. Eddie Eagan who told me that the commission had one black referee and did not intend to use more than that. I did make it when Mr. Christianberry was made commissioner.

1. Now then, since 1952 I have never refereed a main bout at the Madison Square Garden.

2. The comm. spokesmen tell the officials that they will stand behind the decisions made yet I find much criticism such as the Ruby Goldstein situation when Ruby threw a very important contest out because of some rule infraction.

3. I have never experienced the rotation of referees as adopted.

4. The officials seem to be making less money actually and relatively speaking.

5. The prerequisites for appointment to the boxing commission is not what one knows but is political.

6. An official may find himself in the good graces of the powers that be at one time and working then another time find himself in the opposite position and not working. This would be understandable if someone would explain but no one explains.

7. I worked the Audibon card on four different occasions. Was supposed to get \$25.00 for the nights work. On three occasions I was given \$20.00 with no explanation.

#### STATEMENT OF DR. LEONARD MILTON, PRESIDENT, PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE SPORTS COMMITTEE, INC.

I am president of the People-To-People Sports Committee which was founded by President Eisenhower in 1956, and which has been operating ever since under the leadership of Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon.

The purpose of this committee is to organize continuous sports activities between the athletes of the United States and athletes of the world in order to create good will, friendship and mutual understanding. This committee has been most successful in this directive from the President, and our chairman today is President Nixon. Our diplomatic council is composed of all the members of the President's Cabinet as well as many Senators, Congressmen, governors and ambassadors; and our sports council is comprised of many illustrious athletes and many sports-minded men of our country. This com-

mittee has the unique distinction of carrying out its mandate to arrange for both amateur and professional competition.

I was honored to be appointed vice president in 1956 under the presidency of that famous amateur boxer and sportsman, Colonel Edward Eagan, and assumed the presidency upon his death in 1967. Colonel Eagan, as many of you well remember, was an Olympic gold medal winner in boxing and was one of the great amateur boxers of his era. He then went on to graduate from Yale University as an attorney and completed his education as a Rhodes Scholar in England. He served with distinction in World War II as a colonel in the Air Force, and served later with distinction as the commissioner of boxing for the State of New York for 7 years.

For many years Eddie Eagan and I discussed the deplorable state of professional boxing, and I know it grieved Eddie considerably that this sport, in his estimation, had deteriorated in the minds of the people due to the element that seemed to be associated with it.

We were of the unanimous opinion that a national boxing commissioner should be established so that the sport could be again held in high esteem as so many of the other sports, such as baseball, basketball, football, etc.

Because of his tremendous knowledge of the sport, Colonel Eagan was of the opinion that this would occur at the time when the sensitivities of the country demanded this action. In preparation of such action, several years ago Congress made studies of this sport. The People-To-People Sports Committee, Eddie Eagan and I gave considerable thought to the best possible plan that could be put into effect. This plan embodies the creation of the United States Commissioner of Boxing, who would be empowered to license and authorize boxing in the United States. This commissioner would operate under the auspices of the People-To-People Sports Committee. For each event, a sum would be established, in addition, a percentage of the gate would also be given to the contestants, which would be indicative of their popularity. All ancillary income such as television rights, closed circuit and public, motion picture rights, etc., would be negotiated by the People-To-People Sports Committee. Pensions and insurance policies would be established. Preliminaries and eliminations for matches would be established by the commissioner and his staff. Licensing of the fighters would be under the sole jurisdiction of the commissioner.

All profits and proceeds from the bouts should be distributed to such organizations as the Police Athletic League, Catholic Youth Organization, Golden Gloves, etc., to promote and encourage the sport amongst these amateurs.

Of course, there are many other details for the modus operandi, which are too lengthy to discuss here, which would also be required. I can foresee a sports program operating, as I mentioned, free from selfish and financial interests, bringing the sport of boxing to a plateau of respect that it so justly deserves. The People-To-People Sports Committee is willing to undertake a project of this type in the interest of national and international sportsmanship. I am also a member of the United States Olympic Committee, and have discussed this program with notable boxing authorities of the Olympic Committee. It is envisioned that in a program of this type amateur boxing would be encouraged, and this would again provide the athletes with an opportunity for Olympic competition.

In the interest of clean, wholesome sportsmanship, we strongly recommend a national

commissioner to do for boxing what Judge Landis so ably accomplished for baseball.

STATEMENT OF COL. DONALD F. HULL, U.S. ARMY, RETIRED, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR AMERICAN ATHLETIC UNION OF THE U.S.A.

#### A. BACKGROUND

Boxing is man's oldest and longest continuing sport. It is the only sport carried over from the original Olympic Games. Although continuing throughout the years, professional boxing's development has been checkered and varied.

The development—or the lack of it—of professional boxing with its glamor and omnipresent controversy has overshadowed the steady development of amateur boxing. The public is generally unaware that amateur boxing is controlled by a world-wide organization of 121 member nations. It has never had serious dissensions nor rival groups naming their own champions or conducting competitions outside the rules of the International Amateur Boxing Association (AIBA). National, Continental and World Championships—including the Olympic Games—are conducted regularly under the rules of AIBA. A copy of the current rules of AIBA is attached with the original of this report.

Amateur boxing in the United States is organized, supervised and controlled by the National Boxing Committee of the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States (AAU). The AIBA member in the USA is AAU. The AAU as a service organization of volunteer workers has neither the personnel nor the funds to fully protect the amateur boxer. Nor can the AAU provide sufficient programs so that America's amateurs can meet those of the Soviet Union and the other nations of the World on a fair and equal basis. However, the AAU freely does a tremendous job with its volunteer workers and the limited amount of funds it is able to obtain. The current National Boxing Handbook of the AAU is attached.

There are no laws or standard rules and requirements for the amateur boxer when he receives offers to become a professional. Professional boxing is controlled—or uncontrolled—by City Commissions, State Commissions and several varied groups which claim national, regional or world control. Many cities in the USA have no set supervision of any kind whatsoever. None of the U.S. State Commissions have any national supervision.

The world pattern in professional boxing is almost as irregular and unsupervised as the City and State Commissions in the United States. In many countries the Government controls the sport through appropriate laws. The Communist countries forbid professional boxing, but devote millions of dollars in supporting their amateur teams whose constant victories are propagandized as an indication of Communist superiority. Some nations—such as France and Italy—provide funds for the national commission which controls both amateur and professional boxing but have different personnel working in the two programs.

#### B. PROBLEM

The problems of boxing begin the moment a boy wants to extend his knowledge of the art of self-defense into the ancient sport of boxing. Generally the boys in amateur boxing come from poor families and the inner-city or ghetto areas. It is incongruous that there is no government help available for these members of our society who need help the most, and who are trying to help themselves.

The volunteer workers of the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States attempt to fill this gap, but even here the ghetto

boy who needs help the most gets the least. Swimming, track and field, and basketball attract boys from the more affluent families of our society and get better programs, better facilities, and better coaching. All the members of our affluent society who only assist the participants in the other sports should not be condemned because they do not give more time to the poor boys in boxing. Like most community minded volunteers they contribute their efforts to helping their community as they see it. They have little or no knowledge of the problems of the boys in the ghetto area who are attracted to boxing.

The problem in amateur boxing is that there is little or no community leadership or funds for programs in the areas from which the boxers come. A great percentage of them are from broken families and have never known a father. Instead of receiving deserved help for their efforts, they are usually trying to help a husbandless mother support smaller children.

Since the amateur organization—the AAU—doesn't have the funds for a really complete and attractive program, the amateur boxer is easy prey for anyone who will offer him a chance to take home a dollar. Therefore, the abuses of the individual boxer begins when he is lured into a professional career by an unscrupulous or unqualified manager. Too many young boxers enter the professional arena before they are physically mature, mentally developed, of legal age, or sufficiently skilled to protect themselves in the longer professional bouts.

Some State Commissions make a sincere effort to protect the boxer and to give professional boxing proper supervision. New York State is generally considered the most effective state commission. But, the New York Commission probably is prevented from completely following sound principles by the realistic fact that unscrupulous managers and promoters promptly take attractive competitions to a city with an easy or unscrupulous commission when an attempt is made to follow proper procedures.

Part of the excitement in the sport of boxing is the fact that one good punch may change the whole course of the action. Part of the public feeling for the sport is the opportunity which boxing provides for the poor, uneducated boy with physical talents who may become a world champion. The opportunity for a sudden reversal of the odds, and the lack of education of the average boxer, makes the sport and the individual boxer prey for the gamblers, and unscrupulous managers or promoters.

The lack of national laws and a national commission to protect the boxers and to supervise the sport makes it impossible for a well meaning city or state commission to contribute their share toward regulation of the sport. The frustrations of seeing an improper match turned down in one city and then take place across the border in another state has caused many commissions to simply give up trying to follow sound principles. Without some national supervision the evils and abuses in the sport can never be eliminated. There are good men in many State boxing commissions who can regulate the sport, but they need the authority of a National Commission backing them.

#### C. SOLUTION

There are several desirable actions which are needed at all levels and my suggested solutions beginning at the lowest level would be as follows:

1. Make "opportunity", "self-help", "head-start", "physical education", or some type of government funds available to every state to regulate boxing, to develop amateur programs, and to protect the boxer when he turns professional.



2. A national age minimum should be set to prevent the unqualified young amateur boxer from entering the professional arena. Professional football—where hard contact is similar to boxing—has established the transition age at college graduation which averages 23 years of age. The public would enthusiastically support a minimum age of 21 for boxing. Age 21 is generally accepted as about the time a young man's body is sufficiently developed to take the hard knocks of professional boxing. The public may well clamor for the abolition of professional boxing if a teenager is killed in the professional arena. The normal reaction to an unfortunate fatality of an older boxer would be that the individual was a grown man, past 21 years of age, and sufficiently mature to take his chances for a monetary prize the same as auto racing drivers and professional football players do.

3. Appoint a full-time national boxing commission of at least three (3) commissioners. The first action of such a commission would be to meet with a representative of each of the state commissions to promulgate national standards and rules for the sport. Then the commission would be busily engaged in keeping these standard procedures up to date, developing protection of the boxers and in supervising interstate, national and international competitions.

4. One of the three commissioners should be assigned the primary responsibility of coordinating with the National Boxing Committee of the AAU and the Olympic Boxing Committee to assist the amateur programs and to supervise the transition from amateur to professional status.

STATEMENT OF NAT FLEISCHER, PRESIDENT AND EDITOR, RING MAGAZINE

There is a lack of uniformity of national and international boxing rules and regulations. Too frequently important regulations are overlooked by various commissions. Only a National Commission can regulate the sport in a manner that can eliminate the objectionable elements.

What are these?

1. Undercover managers of ill repute.
  2. Indecision by Boxing Commissions, who, eager to obtain a lucrative match for their domain, sanction matches that carry unsavory flavors.
  3. Laxity on the part of Commissions to insist that matchmakers and promoters eliminate mismatches in which superiority of one boxer causes discontent among the patrons and raises cries among the patrons and raises cries among the public against boxing.
  4. Need for a Championship Committee to choose contenders in each class.
  5. Uniformity of licensing of boxers, managers and seconds needed. A must is Central Clearing Agency for all such licenses.
  6. No means at present to enforce a ruling on national basis. Each state, despite affiliation with a boxing group—World Boxing Association, World Boxing Council, can do as it wishes. A fighter, manager, second may be banned from obtaining a license in one state but obtain same in others.
- Boxing requires a National Government official at its head, and uniform government regulations. During the past decade a number of State and National hearings have been held, but no remedy has emerged.

PATRIOTISM

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, a great American—former President of the

United States—described patriotism as follows:

Patriotism means to stand by the country. It does not mean to stand by the President or any other public official save exactly to the degree in which he himself stands by the country.

It is patriotic to support him insofar as he efficiently serves the Country. It is unpatriotic not to oppose him to the exact extent that by inefficiency or otherwise he falls in his duty to stand by the Country.

In either event, it is unpatriotic not to tell the truth—whether about the President or about anyone else—save in the rare cases where this would make known to the enemy information of military value which would otherwise be unknown to him. (Theodore Roosevelt, 1918; Memorial Edition, Vol. 21, p. 316, "The Works of Theodore Roosevelt.")

TERROR IN SOUTH VIETNAM—THE PULPING OF A PEOPLE

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, in volume IX, page 192 of Lenin's Selected Works the Communist leader admonished his comrades:

We shall speak the bitter and undoubted truth; in countries that are experiencing an unprecedented crisis, the collapse of old ties, and the intensification of the class struggle . . . terror cannot be dispensed with notwithstanding the hypocrites and phrasemongers . . . There is no middle course, no "third course", nor can there be.

The North Vietnamese Communists and their South Vietnamese front organizations are operating according to this standard Leninist principle. Terror is an instrument of Communist policy always and everywhere determined resistance is met.

Although we read about Communist terror in books such as the recent excellent publication of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee entitled "The Human Cost of Soviet Communism," it is very difficult for many people to understand that this type of barbarism still goes on. It seems to be difficult for many to grasp the fact that terror is an integral and necessary element of Marxist-Leninist thought and action. Most of those who advocate surrendering in Vietnam obviously do not comprehend what is transpiring in that embattled land. Neither do they understand what will take place if we do immediately depart without first destroying the Indochinese Communist Party.

In order to rectify somewhat this state of ignorance I am including in the RECORD at this point several copies of the Daily Bulletin of the National Police Force of South Vietnam which details some of the recent Communist terroristic activities. Here is Communist theory in practice. Here is a partial record of the daily killings, abductions, and maimings, which the South Vietnamese people, our allies, are presently being subjected to. This type of terrorist activity has been going on to a greater or lesser degree since the year 1957.

This is the type of information which must be readily available for the inspection of all Americans so that they will understand just exactly what is involved in Southeast Asia. Unfortunately this aspect of the war, the pulping of an entire people, has been played down in the United States. Many of the young people in our Nation seem to have come to the fantastic conclusion that the Vietcong—National Liberation Front, Peoples Revolutionary Government, and so forth—are in some way liberating heroes and friends of the people of South Vietnam. It is necessary to dispel this pernicious illusion which is one of the foundations of the joint Soviet-North Vietnamese rear warfare effort in the United States.

I have been trying to obtain copies of the National Police Bulletin for several months in order to illustrate the true nature of the enemy being faced by the United States and its allies in Southeast Asia. The Agency for International Development does not seem to want to make this information available and it has taken considerable time to find another source which could supply this vital information. This is a great disservice to those who wish to counteract some of the enemy developed myths surrounding the U.S. war effort in Vietnam.

The following chronicle deals with terrorist incidents which took place in South Vietnam from late October 1970 to the middle of November. It is a partial listing consisting of only the terrorist incidents which were actually reported. Many similar atrocities go unrecorded. Douglas Pike in his work entitled "The Vietcong Strategy of Terror," an outstanding publication distributed by the U.S. Information Agency, goes into the difficulties surrounding the collection of accurate statistics on terrorist activities.

Here is what is happening in South Vietnam. Here is what we are fighting to stop. Here we see the enemy as he really is. This is one of the major reasons why he must be decisively defeated.

The articles follow:

ROUNDUP OF TERRORIST ACTIVITIES

(Notice to Media: The following terrorist incidents have been reported by National Police within the past 24 hours. Some reports were delayed and are not all-inclusive for dates shown)

Seven incidents of terrorism have been reported in which 5 Vietnamese civilians were killed, 3 wounded and 9 abducted. Details follow:

October 27: Enemy agents entered Nam Can hamlet, Vinh Loi dist., Bac Lieu Prov., killed one member of the ED cadre and wounded two other members.

In Phu Khuong A hamlet, Ben Thanh dist., Kien Tuong Prov. a PSDF was taken from his house and killed.

October 26: A hamlet chief was abducted by the enemy from Hai Duong hamlet, An Duong dist., Tuyen Duc Prov.

A man was assassinated by enemy agents in Tinh Binh hamlet, Ben Thanh dist., Kien Tuong Prov.

One man was killed and one wounded by enemy agents who entered Thao Lahn H hamlet, Vinh Loi dist., Bac Lieu Prov.

October 25: Four PSDF and four other civilians were kidnapped from Binh Loc hamlet, Xuan Loc dist., Long Khanh Prov.

October 23: Terrorists assassinated the deputy hamlet chief in Bao Vinh hamlet, Xuan Loc dist., Long Khanh Prov.

Fourteen terrorist incidents have been reported in which 10 Vietnamese civilians were killed, 12 wounded and 21 abducted. Details below:

October 30: Enemy personnel ambushed a police unit in Phu Trinh hamlet, Phan Thiet city, Binh Thuan Prov., with small arms fire and B-40 rockets. One policeman was killed and four others wounded.

A hand grenade thrown by terrorists exploded in An Dinh village, Huong My dist., Kien Hoa Prov. wounded two civilians.

October 29: Three civilians were killed and two wounded when a passenger car in which they were riding hit an enemy mine in An Hoa village, Kien Luong dist., Kien Giang Prov.

Enemy agents entered Cay Xoai hamlet, Kien An dist., Kien Giang Prov. and assassinated the assistant hamlet chief.

October 28: One civilian was murdered by terrorists in An Thanh Thuy village, Cho Gao dist., Dinh Tuong Prov.

October 27: A police woman was abducted from Tan Thach village, Truc Giang dist., Kien Hoa Prov.

October 25: Four persons were kidnapped from Nghia An Tay hamlet, Dong Ha dist., Quang Tri Prov.

October 23: Terrorists abducted nine civilians from Canh Phuoc hamlet, Kieu Xuong dist., Phu Yen Prov.

October 19: Two civilians were killed and two others were wounded when enemy mine exploded in a field in Vinh Thuan hamlet, Lai Vo dist., Sa Dec Prov.

THE FOLLOWING INCIDENTS OCCURRED IN BINH THUAN PROVINCE

October 27: A deputy hamlet chief and one other civilian were killed by an enemy mine in Thien Gian dist.

October 26: Two young boys were wounded when a mine exploded in a field in Hoa Thanh hamlet, Thien Giao dist.

Five young boys were abducted by terrorists from Go Boi hamlet, Ham Thuan dist.

Terrorists kidnapped one young boy from Phu Lam village, Ham Thuan dist.

October 25: One young boy was abducted from Phu Lam village, Ham Thuan district. Ten terrorist incidents have been reported in which 12 Vietnamese civilians were killed, 18 wounded and 3 abducted. Details follow:

November 3: In Cau Van hamlet, Giong Trom dist., Kien Hoa Prov., four PSDF were killed and two PSDF and one village official were wounded in a terrorist attack.

November 2: One civilian was wounded when terrorists fired grenades into Hau Thuan outpost, Thanh An village, Mo Cay dist., Kien Hoa Prov.

November 1: Terrorists assassinated one person in Huong My village, Huong My dist., Kien Hoa Prov.

October 31: A PSDF member was wounded when the enemy fired B-40 rockets into hamlet number 1, An Thanh village, Ben Luc dist., Long An Prov. Terrorists have assassinated the village chief and a former village chief in An Hoa Hung village, Duc Tu dist., Kien Hoa Prov.

October 30: Two persons were killed by the enemy in hamlet B, Phuoc Lai village, Nhon Trach dist., Bien Hoa Prov.

October 29: A mine killed one civilian when it exploded in An Phu Thuan village, Duc Ton dist., Sa Dec Prov. Two PSDF members were killed and six other members were wounded when the enemy attacked them in Mang Ca hamlet, Cai Sach dist., Ba Xuyen Prov.

October 28: Four civilians were wounded and two abducted during an enemy attack against Nang Chang hamlet, Duc Long dist., Chuong Thien Prov.

October 26: Three RD cadre were wounded and one civilian was abducted by terrorists in Phong Nheu hamlet, Tuy An dist., Phu Yen Prov.

Nineteen incidents have been reported in which 10 Vietnamese civilians were killed, 15 wounded and 13 abducted. Details follow:

November 5: One man was injured when the enemy fired B-40 rocket rounds into Binh Hoa Thon village, Chau Thanh dist., Kien Tuong Prov.

November 4: The enemy ambushed a PSDF team on patrol in Khanh Trach hamlet, Hoai Nhon dist., Binh Dinh Prov. and killed one member of the team.

An enemy set explosion in Chanh Danh hamlet, Phu Cat dist., Binh Dinh Prov. wounded one village official.

One policeman was killed by enemy agents at the My Thanh sub-station, Kong Trom dist., Kien Hoa Prov.

The village chief was killed in an ambush at Lien Chieu village, Hoa Vang dist., Quang Nam Prov.

Nov. 2: A booby trap exploded killing one civilian and wounding one in Lol Nguye hamlet, Chau Thanh dist., Phong Dinh Prov.

Enemy agents threw hand grenades in Xuan Son village, Dong Xuan dist., Phu Yen Prov. killing three persons including the village chief.

November 1: Five civilians were wounded in an explosion in Quang Phuoc village, Quang Dien dist., Thua Thien Prov.

October 31: Terrorists assassinated one civilian in Phu Hoa hamlet, Dong Xuan dist., Phu Yen Prov.

One PSDF member was abducted from My Duc hamlet, Hoa Nhon dist., Binh Dinh Prov.

Five persons were injured when a wood cutter's truck ran over an enemy mine near Trang Bom village, Duc Tu dist., Bien Hoa Prov.

The enemy abducted five youths while they were on their way to cut trees in the forest near Lo Bom hamlet, Kien An dist., Kien Giang Prov.

October 28: A 12-year-old boy was wounded when he detonated an enemy mine while gardening in Phong An village, Phong Dien dist., Thua Thien Prov.

THE FOLLOWING INCIDENTS OCCURRED IN BINH THUAN PROVINCE

November 2: Enemy agents entered Thien Hai hamlet, Hai Long dist., and kidnapped a former village official.

October 31: Two civilians were killed in an enemy ambush in Thien Giao dist.

In Vinh Hanh hamlet, Phan Ly Cham dist., one civilian was wounded by enemy fire.

October 29: The enemy abducted one young boy in Hoa Da dist.

October 28: A young boy was kidnapped from Phu Sung village, Ham Thuan dist.

October 27: Four children were abducted South of Phan Thiet.

Eleven incidents of terrorism have been reported in which 10 civilians were killed, 33 wounded and 2 abducted. Details follow:

November 5: One person was wounded when the enemy fired mortar rounds into Binh Dai town, Kien Hoa Prov.

November 4: Three village officials were killed in an enemy ambush in Phu My hamlet, Cai Lay dist., Dinh Tuong Prov.

November 3: The enemy shelled Vinh Kim village, Sam Gian dist., Dinh Tuong Prov. killing one civilian and wounding four others.

The enemy killed one man in Thanh Hoa hamlet, Phuoc Ninh dist., Tay Ninh Prov.

Two civilians were killed and 20 civilians were wounded when the enemy fired 7.82mm mortar rounds into Song Cau town, Song Cau dist., Phu Yen Prov.

An RD cadre member was wounded by the enemy in Cho Ba Lon hamlet, Kien Hung dist., Chuong Thien Prov.

November 2: One man was assassinated in Phu Phong hamlet, Tuy Hoa dist., Phu Yen Prov.

Two persons were killed and six wounded

by the enemy in Ngang Vop hamlet, Kien Thien dist., Chuong Thien Prov.

The enemy abducted a man from Binh Hoi village, Binh Son dist., Quang Ngai Prov.

October 31: One man was abducted from Nhan Tri hamlet, Hoai Duc dist., Binh Tuy Prov.

October 21: Small arms fire against Binh Thien village, Binh Son dist., Quang Ngai Prov. wounded one man.

On October 28 the enemy entered Binh Huu hamlet and fired into a house where a wedding party was being held. Nine persons were killed including the hamlet chief. Three children were wounded. This incident occurred in Duc Hoa dist., Hau Nghia Prov.

In 10 terrorist incidents reported, 15 civilians were killed, 26 wounded and 4 abducted. Details follow:

November 5: The enemy planted an explosive charge on a bridge in Cau Ngang dist., Vinh Binh Prov. When the charge was detonated, one woman was killed, and one man and two women were wounded.

Four persons were wounded when the truck in which they were riding hit a mine in An Loc dist., Binh Long Prov.

November 4: One PSDF member was wounded in an attack against Phu Gia hamlet, Phu Cat dist., Binh Dinh Prov.

In an attack against the village office and the police sub-station in My Da hamlet, My An dist., Kien Tuong Prov., four members of the village council were killed and two policemen, six village council members and six PSDF members were wounded.

November 3: One man was seriously wounded when the enemy ambushed a truck traveling from Bac Lieu to Soc Trang near Thanh Kiet village, Thanh Tra dist., Ba Xuyen Prov.

November 2: One man was assassinated in Hoa An hamlet, Phong Thuan dist., Phong Dinh Prov.

Terrorists kidnapped a man from Phong Nien hamlet, Tuy Hoa dist., Phu Yen Prov. Also in Phu Yen Prov., a man was abducted from An Nghiep hamlet in Tuy Hoa dist.

Two civilians were abducted from My Hoa hamlet, Tuy Hoa dist., Phu Yen Prov.

In Phu Loc dist. of Thua Thien Prov. Nov. 8th, the Danang-Hue train hit a mine injuring 15 civilians. The engine and two cars were derailed and 10 sections of track destroyed.

This was one of 11 enemy terrorist incidents reported in which seven civilians were killed, 27 wounded and six kidnapped. Details follow:

November 7: The enemy fired six M-79 rounds into Minh Duc village, Huong My dist., Kien Hoa Prov. wounding one PSDF member.

One PSDF was wounded when 10 82mm mortar rounds hit the Tan Loi PSDF outpost in the Ham Long dist. of Kien Hoa Prov.

November 6: Also in Kien Hoa, one PSDF was wounded by M-79 and AK fired in Binh Phu hamlet, Huong My dist.

The enemy kidnapped a man and a boy from Phu Tho hamlet, Thanh Hai dist., Ninh Thuan Prov.

November 5: Two refugees were killed when the enemy blew up three houses in Pho Phuoc village, Duc Pho dist., Quang Ngai Prov.

A policeman, one woman and two children were wounded by enemy fire against the police station in Hoa Tan village, Duc Ton dist., Sa Dec Prov.

One child was killed and two civilians were wounded in an exchange of fire between friendly and enemy units in Phuoc Lam village, Can Giuoc dist., Long An Prov. Six VC were killed in the exchange.

November 2: A 16-year old girl was kidnapped from Gia Lam hamlet, Trang Bang dist., Hau Nghia Prov. Later, the girl escaped, but was killed when she stepped on a VC mine on the way back to her hamlet.

October 30: One civilian was killed in a terrorist attack on Try hamlet, Cu Chi dist., Hau Nghia Prov.

October 29: A VC team entered the Ha Thanh resettlement camp in Gio Linh dist., Quang Tri Prov. and attacked a PSDF post. Two PSDF were killed, three wounded and four others captured.

#### Roundup of Terrorist Activities

Fourteen acts of terrorism have been reported in which 8 Vietnamese civilians were killed, 2 were wounded and 10 kidnapped. Details follow:

November 12: A grenade thrown at the USO building in downtown Saigon exploded about 8:30 pm causing minor damage. No one was injured.

November 10: A woman was kidnapped from a hamlet in Duc Pho dist., Quang Ngai Prov.

November 9: Four young boys, ages 16 to 14, were kidnapped from Dac Dao hamlet, Hoai Duc dist., Binh Tuy Prov.

November 8: A PSDF member, his wife and child were ambushed outside a hamlet in the Tan Canh dist. of Kontum Prov. The husband was killed. His wife and child managed to escape.

An enemy unit entered Phuoc Long hamlet, Phu Khuong dist., Tay Ninh Prov. They kidnapped one PSDF member and, before withdrawing, collected rice and salt from residents. The VC also tore up residents voting cards and damaged three houses.

November 6: One civilian was assassinated in Binh Phuong hamlet, Binh Son dist., Quang Ngai Prov.

An explosive device was detonated in a coffee shop in Chanh hamlet, Phu Hoa dist., Binh Duong Prov. One civilian was wounded.

One civilian was kidnapped from An Hiep village, Tuy An dist., Phu Yen Prov.

November 5: A VC unit kidnapped one PSDF member from Nho Lam hamlet, Tuy Hoa dist., Phu Yen Prov.

November 4: Three VC, dressed in ARVN uniforms, entered Kim Lien hamlet, Hoa Vang dist., Quang Nam Prov. The enemy team went straight to the hamlet chief's house, where they killed the deputy hamlet chief and three members of the local PSDF.

One VC unit entered Ky Xuan village, Ly Tin dist., Quang Tin Prov., and kidnapped two young women.

A PSDF member was assassinated in Ha Tay hamlet, Trieu Phong dist., Quang Tri Prov.

October 31: One PSDF member was wounded in an enemy attack on At My Hiet hamlet, Duc Long dist., Chuong Thien Prov.

October 26: A 43-year old woman was assassinated in Trung Nhi hamlet, Phu Hoa dist., Binh Duong Prov. The VC left three notes behind which accused her of being an agent of the government.

Fifteen incidents have been reported in which 3 Vietnamese civilians have been killed, 19 wounded and 16 kidnapped. Details follow:

November 12: Five children were wounded when the VC launched a mortar attack in the Bai Loc dist. of Quang Nam Prov.

November 11: One man was assassinated in Tuy Son hamlet, Lac Duong dist., Tuyen Duc Prov.

Two mortar rounds landed in Mo Cay dist. town, Kien Hoa Prov., wounding two civilians.

A teenager was wounded by a mine which exploded in a field near Vinh Ha hamlet, Dien Ban dist., Quang Nam Prov.

November 10: A Ministry of Public Works truck driver was injured when his vehicle hit a mine in Binh Dai village, Binh Dai dist., Kien Hoa Prov.

Also in Kien Hoa, the deputy hamlet chief of Binh Dai hamlet was wounded by enemy sniper fire.

A deputy village chief was wounded when

two mortar rounds were fired into My Loc village, Phu My dist., Binh Dinh Prov.

November 9: Three rounds of enemy 82mm mortar fire landed in My Tho city, Dinh Tuong Prov. The attack wounded five civilians.

November 8: One civilian was kidnapped from Binh Dinh hamlet, Hoai Nhon dist., Binh Dinh Prov.

A woman was kidnapped from Khuong Tho hamlet, Ly Tin dist., Quang Tin Prov.

Eleven civilians were kidnapped when an enemy force entered Minh Duc hamlet, Tuy Toa dist., Phu Yen Prov.

November 6: Also in Phu Yen, three civilians were kidnapped from Xe Phu Khe hamlet Hieu Khuong dist.

One man was assassinated in Man Ro hamlet, Tri Ton dist., Chau Doc Prov.

November 5: One person was shot to death by the VC in Long Khuong hamlet, Chau Thanh dist., Dinh Tuong Prov.

November 1: The enemy detonated a claymore mine in An Nong hamlet, Tinh Binh dist., Chau Doc Prov. Three civilians were wounded.

Eighteen civilians were wounded when an explosive charge, hidden in a gasoline can, detonated in the central market of Kien Hoa's capital city—Truc Giang. The incident occurred at 1045 hours Nov. 16th.

This was one of eight enemy terrorist incidents reported in which 9 Vietnamese civilians were killed, 20 wounded and 22 kidnapped.

November 14: The hamlet chief was assassinated in Binh Nghia hamlet, Hoa Vang dist., Quang Nam Prov.

Also in Quang Nam, two village officials were assassinated in Lam Thuong hamlet, Qui Son dist.

November 12: A woman PSDF group leader and her brother were kidnaped from Truong Luu hamlet, Phu Khuong dist., Tay Ninh Prov.

November 11: Five PSDF members and one other civilian were killed when an enemy booby trap exploded in Ba Hai hamlet, Gia Rai dist., Bac Lieu Prov.

Terrorists kidnaped a bread peddler and confiscated his food stocks in the Duc Trong dist. of Tuyen Duc Prov. The enemy claimed he had been cooperating with the GVN.

November 5: A terrorist threw an M-26 grenade into the Lan Vien Restaurant, Hoa Thanh village, Hieu Xuong dist., Phu Yen Prov. Two civilians were wounded.

November 1: 10 civilians were kidnaped from Phu Yen's Tan Long hamlet, Tuy An dist.

Six civilians were killed and four wounded when they exploded an enemy mine in Da Noi hamlet, Kien Tan dist., Kien Giang Prov. The incident occurred on Nov. 15th.

This was one of 21 terrorist incidents in which 16 Vietnamese civilians were killed, 15 wounded and 20 kidnapped. Details follow:

November 16: Two civilians were killed when they stepped on a booby trap in At My Thanh hamlet, Duc Long dist., Chuong Thien Prov.

Also in Chuong Thien's Duc Long dist., the deputy hamlet chief of At Vi Trung hamlet was wounded in an engagement with an enemy unit.

November 15: An estimated 60 VC set up a road block in the Duc Trong dist., Tuyen Duc Prov. They stopped several busses and private vehicles, extorted money from the occupants and forced them to listen to an enemy propaganda harangue. Everyone was released by the enemy, except one Korean civilian and two young Vietnamese. When they departed, the VC took their prisoners with them and fired into two of the vehicles, wounding one civilian.

A civilian bus, passing through the Loc Ninh dist. of Binh Long Prov., was hit by an enemy B-40 round. Three passengers were killed and two wounded.

November 14: My Tho city (Dinh Tuong Prov.) was hit by three rounds of 82mm mortar fire, wounding two civilians.

One Hoi Chanh was assassinated in My An hamlet, Ben Tranh dist., also in Dinh Tuong Prov.

A VC team kidnapped four civilians from Tuy Thanh hamlet, Ghien Giao dist., Binh Thuan Prov.

One PSDF was wounded when terrorists placed an explosive device on his motorcycle in Ban Nham hamlet, Hieu Xuong dist., Phu Yen Prov.

November 13: One civilian was assassinated in Tho No hamlet, Duc Hoa dist., Hau Nghia Prov.

A VC unit infiltrated An Phu hamlet, Thien Giao dist., Binh Thuan Prov. and kidnapped eight civilians.

November 12: Two civilians were kidnapped from Long Hoa hamlet, Dong Xuan dist., Phu Yen Prov.

Terrorists ambushed a civilian sampan near Phuoc Binh hamlet, Thuan Hao dist., Ba Xuyen Prov. The hamlet chief was aboard the sampan and was killed.

Also in Ba Xuyen, one PSDF was kidnapped from Ngai Phuoc hamlet, Phong Phu dist.

One elderly woman was wounded when terrorists threw grenades into some houses in Tap An Nam hamlet, Duc Pho dist., Quang Ngai Prov.

One civilian was wounded when the enemy attacked An Phu hamlet, Thien Giao dist., Binh Thuan Prov.

Terrorists infiltrated An Nghiep hamlet, Tuy Hoa dist., Phu Yen Prov., destroying property and kidnapped one PSDF member. Six terrorists assassinated a man 100 meters from his house in Dong Hung hamlet, Binh Phuoc dist., Long An Prov.

November 10: In Phu Yen Prov., one civilian was assassinated in Thanh Duc hamlet, Dong Xuan dist.

November 9: Two civilians were wounded when they stepped on a booby trap in the Tuy Hoa dist. of Phu Yen Prov.

November 8: Also in Phu Yen, two civilians were kidnapped from Dai Binh hamlet, Tuy Hoa dist.

Eleven incidents of terrorism have been reported in which 12 Vietnamese civilians were killed, 9 wounded and 14 kidnapped. Details follow:

November 18: An enemy unit entered Que Chu hamlet, Phu Lock dist., Thau Thien Prov. and kidnapped a 79-year old man. The man was abducted allegedly because his son had joined the ARVN.

A member of the PSDF was killed while working in his field near Phuoc Hau hamlet, Khiem Hanh dist., Tay Ninh Prov.

November 17: The Ba Ton bridge in My Thanh village, Dinh Tuong Prov. was blown up. Four civilians were killed and three wounded. One PF soldier was killed and five wounded.

November 16: An enemy unit entered Chu Chi hamlet, Gia Rai dist., Bac Lieu Prov., killing one RD cadre and two civilians and wounding one RD cadre and three civilians.

November 15: 13 PSDF members were kidnapped (at 2000 hours) from Gia Duc hamlet, Bai An dist., Binh Dinh Prov.

The wife of a deputy hamlet chief was assassinated in An Thien hamlet, Hoai An dist., Binh Dinh Prov.

One farmer was killed by enemy small arms fire while working in a field in Ha Trung village, Son Ha dist., Quang Ngai Prov.

In Quang Nam Prov., one civilian was assassinated in Huong Phong hamlet, Que Son dist.

Terrorists fired five cluster bombs into My Dien hamlet, Goa Rao dist., Bac Lieu Prov., wounding the deputy hamlet chief.

One civilian was assassinated in Tan Huu hamlet, Duc Ton dist., Sa Dec Prov.

November 14: Also in Sa Dec, one civilian was wounded when the terrorists tossed a grenade in An Thuan hamlet, Duc Thinh dist.

## SOVIET PRESENCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, for some time now I have warned of the persistent threat of Soviet plans to engulf the entire continent of Africa.

Now it appears Soviet influence has spread as far as the Indian Ocean, with ominous implications for the people of both Africa and India.

Since the beginning of this year—a mere 11 months ago—Russia has deployed 21 surface ships and submarines to the Indian Ocean. Yet there were no Russian ships in that area of the world prior to March of 1968.

In the past 6 years, the Russian naval and merchant fleet has expanded at an unprecedented rate, with no lessening of the quality or size of its land and air forces. In 1960, Russia had three nuclear submarines; today it has 70. In 1960 Russia had about 10 surface ships equipped with guided missiles; today it has 170 such ships.

The Russian Far East fleet currently has 80 conventional submarines, 25 nuclear submarines with Polaris-type missiles, and 86 major surface ships. Its Arctic fleet contains 105 conventional submarines, 45 nuclear submarines and 45 major surface ships. In the Baltic sea, 75 conventional submarines are now deployed, together with 64 major surface ships. And in the Mediterranean, 24 ships and 12 submarines have been deployed in the past 11 months by the Soviet Union.

Russia's worldwide fleet, capable of staying out for long months at a time, can now gather intelligence on shipping and trade in any corner of the globe.

Fishing agreements have recently been signed by the Soviet Union with the governments of Indonesia, Mauritius, Tanzania, Ceylon, India, Pakistan, South Yemen, Yemen, Sudan, Egypt, Iraq, and Kuwait. Russian port facilities have been constructed in the Seychelles Islands off the eastern coast of Africa, as well as in Socotra and the Gulf of Aden.

Should the Suez Canal be reopened and Egypt regain control of the Sinai, Russian shipping would have rapid and easy access to the Indian Ocean saving untold weeks of sailing through the Mediterranean to the Atlantic and down the western coast of Africa.

The Economist of Great Britain and our own Christian Science Monitor have undertaken in recent weeks to call attention to the presence of this large and unusual presence of Soviet shipping in the Indian Ocean. This threat of encirclement cannot be ignored by our Government, no matter how we might wish to scale down our defenses far from home.

In the Washington Post of November 20, I noted that the United States is now openly seeking a communications facility in the Indian Ocean. Mr. Speaker, we should support this effort and encourage further vigilance on the part of the

present administration to the global strategy being tested by the Soviet Union.

Mr. Speaker, in order to bring my colleagues up to date on this subject, I shall insert the articles describing the Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean in the Record today, beginning with the Economist, the five Christian Science Monitor articles, and concluding with the Washington Post:

HOW THE BEAR LEARNED TO SWIM—A MAP, AND SOME FACTS AND FIGURES, FOR PEOPLE WHO HAVE NOT NOTICED WHAT HAS BEEN HAPPENING SINCE 1960

If Peter the Great were granted a visa to come down and see how his old country is doing, the first thing he would do would be to check up on the progress of the Russian imperial navy he founded in 1695. His judgment would be that it is doing fine. The map shows how, in the past six years, the Russian navy has been greatly modernized and has at last broken out into the seas to the south of the Soviet Union. This is what has caused the row in Britain about selling naval arms to South Africa to counter the Russians' arrival in the warm water.

What can Russia do with its big new navy that it could not do before?

1. It can operate anywhere in the world. Russia has taken a jump forward into the future by building large numbers of nuclear-powered submarines—some carrying Polaris-type missiles, some hunter-killers designed to attack other countries' submarines and surface ships—whose nuclear power-plants let them range far and wide.

2. A navy of this kind enables Russia, if it wants to, to attempt a selective blockade anywhere in the world like the one the United States mounted against the Russians during the Cuba crisis in 1962.

3. Russia is now in a position to harass other countries' ships in other ways—by shadowing them, or perhaps by laying mines. This would be helped by its huge trawler fleet, with its electronic intelligence-gathering ships and network of fishery agreements.

4. It can mount small land-and-sea combined operations like those undertaken by Britain in Kuwait and east Africa in 1961 and 1964, and by the Americans and the British in Lebanon and Jordan in 1958. Even the appearance of warships capable of supporting such a landing has a powerful effect. It is called gunboat diplomacy.

5. It can now protect its growing merchant fleet, which would otherwise be a hostage to naval action by Russia's adversaries.

Russia, as the charts show, has built up a powerful navy without sacrificing the quality or reducing the size of its land and air forces. At the same time it has added massively to its armoury of strategic nuclear missiles (where it is now roughly on a par with the United States). Its published military expenditures have not grown much, so clearly a lot of money has been tucked away out of sight in other parts of its budget. This is standard Russian practice.

In all, it has become a proper superpower; its military instruments have become much more flexible, so widening the scope and range of its political actions. Until recently this flexibility was the monopoly of the western powers. Now the Russians are getting it too.

It is not the first time something like this has happened. In the 1930s, when Churchill was warning Britain about the danger of German rearmament, there were people who said that the real issue was the class war and that the "German threat" was a distraction. When Hitler struck in 1939, most of them joined up, with everybody else, to defend the world as it was, not as they had hoped to reshape it. For the class war then, read the race issue now, for

Germany read the Soviet Union. Analogies are dangerous, especially those with the 1930s. But this one should make people think about the order of priorities that is sometimes imposed on countries which face adversaries whose aims are kept deliberately obscure.

## RUSSIANS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

It used to be the British who were always vitally concerned lest the Suez Canal be closed and the Royal Navy and the merchant fleet thereby denied the Middle East route to the Persian Gulf, India, and the Far East.

However, since the canal's forced closure during the 1967 Arab-Israel war it is the Soviet Union, rather than the British and Americans, who seem to stand to gain most if it is reopened. So long as it remains blocked, the Soviet Union's so-called "east of Suez" policy has little chance of success.

In the past few years the number of Western books, monographs, and journal articles concerned with the vast, diffuse area called the Indian Ocean has swelled enormously. The reasons for this outpouring have little to do with the domestic and foreign policies of Pakistan, India, and Indonesia, which surround the extensive littoral.

Indeed, one of the ironies of the present situation is the relative passivity and impotence of these countries in comparison to the prestige and presumed power they possessed during the heyday of third world alignment and nonalignment in the 1950's. Instead, the cause for interest and concern among Westerners has to do with the changing relationships in great power behavior and capabilities and the potential effect this may have upon the perceptions and realities of the great power balance.

## THREE EVENTS SIGNIFICANT

Three related events are significant.

First, and most important, the Soviet Union has come to be seen as a potential challenger to traditional American and British political and military hegemony over much of the ocean and in many of the surrounding countries.

The second event refers to the decisions by the British Government in the period 1966-70 to pave the way for the eventual withdrawal of the last vestiges of permanent British maritime power from the "east of Suez" area. (The latest announcement of the Heath government that this process is to be partially reversed cannot be seen as having any meaningful long-term implications for the area as a whole. The sums of money the British are prepared to pay for this capability is negligible.)

The British withdrawal is related to the third event, namely, the unwillingness of the United States since 1968 to consider expanding its naval forces in the Indian Ocean to fill the so-called "vacuum" left by the British.

Thus, the assumption is that the Soviet Union will move to replace Western powers in an area that has great economic, political, and strategic significance for the Western alliance and Japan. The Soviet challenge is documented and described in several ways.

The growth of overall Soviet naval strength and the willingness of the Soviet Navy to conduct exercises outside traditional Soviet waters in the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, and the Pacific is seen as a precursor for the eventual establishment of a Soviet naval presence in the Indian Ocean area.

## TRADE A FURTHER INDUCEMENT

Increasing Soviet trade with Malaysia and Singapore, major commercial agreements with Iran and continuing good relations with Yemen and South Yemen provide further ammunition for those who wish to draw attention to the Soviet challenge.

In East Africa the Soviet Union has supplied arms to Somalia and Uganda, has offered arms to Kenya and Tanzania, and its Navy has visited several African ports. In

connection with these trends, the current British Government has tried to argue that a resumption of arms sales to South Africa is necessary to retain the Simonstown naval base which, in turn, is seen in the strategic context of the growing Soviet "threat" to the Cape route.

What is the validity of some or all of these propositions?

Before attempting to offer any explanations or answers it is important to be clear on two points:

The first has to do with the meaning of the phrase "the strategic importance of the Indian Ocean area."

The second concerns our ability to predict the likely future course of Soviet foreign policy.

Prof. T. B. Millar, of the Australian National University, has written: "Strategy in an extensive oceanic environment does not involve the control of the sea itself, but of specific points of importance in or around it, of access to and routes between them for purposes of trade, or acquisition of supplies, or the movement of military force, or maintaining communications. . . . It has begun to involve competition for control of the ocean bed, where mineral resources may be exploited, and where secret subterranean homes can be found for weapons of destruction or instruments of intelligence."

If we accept Professor Millar's inclusive definition, it can be argued that to control the Indian Ocean for various purposes a nation does not need to deploy huge naval forces and keep them on constant patrol. Rather the strategy would be to seek secure bases in East Africa, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Indian subcontinent, the Malay peninsula, and Indonesia.

In addition to these requirements it would be essential to ensure unrestricted sea access to the area via either the Cape route, or the Suez Canal, or the Straits of Malacca or through the Indonesian archipelago or, ideally, through all four approaches.

#### RISKS CERTAINLY CONSIDERED

To what extent the Soviet Union can achieve all or some of these objectives will be considered following the second caveat which has to do with Soviet intentions.

Despite the excellence of much Western scholarship on matters relating to Soviet foreign policy, attempts to forecast future Soviet behavior still fall within the purview of the "arts" rather than the "sciences." No one knows with any certainty the degree to which the current Soviet leadership has decided upon a policy of strategic ascendancy in the Indian Ocean.

Some Soviet leaders have surely considered some of the risks involved. An extension of power and presence can often lead to an overextension of commitments, and parallel policy dilemmas; the current economic costs to the Soviet Union of expanding simultaneously its naval forces, its strategic nuclear forces, and maintaining at a high degree of readiness its 30 divisions along the Chinese border must be huge.

To say with any certainty that the Soviet Union has a coherent, long-term Indian Ocean strategy that fits into neat dynamic models of the balance of power is simply not possible.

It is possible, though, to be more precise and accurate about short-run Soviet capabilities, as distinct from Soviet intentions, and thereby make some predictions concerning long-run Soviet capabilities.

#### CONSTRAINTS NOT PERMANENT

The primary instrument of existing and future Soviet military power in the Indian Ocean must be the air and sea components of the Soviet Navy. As of this moment the Soviet Union's naval capabilities in the area are almost nonexistent.

For a start, the secure access routes are not available; the Suez Canal remains closed;

the United States Seventh Fleet dominates the South China Sea and the western approaches to the area; the British still retain a small land, sea, and air capability in Singapore; the Cape route remains a Western enclave.

Second, despite growing relations with the local powers, the Soviet Union has no secure naval base along the littoral.

Third, the Soviet Union has very little experience at operating major naval task forces for long periods of time thousands of miles from its home ports.

Fourth, the current Soviet Navy possesses no sea-based, fixed-wing, air capability and needs to rely on land-based aircraft to conduct vital reconnaissance missions. This limitation seriously constrains the flexibility of Soviet naval forces.

However, these constraints could gradually be removed. If the Suez Canal were opened and the Soviet Union retained hegemony over Egypt, the Soviet Navy would not only have the ability to move from the Mediterranean into the Indian Ocean, it would also be in a far stronger position to establish bases in South Yemen and thereby control the Red Sea, and perhaps even venture into the Persian Gulf and pose an implicit threat to European and Japanese oil supplies.

If India were to grant the Soviet Union guaranteed base rights, the Soviet Navy could probably build up its own workshops and thereby achieve a certain level of self-sufficiency for an Indian Ocean fleet. If Singapore and Malaysia and Indonesia sought Soviet, rather than Western, help to counter possible Chinese pressures following a United States withdrawal from Southeast Asia, the Straits of Malacca could fall under Soviet control.

If Britain so infuriates black Africa by breaking its adherence to the United Nations arms embargo to South Africa, the probabilities for Soviet naval bases in Mombasa and Dar es Salaam might increase. And so on.

All or none of these events may happen, and it would take a brave man to offer odds. However, one fact cannot be denied. In the short run, say the next five years, the ability of the Soviet Union to establish a meaningful strategic presence throughout the Indian Ocean area is minimal. This does not mean the Soviet Union cannot make extremely important advances in some areas, say the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf.

The preferred strategy for the United States and other interested Western powers should be careful and cautious. Overreaction in favor of withdrawal or escalation can be as damaging as underreaction. Thus while those who call for a major increase in United States naval appropriations to counter the Soviet "threat" should not be dismissed as cranks, they should be made to present their case on the basis of rigorous, objective analysis.

But equally, everyone should fully appreciate the potential direct relationship between the vicissitudes of United States policy in the Middle East and Mediterranean, the impending withdrawal from Southeast Asia, and the ease with which the Soviet Union could make major advances at the West's expense.

In this respect the current Middle East impasse has a deeper significance that far transcends the particular problems of the Arabs and the Israelis.

#### THWARTING SOVIET INFLUENCE

(By John Allan May)

LONDON.—When the British look out of the towers of Whitehall they see big changes taking place far away in the Indian Ocean, the significance of which, they suspect has escaped many other people.

They are not in a panic about these changes. They do not raise their voices when

they discuss them. But they do argue quite firmly that their significance for world strategy must be looked at afresh.

The changes include these:

The Suez Canal has been closed. Even if it reopens, that will not alter the fact that nearly 50 percent of Europe's oil, nearly 90 percent of Japan's, 60 percent of Australia's, and 80 percent of Africa's moves through the Indian Ocean.

Great Britain has decided to maintain a military presence in Southeast Asia. This has to be supplied across the Indian Ocean.

The ocean is used for satellite tracking and missile testing.

The Soviet Union's own attitude to the seas has undergone a total change. From coastal defense its emphasis has turned to the exercise of similar seapower on an oceanic scale.

Recently the Soviets signed an agreement with the island of Mauritius for aircraft landing rights and the establishment of a base for trawlers. The Soviets' interest in this ocean covers not only fishing, communications, satellite tracking, and missile testing but the deployment of naval power.

#### BRITONS EXPLAIN SOUTH AFRICAN BASE

When President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania called on Prime Minister Edward Heath in London recently, this case was set out for him in plain language as Mr. Heath and his Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, explained Britain's continuing interest in the use of its naval base at Simonstown, South Africa, and its equal interest in seeing South African antisubmarine defenses kept up to strength.

President Nyerere replied: "A couple of frigates in the Indian Ocean will not make the slightest difference to the Soviet presence there. But they will make a big difference to South Africa."

However, if the British did not move him he did not move the British, either.

They have seen the Soviets build up a naval presence in the Mediterranean which has undeniably altered the strategic balance there.

The British now can see the Soviets beginning on the same course in the Indian Ocean. Russia today has a cruiser, three destroyers, five submarines, a submarine depot ship, and various supply ships on permanent station in those waters.

The establishment of a naval base somewhere in the area is the obvious next step.

The main Soviet purpose, the British think, is not to attack the free world's shipping but to establish political influence in the countries bordering the area and a measure of authority on the high seas.

#### MORE THAN A FEW FRIGATES

On that assumption it is rather missing the point to remark on the inability of a few frigates to safeguard the ships using the busiest sea route in the world—which the Indian Ocean probably now is.

That's only the half of it. For the sake of its ships and its bases Britain, too, has to exercise a visible authority in the area, it's true.

But as Prof. T. B. Millar of Canberra has remarked in a study made for the Institute for Strategic Studies, "The United States has given no indication of intending to replace Britain or compete with the Soviet Union in the Indian Ocean."

And for the sake of balance, the British argue, somebody has to do the job.

Britain now plans a Far East defense force of 4,500 men as a contribution to a larger five-nation force. The British contribution will include four frigates and destroyers, one or more submarines, an Army battalion including air platoon and artillery, a detachment of Nimrod long-range maritime reconnaissance aircraft, and a number of Whirlwind helicopters. The four other nations are Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia, and Singa-

pore. Main bases will probably be in Australia, Singapore, and Hong Kong.

Main reasons for retaining such a position east of Suez are, as stated in the recent White Paper on defense: (1) "to restore Britain's security to the high place it must take among national priorities" and (2) "to enable Britain to resume, within her resources, a proper share of responsibility for the preservation of peace and stability in the world."

#### LABOUR LOOKED TO MOBILITY FROM EUROPE

While the former Labour government in determining to pull Britain's forces back entirely to Europe still maintained a need for Britain to retain a world role, it nevertheless questioned whether keeping forces in the Far East and the Persian Gulf was, to quote Lord Chalfont, "the most intelligent and efficient deployment of the forces at our disposal."

The general Labour view has been that a mobile "fire fighting" force based in Europe would make better sense.

The Tory decision to remain in the Far East thus is more a strategic and tactical decision than a change of high policy.

This decision has been welcomed not only in Australia, Singapore, and Malaysia but, more unexpectedly, in Mauritius as well. Despite this Indian Ocean island's having agreed to provide harbor facilities for Soviet trawlers and landing rights for Soviet planes, Mauritius has reaffirmed that it regards its defense agreement with Britain as "the basis of the island's foreign policy," according to Foreign Minister Gaetan Duval, recently in London.

It has always been difficult to persuade a continental people of the importance of sea-power or to describe convincingly how it is exercised in peacetime. The Soviets have now got the message.

The same reasons that have brought the Soviets to the Indian Ocean are going to keep the British there.

#### ASSESSMENT FROM WASHINGTON

(By George W. Ashworth)

WASHINGTON.—With its huge armies and fleets divided between Europe and the homeland and Asia, the United States finds itself spread very thinly at points in between.

For this and other reasons, the Indian Ocean appears likely to remain a global strategic backwater so far as the U.S. is concerned.

Unless the global situation changes drastically, there may never be a real need for any major U.S. forces on the Indian Ocean.

Confrontation with the Soviets or the Chinese Communists is much more likely in the Atlantic and Pacific or the Mediterranean, and it is likely that the Indian Ocean will remain a place of lesser importance in the global balance.

Then, too, faced with ship limitations, the U.S. may decide to virtually ignore the Indian Ocean, as has been done so far, to concentrate available forces elsewhere.

The Soviets meanwhile are busily making inroads at various points in the Indian Ocean and its periphery. Because the U.S. is barely holding its own, the apparent willingness of the new British Government to refrain from complete withdrawal east of Suez was viewed here with some satisfaction. Though the British presence will be small it could help save the West from what might have been a virtual disappearance from the waters and shores of much of the Indian Ocean.

#### SEAPLANE TENDER AND TWO DESTROYERS

In military terms, the U.S. presence in the Indian Ocean is infinitesimal, being confined to a converted seaplane tender, listed officially as a flagship of the miscellaneous type, plus two of America's oldest destroyers on a rotating basis.

The closure of the Suez Canal has made the fleet, which has a home port at Bahrain

in the Persian Gulf, even more isolated from other portions of the U.S. fleet. Before the canal was closed, reinforcement, if necessary, was normally possible from the Mediterranean. Now, ships in the Mediterranean are a long voyage past Gibraltar and the Cape of Good Hope. Transit from East Coast ports takes two weeks or more. U.S. warships in the Pacific could get into the Indian Ocean within a week or less, but passage is through squeeze points, such as the Malacca Strait, that could be closed off in time of emergency.

The Indian Ocean is not a particularly easy place in which to maintain a fleet, nor, at this point, is it one of the more important places in which to do so.

Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird said last June while he was in the Mediterranean that the fading away of the war in Vietnam should allow the U.S. more resources eventually to make a stronger showing in the Indian Ocean.

#### POST-VIETNAM STRENGTH UNCLEAR

However, it is unclear just how large a naval force will be maintained after Vietnam. The size is fast falling—to fewer than 700 ships at the end of the current fiscal year and still further next year. To a great degree, the U.S. fleet is dwindling at about the same rate that the fleet commitment to Vietnam is dwindling. Thus, it is questionable whether there will be spare ships for years to come with which to bolster Indian Ocean forces.

By contrast the Soviets have three fleets in the Indian Ocean. One is a fishing fleet operating well to the south near Antarctica. Another, which operates in the western Indian Ocean and varies according to need, is a space-effort support fleet. Beyond that is the naval combatant force, which also varies in size, depending upon whether a squadron is in the ocean or not. The Soviets have sent four squadrons to visit in the Indian Ocean since the first major Soviet naval presence in the ocean in March, 1968.

There is little reason to doubt that the Soviet naval presence will continue to increase. Soviet intentions of demonstrating their prowess on all the world's oceans would not allow otherwise.

The Soviets have asked for a base at the Ceylonese port of Trincomalee, which, if granted by the pro-Soviet government of Ceylon, could help the Soviets as they attempt to increase their hold in the Indian Ocean. Southern Yemen is allowing use of a port on the island of Socotra for refueling and other activities connected with naval support, but the Soviets reportedly have not yet built a permanent base there. The Soviets are also dicker with the Indian Government and other governments for rights that would help their naval ambitions.

#### COMBINED EFFORT WOULD BE NEEDED

When—and if—the Suez Canal is reopened, the flow of Soviet ships between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean will be much easier, and the Soviets will be helped in their quest for naval significance in both areas.

If the Soviet naval growth is to be adequately countered, it will probably have to be through a combination of efforts, possibly involving the Australians and the Japanese, as well as the Americans and the British. Not one of the Western-oriented nations has the money, navy, or willingness and interest to take on the task alone.

The growth of radicalism in countries around the Indian Ocean is a disturbing matter to officials here, and most hope that America can do something about it, largely by diplomatic persuasion, technical help, modest showing of the flag, and other endeavors that don't cost much.

But one fact looms above all others in determining the American approach to the Indian Ocean, at least for the present. That is

that America, tired of its war in Asia and trying to find money for things other than defense, is in a period of worldwide retrenchment. So far, nothing has happened in the Indian Ocean region to indicate that the pattern would be changed there.

#### AFRICAN REACTION: POWER PLAYS ON BLACK, WHITE TENSIONS

(By Frederic Hunter)

DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA.—As they look across the Indian Ocean, East African states have no desire to be drawn into an area of big-power competition.

That such competition could exist is underscored by the sudden presence of Soviet naval vessels in these hitherto unfamiliar waters.

A possibility that the British Government will check this advance by restocking white South African maritime defenses only agitates African feelings about recent developments in this theater.

For black Africa, then, nonalignment in the area of Indian Ocean strategies is thus an overriding foreign-policy objective.

Recently the Non-Aligned Summit Conference at Lusaka, Zambia, recommended that the United Nations adopt a declaration "calling upon all states to consider and respect the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace from which great power rivalries and competition as well as bases conceived in the context of such rivalries and competition, either army, navy, or air force, are excluded. The area should be also free of nuclear weapons."

#### CURIOSITY EXPRESSED

In the specific case of Tanzania, analysts here believe it fully intends to remain free of outside influences. But, say some, whether it can or not is another matter. Many observers do not really know, for instance, exactly what the Chinese Communists are doing on Zanzibar and its sister island, Pemba; they would make useful military bases for an expansionist power seeking them.

In addition, the Chinese have more influence with the Tanzanian armed forces than any other outside power.

Nonalignment also involves a desire by the black African nations to exert a measure of control. African policymakers admit that this desire for control has no muscle to back it up.

Each of the three black African countries bordering the Indian Ocean—Somalia, Kenya, and Tanzania—has a navy, but none of them amounts to more than a coastal patrol. Any effort to develop stronger navies would, Africans feel, require the diversion of precious resources more urgently needed for higher priority aspects of national development. Thus, these countries could make almost no military contribution to the outcome of an armed struggle for control of the Indian Ocean.

#### POWER VACUUM SEEN

But neither African nor non-African observers here believe such a struggle is imminent. British withdrawal east of Suez has tended to create a big power vacuum in the Indian Ocean, they say. The Americans, however, have not moved to enter it. The Chinese, despite their commitment to build a railway from Tanzania to Zambia and their presumed desire for greater influence in Africa, do not possess the navy required to fill it. And so the Soviet Union, a growing naval power, has begun to move into it.

African policymakers regard this as a fact, but not necessarily as a threat to their interests. Some observers believe the Russians are motivated as much by a desire to counter Chinese influence in the underdeveloped world as to make trouble for the West. And this might well serve African interests.

Africans give high priority to the liberation of brother black Africans who are pre-

vented from controlling their own destinies by white minority governments in the southern third of the continent.

In light of this goal, Africans view an Indian Ocean power struggle with concern. This is due in general to Western arms sales policy and specifically to the possible extension of the British-South African naval partnership. This partnership involves arms sales and is advertised as designed to defend the sea route around the Cape of Good Hope.

#### BRITISH CREDIBILITY HIT

Unfortunately for the state of British credibility in black Africa, the Tory government has not offered Africans a single convincing argument for renewed arms sales and naval cooperation with South Africa.

Hypothesizing that the Cape route constitutes one of England's lifelines, African officials say the British have produced no evidence that a Russian presence in the Indian Ocean would seriously threaten the route or that, if it did, South African assistance would allow Britain to keep it open. "Poppycock!" exclaims a Kenyan official. "It's the worst idea the British ever conceived to use South Africa as their agent."

In addition, American disinterest in Cape route defense suggests to many Africans that nothing very alarming is yet at stake.

Another argument—that Britain's economy needs the South African arms market, where France is now a big supplier—is dismissed by a high Tanzanian official. In discussions with the Tanzanian Government, the British have never cited economics as a reason for renewed arms sales, says this source.

Moreover, the economic argument puzzles some British observers in East Africa. In drawing up a balance sheet, they claim, it is apparent that Britain's economic interests are even now greater in black-ruled Africa than in white-ruled states.

#### ANOTHER EXPLANATION

Many analysts here regard as more credible two other explanations for the British arms initiative. One is that Tory leadership feels an "old boys" affection for the South Africans and wishes perhaps unwittingly, to perpetuate white civilization in the South. The other explanation is that Tory leadership still regards Africa with colonial perspectives. "[Sir Alec] Douglas-Home's thinking hasn't grown since the late '50s," notes a Tanzanian official.

The arms-sale issue tends to force upon the black African countries a contradiction in their foreign-policy goals. As Africans view it, the West at best provides only passive moral support for radical change in Southern Africa while supplying arms to South Africa and Portugal.

This action tends to undermine the African effort to remain nonaligned. "This makes us ideologically vulnerable," says D. C. Mamba, permanent secretary of Kenya's Foreign Ministry. "It's time the West brought pressure to bear on South Africa and the Portuguese to change their viewpoints on life."

#### AFRICAN REACTION

(By Paul Dold)

CAPE TOWN.—South African military strategists are giving the utmost priority to Russian and Chinese naval penetration in the Indian Ocean.

South Africa, at the tip of the African continent and around which passes a major share of the free world's shipping, is disturbed by this new development.

Its concern is not simply because of expanded Communist naval forces but also because the United States appears to take such a cool attitude to this Communist presence.

The Soviet buildup in particular has been quite impressive.

Three years ago the Indian Ocean was almost exclusively a British area of influence with the Soviets rarely if ever seen.

Today the Russian Indian Ocean fleet consists of 15 warships including guided missile vessels, destroyers, and submarines. The numbers fluctuate with reports indicating that it has been as high as 30.

Four Soviet vessels have paid a three-week visit to Somalia, and a Russian naval squadron has called at Mauritius.

#### MOORING-BUOY SYSTEM

Across the Indian Ocean, Russia has established a system of mooring buoys; the nearest to South Africa a mere 250 miles east of Durban, South Africa's major port, and 150 miles southwest of the Malagasy Republic. They provide supply facilities to the Russian Navy and are particularly useful for submarine support.

South Africa regards this presence as a direct threat to its security. But it also feels a wider commitment to the West and especially in the need to shepherd the Western merchant ships safely around the Cape of Good Hope.

Because of this, it notes with apprehension the increasing use of Soviet merchant traffic around its shoreline.

During the 12 months to April 5, 1969, 13,890 vessels rounded the Cape. Of these 5,500 were from the Soviet bloc, with 3,900 flying the Russian flag.

South Africa defines its defense role quite precisely. In terms of the Simonstown Naval Agreement with Britain, South Africa alone is responsible for a huge area of sea from the northern border of South-West Africa stretching 1,000 miles west, then 4,000 miles south, 4,500 miles along the eastern leg, and then north to Malagasy and Mozambique.

#### DEEP-DRAUGHT SHIPS

This area has become that much more critical following closure of the Suez Canal and the traffic around the Cape of oil tankers that carry 33 percent of Europe's fuel and merchant ships bearing 25 percent of Britain's trade.

Even if the canal were reopened, the giant tankers would continue to ply between the Middle East and Europe around the Cape route because their draught would be too deep.

Not only does South Africa pride itself on its staunchly anti-Communist stand but it also believes it has the best facilities provided Britain honors the spirit of the Simonstown agreement by supplying naval equipment.

It is on this point specifically that the Soviet entrance into the Indian Ocean brings East Africa and South Africa into headlong collision.

While Mauritius could provide an alternative to Simonstown as a naval base and thus remove African objections to Britain supplying South Africa with arms, it is unlikely that Britain would retract its long-established links with the Cape.

Besides, the cost of setting up another base would be enormous. Moreover, Simonstown, apart from refueling British vessels, plays a vital role in Britain's communications network. The dockyard itself is fully equipped and capable of modernizing frigates.

#### VESSEL VISITS NUMBERED

Since the Suez Canal closed in 1967, an average of 100 Royal Navy vessels have visited South African ports—mostly Simonstown—a year. A total of 166 British merchant vessels with 53,521 men have called at South African ports. In addition, 153 Royal Navy fleet auxiliaries with 13,348 men have put into South African ports.

South Africa looks to Britain for a renewal of equipment because its Navy is understrength for the task of policing the Indian Ocean. It consists of two destroyers with Wasp helicopters, six frigates, 12 minesweepers, and 10 smaller vessels.

Three frigates bought from the Royal Navy

after World War II are still in use. Three others of the President class were built for South Africa by Britain. The Republic took delivery between 1963 and 1964. They are at present being modernized and equipped with helicopters. None of the warships is equipped with missiles, and the fleet has only one replenishment tanker—a converted commercial vessel.

#### ARMS EMBARGOES

Although hampered by the American and former British Governments' arms embargoes, South Africa is trying to play a role in the defense of the Cape route. It has ordered three French submarines of the Daphne class at a cost of \$33.6 million. The submarines, South Africa's first, carry 12 torpedoes and have an effective patrol range of 3,000 miles.

Simonstown is being modernized, and a new basin capable of berthing six warships and an aircraft carrier is being built. The expansion also includes a nine-acre submarine base. Now South Africa is considering establishing a further base at Durban.

But South Africa's major disappointment in its building efforts is United States' apathy to the expanding of the Red fleet. It feels that a strong naval presence is essential to counter Russian naval moves and the political influence that go hand in hand.

The Republic believes that in Simonstown the West has a base which will be the kingpin in any operation to contain the Communist navies.

#### INDIA: LEAVE OUR OCEAN ALONE

(By John Slee)

NEW DELHI.—India is the largest, most important nation on the Indian Ocean, but its limited naval capacity has made it more of a spectator than a participant in the recent great changes taking place in the Indian Ocean.

Moreover, it is a reluctant spectator. "Basically, we'd rather there was nobody in the Indian Ocean at all," said one Foreign Ministry official interviewed here.

"We recognize that the very effort to deny the Soviets a place in the Indian Ocean is counterproductive. Their position is based directly on their concern to protect shipping like everyone else and is also partly a response to the global strategy of the United States," the official said.

"The Soviets," he added, "also have some vague idea of using the Indian Ocean against China, though it's doubtful whether the weapons they can deploy at the moment could reach China."

Some Indian commentators welcome the increased Soviet presence.

#### PROJECTION OF TENSIONS

Says Nihal Singh, the Calcutta Statesman's political correspondent: "To the extent the two superpowers' role is mutually deterrent, it is to be welcomed. Again, to the extent their combined role keeps China out, it is a factor in India's favor."

But this is not the official position. According to one Foreign Ministry official, "We do not say we welcome the Russian presence. And we do not subscribe to the balance-of-power theory for the same reasons we do not subscribe to the vacuum theory."

Indians apparently see the power struggle in the Indian Ocean as essentially a protection of larger global tensions which only become relevant to the littoral states when they become participants or unwilling victims in the big-power game.

Officials here say India wants no part in this game. They flatly deny that India has given base rights, "or anything of the kind," to Russia at Visakapatnam.

"Neither ships nor submarines of the Soviet Navy have ever touched Visakapatnam," said one official. He described as "quite untrue" the persistent rumors here that two

Russian vessels had once managed to bluff their way into Port Blair in the Andaman Islands by pretending distress at sea.

India's tight security screen around the strategic Andaman and Nicobar Islands, which command both the Bay of Bengal and the Malacca Straits, has generated much speculation here about possible Indian motives, including the suggestion that New Delhi might offer Russia submarine-base facilities there.

But most Western observers here believe these security measures are imposed mainly because of anxiety about the island's local inhabitants dissatisfaction with their place in the Indian union, and the natural desire to keep all foreigners out of such a vital strategic area.

Russian vessels have, however, become increasingly frequent visitors to India's mainland ports. But India insists that the Soviets enjoy no special privileges and are placed in exactly the same position as other friendly nations in their freedom to call at Indian ports, either for repairs, in emergencies, or on goodwill visits.

#### ROUTINE REMINDERS

Nevertheless there was some concern in Indian right-wing circles late last year when the Soviets concluded a fishing-rights agreement with neighboring Pakistan at the port of Gwadar, some 300 miles west of Karachi.

Indian Government officials say though that as far as they can determine the Gwadar project was and still is a straightforward fishing operation. No protest has been made to Moscow beyond the routine reminders that India regards any Soviet help to build up Pakistan's military capacity as adding tension in the area.

As far as Russian involvement with India itself is concerned, the number of Russian technicians at the Visakapatnam submarine base is "very small."

"The four submarines purchased by us are manned completely by Indians, commanded by Indian officers who have already been fully trained in the Soviet Union," said one Defense Ministry official.

Defense Ministry officials here are reluctant to give their assessment of the comparative strengths of the British, U.S., and Soviet Navies in the Indian Ocean. But one Foreign Ministry official said he guessed that the Soviet strength, though increasing, was still "rather less than the other two combined."

India's own naval strength is very limited in big-power terms.

#### FRIGATES UNDER CONSTRUCTION

It has 1 aircraft carrier, the Vikrant, the same vintage and tonnage as Australia's flagship, the Melbourne, as well as 4 submarines, 1 submarine tender, two cruisers, 3 destroyers, 14 frigates, and 2 patrol vessels.

Under license from Britain's Vickers-Armstrong, India is building five Leander-class frigates at the Mazagon docks, Bombay.

Last May, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi reportedly decided to buy four more Soviet submarines to maintain India's edge over Pakistan's capability.

But if Russia established a base somewhere in the Indian Ocean, India, despite its dependence on Moscow for the bulk of its arms supplies, would be bound to protest.

India has not so far expressed great concern at the increased Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean, but it clearly does not want Soviet bases in the region.

This is not merely because of the strain on Indo-Soviet relations that such a qualitative shift in the nature of the Russian presence would impose, but because it believes that any move by either the East or the West to turn the Indian Ocean into a playground for the big-power game holds only dangers for those who live on its shores.

#### AUSTRALIA EXPANDS DEFENSE ROLE TO WEST (By Maximilian Walsh)

CANBERRA.—Although Australia's 12,000 mile coastline is washed by both the Indian and Pacific Oceans, it has been toward the Pacific that Australian strategic planners traditionally have looked.

The Vietnam war today, Malaysian-Indonesian confrontation in the 1960's. The Korean war in the 1950's. Japan's thrust toward Australia in World War II. All these developments help Australia's concern with the Pacific.

But the appearance of Soviet naval vessels in the Indian Ocean now demands greater Australian awareness of this area's strategic importance.

This, together with the closure of the Suez Canal and the muted but nonetheless persistent South African overtures for some sort of naval pact are all working to heighten Canberra's consciousness that the Indian Ocean is Australia's backyard.

As proof of this, the United States has accepted an offer to use a proposed new Indian Ocean naval base in Western Australia.

Base facilities capable of supporting four escort vessels and three submarines for as long as a year without dry-docking will be built over a five-year period at Cockburn Sound, near Fremantle.

#### FAVORABLE REACTION

Though Britain did not immediately accept the invitation to use the base, it reacted favorably.

British Defense Minister Lord Carrington said: "I confirm that my government warmly welcomes your intention to establish a naval facility at such a strategic point, which underlines the extent to which the threat posed by the Soviet maritime presence in the Indian Ocean and the need to keep all sea lanes in that area open is being recognized by the nations of the free world."

The British Government in turn has stated it will go some way toward reversing the decision taken by the Wilson government to withdraw completely from east of Suez.

In practice this is expected to mean the continued presence of some naval forces in the Indian Ocean area. Some members of the government—Prime Minister John Gorton is probably one of them—welcome the British decision as a respite for further postponing Australia's decisionmaking in this area. But Minister for Defense Malcolm Fraser, one of the men mentioned as a likely successor to Mr. Gorton, has been quick to assert that Australia must determine its own role in Asia.

Apart from the natural desire to make an impact as Defense Minister, he is a man with a history of regarding defense questions as being of greater significance than most of his colleagues.

Except for a burst of spending from 1963-68, the Liberal government has been inclined to talk a lot about defense but spend little. Since Mr. Gorton became Prime Minister, the proportion of gross national product directed to defense spending has actually declined.

Mr. Fraser's position on defense can broadly be stated as seeing Australia as being on the rim of a turbulent Asia—always exposed to the danger of that emotional caldron boiling over.

The removal of British influence, the apparent policy of American disengagement, and the entry of the Russian naval forces reinforce his belief that Australia stands more alone than it ever did in matters of defense.

His response to this is to upgrade Australia's defense forces so they are technically superior to any other in the area.

His preoccupation with defense automatically leads him to upgrade the importance of Western Australia on the Indian Ocean vis-a-

vis his predecessors who regarded defense needs for this area more in the light of political expedience than high military strategy. However, Mr. Fraser can hardly be said to have the full support of his Cabinet colleagues. Apart from this difficulty, Mr. Fraser has serious logistical problems in servicing the West.

His Navy does not have the ships, let alone the men, to put together a second ocean fleet.

The Air Force is already desperately overstretched in providing adequate support for its present aircraft and weapons, and the delivery problems of the F-111 only compound the difficulties here.

The man who has done more to puzzle over what Australia's future role in this area should be is Professor T. B. Millar of Australian National University and an internationally respected authority on Australian defense.

His thesis is that what Australia should be concerned with is not so much that the Indian Ocean is going to be an area of confrontation between the Communist and Western world but that the major powers are exhibiting a growing tendency to accept tacitly a division of the world into spheres of influence.

#### SPHERES OF INFLUENCE

"Spheres of influence," he says, "are highly convenient arrangements for the major powers concerned. They may contribute to overall stability."

His concern is that the Indian Ocean and the region surrounding it could at best become a no-man's-land or at worst drift into the Soviet sphere of influence.

Writing on Soviet policies in the Indian Ocean area, he had this to say: "No one would wish to see a continuing competitive escalation of Soviet and American naval forces in the Indian Ocean with the possibility of confrontation."

"One could perhaps interpret American statements and actions as implying an acknowledgment that they are prepared to concede in some parts of the area a superior Soviet influence; in other parts they may seek to coexist."

"The Soviet Union no doubt wants to establish a firm claim to be considered an Asian power as a means of gaining access to Afro-Asian councils and also to convince Asian countries that it can be a valuable ally in opening up new policy options for them."

[From the Washington Post, November 20, 1970]

#### INDIAN OCEAN BASE IS SOUGHT BY UNITED STATES

(By Robert C. Toth)

The Nixon administration has asked Congress for military construction funds to build a "communication facility" on British islands in the Indian Ocean.

This would be the first American "base" in the ocean area between Africa and Australia. Virtually no American warships are assigned to duty there, but Soviet fleet strength has been increasing rapidly—21 ships at one point this year—and the Russians have several "anchorage" on the coastal periphery.

Although the fund request has gone to Congress, the White House has asked a delay in its consideration pending a full-scale review by the National Security Council of U.S. strategic aims in the area, informed sources said.

Officials insisted that the communications facility in the British Indian Ocean Territory—specifically within the Chagos Archipelago that includes the island of Diego Garcia—is viewed as an alternative to the U.S. military communications base in Ethiopia.



But the White House is apparently concerned that such a facility could be a first step toward a significant and costly new American presence, in the form of an Indian Ocean fleet, with the implicit danger of Soviet-American rivalry there.

The government of India has already protested to Britain and the United States against plans to build any military facility on the islands. Foreign Minister Swaran Singh, in a speech to the Indian Parliament yesterday confirmed the protests and declared India wants the waters to remain free of big power contests.

The State Department, when questioned about a potential U.S. facility, said a 1966 Anglo-American agreement on development of the Indian Ocean for defense purposes was under "active review."

The Pentagon had no comment when asked how much money it had requested for a communications facility in the Indian Ocean. But it seemed likely that the cost of the proposed facility, including an anchorage and an airstrip, would run into tens of millions of dollars.

The Soviet buildup in the area began after the 1967 Israeli-Arab war, as it did in the Mediterranean. "Show the flag" visits in the Persian Gulf and Africa began in 1968.

The Soviet Navy has anchorage buoys off the Seychelles. Through aid to harbor development, it has access to ports and dockyards in Somalia, Yemen, Aden and India, and trawler facilities in Mauritius. It is erecting some kind of military facility on southern Yemen's island of Socotra at the mouth of the Gulf of Aden.

#### CRIMINAL REHABILITATION SHOULD BE TOP PRIORITY

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, the following article makes a persuasive case for making criminal rehabilitation a top priority in the fight against crime. I recommend it to my colleagues:

No. 1 DOMESTIC PRIORITY: NEW CAREERS FOR CRIMINALS

(Most Crimes Are Committed by Ex-Convicts, and Most Ex-Convicts Are Easy To Find. Thus They Offer Our Best Hope for Winning the Battle Against Crime. By Dr. Arnold S. Trebach)

Despite rising public concern and fear, despite pledges and promises to reduce crime and restore "law and order," despite vast increases in funds for crime control, enlarged police forces, tougher laws and court procedures, we are still losing the battle against crime—and we do not have any overall strategy.

The FBI reports that serious crime increased 148 per cent between 1960 and 1969; allowing for population growth, the crime rate increased 120 per cent. In 1969, there were almost five million reported crimes, an increase of 12 per cent over 1968.

It is my profound belief that we can make very significant gains on this, our most serious domestic problem, during the '70s without compromising a single fundamental freedom—if we adopt a national strategy for crime control which clearly recognizes one major priority among the many valid approaches to reduction of crime, which puts together presently scattered, uncoordinated resources, programs, and funds to focus on this priority, and uses quantitative measures to record success or failure.

In proposing a single major priority for

effective crime control, I recognize that crime is an enormously complex problem which must be attacked on many fronts. But, unless clear target priorities are set, a simultaneous diversity of approaches seriously hinders an effective control program.

For example, in 1967, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice made excellent recommendations covering a broad scope of action throughout the entire justice system—police, courts, corrections, and prevention—and wrote a beautiful encyclopedia. But even in the section entitled "A National Strategy," the commission set no solid priorities. And the majority of its recommendations have yet to be acted upon.

One current approach to crime control is to strengthen the police and their ability to cope with proliferating kinds of crime now afflicting our society—particularly violent crime and civil disorder.

Another approach is to strengthen the management capability and technology of our antiquated, often ineffective, institutions of justice.

Another focuses on the control and prevention of drug addiction, now reaching epidemic proportions in some cities and responsible for a major proportion of crime.

Still another approach concentrates on crime prevention through community action programs such as those started by the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and the Office of Economic Opportunity, which are aimed at social change to discourage the development of criminal behavior.

All of these approaches are important and should be pursued. But I do not believe that any of them should be the first priority for winning the battle against crime.

What should be target number one? Consider these incredible statistics:

According to an FBI analysis of a sample of over 100,000 persons arrested in 1967-68, 82 per cent had prior arrest records; 70 per cent had been convicted previously of one or more crimes; 46 per cent had been imprisoned on a prior sentence of 90 days or more.

An FBI study of 240,322 serious offenders during the 10-year period 1960-69 found that, as a group, these offenders averaged almost four arrests. During this time, 36 per cent had two or more convictions and 46 per cent served a prison term of a year or more. After their initial arrest in the early 1960s, these offenders were rearrested, primarily on local and state charges, a total of 693,000 times.

The recidivism rate among offenders released from some youth institutions has reached a scandalous 75 per cent! And young offenders constitute our single worst crime problem.

Any respectable business executive who presided over an enterprise with a record comparable to this would do the decent thing and quietly commit hari-kari on his desk set.

Betting men could get good odds, especially on a young offender, on the following triple-horse parlay: 1) the correctional process he goes through will not rehabilitate him, and indeed, may do him more harm than good; 2) he will commit another crime within several years of release, and 3) the next crime will be more serious, perhaps more violent, than the preceding one.

"Repeated offenders," the Presidential Crime Commission concluded, "constitute the hard core of the crime problem." There are, today, between 1.5 and two million identified criminal offenders now under some form of correctional control—approximately 500,000 behind bars, with the remainder out on probation or parole.

It seems overpoweringly clear that our number one priority in the war on crime should be the rehabilitation of these people now under correctional control. Every dollar

spent on rehabilitating a convicted person has the potential for being most cost-effective, in terms of reducing crime, than a dollar spent in any other area of national endeavor.

We do not have to send out search parties to find out who will be committing crimes this year or next year or the next. We already have many of their names and addresses. Here is a highly identifiable target, and we are allowing an incredibly ineffective, underfinanced, antiquated, undermanned, and under-equipped correctional system to throw away a supreme opportunity for making our streets safe and our homes secure.

Today, the half million or so persons behind bars are caged and counted, denied normal relationships, sometimes brutally treated by staff who usually have no training or interest in rehabilitation, and then put out on the streets and expected to behave normally—whereupon the hapless policemen must go about catching a large percentage of them again to put them through the same meaningless justice process. Much the same thing occurs, though more humanely, with many offenders under probation or parole supervision. Probation and parole officers are underpaid, undertrained, and generally have huge caseloads (a hundred or more) and few facilities for treatment or other training to prepare offenders for rejoining society. Correctional officials, for the most part, deserve as much sympathy as blame, and it is a credit to them that the recidivism rate is not higher.

If offender-rehabilitation becomes the first priority of our national crime-control strategy, the nearly two million people under correctional control would be the main focus for money and technical efforts. The identification of a person as an offender would trigger a massive social response to try to prevent him from committing another anti-social act.

But what about the offenders *not* now under correctional control, *not* now in an institution, or *not* now on probation or parole? Some estimates place the number of Americans with some form of a criminal record (including one day in jail) at a staggering 20 million. And what about those offenders too smart to get caught? Would not this national crime-control strategy miss huge chunks of the criminal universe?

Yes, quite probably. But this is a conscious choice, made in full realization of the risks. Moreover, this strategy, like others, sets priorities, but it does not eliminate other courses of action; it merely sets them lower down the list.

As a first step in an offender-centered crime-control strategy, the tools to measure success or failure—profit and loss—must be improved. At present, there is an unbelievable lack of information on the most basic fundamentals. While I have cited statistics, neither I nor anyone else actually knows how many arrested or convicted offenders there are in the country, or their rearrest records. We don't even know how many correctional institutions there are. Some jails don't know how many inmates they have on a given day.

As the FBI stated in its 10-year study of recidivism:

*"The key to the effectiveness of the system is in knowing what happened to the people who were handled or treated by the criminal justice process, specifically, whether they were deterred from further criminal acts and/or rehabilitated."* (Emphasis mine.)

Here, then, is the way to keep score, not only of correctional agencies, but of the entire criminal justice system. One of the elements in the new offender-centered justice strategy must be a simple, unified set of numbers that would count heads (of identified offenders), compile criminal histories, and keep track, as the FBI suggested, of the recidivism rate. Fortunately, the Law

Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) of the Justice Department is now funding several programs aimed at producing a reliable system of national criminal statistics.

But this is only a first step, a measuring tool. There are a number of other basic, practical steps that should be taken by national, state, and city governments and private organizations to develop a winning crime-control strategy. The momentum for these efforts can come from one place only—the White House.

I would urge the President and his key criminal justice advisers to visit a typical county jail and a state prison. There's nothing like starting with a sense of reality. Mr. President, such a visit would effectively publicize your interest in corrections. If the institution is indeed typical, you will find hundreds or thousands of people locked up; that's all, locked up, and often subjected to treatment which at best is inhuman, and at worst breeds increased hostility to all forms of legitimate social authority.

Speak to the prisoners, Mr. President. It should strike you forcibly that these caged human beings will one day be let out—98 per cent are eventually released—and they will act as if they have been caged for years, once they hit the streets. No surprise.

Of course, we don't know how much is spent in this country each year on corrections, nor what part of that goes for rehabilitation—but the figures are probably around \$1 billion for all corrections, with perhaps 5 to 10 per cent, \$50 to \$100 million, for rehabilitation.

Mr. President, you must "put it all together," at the national level. I say this in the most positive way, and urge my liberal, intellectual brethren to do the same, much as we might cheer on the coach of a bunch of football stars who keep fumbling the ball. Virtually all the ingredients for a winning strategy are present in Washington, but the resources are scattered and unfocused, and thus ineffective.

On November 13, 1969, Mr. President, in a speech and memorandum to the Attorney General, you laid it on the line: "The American system for correcting and rehabilitating criminals presents a convincing case of failure." And you directed Mr. Mitchell to implement a specific 13-point program for massive overhaul and reform of the entire correctional system through "bold, imaginative programs" with emphasis on prisoner rehabilitation. The Attorney General was directed to report back in six months with a progress report.

I am persuaded that the Department of Justice has made a good college try at implementing your directive. There are many talented people in that department, and in Labor, HUD, HEW, OEO, and other agencies, who dedicate long workdays in a devoted effort to reduce crime. But the mandated six-month progress report has not been made public nor, to my knowledge, has any major action been taken that reflects the urgency of your message.

Moreover, and most distressing, there does not exist an articulate national strategy on offender rehabilitation that logically coordinates the millions spent by the federal government every year on corrections, nor that directs the powerhouse of talent in the federal bureaucracy toward agreed-upon goals. There is no overall crime-control strategy, applicable to other parts of the system.

Democrats, don't crow. Things were no different under Mr. Johnson or Ramsey Clark. In fact, this crew is doing a mite better.

We all know where the buck must stop. Mr. Nixon allow me to urge you to make a declaration of national policy placing offender rehabilitation as the top priority. Some of the most important elements of that strategy are to be found in the April, 1970, report of

your own President's Task Force on Prisoner Rehabilitation.

A successful, offender-centered crime control program can also be a very positive force to bring many of us "together again." Most of the people of this country, whatever their part, color, or viewpoint, are very deeply concerned about crime, and will certainly support an intelligent program to rehabilitate offenders. Richard Harris noted in his recent book, "Justice," that the overwhelming importance of prisoner rehabilitation was one of the few matters on which Ramsey Clark and John Mitchell clearly agreed.

The key elements of a new crime-control strategy can be stated simply.

1. THE NEW STRATEGY MUST PROVIDE OFFENDERS WITH WHAT THEY NEED TO STOP BEING OFFENDERS, ESPECIALLY JOBS AND JOB TRAINING

I agree completely with the President's Task Force on Prisoner Rehabilitation which clearly emphasized that "Satisfying work experiences for institutionalized offenders . . . and the assurance of decent jobs for released offenders should be at the heart of the correctional process."

Currently, the unemployment rate of men released from prison runs three to four times higher than that of the general population. Many offenders are poorly educated, come from unstable family backgrounds, and have numerous personal, mental, and physical problems which may make them unemployable or unlikely to remain in a job. While we cannot expect to remake or deal with all the problems of all of the several million offenders under correctional control, we can concentrate education, training, and treatment efforts toward motivating and preparing offenders for worthwhile jobs, helping them to find such jobs, and working with personal problems which prevent successful employment.

The quantifiable test of success or failure here would be the number of jobs secured for offenders, the salaries, the length of time they stay on the jobs, their promotions and raises, or their dropouts and terminations.

Of course, this priority on jobs is not the only solution. Criminal offenders may need psychiatric, medical, and dental treatment, legal services, personal and family counseling. Many offenders are too old, too young, or too sick to work.

An increasingly serious problem, which needs special handling, is the rising number of offenders who are drug addicts. Drug addiction is not only a tragic human problem; it may impel the addict to commit criminal acts. The rise in crimes related to hard drug addiction is reaching epidemic proportions in some cities today. In the District of Columbia, for example, 43 per cent of those arrested for crimes in recent months were heroin addicts. And many of these addicts are constantly bringing new recruits into drug dependency.

The narcotics problem is so serious that the priority clearly must be to identify and get control of addict-offenders and give them medical treatment. To date, only a few programs seem to have had any significant success in breaking addiction. For example, programs which use methadone or similar chemical treatment as a substitute have had a high degree of success in dealing with heroin addiction. More of these programs are badly needed, and more money and effort should be spent on seeking alternative treatment. But along with medical treatment, the goal should still be to get the addict a stable job.

The selection of jobs as a top priority relegates other approaches to correctional rehabilitation to a subordinate status. Thus, the primary aim is not to make offenders happy, God-fearing, patriotic, nor to eradicate all their neuroses or near-psychoses, sexual perversions, or other distressing behavior patterns. In this program of priorities, neither does it matter if offenders, individ-

ually or as a group, practice voodoo. If we get them into a paying, hopefully meaningful job, if they can get to it every day and function effectively while there, if they don't stick up a gas station between home and work, then the crime-offender balance sheet should show a whopping profit, which is what this business is all about.

Truly, I wish I had come up with something more startling, like a new computer system, or violet-scented Mace, or a new theory on the causes of crime. But when I look back over 15 years of work in the criminal justice field, I keep coming up with the primacy of jobs for offenders. Numerous studies show that steady employment and adequate income are directly related to low recidivism rates for ex-offenders.

Moreover, steady employment and adequate income for ex-offenders are directly related to the extent to which correctional programs have provided education, job training, job development and placement, counseling, and follow-up services to deal with personal and family crises that arise after the offender takes the job. In other words, while the primacy of jobs may be a simple notion, it is not a simple matter to get an offender into a job and keep him there. But there have been a number of successful demonstration programs which show that it can be done.

One of the first programs sponsored by the Labor Department under a new section of the Manpower Development and Training Act providing vocational training for prisoners has resulted in a 25-percent drop in recidivism for those in the program as compared to a control group of other prisoners released from Rikers Island prison in New York.

A concentrated rehabilitation program geared to job placement has had very encouraging results at Draper Correctional Center in Alabama. Of 290 graduates, 276 were placed in jobs, and 218 had not returned to jail or prison within one to three years after their release. This is a very good record for a group of young inmates. 70 per cent already repeated offenders, and all school dropouts without previous vocational skills. The Draper program included programmed instruction for basic education and vocational training, incentives and rewards for achievement, personal coaching and counseling, social services to cope with family problems, active job development and placement, and follow-up services to graduates after their release to help them adjust to job and society. Inmates were trained for jobs which were currently available in the surrounding area, such as bricklaying, electrical repairs, and sign painting.

A different, and very significant, approach to job training was carried out in Vacaville, Calif., with a group of 18 inmates who, by Corrections Department evaluation, were highly likely to recidivate within a year of release. By means of group dynamics and similar experimental techniques, they were trained to work on social problems related to their own lives. Almost all went on to become job trainers, researchers, and job-program developers in antipoverty programs and similar social projects. Several now have high positions in government and private organizations. Only two returned to prison.

In contrast, almost all members of a "control" group with similar backgrounds and records, who received no training, landed back in prison.

The Vacaville project suggests another important aspect of a job-oriented rehabilitation strategy. For many offenders, the best—or only—chance of rehabilitation lies in jobs which provide an opportunity for career development in fields where they can feel socially useful and gain some sense of personal dignity.

The use of offenders and ex-offenders in correctional work itself is increasingly recognized as a very positive aid, not only in their own rehabilitation, but in more effective re-

habilitation of other offenders. Correctional officials have testified that ex-offenders can often break down otherwise insuperable barriers between prisoners or juvenile delinquents and the professional, largely middle-class staff who are trying to treat them.

The New York State Division for Youth has had a hundred offenders and ex-offenders in jobs working with youthful offenders over the past several years. The Los Angeles County Probation Office currently has an expanding community treatment program for seriously delinquent youth employing community workers who are ex-offenders. The program director has reported superior results:

"Each juvenile participant in this project represented a dollar savings of \$1,300 to the county . . . when compared to costs of his residence in a camp."

2. TO WEAVE A NATIONWIDE FABRIC OF JOB OPPORTUNITIES AND PLACEMENTS FOR OFFENDERS, THE MANPOWER SYSTEMS AT EVERY LEVEL MUST BE TIED INTO THE JUSTICE AND CORRECTIONAL SYSTEMS

The Department of Labor, therefore, must be placed in a position of leadership in the fight against crime, perhaps in as lofty a perch as that held by the Department of Justice. Here again, the President himself may have to create this marriage—by shotgun if necessary.

The Department of Labor has done some of the most significant work in the country on developing manpower training and placement for offenders. This has operated mainly under Section 251 of the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA). Skill training programs for imprisoned offenders have enrolled approximately 5,000 inmates in 47 institutions and 28 states, with the cost reaching \$6 million. An intensive evaluation of these programs is now under way, but even preliminary reports indicate a highly significant, favorable impact on recidivism.

Labor will increase funding for such programs in this fiscal year (1971) to \$14 million and there are plans to increase the total Labor Department offender-manpower commitment to \$50 million in fiscal 1972. But this will still be highly inadequate to deal with the needs of hundreds of thousands of offenders.

Several manpower programs now have direct links to offender rehabilitation—JOBS, which focuses on employment in private industry; the Job Corps and Neighborhood Youth Corps, offering opportunities for youth; and the vast federal-state employment service machinery throughout the country, to name a few. But these programs have never become fully effective, since their links to the correctional system are far too weak.

Moreover, practical experience convinces me that while the President must order the marriage between the two systems as a necessary first step, the impact of that order won't be felt unless vigorous steps are taken at the local level.

Local "establishment" leaders must start building enormous pressure for effective offender rehabilitation and they must make demands for the manpower-correction union in their cities, counties, and states.

Let me make some specific suggestions to state and local leaders, to the heads of local urban coalitions, city criminal justice coordinating councils where they exist, Junior Chambers of Commerce, mayors, and state officials.

Start working on identified offenders. Go into the jails and prisons, talk to probation and parole officials, find out how many offenders there are, what facilities and programs there are for education, job training, job placement; and treatment.

In your city and county jails you will find

large numbers of offenders either being detained or awaiting trial and disposition or serving relatively short sentences, under one year. Except in rare instances, you will find absolutely no programs to get them into jobs or to encourage their rehabilitation. You don't have to look at your neighbors or the bad guys in the next county. You can start right at home.

Find out at what point offenders, under the best possible circumstances, might be put into job training, while in these institutions, or better yet, put on probation or parole or work-release so that they can start working and living, at least part-time, in the community. Work with correctional and judicial officials to get as many of those men out of jails and into community-based treatment programs, halfway houses, and jobs, as soon as possible.

I would urge, plead, even pray, that you do everything possible to get offenders out of the traditional court-jail processes. As a general proposition, courts and jails cannot handle and really don't know what to do with offenders. And offenders, for their part, seem to be generally worse off for the association.

Be prepared for accusations that you are letting hoods and murderers loose on the innocent people of your community. But that is just what is now done, every day.

Moreover, when your son, or nephew, or the boy next door gets busted, skillful lawyers and psychiatrists usually get him out of jail, into probation and a carefully designed program of treatment and supervision. Generally, the middle class and rich are horrified at the prospect of putting their children into the infectious garbage heap of the present correctional system; the same horror should prevent such treatment for children of the poor.

Of course, it will be much more difficult to secure probation and early release for repeated, hardened, serious offenders. But even for them, the quicker we can get them out of the traditional criminal justice process and institutions and into community treatment programs, especially jobs and job training, the better off they, and society, will be.

Every court, judge, police lock-up, county jail, probation department, and state prison should be tied into community manpower programs. Some programs should be available shortly after arrest, even before the "offender" has been formally "identified" by a court conviction.

Two such "early diversion projects" which, incidentally, employ ex-offenders as subprofessional aides, now operate in New York City and Washington, D.C., supported primarily by MDTA funds. The Manhattan Court Employment Project, a three-year experiment conducted by the Vera Institute of Justice, intervenes just after arrest and offers the arrestee counseling, referral to appropriate social service and job-training agencies, and job placement. (Suspects facing serious charges, such as homicide and armed robbery, as well as alcoholics and drug addicts, are not eligible.)

If the person performs well for 90 days, the project staff goes into court and recommends dismissal of the charges. If not, he is returned to court. While a final evaluation of the effect on recidivism has not yet been made, the project seems to have had a very favorable impact.

Favorable experience has also been reported by Project Crossroads, a similar program conducted by the National Committee for Children and Youth with juvenile and adult offenders in Washington, D.C.

Labor will expand its early diversion programs to at least six other cities by early 1971, and LEAA sources report scores of such projects are now turning up in grant applications. There is interest and money at the national level for early diversion projects.

The more local pressure for such projects, the better the chances to increase federal funds for them.

Community leaders also must put pressure on all the agencies of the local manpower system—the U.S. Department of Labor office, the State Employment Service, and other job programs—to work with the correctional institutions on training and placement for offenders.

You should also contact appropriate local officials of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, who probably will have more money than any other federal agency in your area. LEAA appropriations are expected to triple during the next few years, up to \$1.5 billion. Most of this money will be available through your state planning agency, which is formally responsible to the governor but is composed of local and regional representatives. It may take some pushing and hauling to get enough money put into the correctional process—for although LEAA is the top fund-granting agency in the crime field, it tends to put most of its money into police projects. However, the percentage of its funds devoted to corrections went up from 10 to 27 this year as compared to last—a total of at least \$50 million for corrections (and perhaps as much as \$75 million). Much of this seems destined for rehabilitation.

And, if the top people in communities all over the country come up with intelligent, carefully planned and focused programs for effective offender-rehabilitation, there is no doubt that the money will be forthcoming.

In many communities, you will find that the really hard-core offenders are sent away to prisons operated by state authorities, often removed from the local community. But the same approach must be taken with them. The felons in the state prisons today are the misdemeanants of the county jails of yesterday. Their basic needs are not terribly different from those of the less hardened in city or county jails.

You will probably find large numbers of juvenile offenders under correctional control in your communities. And these young people represent the greatest challenge and perhaps the greatest opportunity to really do something about crime. Look at them in their cells. See how pitiful and terribly young they look, and at the same time realize that they commit some of the worst crimes in your community—armed robberies, senseless killings and shootings, rapes, and many burglaries and larcenies.

Educational authorities should be heavily involved in all job training programs, but effective educational programs are particularly needed by youthful offenders. Many have not finished high school, and even if they have, check their reading levels. You may be amazed to find how many literally cannot read a newspaper or even a comic book. So young offenders may need intensive basic education as well as vocational training and placement.

Of course, it will do no good to tie the correctional system into the manpower system unless concurrent efforts are made to eliminate the many barriers that bar ex-offenders from jobs. Pressure must be put on both government and business to change restrictive policies so that ex-offenders gain entry into the economic opportunity system of this country.

MUCH MORE MONEY AND EFFORT MUST BE SPENT ON IMPROVING MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT, EDUCATION, TRAINING, AND STAFF SALARIES

In 1969, the prestigious Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training brought it all down front when it declared:

"The public and their legislators must understand that there can be no solution to

the problem of recidivism . . . as long as there is a predominance of low-paid, dead-end jobs in corrections. . . ."

Again, I urge local community leaders to look at the staff of local jails and prisons. You will probably find, unless you are in an exceptional community, that there is not enough staff, that it is qualitatively poor and badly utilized.

For example, the last county jail I visited was in Dade County, Fla. The warden was an enlightened man who was most concerned that he had virtually no rehabilitation facilities for the approximately 40,000 people who will pass through his institution this year. One of his major problems has been simply getting enough manpower so that he could put at least two correctional officers on each floor to prevent inmate assaults on one another.

The National Crime Commission estimated that the number of correctional employees should be doubled and treatment staff tripled to meet 1965 needs. By 1975, the commission saw need for more than 300,000 employees, with treatment staff needs increasing fivefold.

Correctional manpower structures and policies must also reflect the new priorities. Today, the vast majority of correctional manpower provides mere custodial care. Relatively few staff members know how to develop or operate a rehabilitative, job-centered program. There is a tremendous need to recruit and train academic and vocational teachers, job counselors and developers, group and individual counselors, social service, health, and legal advisers, and others actively working for rehabilitation, job training, and placement. Many more correctional workers must be located in the community, to provide links to jobs and other community institutions.

There is also great need for more members of minority groups working in corrections at all levels. Many offenders are members of minority groups; but, as the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training has recently documented, a very small number of corrections staff come from these groups. In supervisory positions, less than 3 per cent are from minority groups.

Minority correctional workers—like the ex-offenders whom I mentioned previously—have special ability to relate to and work with minority offenders. Many new minority members could first be recruited into newly created subprofessional positions—which are already recognized as essential to relieve severe professional manpower shortages—and then provided further training and opportunity to move up into professional careers.

All relevant agencies must help improve correctional manpower programs. Justice and Labor are starting to do so. One must wonder, in this connection, what HEW is doing to implement the report of the Joint Commission, which it funded.

#### FOUR. A PARALLEL, ALLIED, PRIVATE CORRECTIONAL AND OFFENDER-REHABILITATION SYSTEM SHOULD BE CREATED

Government cannot do it alone. I simply do not see enough change taking place, however large the sums made available, solely within governmental structures.

A partnership with private resources must be created to work on crime control and offender rehabilitation just as it has been in other fields. By this I mean that government must provide larger and yet larger sums of money for treatment, education, and training contracts with private industries, and businessmen must start making venture capital and corporate resources available to handle government contracts in this field. Some private firms already operate treatment centers and halfway houses.

Businessmen should use the ingenuity for which American enterprise is famous

and come up with new ideas that can help cut the crime rate through rehabilitation of offenders. It is a healthy situation when a contribution to the public weal can be combined with private profit.

Frankly, I am surprised at the enthusiasm with which some private businessmen view involvement in offender rehabilitation. Not only are many firms hiring ex-offenders, but some have plans to carve out a major role in improving the entire correctional field. Last March, for example, Howard C. Wiechman, national administrator of technical and vocational education for the Portland Cement Association (PCA) stated: "Growth within our industry is being stifled by labor shortages. Just as most inmates need jobs and job skills, we need trained people to place and finish concrete and plaster."

The PCA has applied for federal funds for several projects that will provide prison inmates with vocational and basic remedial education, work experience, and job placement in relatively well-paying jobs.

PCA has already received \$200,000 from LEAA for a program working with prisoners who have been released. The program—Operation DARE—has set up a central coordinating unit to work with penal authorities, state and local parole and pardon boards, and public and private community agencies to provide ex-inmates with needed job training, placement, and supportive personal services.

Other businesses have trained and hired offenders in jobs running the gamut of American industry, from computer operators to mechanics to administrative work.

It is encouraging to see that the greatly expanded and enriched 1970 LEAA corrections program emphasizes involvement of the private sector. While still in its beginning stages, the effort, labeled Private Sector Community Based Programs (which funded PCA), is a positive, imaginative step in the implementation of one of the 13 points Mr. Nixon set forth last November. Headed by a former Labor Department official, Don Swicord, the program incorporates many good manpower and career development concepts into the Justice-private sector mix. The program merits vastly expanded LEAA funds, more than the few millions in the next two years now apparently destined for it.

The National Alliance of Businessmen and local urban coalitions, moreover, would seem to have natural roles in promoting and coordinating business involvement.

One great difficulty will be in finding qualified personnel to run projects operated by private industry. Temporarily, this could create an even greater manpower shortage in public correctional agencies, for private industry is certain to pay better salaries and to attract many of the best correctional staff. In a short time, there should be benefits to both the governmental correctional system and the allied, private operation. The manpower situation, especially salaries, should improve greatly because of this competition. Moreover, these private industries are likely to be eager to hire ex-offenders for some of the many good jobs they will have available. This is one line of work in which offenders' experience is relevant and their credentials impeccable.

Finally—but, actually, in the beginning—there is love. It has been said that it is far easier to hate the crime than the criminal. Confront the criminal, capture him, look him in the face—he is us, our children, our brothers, our sisters. We created him. I have written about cold statistics, quantifiable tests, and strategies. But human compassion for other humans is still the most important equation, and should move us to do what is not only necessary, but also humane, to help offenders rejoin society as constructive human beings.

## THE 90TH ANNIVERSARY OF POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently the Polish National Alliance, one of America's oldest and best-known fraternal organizations, celebrated its 90th anniversary.

Founded in 1880, this outstanding fraternal society has grown and is now one of the most prominent organizations of our American cultural heritage. The Polish National Alliance was instituted to assist newly arriving immigrants to the United States to adjust to the demands of a new and exciting nation, without sacrificing the traditions, and language; and special heritage that make them so distinctive.

Throughout the decades, the PNA has met the challenge of leadership. It is licensed in 31 of our States and the District of Columbia. Its membership exceeds 300,000 persons. It has grown as the Nation has grown and it has provided an easily accessible bridge between the cultural similarities and differences that make up our grand American mosaic.

In order to inform my colleagues of the specific work of the Polish National Alliance and its roster of distinguished Americans, I am today including a brief history of the organization and the speech of Aloysius A. Mazewski, president of the PNA, at the anniversary banquet in Chicago:

#### SPEECH OF ALOYSIUS A. MAZEWSKI

Observing the 90th anniversary of the Polish National Alliance we primarily pay tribute to the legacy of five men who emigrated to the United States at the second half of the 19th century from Poland devastated by partition and desperate struggle against Russian dominance.

It is a legacy of civic wisdom, fraternalism and abiding awareness of social responsibilities;

It is a legacy of patriotism, which, in the truest sense, is a way of life;

It is a legacy of dedication to service for the benefit of fellow immigrants and commitment to the viability of both the United States and our ancestral home, Poland, in terms of freedom, security and progress.

Julius Andrzejkiewicz, John Blachowski, Julian Lipinski, John Popielinski and Julian Szajnert, the founders of the Polish National Alliance typify the contribution the Polish immigrants made to the enrichment of the quality of American life and the enhancement of the socio-cultural and economic fabric of our pluralist society.

They were no strangers in a strange land. They came here, as did thousands of their predecessors and successors with love and respect for America.

They came with courage to dream bold dreams of a brighter future for their adopted land, for fellow Americans and for their ancestral land of origin.

Because of that dream and due to the fact, that through commitment, dedication and sacrifices, they transformed that dream into a reality of service—we are observing today the 90th anniversary of the Polish National Alliance.

Vast changes have taken place in the past nine decades.

In addition to two world wars, the emergence of communist threat to freedom, the conflict of the cold war, the constant struggles on the peripheries of the free world—in Korea, in South East Asia, in the Middle East—mankind went through two fundamental experiences which changed our outlook and our mode of life.

Namely—the industrial revolution of the previous century and the technological revolution which began in our times and whose end or outcome are not yet in sight.

Two generations of our times have seen man leaping from the horse and buggy era to the conquest of space and the landing on the moon.

Yet, in this inexorable progress toward technological perfection and output, there are certain spiritual, moral and cultural values, not subject to change or devaluation in the fulfillment of our lives.

Among them, are—respect for the innate dignity of man, patriotism, respect for social order based on laws freely established by majority, knowledge nurtured by humanities and willingness of each individual to pursue and support larger goals of our nation.

These values are part of our Polish National Alliance legacy.

The founders and pioneers of the organization have shown us the path of service. Theirs was the true American fraternalism in action, as exemplified by scholarship in the early PNA history, by extending aid to the Orchard Lake Schools during their formative years, by founding and supporting Alliance College, by citizenship classes in earlier times and Polish language classes now, by countless publications, lectures and humanitarian deeds, among which the aid to the suffering Polish nation will be forever remembered.

These values, acts and accomplishments are as relevant to America today, as they were in the past decades. Even more so.

For today, the frontiers of our freedom, social order and security are endangered and challenged not only by world-wide communist conspiracy, but even more threateningly by misguided attitudes and thoughtless misuse of freedom in our midsts.

The ardent concentration of attention on personal needs and whims of so many, may bring devaluation of American spirit and idealism and endanger our national viability and freedom.

Let us, therefore, at this Polish National Alliance jubilee, which is, in a larger sense, a jubilee of true American fraternalism in action, re-dedicate and recommit ourselves to these national ideals and principles which made America great, and which are the source of strength and inspiration not only for the Polish National Alliance but for the entire American Polonia, as an integral participant in the mainstream of American life.

**POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE, 90TH ANNIVERSARY, OCTOBER 11, 1970**

**POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE OFFICERS**

Walter L. Dworakowski, Censor, Vice-Censor.

Aloysius A. Mazewski, Nat'l President.  
Frank M. Prochot, Nat'l Vice President.  
Irene Wallace, Nat'l Vice President.  
Adolf K. Pachucki, Nat'l Secretary.  
Edward J. Moskal, Nat'l Treasurer.

**BOARD OF DIRECTORS**

Joseph A. Danciewicz, John J. Ziemia, Helen Szymanowicz, Catherine Dienes, Melanie Winiecki, Dr. Edward C. Rozanski, Thaddeus Radosz, Florence Wiatrowski, Mitchell Odobina, and Hilary Czaplicki.

**SUPERVISORY COUNCIL**

District I, John Siderski, Adela A. Nahor-mek.

District II, Joseph Zdunczyk, Evelyn A. Gavalis.

District III, Leopold K. Babrecki, Helen B. Piotrowski.

District IV, John F. Nowak, Joanna Kowalski.

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anne Golembiewski.

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ine Gorski.

District XII, Thomas Paczynski, Helen Or-  
awiec.

District XIII, Chester Mikolajczyk, Sophie  
Buczowski.

District XIV, Karol E. Matras, Harriet Soch-  
aczek.

District XV, Thaddeus Wachel, Lottie S.  
Kubiak.

District XVI, Anthony Sliwa, Estelle M.  
Nieder.

We deeply and sincerely appreciate your  
presence at this 90th Anniversary Dinner  
of the Polish National Alliance.

To the distinguished speakers, eminent  
participants and guests we extend our tradi-  
tional Polish "Bóg Wam Zapłać" for helping  
us to make this observance one of the most  
memorable and significant events in the  
history of our organization.

**THE 90TH ANNIVERSARY DINNER COMMITTEE**

Honorary Chairman, Aloysius A. Mazewski.  
Chairman, Irene Wallace, National Vice  
President P.N.A.

Vice-Chairman, Frank M. Prochot, Na-  
tional Vice President P.N.A.

Secretary, Adolf K. Pachucki, National  
Secretary P.N.A.

Treasurer, Edward J. Moskal, National  
Treasurer P.N.A.

**DIRECTORS**

John Ziemia, Catherine Dienes, Melanie  
Winiecki, Dr. Edward Rozanski, Thaddeus  
Radosz, and Florence Wiatrowski.

Thomas Paczynski and Helen Orawiec,  
Commissioners District XII, P.N.A.

Chester Mikolajczyk and Sophie Buczow-  
ski, Commissioners District XIII, P.N.A.

The P.N.A. Story: On the path of service  
(By Joseph Wiewlora)

John Cardinal Krol, Archbishop of Phil-  
adelphia (in the 1967 Commencement Ad-  
dress at Alliance College): I take this oc-  
casion to pay deserved tribute to the Polish  
National Alliance and to Alliance College for  
sustained effort to help Americans of both  
Polish and non-Polish origin to know, to ap-  
preciate and to love the people of Poland.  
It is this type of fraternal concern which  
has helped the aggressive integration of  
Poles and their culture into the mainstream  
of American life.

**1. THE P.N.A. TODAY**

The Polish National Alliance of the United  
States of North America (PNA) is the larg-  
est and most progressive fraternal organiza-  
tion of and for Americans of Polish origin  
and their immediate families if they happen  
to be of other ethnic descent.

It is licensed in 36 states to transact in-  
surance business and conduct fraternal ac-  
tivities.

Its financial assets are in excess of \$140  
million.

Its membership is expressed in 333,599 in-  
surance certificates.

Its insurance in force amounts to \$306,-  
804,512.

It numbers tenth in in-force insurance  
among the over 200 fraternal organizations  
in the United States and eighth in total as-  
sets.

The PNA's component parts consist of 1,402  
Lodges, 207 Councils and 16 Districts.

Pennsylvania leads in the number of  
Lodges of which there are 293, which in turn  
compose 48 Councils.

The second place is occupied by Illinois  
with 289 Lodges and 26 Councils; the third by  
New York with 189 Lodges and 29 Councils;  
the fourth by Michigan with 136 Lodges and  
17 Councils.

Other states in which PNA Lodges func-  
tion are: Arizona 2; Arkansas 1; California  
15; Colorado 3; Connecticut 48; Delaware  
3; District of Columbia 1; Florida 4; In-  
diana 31; Iowa 1; Kansas 3; Maine 1; Mary-  
land 14; Massachusetts 78; Minnesota 18;  
Missouri 14; Nebraska 5; New Hampshire 6;  
New Jersey 69; North Dakota 2; Ohio 84;  
Oregon 2; Rhode Island 6; Texas 11; Virginia  
1; Washington 6; West Virginia 10; Wiscon-  
sin 59.

The PNA Home Office is located at 1520  
W. Division St., Chicago, Illinois, 60622 and  
is currently undergoing a vast modernization  
program which includes computerization of  
all administratively technical functions.  
Concurrently, new methods of business ap-  
proaches and organizational activities are  
being advanced and by the end of 1969 will  
bring about an updated PNA image to our  
younger generations of Polish heritage.

In addition to the five executive officers,  
the PNA engages the services of nine admin-  
istrative assistants and 86 office employees,  
30 full time organizers and numerous part  
time organizers throughout the land.

To carry its message to the membership,  
the PNA publishes since 1881 a bi-monthly,  
"Zgoda" with a circulation of 160,000 copies  
and with steadily increasing emphasis on  
its English section.

The PNA wholly controls a separate corpo-  
ration—Alliance Printers and Publishers  
which publishes the Polish Daily Zgoda, or  
Dziennik Zwiastkowy, since 1908.

Among the proudest PNA achievements is  
the founding in 1912, and continued support  
of Alliance College, which expanded from a  
high school Academy and Technical Insti-  
tute to a fully accredited, co-educational  
four-year liberal arts institution of higher  
learning in Cambridge Springs, Pa.

By the end of the current quadrennial  
(1967-71), the PNA will have spent \$1,300,-  
000 for the support of the College. In addi-  
tion, the PNA Educational Department will  
have paid \$130,000 as a tuition credit for  
PNA members enrolled at the College and  
\$20,000 as an incentive to study the Polish  
language, history and culture at the same  
College. It will also have allotted approxi-  
mately \$12,000 in interest free educational  
loans to its PNA student-members. It will  
have spent \$13,000.00 for Polish Summer  
Courses at Alliance College for PNA youth.  
Subsidies for Polish Language classes for  
children will be granted in the amount of  
\$15,000 to various Councils and Lodges.

The quadrennial budget of the Youth and  
Sport Department amounts to \$240,000  
which is earmarked for various sports activi-  
ties of Lodges and Councils, Drum and Bugle  
Corps, and many dance and singing groups.  
The department also furnishes uniforms for  
baseball, softball, volleyball teams, and  
trophies for bowling and golf leagues, and  
sponsors national Bowling and Golf tour-  
naments annually and Youth Leaderships  
Courses at Alliance College every other  
summer.

\* \* \* \* \*  
The PNA administrative structure is based  
on three principles:—legislative, executive  
and judicial.

The highest governing and legislative body  
is the Sejm, or National convention, formerly  
held every year, later every two years and  
since 1924, every four years.

The executive power is given by the Sejm  
to the National President, Two National Vice

Presidents, National Secretary, National Treasurer and ten National Directors, who together form the Zarząd Centralny, or Central Administration.

Judicial power rests with the unique office of the Censor and with the Supervisory Council which is composed of 16 men and 16 lady commissioners from the 16 PNA districts. The Commissioners are also elected at the Convention by the delegates from their respective Districts.

The Censor is a historic title in the PNA dating back to the times prior to the actual foundations of the organization.

The Censor is Ex-officio chairman of the Board of Trustees of Alliance College. Also Ex-officio, the PNA President is Vice Chairman of the Board of Trustees.

The members of the present PNA administration, elected at the 35th Convention held in Detroit, Michigan, in September 1967, are as follows:

Dr. Walter L. Dworakowski, Censor; Anthony A. Czelen, Vice Censor; Aloysius A. Mazewski, President; Mrs. Irene Wallace, 1st Vice President; Frank M. Prochot, 2nd Vice President; Adolf K. Pachucki, National Secretary and Edward J. Moskal, National Treasurer. The Board of Directors: Joseph A. Danciewicz; John J. Ziemia; Helen Szymonowicz; Catherine Dienes; Melanie Winiecka; Dr. Edward C. Rozanski; Thaddeus Radosz; Florence Wiatrowski; Mitchell Odobina; Hilary Czaplinski.

Appointive Officers:—Joseph Bronars, Controller; Dr. L. Sadlek, Chief Medical Examiner; Thaddeus Jasiorkowski, Chief Underwriter; Czeslaw Rawski, Legal Counsel; Walter Andrzejewski, Real Estate Dept.; Joseph Poczec, Acting Chief Organizer; Edward S. Dzielwski, Insurance Analyst; and Joseph Wiewlora, Editor of Zgoda.

Following are the members of the Supervisory Council (Roman numerals denote Districts which they represent):— I. John Siderski and Alice Nahormek; II. Joseph A. Zducyk and Evelyn Gavalis; III. Leopold Babrecki and Helen B. Piotrowski; IV. John F. Nowak and Joanne Kowalska; V. Eugene Zegar and Jean Kozmor; VI. August Gorski and Leokadia Mislora; VII. Louis Sliwinski and Sophie Wojcik; VIII. Frank Lysakowski and Anna Jasionowski; IX. Alexander A. Koczynski and Marianna Golembiewska; X. John J. Kozaren and Bernice Barc; XI. Dr. Stanley J. Sulkowski and Pauline Gorski; XII. Thomas Paczynski and Helen Orawiec; XIII. Chester F. Mikolajczyk and Sophie Buczkowski; XIV. Carl E. Matras and Harriet Sochaczek; XV. Thaddeus Wachel and Lottie Kubiak; XVI. Anthony Sliwa and Estelle M. Nieder.

## 2. PLANTING THE SEED

America has always held an unusual fascination for Poles.

The first map of the new continent was drawn in Krakow shortly after the Columbus voyage and its original copy reposes in the Jagiellonian University library.

More than fifty Poles were among the founders, developers and defenders of Jamestown in Virginia—the first permanent British Colony in the New World (1608-25).

In then New Amsterdam, now New York, a Polish scholar, Dr. Alexander Kurejusz (Curtius) founded the first institution of higher learning in 1659. Capt. Marcin Krygler was co-Burgomaster of New Amsterdam in the years of 1653, 1654 and 1661. Exiled Polish nobleman Olbracht Zaborowski (1638-1711) acquired a large tract of land in New Jersey in 1682, became a trader, friend of the Indians and interpreter, first Justice of the Peace in what is now Bergen County, N.J. His name in official documents has been "simplified" by bureaucratic procedures to Zabriskie.

Anthony Sadowski (1669-1736) was the most prominent frontiersman of New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio. In 1728, Penn-

sylvania Governor Patrick Gordon employed Sadowski as an envoy to the Indians, interpreter and peace negotiator. His descendants were trailblazers in Kentucky and Tennessee and companions of Daniel Boone.

During the War of Independence, in addition to historic services of Generals Casimir Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciuszko, there was a number of Polish officers of the field rank and scores of enlisted men.

In the War Between the States (1861-65) Poles gave the Union Army, Generals Albin Schoepf of Krakow (1822-1886), Vladimir Krzyzanowski (1824-1887) and Joseph Karge (1823-1892), and among "Lincoln's Polish heroes" were:—Major Surgeon D. Radzynski, Capt. Constantine Blandowski, Capt. Stanislaus Mlotkowski, Bugler John Sobieski and Dr. Marie A. Zakrzewska.

Three Polish Privates received the Congressional Medal of Honor for bravery in action:—Joseph E. Sowa, Philip Szlachta, and David Urbanski.

The Poles gave the Union Army 170 officers and several thousand of enlisted men. Their participation, however, was far greater than their number would indicate. Nearly every one of the commissioned officers and many enlisted men were veterans of wars for freedom in Europe, battle-tested and highly experienced in military actions.

These eminent forerunners of the great Polish immigration which began in the 1870's, were idealists, men dedicated to the principles of freedom and democracy. Some of them like Zaborowski and Sadowski were moved by the spirit of adventure and pioneering. Poland of their times was the largest state in continental Europe and did not need new lands for its population.

Only after the third partition of Poland (1795), and the ill-fated uprisings against Russia in 1830 and 1863, the Poles began to arrive in America in increasing numbers.

In the period of history with which this narrative is concerned (circa 1880) there were already 200,000 Poles in the United States. Some of them were political exiles, but the vast majority were immigrants seeking freedom and opportunity to better themselves in the New World.

In 1875 there were more than 50,000 Poles in Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, South Bend, St. Louis, Grand Rapids, Gary City, Shamokin, Buffalo, Philadelphia and numerous other cities were showing growing population of Polish origin. They built their own parishes and schools, organized social clubs and societies of mutual aid. In Chicago, in 1886, the Society of Polish Village (Gmina Polska) was formed. Polonia in New York City, however, claims the distinction of having organized the first Polish society in the United States, in 1843, known as The Society of Poles in America (Towarzystwo Polakow w Ameryce).

The Polish Roman Catholic parishes had already made their appearances in Chicago and other cities.

There was, however, a lack of the concept of Polish American unity on a national scale. But through the mysterious interactions of the forces of history and socio-economic evolution, the ground had already been prepared for a bold and imaginative action that was to lead, in the years to come, to the present eminence of Polonia in the mainstream of American life.

By 1880 there were the following Polish organizations scattered throughout the country: Kosciuszko Society in Chicago (in addition to Gmina Polska), Polish Society of California; St. George Society of Shenandoah, Pa.; Polish National Society of Grand Rapids, Mich.; Holy Cross Society of Chicago; The Kosciuszko Guard of Nanticoke, Pa.; Polish Union of New York; The Warsaw Guard of Shenandoah, Pa.; Julaski Society of Brooklyn,

N.Y.; Lutnia Society of New York; Society of Free Sharpshooters of New York.

These societies had one ideal in common:— to provide aid, shelter and protection for new arrivals from their ancestral home, and, above all, to preserve, cultivate and perpetuate among themselves and their children Polish tradition and culture.

Thus the Polish immigrants—great grandparents of some of you, demonstrated awareness of civic virtue and social wisdom by seeking unity through which to preserve the Polish language, tradition and culture and to leave a spiritual legacy to their children.

In addition to financing the existing parishes and building new churches and parochial schools, they supported several Polish publications, mostly weeklies.

In one of them, namely, Ogniwio of New York, a great Polish patriot of the January 1863 uprising, Agaton Giller published in 1879 an article titled "Organizations of Poles in America," in which he appealed for greater efforts to unify on a national scale all the societies and clubs existing in Polish settlements, Giller living in Geneva, Switzerland, argued with abiding patriotism and convincing eloquence, that the Poles in America should join forces and act for the benefit of their adopted country and for Poland as citizens free from outside influences and pressures.

Rapidly, Giller's appeal gained widespread currency. The Polish Gazette of Philadelphia not only gave Giller's appeal a prominent display, but in subsequent issues kept the problem alive by a series of impassioned commentaries on the necessity of a Polish national organization in America.

Greater urgency to Giller's appeal was added by the tragic news reaching American Poles, that Polish Silesia fell victim of starvation in 1879, and desperately needed aid from abroad.

Thus on February 14, 1880, a group of leading Polish immigrants met in Philadelphia and issued an appeal for the founding of the Polish National Alliance. The authors of the appeal were: Julius Andrzejkowicz, Jan B. Blachowski, Julian Lipinski, Jan Popielinski and Julian Szajnert.

By June 20, 1880, twelve societies declared their readiness to join the proposed PNA.

Their delegates met in Chicago on September 20, 1880, for the first Convention or Sejm and adopted a declaration stating the purposes of the Polish National Alliance:—

"To lay foundation for material and moral growth of the Polish element in the United States through development fund which is to be the sole property of the Alliance and from which Polish Homes, Schools and other welfare projects are to be financed.

"To provide protection for the Polish immigration.

"To provide political enlightenment to the Polish immigrants, as citizens of the United States.

"To commemorate Poland's historic anniversaries."

As the financial basis for the new organization, the delegates established a benefit fund from which \$500 was to be paid to the family when a PNA member died and \$300, in the case of the death of his wife.

The Polish National Alliance became a fraternal reality at the Chicago convention in September 1880.

Its actual founding, however, dates back to July 17, 1880, when a pre-convention meeting in Chicago elected Julius Andrzejkowicz of Philadelphia, as the First Censor of the proposed organization,—and to August 10, 1880, when Mr. Andrzejkowicz stated that with the accession of more than five existing Polish societies in the land, the Polish National Alliance had become a reality, and issued his first Convention Call (Oredzie), designating Chicago as the Convention site. PNA historians (Osada, Olszewski, Piat-

kiewicz, Jedlinski) regard August 10, 1880, as the date of actual founding of the organization.

At that time the PNA had 189 members.

The first Convention in Chicago had been attended by delegates: Andrzejowicz, Stanislaw Kociemski, F. Grygaszewski, K. Mallek, M. Kucera, W. Domanski, J. Buchart, K. Wendzinski, E. Odrowaz, J. Rewerski, J. Glowczynski, F. Sowacki, R. Stoblecki and W. Dynlewicz. There were far more guests who came from different parts of the country to witness the "first Polish national assemblage" in America.

The Convention decided that the PNA should be administered by a Central Committee, which name was later changed to Central Government and finally to Central Administration (Zarząd Centralny) with the Censor as the highest official of the organization.

The Convention further developed and expanded the fixed purposes of the organization, without, however, changing the meaning and substance of the original appeals of Agaton Giller and of the Philadelphia group.

Of special interest is the Third Article of the first PNA Constitution, which reads:

"The Alliance will not be involved in religious matters, as they belong to the Apostolic See and to the Bishops.

"In view of the fact that the Polish nation has a number of Poles of different faiths, the Alliance, emulating the principle of the May 3rd Constitution of 1791, guarantees full tolerance of their faiths and allows them to become members as Poles-citizens to work in the political area for the benefit of the Polish cause."

This paragraph led several Polish priests and their more narrow minded adherents to vociferous opposition to the PNA. The struggle and its aftermath lasted several decades.

In retrospect, Dr. Joseph A. Wytrwal, appraises this divisiveness as a blessing in disguise, when writing in his singularly informative book of significant literary merit (America's Polish Heritage, Endurance Press, 1961) he states:—"the individualism that divided the Polish group is now beginning to appear as far more precious than any surface unity that might have been achieved. For an American culture that almost worships uniformity, Polish individualism served as a wholesome corrective."

### 3. THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

#### A. Fraternal, civic and educational activities

From its very beginning, the PNA set for itself two main objectives:—

1. To serve the best interest of the Polish immigrants, who, at the turn of the century numbered over 3 million, and who, with their descendants evolved into the ten-million strong American Polonia of today.

2. To help the land of our origin, Poland, in its struggle for freedom, independence and economic betterment.

To pursue these goals more efficiently, the Second PNA Convention held in New York in 1881, decided to start an official publication under the name of Zgoba (Unity). With the words of appreciation to the Polish Gazette for publicity aid in the first year of its existence, the PNA launched its own publication in New York. The following year, 1882, editorial and technical facilities of Zgoba were moved to Chicago.

In its weekly then, and now, semi-monthly issues, Zgoba carried and still carries to PNA members messages of vital importance to the organization and to entire Polonia.

In the past, Zgoba played an important part in the acculturation of the Polish immigrant in America. Currently, it practices an acculturation "in reverse" by presenting to the young Americans of Polish ancestry the cultural and spiritual values of their heritage.

Parallel with Zgoba's mission, the PNA

component parts,—Lodges, and later, Councils and Districts, conducted citizenship classes for Polish immigrants, urging them to become citizens of the United States at the earliest possible opportunity and to involve themselves in civic and political affairs of their respective communities.

Toward this end numerous pamphlets and books were distributed by the PNA.

To widen this vital area of activity, the PNA founded in 1908 Dziennik Związkowy,—or the Polish Daily Zgoba which rendered to the immigration invaluable and lasting service in the field of information and education in the American Way of life as well as in the presentation of the great past of Poland and of historic achievements of Polish scientists, artists, statesmen and military leaders.

Today, old Citizenship Classes gave way to Saturday Polish Language Schools conducted for our youth by many PNA Lodges and Councils.

The PNA pioneers were always deeply concerned with the education of their children.

When, in 1886, the Polish Seminary was founded in Orchard Lake, Michigan (now known as Orchard Lake Schools) by Rev. Dabrowski, the PNA members voluntarily assessed themselves 5 cents a month to financially assist this first Polish institution of higher learning in the United States.

This support was generously given until our own Alliance College was founded in 1912.

The PNA's deep and abiding concern with education had been further evidenced at the Thirteenth Convention held in Grand Rapids, Mich., in 1899, when the scholarship fund administered by the Educational Department was established.

The crowning achievement of this quest for knowledge and securing education for younger generations, was the founding of Alliance College in Cambridge Springs, Pa., in 1912. The school progressed from an Academy to a Junior College and then to a fully accredited, four year liberal arts, co-educational college.

After a long, and at times, furious debate, a health resort known as Vanadium, located on 190 acres of wooded and rolling land was purchased for \$175,000.00.

Alliance College was first envisioned by the 19th National Convention held in St. Louis, Mo., in 1911, when an Extraordinary Committee had been created to seek the proper location for the proposed school.

The Supervisory Council approved the selection of Vanadium at the meeting called for that purpose to Cambridge Springs, Pa., on December 5, 1911.

The legal structure of the college, in conformity with the state laws of Pennsylvania, had been accepted at the Board of Directors meeting in Chicago on May 23 and 24, 1912. The articles of incorporation were finalized at the Supervisory Council meeting in Cambridge Springs, Pa., on June 12, 1912. Romuald Platkowski was appointed the first rector, and M. Stenczynski general manager of the school.

Dedication of the College took place on October 26, 1912 with President William Howard Taft attending.

Among the landmarks of the PNA fraternal progress are:—

1886—Improved PNA policies. In this area all succeeding Conventions made steadily progressive improvements and today PNA offers a wide choice of attractive and truly competitive certificates.

1895—formation of the PNA Educational Department.

1896—dedication of the new PNA Home Office in Chicago on July 12. The building had been authorized by the Cleveland Convention of 1894.

1900—granting full rights and privileges to wives and daughters of PNA members. Thus the PNA became the first major American organization to grant equal rights to women, a decision which brought untold benefits to the organization and Polonia.

1905—formation of the Supervisory Council in its present state and creation of the PNA geographical districts.

1906—formation of the PNA Women's Division from which stemmed the principle that the First Vice President of the organization shall be a woman.

1909—purchase of the Polish Immigrants' Home in New York to provide aid, counsel and protection to new arrivals from Poland.

1911—formation of PNA Councils in cities and localities with more than one PNA Lodge.

1928—formation of the PNA Welfare Association under the auspices of the Women's Division.

1929—the PNA was instrumental in passing U.S. Congress the resolution designating October 11 as Pulaski Day. On the 150th anniversary of the death of General Casimir Pulaski, PNA successfully appealed for the issuance of the Pulaski postal stamp. PNA Director K. Werwinski of South Bend spent several months in Washington as PNA representative advocating these commemorations in honor of Pulaski.

1931—formation of the Committee on Scouting and Youth by the 26th Convention; the Committee in 1939 was transformed by the 28th Convention in Detroit, to the present-day Youth and Sports Commission.

1937—dedication of the new PNA Home Office at 1520 W. Division Street.

1939—donation of \$210,000 through the Red Cross for the aid of war victims in Poland. Active support of the American Relief for Poland, Inc.

1941—active participation in America's war efforts for which the PNA received laudatory commendations from U.S. Government.

1944—active and leading participation in the formation of the Polish American Congress.

#### B. Civic and patriotic activities

In the second area of activity, equally, or even more important than fraternal pursuits, the PNA established itself as the leading force of Polonia as early as 1887.

Under the administration of Censor Francis Gryglaszewski and President M. Osuch, it founded the Polish National Fund (Skarb Narodowy) in order to collect money, through voluntary contributions, for political and cultural activities on behalf of Poland. In 1895 the fund was transferred to the Polish Archives and Library in Rappersville, Switzerland. Inasmuch as this institution was not only the repository of Polish documents and literary and scientific achievements of great Poles, but also conducted information service dedicated to the Polish cause, it enjoyed continued financial support from the PNA for many decades.

Then the year of 1894 offered the PNA singular opportunity for further development of its qualities of leadership and abiding concern with Polonia's aspirations and objectives.

It was the "Kosciuszko Year" commemorating the 100th anniversary of the great Battle of Raclawice in which Polish forces under Thaddeus Kosciuszko defeated the invading Russian army.

The PNA led by Censor T. M. Helinski and President F. S. Satalecki, organized national observances and reminded the American public that Kosciuszko is a hero of both the United States and Poland.

During the 12th Convention in Philadelphia, in 1897, one of the founders of the PNA, Juliusz Andrzejkowicz unveiled portraits of Kosciuszko and Pulaski in the historic Independence Hall.

These events led to the inspiring movement to erect Kosciuszko monuments in

Washington and other American cities. Toward this end, the PNA formed a national committee in Chicago and had its representative in Washington.

The funds for the Pulaski monument were appropriated by the United States Congress in conformity with the resolution passed shortly after Pulaski's heroic death at Savannah, Ga. (October 11, 1779).

The Kosciuszko monuments, planned for Washington, Chicago, Cleveland and Milwaukee had to be financed through Polonia's contributions.

It was largely through the PNA efforts and enthusiasm, that these monuments became a reality in Chicago (1904), Cleveland and Milwaukee (1905) and in Washington in 1910.

Meanwhile, in 1907, the Presidium and delegates of the 17th Convention held in Baltimore, went to Washington to place wreaths at the statues of Kosciuszko and Pulaski in the Capitol and were warmly received by President Theodore Roosevelt in the White House. Member of the delegation, F. H. Jablonski addressed the House of Representatives.

These events were of special significance to the Polish cause, as the memory of German persecutions in Poland was still very much alive and poignant.

In 1901, the Germans began a savage "depolonization" of the Poles in the Poznan province, resorting even to violent beatings of school children in Wrzesnia who refused to say the Lord's Prayer in German. Systematic expropriations of Polish peasants was the fixed German policy.

The PNA sent \$2,000 to the Wrzesnia victims and distributed a strongly worded resolution of protest in the United States.

With the approaching 1910 general census, the PNA through its Lodges, official publications—Zgoda and Dziennik Związkowy as well as by the means of numerous pamphlets and lectures urged all Polish immigrants to state that Poland is the country of their origin—and not the partitioning powers of Prussia, Austria and Russia.

One of the great moments in the early PNA history arrived in 1910.

It was the year of the World Congress of Poles, convened, after many years of preparations by Censor Antoni Schreiber on May 5 in Washington.

The Congress coincided with the dedication of the Pulaski and Kosciuszko monuments, at which President Howard Taft delivered the principal address.

Proceedings of the Congress require a separate and scholarly study, as they deal with the case of partitioned Poland within the context of international realities of that time. They have no direct bearing on this narrative.

In the years preceding World War One and to a large extent, during the war years, Polish American organizations splintered into three groups as far as the cause of free Poland was concerned.

Organized Polish Catholic units were ultra-conservative and tended toward a policy of accommodation with powers directly involved in the Polish cause. The PNA, by virtue of several Convention resolutions, adhered more or less steadfastly to the program of the Polish National Democrats under Roman Dmowski. Left, and more radical elements supported the program of Józef Pilsudski whose activities were directed to the defeat of Russia.

Eventually left-wing elements organized the Committee of National Defense (Komitet Obrony Narodowej) and the moderates formed the Polish National Department (Wydział Narodowy) under the patronage of Ignace Jan Paderewski and Roman Dmowski.

Here again, we encounter so many subtle and less subtle nuances and political over-

tones, that nothing short of an exhaustive and scholarly study would give meaning and significance to those turbulent times.

Suffice it to say, that the PNA throughout the war kept sending funds for the aid of the people in devastated Poland;

that it offered to the United States Government the facilities of Alliance College and that 220 American soldiers took courses in its Technical Institute;

that Alliance College became a Candidate Officer School for the Polish Volunteer Army from the United States;

that the PNA played a major part in the formation of the Polish Volunteer Army, which distinguished itself, under the command of Gen. Józef Haller in the World War One battles of Champaigne, Chateau Thierry, Podolia and Warsaw.

In the political area, the PNA first as a part of the Polish National Department, and later, alone contributed much to the cause of a free and independent Poland. Through its publications, civic and fraternal activities, the PNA kept alive Poland's rights to the restoration of a free and independent state, which was finally spelled out in President Woodrow Wilson's Thirteenth Point of his famed War Aims.

The PNA womenfolk organized a vast network of charitable units which were sending foodstuffs, medical supplies and money to Poland during the war and in the years following it.

After Poland regained freedom, her ties with American Polonia remained strong and close.

Politics, however, exerted its influence and in spite of many PNA excursions to Poland, in spite of bringing instructors from Poland for PNA "Harcerstwo," a program of steady and meaningful cultural exchanges was never worked out.

The outbreak of World War Two found the PNA in circumstances vastly different from those that prevailed during World War One. For one thing—there was no longer a "Polish Immigration" or "Wychodztwo Polskie." The concept of American Polonia—of ten million Americans of Polish ancestry had been firmly established.

Nevertheless, the kinship with the land of our ancestry was deeply felt. The fate of Poland has been linked with the Western Alliance of free nations. Americans of Polish origin were deeply interested in the future of Poland. They were equally touched by the suffering of the Polish Nation during the horrible war years.

The PNA contributed much in sending money and supplies to Poland and to Poles in exile. It brought from the Far East and placed and educated in America 300 war orphans.

The PNA was instrumental in organizing the Polish American Congress, a representative organization of American Polonia, which continues the struggle for a free and independent Poland—as the keystone to European peace and stability, and consequently, to American security.

Increasing attention, however, is being paid to the problems, aspirations and objectives of Americans of Polish origin.

PNA youth, sports and educational programs attest to that.

Alliance College, founded and continually supported by the PNA is an eloquent and lasting monument to the organization's abiding concern with the future of our young people of Polish ancestry.

#### C. From a little acorn

At the time when Censor Julius Andrzejewicz issued the first Convention Message (August 10, 1880), the Polish National Alliance had 189 members and a fund of only a few dollars contributed by its founders.

The first convention was held in Chicago

on September 15 through 18, 1880, at the historic St. Wenceslaus parish at DeKoven and Desplaines Streets, now a slum area giving way to urban renewal.

At the second Convention held in September, 1881 in New York, the PNA had approximately 300 members and a fund of \$255.79. Nevertheless, the delegates voluntarily contributed \$649.00 toward the establishment of an official publication, firmly believing that only through such communications medium the organization can appeal to the increasing numbers of Polish immigrants.

By the time of the Sixth Convention in Bay City, Mich., in 1886, under the leadership of Censor Francis Gryglaszewski, the PNA had 44 Lodges and 1,893 members who were represented by 60 delegates.

The 9th Convention in Detroit (1891) had 92 delegates representing 85 Lodges. The PNA had already paid out \$49,000 in death benefits. The Convention accepted "with gratitude" a gift of Dr. Henry Kalusowski. It was an extensive library on Polish history and culture. The Convention allocated \$500 annually for the upkeep of the library which initially was located in Washington, D.C. Later it had been moved to Alliance College in Cambridge Springs, Pa. Unfortunately, the priceless collection was almost totally destroyed in the fire of January, 1931, which consumed the major part of Alliance College facilities.

By the time the 20th Convention rolled around (Detroit, September 15, 1913), President Kazimierz Zychlinski was able to report that the PNA membership had passed the 100,000 mark.

The greatest growth in membership took place in the inter-war period (between World Wars One and Two), when, in 1931, the youth movement had been initiated in "Harcerstwo"—a Polish version of Scouting. Due to certain reservations presented by the spokesmen of the Boy Scouts of America, "Harcerstwo" was later changed into Youth Groups which conducted fraternal, social and sports activities in Councils and Lodges across the land. For some unfathomable reason, Harcerstwo's program has been slowly abandoned since the second Detroit Convention (1939).

It has been replaced by the Youth and Sports Department which effectively supports fraternal, sports and social activities of our young people in Lodges, Councils and Districts.

Today—the Polish National Alliance is a great fraternal and civic organization of Americans of Polish ancestry. Great by any American standards, modern, progressive and advancing to an even greater future in the service of the country and American Polonia.

Attorney Aloisius A. Mazewski of Chicago is the fifteenth PNA President, and the second born in America.

His predecessors were: Karol Rozmarek (1939-1967); Jan Romaszkiwicz (1928-1939); Feliks P. Garbarek (1927-1928); Kazimierz Zychlinski (1912-1927); Marian B. Steczynski (1903-1912); Stanislaw Rokosz (1901-1903); Franciszek H. Jablonski (1897-1901); Edmund Z. Brodowski (1895-1897); S. F. Satalecki (1891-1895); Michal Osuch (1887-1888); W. V. Przybyszewski (1886-1887); Stanislaw Kociemski (1882-1886-1888-1891); Maksymilian Kucera (1880-1882).

Attorney Walter L. Dworakowski of Akron, Ohio, is the fourteenth PNA Censor, first elected in 1965 by the Supervisory Council after the death of Edward P. Kozmor, and re-elected by the 35th Convention in Detroit.

His predecessors were: Edward P. Kozmor (1959-1965); Boleslaw F. Gunther (1947-



1959); Franciszek X. Swietlik (1931-1947); Kazimierz W. Sypniewski (1924-1931); Michal F. Blenski (1915-1924); Adolf Rakoczy (1915); Antoni Karabasz (1913-1915); Antoni Schreiber (1905-1913); Dr. Leon Sadowski (1899-1905); Teodor M. Helinski (1893-1899); W. V. Przybyszewski (1891-1893); Franciszek Gryglaszewski (1883-1891); Juliusz Andrzejkowicz (1880-1883).

#### 4. THE PAST IS A PROLOGUE

In general outline, the PNA history could be divided into three phases:—(1) from the date of inception in 1880, to the convocation of the World Congress of Poles the dedication of the Pulaski and Kosciuszko monuments in Washington in 1910, and the dedication of Alliance College in 1912; (2) from 1912 to the aftermath of World War One and (3) from the outbreak of World War Two to the present time.

Each phase has its own characteristics and historical significance.

In Phase One the PNA addressed itself primarily to the welfare of immigrants arriving from Poland, and to the economic, political, diplomatic and cultural aid to Poland and its people in the approaching storm of World War One.

Phase Two intensified the PNA activities on behalf of a free and independent Poland. The PNA stood in the forefront of these activities, inspired by the great Polish artist and statesman, Ignace Jan Pedersen.

In parallel developments, however, the PNA began to place increasingly growing emphasis on the integration of Polish immigrants and their children into the American way of life.

Widespread educational and civic activities directed primarily at helping the Polish immigrants—your grandparents and great-grandparents, to get acculturated, and to help the land of our ancestry regain its rightful place among free nations of the world,—were gradually channeled into the mainstream of American life. It began to be realized that by providing better and higher education for children, by deepening awareness of political and economic potentialities laying dormant in many Polish American communities, the destiny of Polonia can be fulfilled.

In this slowly evolving concept during the inter-war years (between World War One and Two), even our collective name became subject to change.

As the second generation of Americans of Polish origin became of age, it was evident that the designation of the rapidly growing number of Americans of Polish descent as "Polish Immigration" or "Wychodztwo Polskie" no longer sufficed. It was not only inadequate, but wrong in the context of new realities.

Thus the name of American Polonia—Polonia Amerykanska came into being and today is in general use whenever we speak of or refer to approximately ten million Americans of Polish ancestry.

Meanwhile, American sociologists, educators and even religious leaders began to discard the totally erroneous theory of the melting pot which persisted for many decades of America's growth and inner development. The melting pot concept projected the United States as a single society in which rich and diverse ethnic heritage was to be overwhelmed and digested by "new," mostly Anglo-Saxon culture.

The mysterious forces of history and socio-cultural evolution, however, have brought this concept to naught.

The motto adopted by the founders of the Republic:—E pluribus unum—unity out of many, has been prophetic, indeed.

For the American nation became aware, especially after World War Two, that in reality, it is a pluralist society, in which each

ethnic group has much to contribute from its heritage to the cultural and spiritual fabric of the United States.

There were many more or less valid reasons for the second generation of Americans of Polish origin, to suffer from inferiority complexes of various kinds.

This does not apply, however, to the third, fourth and fifth generations of Americans of Polish ancestry. In increasing numbers, they want to know, appreciate, and be proud of their ethnic background that springs from the millennial history of the land of our origin.

The Polish National Alliance today is fully cognizant of this fact. New fraternal, social and educational programs are being implemented on the premise that our young people can contribute much, and consequently, receive due recognition in the mainstream of American life, by bringing into it historic values and attainments of their heritage.

Meanwhile Censor Dr. Walter L. Dworakowski is devoting much time and energy to the expansion of Alliance College, setting as its goal excellence in academic curriculum and in Polish-Slavic studies.

PNA President Aloysius A. Mazewski gave eloquent testimony to the new trends on Polonia, when, shortly after his election, he delivered an inspiring address to the Buffalo Business and Professional Men of Polish origin on November 29, 1967.

Mr. Mazewski stated that "Polonia is entering an era of renaissance," as a part of America's pluralist society, steeped in the great achievements of Polish culture, and heir to the noble legacy of tolerance and democracy that were the hallmarks in the history of our ancestral home. Polonia of today projects itself into a future bright with promise.

You are part of that future as heirs of the 90 years of the PNA history, which is truly the history of progress and excellence on the path of service.

#### TRIBUTE TO HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL OF MARYLAND

#### HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, as the 91st session of the Congress nears adjournment, I want to take this means of paying a brief but sincere tribute to our colleague, the gentleman from Maryland, SAM FRIEDEL, who is retiring after this session following 18 years of devoted and dedicated service in the Congress.

SAM FRIEDEL is perhaps best known as the efficient, competent, and able chairman of the House Administration Committee. This is a vital and important committee and SAM rendered an outstanding service as chairman.

He also served on the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and rendered a great public service.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Transportation and Aeronautics of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, he was a prime mover in legislation to achieve higher safety standards in motor vehicles; he has been a pioneer in this most important field in the public interest.

SAM FRIEDEL has been a hard-working

Congressman, a real work-horse for the people of his district, his State, and the Nation.

His work has been most important to the proper and efficient functioning of the Congress; he has devoted much time to the internal problems of administration and executive work in the House.

SAM FRIEDEL is a great human being. He is warm, personable, friendly—a beloved colleague—and we shall all miss him.

As he concludes an outstanding and distinguished career in public service in the Congress, we wish him well and much happiness in the years ahead.

#### LAKE SURVEY CHARTS "BEST SELLERS," BOTH OLD AND NEW

#### HON. ROBERT C. McEWEN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, the great service provided to pleasure craft owners and commercial vessels by the U.S. Lake Survey, an agency of the U.S. Department of Commerce, was described in detail in a feature story in the November 27, 1970, editions of the Water-town, N.Y., Daily Times.

The Lake Survey publishes carefully detailed marine navigation charts of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River which are widely sold and relied upon by boatmen in my congressional district bordered by both Lake Ontario and the American section of the St. Lawrence River.

The Lake Survey was instituted in 1841, and since that time has provided accurate readings of lake and river conditions useful to not only recreationists who are lured to the area for sport and vacations, but also to the hundreds of pilots who sail the waters of the St. Lawrence Seaway. The archives of the Lake Survey are beginning to lure collectors to such an extent that reproductions of old charts and field drawings are being sought by the public.

The Watertown Times feature story gives an accurate description of the work of the Lake Survey and its history. It was written by G. Robert Farmer, a veteran northern New York newspaperman who writes frequently on matters relating to Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River. I know that Mr. Farmer is a dedicated and responsible journalist, and any journalistic endeavor he undertakes will be carefully researched and interestingly written. It is for these reasons that I bring his article to your attention.

The article follows:

LAKE SURVEY CHARTS "BEST SELLERS," BOTH OLD AND NEW

(By G. Robert Farmer)

Though the summer boating season is a winter away, an agency of the federal government is busily readying its 1971 "best sellers"—those carefully-detailed marine navigation charts—for the growing number of pleasure craft owners who ply Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River.

The big charts are invaluable to boat and ship operators and 160,000 were distributed this year alone.

The U.S. Lake Survey Center, Detroit, Mich., is responsible for the production of these charts and the constant updating of them. The agency of the U.S. Department of Commerce is now under the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration due to a presidential order effective this Fall.

In addition to the charts of various sections of the river and Great Lakes, the Lake Survey also publishes the Great Lakes Pilot, 5,000 of which are distributed annually. By last July the entire 1970 supply of the Pilot was exhausted.

#### ARCHIVES

The Lake Survey was instituted in 1841 and today, even the archives of the survey are beginning to lure collectors to such an extent reproductions of old charts and field drawings are being sought by the public. These are giving the survey unit a surprising side business—selling copies of the drawings.

John Hanna, a spokesman for the lake survey, said that "the earliest field drawings we have of the St. Lawrence River area were made in 1871. There are six and some of the areas shown are Cornwall, Cornwall Island, Massena Point, Shiecks Islands, Aulterville, Dry Island, Waddington, Presque Isle and Isle Au Galop."

"The earliest eastern Lake Ontario field sheets date back to 1874. One of these shows, Mr. Hanna said, "Amherst Island, Grenadier Island, Tibbetts Point and part of the New York shoreline from Baird Point to Chaumont Bay."

Mr. Hanna said the earliest available chart of the area is dated 1902. It covers from Stoney Point to Howe Island.

The survey had "several thousand field drawings in the archives covering the entire Great Lakes system," Mr. Hanna said.

Not only has equipment used in making the surveys changed drastically over the years, but the old-time survey man had his difficulties.

#### FATAL ACCIDENT

An 1871 letter from a J. A. Smith, captain of engineers on the survey steamer Surveyor, to a major in the corps of engineers is a good example.

"I went westward and anchored the steamer . . . I went with the crew nearly a mile from shore and in order to make the triangle as small as possible commenced cutting out the lines before constructing the station . . .

"While two men were cutting a tree against which another had lodged the jarring caused the lodged tree to fall with such suddenness that there was no time for escape and Joseph Bertram was struck in such a manner as to break many of the bones of the skull . . . He was unconscious from the moment and died . . . the same day.

"Since this unfortunate occurrence the men have seemed paralyzed and they are so extremely superstitious that it was with difficulty they could be induced to move the box containing the dead body."

Such were the troubles of the early survey teams.

Today, there are 21 persons working in updating the Lake Survey charts. Of these eight are revisory crew members and there is a boat operator. Nine are involved in the compilation section and there are two supervisory personnel.

The revisory crew surveys a part of the Great Lakes each summer and, if necessary, the inshore party becomes involved by making inshore soundings, up to 30 feet. When inshore work is required an additional 12 persons are involved, the survey office said.

The U.S. Lake Survey began March 3, 1841, and headquarters was established in Buffalo. In 1845 the office was moved to Detroit where it has remained since.

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#### SHIPWRECKS

The large number of shipwrecks in the early 1800s had prompted the move. There were 147 recorded officially during a five-year period. Ship captains could only purchase a guide called a "meandering" at that time which showed the general shape of the shoreline but did not include soundings, shoals, reefs and natural channels.

The first Lake Survey charts were published in 1852 and covered Lake Erie. The work grew until recently the survey produced 139 standard-size navigation charts.

Last summer survey teams included the St. Lawrence River and Lake Ontario from Massena to Oswego in the work schedule, mostly in August and September.

For inshore hydrographic surveys a special catamaran is used. When the distance from the vessel to each of two shore stations is determined by electronic positioning, the location of the ship is fixed, and the depth at that instant as taken from a depth recorder is plotted. The depth finder can record 600 soundings per minute.

Other sophisticated gear also is used as well as a survey launch at times. The resulting charts are scribed on coated plastic sheets by skilled craftsmen. Aluminum press plates are processed from the scribed sheets by conventional lithograph methods with a separate plate for each color on the finished chart. Offset presses then are used printing sheets up to 42 by 58 inches.

#### CORRECTIONS

Later, aids to navigation on printed charts are brought up to date by expert hand corrections so the mariner will have the latest information.

The charts contain a wealth of data including position of wrecks, buoys, cribs, storm signal stations, coast guard stations, dredging limits and lighthouses.

Recently, realizing that the archives of the organization might provide a treasure for history buffs, the Lake Survey had made available copies of early field drawings and charts. The earliest of these is a plan of Detroit made in 1796 by an officer in the army of Napoleon. Another favorite is an 1843 map of the upper Mississippi River while a third details the marches of Maj. Gen. George T. Sherman in the Civil War.

Two hundred of these were quickly sold to history fans and the public is invited to request any other maps or drawings which may be among the thousands in the Lake Survey's file and may rival today's best-selling navigation charts in popularity.

#### NIXON DEMANDS FULL REPORT ON COAST GUARD'S RETURN OF LITHUANIAN DEFECTOR

#### HON. PAGE BELCHER

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, on the surface it is hard to understand how any American official could turn a political refugee back to any totalitarian regime.

For that reason alone I wish to commend President Nixon for his quick action in demanding a full report of the incident involving the return by the Coast Guard to Russian hands of the Lithuanian defector last Friday.

Unless there is much more to the story than we read in the papers this action by American officials is unforgivable.

For generations we have been taking refugees of other lands, refugees fleeing

from racial, religious, and political persecution.

I am pleased to see that this is the President's attitude also, and I am sure that so long as he is President this kind of thing will not be repeated.

#### WEIGHT WATCHERS INTERNATIONAL INC. INTRODUCES THE MAINTENANCE PLAN

#### HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, Weight Watchers International, Inc., the world's largest weight control organization, is the acknowledged leader in its field. The fact that more than 2 million men, women, and children have embarked on the Weight Watchers program in this country and around the world dramatically attests to the success the organization has achieving in helping people to lose weight safely and to keep it off.

It is important to note that Weight Watchers has been acclaimed by people in all walks of life. Leaders in the medical profession, notably Dr. Paul Dudley White, the renowned heart specialist, and numerous public officials have paid tribute to the organization.

The public service efforts of Weight Watchers have always been characterized by an innovative spirit and a dedication to helping people to enjoy happier, more rewarding lives.

Recently, Weight Watchers introduced a new weight control plan that reflects these ideals—a plan that is certain to have appeal for substantial numbers of Americans, who though not overweight, nonetheless struggle constantly to stay at a proper weight level.

This service, known as the "maintenance plan," represents a major expansion of Weight Watchers activity, in that it is open to anyone at "goal weight"—the weight prescribed by Weight Watchers. Moreover, the plan is designed to further assist members of Weight Watchers to maintain their proper weight.

The unique feature of the plan, and unquestionably the basis of its appeal to the general public, is that the menu is more flexible than the one prescribed in the basic Weight Watchers program.

However, because people at "goal weight" have learned proper eating habits, they are taught, in the "maintenance plan," how to intelligently handle foods that might normally be considered "fattening." They learn how to eat these foods in sensible portions and as a result can keep their weight down.

As is the case in the basic weight watchers program, the "maintenance plan" involves attendance at weekly classes. A warm and friendly atmosphere pervades these meetings, so that a sense of camaraderie and mutual respect is instilled in those who participate.

In a Nation where nearly 80 million citizens have a weight problem—a problem that in some instances actually jeopardizes

ardizes health, concepts such as the "maintenance plan" take on added significance.

Weight Watchers International, Inc., its board chairman Albert Lippert, and its founder and president, Jean Nidetch, are to be congratulated for once again demonstrating their leadership and their creativity in bringing to the American public a weight control plan that will certainly be welcomed by large numbers of our citizens.

#### JERRY LEWIS A COMPLEX PERSON

### HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, Jerry Lewis, long a household name in America as a comedian, is actually a far more complicated person than his acting roles would lead one to believe.

To millions of Americans, as well as Europeans, Jerry Lewis is most identified with movie characters who at best find it difficult to make their way through life without causing an endless and hilarious series of mishaps, wreaking havoc and chaos on all they come in contact with.

As the myth becomes the image, it becomes most startling when the image is cast aside and the reality of a complex person is examined with a searching light.

The movie Jerry Lewis is the result of years of playing a type of character which his audience loves. As a result, his movie career is one of the most successful in the history of motion pictures.

The real Jerry Lewis should be of great interest to businessmen, inasmuch as he is a man who has made a great success of all areas into which he has taken his enormous talents.

Jerry Lewis is currently involved in the Network Cinema Corp., based in New York City. Network Cinema is involved in the franchising and construction of a soon to be nationwide chain of minitheaters. Each theater is called "Jerry Lewis Cinema," and is a part of a worldwide chain of automated minitheaters designed for family trade.

Lewis, who has aimed his own films toward family trade promised that those operating under the "Jerry Lewis Cinema" banner will cater to that audience and stay away from "X" rated movies. He believes that his chain, estimated to reach a goal of 2,000 in a few years, will encourage moviemakers to increase films geared toward family entertainment.

Despite Jerry Lewis' gruelling schedule, he has always found time to come to the aid of those who can benefit from his services. He has long been identified with the fight to beat muscular dystrophy, and to this end, his telethons and personal appearances have raised over \$44,000,000 to combat the disease. He has also appeared at other benefits and is widely regarded as a tireless worker in this area.

Indeed, the man's talents are endless, and his contributions to this Nation are many. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to salute the efforts of this outstanding gentleman.

#### AID FOR JOBLESS

### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the 91st Congress modified the unemployment compensation program to permit extended benefits when unemployment nationally or in an individual State reaches specified levels.

For the mechanism to be triggered in a State requires that the State enact enabling legislation. Five States already have acted, and legislation is being prepared for submission to the New York Legislature in 1971.

The modification would permit benefits for an additional 13 weeks when unemployment levels warrant. Present benefits are limited to 26 weeks.

An aim in amending the Federal program was to provide help for States having special unemployment problems. The help is based on statewide data—not local pockets of unemployment.

The amended Federal program is too new to be judged as to its adequacy. Certainly, it is a long step in the right direction. New York communities, including my own area of Buffalo, have special problems which are pointed up in a November 24 editorial in the Buffalo, N.Y., Evening News, as follows:

#### EXPANDING AID FOR JOBLESS

The steeply rising unemployment rate in the Niagara Frontier gives special point to calls in Albany for putting appropriate measures to relieve the jobless impact high on next year's legislative agenda. Democratic legislative leaders have pre-filed bills to extend the duration of unemployment insurance benefits for an additional 13 weeks beyond the present 26-week limit.

A benefit extension during periods of increased unemployment was one of the prime features of the administration-backed unemployment compensation measure enacted last summer by Congress. The new federal law provides that an extended duration, up to 13 additional weeks for workers whose benefits have been exhausted is triggered automatically when jobless rates in the country as a whole or in individual states reach specified levels. Although the states were given until Jan. 1, 1972, to enact measures to take advantage of the liberalized federal provisions, any state can elect an earlier participation on a statewide basis and be eligible for the 50 per cent federal financing of extended benefits, provided its jobless rate meets the Federal test.

Gov. Rockefeller is committed to requesting the necessary legislation for putting New York in compliance with the new federal standards. But this in itself, unfortunately, is no guarantee of extended benefits offering relief for regions suffering severe distress. For, despite upstate pockets of heavy joblessness, the rate in New York State as a whole is still substantially below the level

it would have to reach for the statewide extension under the complicated "triggering" mechanism.

The effect of these stiff federal provisions, it appears, is to penalize areas in a state as diverse as New York, in contrast to such smaller and relatively compact states as Connecticut and Rhode Island with statewide jobless rates high enough for them to qualify for 50-50 Federal sharing of extended benefits.

But this is of no help to Erie and Niagara Counties, whose over-all unemployment in October is estimated at a severe 5.9 percent, or to other upstate metropolitan areas where jobless rolls similarly are skyrocketing. The net statewide unemployment would have to increase greatly before the regions already in deep trouble could expect extended jobless benefits to alleviate economic hardships and soaring welfare burdens.

Thus, the question for the governor and the Legislature is whether a fiscally prudent way can be found to apply to hard-pressed areas within a state much the same rationale of the House Ways & Means Committee, which recognized that "a single state may be experiencing problem unemployment even though the nation as a whole is not in a period of high unemployment." If that is a sound principle for the nation as a whole, it would seem no less so for regions within a state experiencing disproportionate distress.

#### LOOKING INTO THE PRICE OF OIL

### HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the increases in the price of gasoline and fuel oil are the latest reminder of the accelerating cost of the oil import quotas.

Recently Mr. Bernard D. Nossiter wrote an article for the Washington Post entitled "Looking Into the Price of Oil." In this article Mr. Nossiter discussed the use of these quotas to artificially increase consumer costs so graphically described. I must note that one of the reasons why I voted against the trade bill of 1970 was that these quotas were given legislative mandates. This article on oil import quotas reaffirms my conviction that the President should rescind these quotas for the benefit of the consumer.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I insert this article in the RECORD, and I commend the reading of this article to my colleagues:

#### LOOKING INTO THE PRICE OF OIL

(By Bernard D. Nossiter)

There is something irresistibly comic about the Nixon administration's new inquiry into increased oil prices. In effect, the government is solemnly asking itself whether curbs on the supply of a commodity have something to do with raising its price.

To motorists who have just been hit with a penny-a-gallon increase in gasoline the question may not seem so funny. But at least they can supply the answer that the White House Office of Emergency Preparedness and its Council of Economic Advisers are now professing to seek. Car owners have learned, like home owners who heat with oil, that, yes, the price of a product is determined by the point where effective supply meets effective demand.

The interesting thing about oil is that effective supply is cut off by an elaborate mechanism run by the government. Thus, if the government's inquiry into "the reasons for and consequences of the (oil price) increase" were serious—and knowledgeable authorities within the bureaucracy doubt that it is—that very same government could increase the supply and reduce prices by a few, simple strokes of Mr. Nixon's pen. The failure to do so will, it is estimated, leave consumers with an increase in their energy bills of about \$1.5 billion.

Here is how the game is played:

Each month, the Interior Department's Bureau of Mines "forecasts" the demand for oil. The agency estimates how much oil will be consumed at the prevailing level of prices.

To make sure that this price level is maintained, regulatory agencies in the big oil producing states—chiefly Texas, Louisiana and Oklahoma—fix the amount that each well can produce. The regulatory agencies understand the first lesson in economics and thereby make sure that supply is tailored to support the desired price.

Back in the depression days, when this arrangement was threatened by producers whom circumstances drove to free enterprise, the federal government conveniently assured the authority of the state agencies. The Connally Hot Oil Act (named not for a recent Texas governor close to the industry but for a late Texas senator) prohibited the shipment from one state to another of oil produced in excess of the state limits.

This system helped increase the price of oil with considerable success until the 1950s. Then, imports of low-cost oil produced by the big companies in Venezuela and Saudi Arabia threatened to make life easier for consumers. So President Eisenhower, urged on by the Johnson-Rayburn Texas leadership in Congress, imposed quotas on foreign oil. He proclaimed an absolute limit on the oil that could be brought in, thereby once again restraining effective supply.

In recent months some new forces have been at work and they lie behind the companies' bold and successful bid to jack up prices another 25 cents a barrel.

The new Libyan government has cut back production in its fields, chiefly to get higher prices from its American concessionaires. Guerrillas have broken a big pipeline in Syria and it remains unrepaired. Thus, to meet Europe's demand for oil, the companies have had to scramble around for tankers to carry oil from the Middle East around Africa. Most tankers are either owned by or under long term charter to the big concerns. Perhaps only 10 percent of the tonnage is available at any one time for "spot" or immediate charter. In economic parlance, this is a "thin" market and a small increase in tanker demand shoots up prices.

The sharp rise in "spot" tanker rates has had its effect here. Oil imported under the quotas on "spot" rather than long term charters has become terribly expensive. The cost of production, of course, hasn't changed. But the price of transporting the cheap oil has. The government's quotas allow daily imports of about 1.3 million barrels. But the temporary rise in tanker rates has left about 250,000 barrels of the quota unused. It is this "shortage" that lifts the price.

The shortage could be erased in a few weeks if the White House were so minded. There is plenty of oil in Canada and enough spare pipeline capacity, according to the experts, to bring in 200,000 more barrels a day. Thus, the President could raise the current quota on Canadian oil to fill the gap. Indeed, he could go even further and suspend the whole quota program. Some experts think that a strict reading of the law would require Mr. Nixon to do just that.

They argue that Congress gave the President authority to fix quotas ostensibly to preserve "national security;" that he has determined that "national security" is precisely preserved by imports of 1.3 million barrels; that imports are less than this and that, therefore, "national security" can be restored only by scrapping the quotas and permitting imports to rise back nearer to the "national security" level.

Apart from Canadian oil, another 200,000 or so barrels a day can be found in the wells producing under federal lease off Louisiana and Texas. The Interior Department, traditionally a close ally of the industry, has decreed that these wells must produce no more than the Texas and Louisiana regulatory authorities allow. But the Justice Department has ruled that this is no more than Interior's whim. If Mr. Nixon calls the Interior Secretary on the telephone, supply from the federal offshore wells could be freed.

If the quotas were junked or suspended and the offshore wells emancipated from the government-imposed limits, it is likely that not only would the 25 cent increase be rolled back but the price of oil would come down even further. The two moves would add about 4 per cent to the oil available east of the Rockies—the area of shortage—and the added supply would meet demand, just as the textbooks say, at a lower price.

Indeed, just these steps have been urged by Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.) in a letter to Paul McCracken, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. Proxmire is head of the Joint Economic Committee whose staff presumably has a working knowledge of the first lesson in elementary economic texts.

There is still one more simple thing Mr. Nixon could do. The law permits him to suspend the Connally Hot Oil Act whenever he thinks it is a "burden" on commerce. To be sure, experts doubt that there are many believers in free enterprise in oil left in Texas or Louisiana. Anyway, their oil must flow through pipelines controlled by the big concerns. Finally, any maverick that did exceed the state production limits would probably run into hostile court orders granted to the oil-conscious governors of Texas and Louisiana.

But suspension of the act would spotlight the fact that the states are holding back nearly one million barrels daily in the name of conservation but in fact to preserve the price.

Officials close to the new administration inquiry doubt that the President will do any of these things. Oil producers have built up with care their network of controls to fix prices and regard the removal of any as a threat to their profits.

The inquiry itself is being run by Elmer Bennett, an assistant to the director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness. He is a former under secretary of Interior from the Eisenhower regime who then worked for tightening the new program cutting down imports. As far as can be determined, his current inquiry is something less than rigorous. He has not sent out questionnaires demanding data on prices, costs, supply and profits. Instead he has simply sent companies announcing increases a mild letter. It invites them to submit "pertinent information on gasoline and crude markets, any other factors which led to your price decisions, and any analysis you care to provide of the relationship to accomplishing the national security objectives . . ."

When the big companies get around to replying, they are expected to say that higher prices are a good thing (like oil depletion allowances, import quotas, treating foreign

royalties as taxes) because they encourage the search for new sources of supply.

Oil specialists in government today fall into two classes. The optimists think that the mere fact that the White House has raised a question will persuade the powers in the industry—notably the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey—to beat a prudent retreat and withdraw some of the increase. The pessimists think that nothing like this will happen, that the inquiry will perversely wind up exploiting the current rise in "spot" tanker rates and proclaim that cutting off imported supplies has no effect on domestic prices.

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE DR. THEOS J. THOMPSON—COMMISSIONER OF THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 2, 1970

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked and saddened by the news of the tragic passing of Dr. Theos J. Thompson, a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, who was in a recent plane crash.

Commissioner Thompson was an outstanding nuclear scientist and made many important contributions in the field of nuclear energy.

He was especially qualified in the field of nuclear reactors and provided leadership in the development of safe, economical and practical reactors. In his appearances before our Subcommittee on Public Works—AEC Appropriations, Dr. Thompson demonstrated his talents and abilities as well as his great knowledge of nuclear energy and related processes.

Commissioner Thompson was known throughout the Nation and the world as an authority on nuclear energy. He received many tributes and honors for his outstanding work in this field, including the AEC Ernest O. Lawrence Memorial Award in 1964 for his leadership in developing safe, useful and economic nuclear reactors and for inspired teaching of nuclear engineers.

While a staff physicist at the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratories, this great scientist was in charge of dismantling "Clementine," the world's first fast reactor, a pioneering effort which demonstrated that even a highly contaminated reactor could be dismantled safely.

Commissioner Thompson also made outstanding contributions to the development of reactors to assist in the practical use of nuclear energy to provide electric power.

Commissioner Thompson was a brilliant, dedicated, devoted scientist and the Nation is deeply indebted to him for his great career of public service and his scientific contributions in the public interest.

Certainly we all deeply regret his untimely passing, and I want to take this means of extending to members of Dr. Thompson's family this expression of our deepest and most heartfelt sympathy.