

## U.S. CIRCUIT COURTS

James L. Oakes, of Vermont, to be a U.S. circuit judge, second circuit, vice Sterry R. Waterman, retired.

## CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate May 3, 1971:

## NATIONAL RAILROAD PASSENGER CORPORATION

The following-named persons to be members of the board of directors of the National

Railroad Passenger Corp. for terms commencing April 29, 1971, as indicated:

For a term of 2 years:

Catherine May Bedell, of Washington.  
David Walbridge Kendall, of Michigan.  
John A. Volpe, Secretary of Transportation.

For a term of 3 years:

Frank S. Besson, Jr., of Virginia.  
David E. Bradshaw, of Illinois.  
Charles Luna, of Ohio.

For a term of 4 years:

John J. Gilhooley, of New York.  
Roger Lewis, of New York.

## EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

Ethel Bent Walsh, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission for the term expiring July 1, 1975.

## OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Phillip Victor Sanchez, of California, to be an Assistant Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

## DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

William T. Pecora, of New Jersey, to be Under Secretary of the Interior.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

"SALUTE TO STEEL" THEME OF WEIRTONIAN BANQUET—SENATOR RANDOLPH STRESSES NEED FOR REALISTIC APPROACH TO INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

## HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, Weirton, W. Va., is a city whose economy is largely dependent on the steel industry. As the home of the Weirton Steel Division of National Steel Corp., the industrious citizens there are well aware of the importance of this industry, not only to our Nation but to a fine community such as the Northern Panhandle area.

On May 2 the Weirtonian Lodge No. 183 of the Order of Italian Sons & Daughters of America gave public recognition to this vital industry with a "Salute to Steel" at its 16th annual banquet.

I was privileged to speak at this event, attended by approximately 300 residents of Weirton and nearby places. The program was widely representative of the community.

The invocation was given by Col. Durward Brown, of the Civil Air Patrol; Mike Sinicropi served as chairman; and Trent Ciarcocchi was toastmaster.

My colleague in the House of Representatives, Representative ROBERT H. MOLLOHAN, attended. Remarks were given by John Redline, president of the Weirton Steel Division, and Circuit Judges Ralph Pryor and Callie Tsapis. The benediction was by the Reverend Fr. James Altmeier.

Among the guests was James Henry Heriot of Wheeling, W. Va., who earlier that evening was presented the Civil Air Patrol's second highest citation, the Gen. Carl Spaatz Award, in a ceremony at the lodge. He is the first West Virginian to be so honored.

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

There being no objection, the address was ordered printed, as follows:

## A SALUTE TO STEEL

(By Senator JENNINGS RANDOLPH)

At some time in the fifth or sixth century, before Christ, Greek warriors placed weapons in the temple of Ares, the god of war, located in the city of Mycenae.

Earlier this year, according to a news

dispatch, archeologists digging in the ancient ruins uncovered two highly unusual spearheads. They were given to a metallurgist for analysis and chemical examination. He determined that the spearheads were of solid steel, rather than the case-hardened wrought iron common to that period.

Now the significance of this event is not lost among steel men today. It is the first solid evidence that the ancient Greeks were able to produce steel 2,000 years before it was first produced in Europe. It is pure academic speculation, but I'm sure that some historians will begin to argue that the fall of Troy was not so much a result of a wooden horse, but of a steel spearhead.

I recite this historic data only to illustrate that man's dependency on metals stretches farther back in time than many of us had imagined. Similarly, our "Salute to Steel" tonight emphasizes the fact that man's dependency on metals stretches far into the future.

In our complex and diversified industrial society today, there is no one basic industry. But all of us know that steel is one of the several basic industries, such as food, fuels and energy, transportation and textiles, which are essential to the kind of country we are today.

Steel represents 95 percent of the metals consumed by our economy. It is the single most useful industrial raw material in our country.

Steel's importance to our American economy cannot be overstated. In 1969, the latest complete figures show, the industry had total revenues of \$19.5 billion and total assets of \$23.3 billion. With more than half a million employes, it is a mature industry. Yet, in its technology and much of its fixed plant it is a young growing and changing industry. Incidentally, National Steel's employment is 30,500 and the Weirton Steel Division employs 12,500.

Steel's importance to Weirton and to the entire area is well-documented. Weirton Steel has a regular monthly payroll, in salaries and hourly employes, of \$9.8 million. I am informed that during the first week of April, the company distributed \$7.6 million in vacation pay and \$650,000 in regular vacation bonus, as provided in the labor agreement with the Independent Steelworkers Union. This meant that in a single week, more than \$14.5 million in wages alone was pumped into this area's economy.

I have said that steel is a growing and changing industry. I think this is best demonstrated by the fact that, since the end of World War II, the industry's total capital spending amounted to \$30.3 billion—and more than half of that expenditure came during the decade just past.

It is likely that capital spending worldwide by the steel industry will reach \$20.0 billion in this decade. This indicates not only our own continuing domestic United States modernization, but progress by overseas competitors.

We know that steel is produced in 37 states and that steel products are made in all 50 states. What is not commonly realized is that the 275 American companies which make or finish steel have operations in more than 300 communities. For each of the 506,000 workers directly employed by the steel industry, there are eight other Americans employed in factories that use steel in their products. This work force accounts for one-third of all manufacturing jobs in the country.

I cite these statistics to show how pervasive, and how vitally important the continuing growth and progress of the steel industry is to all of our citizens.

To meet increasing competition around the world, the American steel industry has been virtually rebuilt since 1961. Its equipment, technology, quality of product and productivity all are greatly advanced. There is no comparable bargain in the world today—and this must not be allowed to change if steel is to continue to hold its predominant position among basic materials.

To all of us concerned with a balanced and viable industrial economy, the unparalleled rise in imports presents a problem which must be dealt with in a fair and equitable manner.

Last year, the U.S. trade deficit in steel amounted to almost one billion dollars. We imported into the United States \$1 billion more in steel than we exported. Figures released last April 2 show that 1,230,000 tons of steel were imported during the month of February, the highest February total ever. In the first two months of this year, imports were 2.5 million tons, a record figure for those two months, and 71 percent more than the same two months of last year. Part of this large increase is presumably due to the inventory buildup now going on among domestic users, but the basic problem remains.

As part of the solution to the problem of rising imports, the U.S. steel industry has suggested a two-year extension of the Voluntary Limitation Program as agreed on by European and Japanese steel producers at the beginning of 1969. The agreement also would reduce the annual import growth as now allowed in the Voluntary Limitation Program.

It is most important that we all realize fully what is at stake. The American people have traditionally been among the most generous in providing aid where needed abroad. We encourage competition and reject trade barriers artificially designed to enforce unfair advantages. But we are mindful of what unlimited imports can mean to basic industries—the recent surge of shoe imports has already forced the closing of several factories in the Northeast, and more than 100,000 jobs in the southern textile industry were lost last year to imports of textile products, mostly from Japan. And our glass industries likewise suffer from serious and damaging import competition.

The problems that face your industry with

respect to steel imports are no different from those which face or potentially face almost all American manufacturing firms. The costs of foreign producers in almost any field are substantially less than those necessarily incurred in producing here in America.

I think the situation was most accurately defined by National Steel's President, George Stinson, when he said recently that it involves not only a disparity in production costs, but a fundamental difference in the philosophy of doing business.

Speaking of the factors involved in negotiating a more effective quota extension, Mr. Stinson told a Detroit audience:

"We have no right to make a plea for help with respect to imports if these imports under-price our products by reason of better costs arising from better productivity and efficiency in general; or from initiative and imagination or technological developments or better management." Mr. Stinson goes on to say:

"We have every right, however, to make our case based on non-controllable costs arising from higher labor rates which flow from our higher standards of living; from higher pension, insurance and medical costs which American business is by custom required to meet, from mandated costs imposed by laws dealing with the environment, social security, workmen's compensation, taxes and the like which our government imposes along with all other American business. These costs place us at an inevitable disadvantage with respect to foreign-made products which all American business is powerless to change."

All of you who are involved in the industry are painfully aware that these differences exist, and each of you strives to overcome the competitive edge through greater productivity and efficiencies.

It is the second factor listed by Mr. Stinson in his analysis of foreign competition which should be of broader general interest. Our American system—in which we believe—requires that business operate as free and independent private enterprise; that it provide for its own capital requirements, earning a profit in order to grow and attract capital; that it be subject to anti-trust laws that ensure competition and that discourage unwarranted mergers.

The system under which we operate finds little parallel abroad, where much of the world steel industry is publicly owned, where its capital is provided largely or wholly by its governments, where cartels replace competition and where profits are not an essential requirement.

Voluntary limitations on shipments from abroad won't just happen. It will require forceful action in Washington and concern and support of the individual worker. It is to alert our decision-makers and consolidate public sentiment to the dangers of massive market disruptions that we must pledge ourselves.

Abraham Lincoln recognized the need for mobilizing public opinion to produce action more than a century ago when, as a candidate for the U.S. Senate, he spoke during his campaign at Ottawa, Illinois. Lincoln said:

"In this and like communities, public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment, nothing can fail; without it nothing can succeed. Consequently, he who moulds public sentiment, goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed."

Lincoln was right. And you will be right if you think greatly of your task and that of your fellow workers; if you think of your company and other companies as effective instrumentalities in the strength of our economy and the betterment of mankind.

## RESEARCH IN SMOKING AND HEALTH—PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

### HON. RICHARDSON PREYER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. PREYER of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, recently Dr. Marvin A. Kastenbaum, director of Statistics of the Tobacco Institute, addressed members of the North Carolina chapter of the American Statistical Association who were meeting in Greensboro, N.C. Dr. Kastenbaum is a distinguished graduate of North Carolina State University where he earned both his M.S. and Ph. D. I believe that the Members of this Congress would be interested in some of his comments which result from his analysis of statistical data in the field of smoking and health.

The data follows:

#### RESEARCH IN SMOKING AND HEALTH—PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

(By Marvin A. Kastenbaum)

Address to the North Carolina chapter of the American Statistical Association, Greensboro, N.C., April 7, 1971

##### A. INTRODUCTION

In a recent article (1) in the Journal of the American Geriatrics Society a well known American surgeon made the following statement about the prevalence of lung cancer in the United States:

"By projection of available statistics, it was predicted that if people continue to smoke as they do now, there will be 630,000 deaths from cancer of the lung in the year 2000, of which 177,000 could be prevented if smoking were discontinued now."

Apparently, this physician was so convinced of the truth of this statement that he chose to repeat it four years after he had first published it in the prestigious Journal of the American Medical Association (2).

If we take this statement at face value, and assume that very few people begin smoking before age 15, then certain inferences follow immediately from it:

1. If smoking were discontinued in 1970, almost no persons under 45 years of age in the year 2000 will have ever smoked in their entire lives. That is to say, more than 70% of the population of the United States in the year 2000 (projected by the U.S. Bureau of the Census to be 300,000,000) will never have smoked.

2. No deaths from lung cancer among members of the U.S. population under 45 years of age in the year 2000 could be attributed to smoking.

3. Deaths from lung cancer among former smokers in the year 2000 could be associated with smoking only by virtue of an alleged risk they accumulated prior to 1970 (thirty years earlier!).

4. In spite of this, we are told that if all smoking were discontinued in 1970 453,000 (630,000 minus 177,000) people in the United States would die of lung cancer in the year 2000.

In 1968, the National Center for Health Statistics reported a total of 64,400 deaths from lung cancer in the United States. This represents a crude death rate of 32.2 per 100,000 live population in the U.S. in 1968.

5. The startling result of logically following the original statements is that we are led to believe that the crude death rate

from lung cancer in the U.S. in the year 2000 will be 453,000/300,000,000 or 151 per 100,000 live population if all smoking were discontinued in 1970. This rate will be over 4½ times the 1968 rate (151 versus 32.2), in spite of the fact that 70% of the U.S. population in the year 2000 will never have smoked, and in spite of the fact that the remaining 30% will not have smoked for 30 years.

It is fair to state that these inferences are no more absurd than the original statement. Yet this statement has appeared at least twice in the medical literature in the past four years.

##### B. EXTRAPOLATION AND CONJECTURE

I have begun my talk with this example in order to highlight the level of extrapolation and exaggeration which may be found throughout the current and scientific literature. The situation may be worse in the popular press.

For instance, on February 14, 1971, in an article appearing in the *Washington Post* (3) on the subject of cancer cures, a Nobel prize winner wrote:

"More than two million citizens who have had cancer would not be alive today had they been left untreated."

This statement is probably more theological than scientific. The fact is that we no more know how many bodies have been saved from death from cancer as a result of therapeutic treatments than we know how many souls have been saved from purgatory by evangelical crusades. We would like to believe that both the scientist and the theologian are successful in their respective endeavors. Nevertheless, common beliefs do not necessarily form the body of common knowledge.

The same *Washington Post* article went on to say:

"Cigarette smoking is, of course, the best known of the environmental factors in the United States. Nevertheless, the surge in lung cancer has not been halted, partly on account of the momentum of decades of innocence; partly on account of psychosocial stupidity in the fact of overwhelming evidence, and to a large degree because of unanswered technical questions."

My opinion on this subject, while admittedly unpopular, is not one which I attribute to "psychosocial stupidity". I rather look with a great deal of skepticism upon what is alleged to be the "overwhelming evidence" which is continually referred to. I do not question the fact that a massive bibliography on this subject exists. That the contents of this bibliography represent unimpeachable evidence in either the scientific or the legal sense is debatable. For just as my statistical training taught me to differentiate between association and causation, so my mathematical training has permitted me to separate conjecture from proof.

In this respect I either differ from or misunderstand the philosophy of my colleagues who are proponents of a Bayesian approach to inference. For if I once allow my personal feelings to influence the ultimate outcome of an experiment and the conclusions I draw therefrom, then I am dealing at most only in conjecture and not in proof. All of you who are mathematically trained are well aware of some of the famous conjectures which have been put forth by outstanding mathematicians. Some of these conjectures were ultimately proved; some have been disproved; others have defied the attacks of the best minds in mathematics for centuries. For statisticians the most famous of the recently disproved conjectures was Euler's suggestion that orthogonal Latin squares of sizes congruent to 2 modulo 4 could not be constructed. If Professor R. C. Bose had assumed

the same personal probability that Euler attached to this problem in 1782, he and his associates would not have achieved notoriety as "Euler's Spoilers" in 1959. In fact, Professor Bose would not have bothered to question the conjecture at all.

#### C. THE DESIGN OF EXPERIMENTS

During the summer of 1967, I took a course in phage genetics at the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory on Long Island. One of the experiments which I was privileged to reproduce was Joshua Lederberg's work on Transduction in E-coli (4). That experience did not convert me into a biologist, but it did possibly make me a better statistician. For it taught me the meaning of "elegance" in the design and performance of experiments. As a result, I now judge the preponderance of experiments in the area of smoking and health as neither elegant nor conclusive.

In the company of statisticians I feel obliged to elaborate a bit on what I have just said. We professional statisticians are sometimes presumptuous when we think that we can help sophisticated scientists and engineers plan their experiments. One can safely say that some of the most outstanding scientific experiments were designed and performed by investigators who had little or no knowledge of what we call "experimental design". This point was brought home to me very vividly by a scientific administrator who said, "Enrico Fermi probably knew nothing or experimental design". I could hardly deny his statement, but I could respond with the same degree of confidence by asking, "How many Enrico Fermis do you have on your staff?" The fact is that in spite of what most scientists think of themselves, there are precious few Nobel laureates around. As a result, the statistician's attitude must be that better planning can only enhance the relative frequency of successful experiments.

One of the most famous examples of a poorly designed study in the area of smoking and health was reported recently in the *Archives of Environmental Health* (5) (6). Its purpose from the outset was to demonstrate that cancers of the type observed in human lungs could be induced in the lungs of beagle dogs as a result of cigarette smoking. This study would not have received much notoriety if its results had not been prematurely released to the press early in 1970. But apparently the sponsors of the research were so convinced of the conclusiveness of the findings, that they announced the results at a specially convened press conference at the Waldorf-Astoria. In essence, the authors alleged to have demonstrated that smoking caused lung cancer in beagle dogs. The early and unusual nature of the release of this report precluded its publication in the prestigious *New England Journal of Medicine*. The editor of this journal discussed his general philosophy concerning the publication of scientific papers in an admirable article (7) which appeared in *Science* in mid-1970. A second medical journal found it difficult to publish the existing manuscripts after receiving a large number of unfavorable reviews from independent referees. Finally, after a series of bizarre circumstances, the two revised manuscripts were published in the *Archives of Environmental Health* in December, 1970.

I call these papers to your attention because I think you, as statisticians, might wish to examine them. You will find that a number of questions can be raised about the design of the experiment, the alleged randomization of the experimental material, the total number of animals assigned to treatment groups, and the questionable use of statistical techniques for analyzing the data.

The significance of this study is that it failed to demonstrate that cigarette smoking

could induce squamous-cell carcinoma in the lungs of beagle dogs. What is more interesting is that this is the most recent of a number of experiments extending over a period of more than twenty years, which have failed to produce squamous-cell lung cancer in animals as a result of tobacco smoke inhalation.

#### D. CONFOUNDING

I have reiterated this point to emphasize my fascination with the recently reported results (8) of a study at the University of Nebraska Medical Center. An eminent scientist at this institution found that certain nitrosamines administered in the *drinking water* of rats give rise to squamous cell carcinomas of the lung, the same tumor that in man is associated with cigarette smoking. That the route to the lung should be via the stomach rather than the trachea is indeed a tantalizing concept to contemplate and to study.

I have also been fascinated recently with reports in the medical literature associating alcohol consumption with cancers of the oral cavity. Even one of the most avid and outspoken anti-smoking advocates has written (9) that with this disease it is hard to separate the effects of smoking and drinking. That it to say, smoking and drinking may be completely confounded. As statisticians, we should be interested in the confounding of factors in an experiment. If I were to tell you that 85% of smokers also drink alcohol, would you draw any conclusions about the effect of tobacco without taking into account the confounding effect of alcohol? No. Yet this factor which is almost completely confounded with smoking has been all but ignored in the reports of diseases associated with smoking. Is it that inhalation has been demonstrated to be the only path for disease induction in the lung? No. It's just simpler for us to think that diseases of the lung come from breathing, and diseases of the gut come from eating and drinking. Yet we currently see evidence that *ingestion* can cause disease of the lung and oral cavity.

Other factors which have come to light recently as possibly being confounded with cigarette smoking habits are the use of tranquilizers and the longevity of parents.

In one of the early epidemiological studies (10) of American males, those individuals who "admitted" using tranquilizers had a higher death rate than those who did not. In spite of the fact that these figures have been on record for many years, no attempt has been made to infer that tranquilizers are a cause of death. Yet tranquilizers have a relationship with increased death which is similar to cigarettes. Moreover, the same investigator from the University of Nebraska (8) who testified before a Congressional committee in March said:

"A source of amines of great concern to me is the large number of drugs that have been introduced in the past few decades. Several hundred drugs, some of which are in common use, are secondary or tertiary amines, and an examination of the structures of these indicates that they would nitrosate readily in conditions prevailing in the stomach and give rise to nitrosamines; some of those that would be produced have been shown to be carcinogenic. A most serious aspect of this is that many of the drugs of this type are tranquilizers, antihistamines, appetite control agents and vermifuges, types of drugs that are taken by people in quite large doses for long periods."

Can we really separate the increased use of tranquilizers and other similar medications in the past few decades from the increased per capita consumption of cigarettes in the same period?

In another study (11) involving over one million Americans, data was collected on the longevity of the parents and grandparents of

many of the subjects. Results of the analysis of these data were postponed for many years until they were reported in January, 1971, (12) in *Circulation* as follows:

"This paper is based upon an analysis of data from a prospective epidemiological study in which a large number of men and women were traced for six years after they answered a detailed questionnaire. The subjects were divided into seven groups according to the longevity of their parents and grandparents. Death rates from coronary heart diseases, hypertensive heart disease, and stroke were found to be considerably higher among subjects with short-lived parents. This was found to be the case for coronary heart disease among men without a history of high blood pressure or diabetes, who were not seriously overweight, who took some exercise, and who never smoked cigarettes regularly."

I place a great deal of emphasis on the recent publications of the findings of these older studies, because the original inferences from these studies have been used as the foundations for what is alleged to be the "overwhelming evidence" against tobacco smoking.

#### E. EXAMPLES OF "OVERWHELMING EVIDENCE"

One example of what passes as the current "evidence" is an article which appeared in the *Journal of Allergy* in June 1969, (13) which summarized a study on the health of children of smokers and nonsmokers as follows:

"Seven hundred twenty-seven families were administered an acute illness questionnaire by phone to explore possible differences in health of smokers' and nonsmokers' children. Smokers' children were sick more frequently (primarily respiratory illness). In addition, some evidence suggested that the amount of tobacco smoke in the home environment may be related to chance of illness."

For those of you who are students of sample survey techniques, I recommend this paper as an example of how *not* to conduct a survey. As to the analysis of the results, I can only refer you to table 1 (13, page 338) in which a "chi-square" test appears to have been used. In order to clarify their technique, the authors have the following footnote concerning chi-square:

"X<sup>2</sup> does not test whether the two samples came from the same population (i.e., the null hypothesis) but rather whether the smokers' children's health sample came from the same population as the nonsmokers' children's health sample. We felt that the statistical question at our current level of knowledge was the probability of the smokers' children belonging to the population indexed by the nonsmokers' sample (a specific rather than a general statistical question)."

I leave the interpretation of this gibberish to you. I have tried, without success, to reproduce the chisquares and the associated probabilities.

Another good example of a questionable study was an article appearing on January 16, 1971, in the prestigious British medical journal *Lancet* (14). The following summary preceded the report on *smoking and neurotic illness*:

"During a health screening survey of 1471 middle-aged individuals from a South-East London group practice, each individual completed a questionnaire which included items related to psychiatric state and smoking. The smoking habits of 124 individuals with confirmed psychiatric disorders were compared with those of a demographically matched group which was free from psychiatric illness. No significant differences were found between the two groups for the proportion who smoked, amount smoked per day, or duration of smoking for either sex. There was no significant correlation be-

tween the amount smoked per day and psychiatric severity. This study therefore gives no support to the hypothesis that smoking habits are related to neurotic illness."

I would like to emphasize the fact that these conclusions were drawn on the basis of a study of 37 males and 87 females with psychiatric disorders.

The results of another study (5) which dealt with smoking and cancer of the urinary tract were published in the *New England Journal of Medicine* on January 21, 1971. The abstract of this article reads as follows:

"Interviews were conducted with 470 patients with transitional or squamous-cell carcinoma of the lower urinary tract, more than 90 per cent of whom had a bladder tumor. An age-stratified and sex-stratified but otherwise random sample of 500 persons drawn from the population of the entire study area was also interviewed as a control. Among men, cigarette smokers have a relative risk of bladder cancer of 1.89 as compared with non-smokers, and about 39 per cent of the cases are related to smoking. This amounts to 16.4 cases per year per 100,000 men 20 years of age and over. Among women 20 years of age and over, the comparable figures are 2.00, 29 per cent and 3.9 cases per year per 100,000. For both sexes risk is increased among those who smoked heavily and those who inhaled. None of the excess risk of bladder cancer associated with cigarette smoking is explained by any indirect association with occupational experience. No significant risk is associated with pipe or cigar smoking. The data also suggest that incidence rates will increase during the next decade or so, especially among women."

I want to remind you that these sweeping estimates are based on the observations of 356 males, 286 of whom were smokers, and 105 females, 55 of whom were smokers.

The investigators matched what started out to be about 500 patients, most of whom had bladder cancer, with an alleged "random sample" drawn from the general population of the surrounding area. They then examined the smoking habits of the two samples, and, having found a difference (in smoking habits), concluded as follows:

"The present findings indicate that about 35 per cent of cases of cancer of the lower urinary tract in the study population are associated with cigarette smoking. If this association is accepted as causal, and if it is generalized to the entire population of the United States, smoking is associated with about 3100 deaths per year from cancer of the lower urinary tract.

It does not seem likely that any systematic bias could produce this association, for it was present in both sexes and all relevant age groups, and risk was increased among inhalers and heavy smokers. Moreover, because the present study was population based, additional support is provided for earlier, similar findings from studies of different design. This is especially so since the estimate of relative risk obtained, about 2.0, is characteristic of previous reports. (1964 Surgeon General's report)

A noteworthy exception to the general support of the association between smoking and bladder cancer is the prospective study of Doll and Hill. (16) Although that study has not been confirmatory, the number of deaths due to bladder cancer in the series, 36, is small. *Moreover, because the study is limited to a single occupational group, physicians, the results are difficult to generalize.*"

I am dismayed by the wild extrapolations and imaginative exaggerations in all of these studies, but I am particularly fascinated by the rejection of the results of the Doll and Hill study by the authors of the bladder cancer study. The results of Doll and Hill form the basis for some of the most significant conclusions in the much heralded report of the Royal College of Physicians (17) which was released in January, 1971, also.

#### F. IGNORING OR MINIMIZING CONTRADICTORY EVIDENCE

In the early 1950's, Doll and Hill studied the effects of different smoking patterns on the health of 32,000 male British physicians, comparing them especially with the male population of England and Wales. Among the criticisms of this study is the one raised by the authors of the bladder cancer study; namely, that British physicians are a highly select group by occupation, socio-economic status, etc., and should not form the basis for extrapolation to or comparison with the general population.

Yet while the Royal College report generally ignores this objection to the Doll and Hill study, it takes a different view of a similar and contemporaneous study of employees of the American Tobacco Company, which revealed a disease incidence lower than that of the general population. Without citing the substance of this study, the Royal College report dismisses it by saying it is statistically unsound, and then cites a *non-existent* reference (17, page 51) for this conclusion.

It is interesting to note that the study of the tobacco company employees (18) revealed that their cigarette consumption was double the national average and that their mortality rates were:

- 29% below expectancy for all causes.
- 30% below normal expectancy for all forms of cancer.
- 29% below normal expectancy for lung cancer.
- 25% below normal expectancy for cardiovascular disease.
- 21% below normal expectancy for coronary artery disease.

Obviously, these findings are hard to reconcile with the claims against cigarettes. They are purportedly statistically unsound because the sample was not representative of the entire population; it had obviously been selected according to occupation. But what could have been a more highly selected group (according to occupation) than the British doctors?

The tobacco company employees were all better-protected medically by being enrolled in a well-financed, prepaid plan, which was not common practice at the time. However, who could have been better cared for medically than a group of physicians?

It would appear that when the results of a study fit the objectives of certain authors, the biases can be overlooked. When they don't, the biases nullify the validity of the study.

#### G. SHAMEFUL EXTRAPOLATIONS

On the weekend before the Royal College report was released, the *Sunday Times* of London carried a feature under the heading "1 in 3 men and 1 in 4 women in the U.S. quit smoking". The source of this story was one sentence in the Royal College report (17, pp. 1415) which said,

"One in three of men and one in four of women in America who were smoking in 1966 had stopped by July, 1970." (19)

The reference for these data was a speech delivered at the National Conference on Smoking and Health in September, 1970, (19).

I would like to read you some pertinent parts of the speech because *this additional information* formed the basis of a somewhat different story in a subsequent issue of the *Times*. (20)

"However, we do know this: from a part of our study which consisted of reinterviews of about three thousand of the people who were first interviewed in 1966, we have found that 33.8 percent of the men and 25.4 percent of the women who were smoking in 1966 have quit smoking. In other words, a third of the men who were smoking in 1966 were no longer cigarette smokers and a quarter of the women who were smoking in 1966 were no longer cigarette smokers."

I want to emphasize the fact that this statement was made by a government official. The 1966 survey he referred to was a federally subsidized study of 35,000 people. The 1970 survey was a federally subsidized follow-up of 5,000 people in the 1966 survey. The fewer than 3,000 people, whose answers are alleged to have formed the basis for the extrapolations, were a subsample of the 5,000. We are not told how the subsample was drawn; we are not told how the sample 5,000 was drawn from the 1966 sample of 35,000 individuals; we are not told about the errors and biases inherent in the 1966 sample. We are merely told by an official of the U.S. government that 1 in 4 men and 1 in 3 women have quit smoking. This is enunciated as an official finding of the United States Government. It is accepted without qualification by a peerless organization such as the Royal College of Physicians, and becomes another example of how many distinguished medical organizations are listed in the anti-smoking ranks through uncritical acceptance of second-hand data.

You should be interested to know that U.S. Government figures, released by the same federal agency (21) in the same month that the Royal College of Physicians report appeared, do nothing to support the original allegation. If anything, they contradict it.

When all this information was brought to the attention of the British press, the *Sunday Times* (20) retracted its earlier statement.

#### H. ABUSES OF STATISTICAL TECHNIQUES

The general abuse of statistical techniques in the scientific literature and the support and countenance of these abuses by the federal government is already having repercussions which can and will affect the future of the entire statistical profession. These abuses do not occur only in the area of smoking and health. They have been endemic in all areas of science and are now reaching epidemic proportions. The following are two examples of statements appearing in the recent medical literature.

1. In February, 1971, a leading diabetologist charged (22, 23) that the final published data in a controversial study using the diabetes therapeutic agent, Tolbutamide, were presented in such a way as to give a "misleading impression" of both the findings and their significance. He charged that the report "shields the true significance of certain findings from most readers and actually gives them misleading impressions, sometimes by presenting the data as percentages and 'denominators'—the total patients involved—but omits the product of the two factors, which yields the actual number of patients with positive findings."

When he actually calculated the baseline risk factors for the number of patients at risk per clinic, it turned out that the clinics with the highest number of patient-risk factors at the outset of the study also had the highest number of deaths.

2. In the same month, February, 1971, an editorial in the *Nebraska State Medical Journal* (24) said:

"We need a law to deal with statistics abuse; this can be as bad as drug abuse or child abuse. For instance, it may be possible that mother's milk is a precursor to the use of marijuana, for one is often followed by the other. It would be interesting to know how many pot smokers were raised on mother's milk; I might get a government grant and look into this, but it's probably been done.

"By counting the diminishing number of people in the average automobile on the highway and then extrapolating, it seems obvious that in 10 years, automobiles racing down the interstate will have nobody in them.

"The story of the statistician who drowned in a pool where the water was only five feet deep on the average, is a good example of

statistics abuse; it was 10 feet deep at the end where he met his end. And the man with his head in the refrigerator and his feet in the oven, or the other way around, felt comfortable on the average, statistics abusers will happily tell you.

"Drugs, children, and statistics are abused by people who do not understand them."

We in the statistical profession may be amused by unkind statements about statistics and statisticians. After all, members of our profession have always been vilified for the acts of data manipulation practiced by unqualified individuals who pass as "statisticians". But, abuses in statistical reporting have reached a new low, and are continuing very rapidly to unfathomable depths. We can no longer stand in the background. We must shake ourselves free of our lethargy. Otherwise, we are apt to find ourselves flushed down the drain with the rest of the garbage.

I have had occasion recently (25) to document some of my observations and recommendations on this subject, and I will conclude my talk tonight by reading some of these to you.

I. OBSERVATIONS

1. Much of the scientific "evidence" which is reported these days is based on statistical inferences resulting from the analysis of samples of data. Generally, the investigators who do the fundamental research are competent in their respective fields. This competence does not necessarily extend into the realm of statistical theory and analysis. In fact most investigators would be hard pressed to explain or defend the statistical techniques upon which their conclusions are based. This is contrary to the accepted procedures of science.

2. Many large or long range studies are initiated with the full knowledge that the results will depend on the statistical reduction and evaluation of the data. Yet few of these studies have the benefit of competent advice in the preliminary planning and design stage. As a result, we continue to witness the failure of many federally sponsored research programs, not because they are wrong in concept, but because they have not been properly designed to yield conclusive results. I expressed my views on this subject not long ago in Gatlinburg, at a conference on "Inhalation carcinogenesis" (26).

3. At a time when the impact of statistical analysis is sharply increasing, the overall influence of statisticians in the federal government is diminishing. This is not to say that competent statisticians no longer work for the government. On the contrary, many do. However, there no longer exist the strong groups which could at one time be found in many government agencies; for example, U.S. Bureau of the Census 1940-1960; National Institutes of Health 1950-1965; National Bureau of Standards 1940-1960. This change may be attributed to many phenomena such as: the retirement and death of a number of outstanding members of the profession; the succession to administrative positions by several very competent people; the movement to universities during the early 1960's; the loss of appeal of government jobs to competent statisticians who find more money and more challenge elsewhere; frustration resulting from the inability of statisticians in some government agencies to make themselves heard and to influence policy decisions.

4. In many areas of science, the federal government relies on reports which are based on data collected by private agencies with some or no public funds. Opinion polls and other private surveys are good examples of this.

Generally these data are not scrutinized by responsible scientists in government, nor are they always available for scrutiny by independent agencies. Ordinarily such studies would stand or fall of their own weight in the

scientific community. However, when government policy is based on a limited analysis of such studies, very serious questions can and should be raised.

J. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Panels of senior statistical advisers should be available to Congress and to the Executive Branch for the interpretation of "evidence" upon which government policy is to be made.

2. All scientific undertakings involving public funds should have the benefit of advice from professional statisticians. Much of this advice can be provided by in-house staffs of statisticians. Where major studies (intra- or intermural) are to be undertaken, however, independent consultants of recognized competence should be used to approve both the design of the experiment and the inferences drawn therefrom. Independent advisers with some influence may be able to override decisions which are based on vested interests rather than national interests.

3. Statisticians in the federal government should play a larger role in the design of experiments undertaken by their respective agencies. This role should carry with it the responsibility for reporting on and defending the stated results of an experiment. If probability statements are to be made, the ultimate risks associated with these statements should be borne by a person in authority. When the statistician assumes his proper role in these matters, his authority and stature should be tied to his responsibility.

4. Government policy should not be based on studies over which the government cannot exercise some control, access or review. Data from studies carried out with private or public funds should be made available for independent review and confirmation, before the results from the basis of government action.

Finally, I feel that professional statisticians should take a strong position on the ethics and standards of their profession. This matter has been discussed at various times by our professional societies, but no concrete program has evolved. Abuses in statistical reporting are no different from abuses in advertising—and the latter are regulated by law when they result in false and deceptive trade practices. I would rather see the statistical societies take some concrete action along these lines than to have the action be assumed by default by the legislative arm of government.

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FEDERAL CIVILIAN EMPLOYMENT, MARCH 1971

HON. GEORGE H. MAHON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I include a release highlighting the March 1971 civilian personnel report of the Joint Committee on Reduction of Federal Expenditures:

FEDERAL CIVILIAN EMPLOYMENT

Total civilian employment in the Executive, Legislative and Judicial Branches of the Federal Government in the month of March was 2,872,891 as compared with 2,871,910 in the preceding month of February. This was a net increase of 981.

These figures are from reports certified by the agencies as compiled by the Joint Committee on Reduction of Federal Expenditures.

EXECUTIVE BRANCH

Civilian employment in the Executive Branch in the month of March totaled 2,834,812. This was a net increase of 603 as compared with employment reported in the preceding month of February. Employment by months in fiscal 1971, which began July 1, 1970, follows:

Month	Executive branch	Increase	Decrease
July 1970	2,942,517		-1,595
August	2,901,856		-40,661
September	2,851,875		-49,981
October	2,838,654		-13,211
November	2,845,411	+4,747	
December	2,838,320		-5,091
January 1971	2,829,637		-8,683
February	2,834,209	+4,572	
March	2,834,812	+603	

Total employment in civilian agencies of the Executive Branch for the month of March was 1,688,219, an increase of 890 as compared with the February total of 1,687,329. Total civilian employment in the military agencies in March was 1,146,593, a decrease of 287 as compared with 1,146,880 in February.

The civilian agency of the Executive Branch reporting the largest increase during March was in Department of HEW with 1,000. The largest decrease was in Department of Agriculture with 2,488.

In the Department of Defense the largest decreases in civilian employment were reported by the Army with 262 and Navy with 234. The largest increase was in Air Force with 371.

Total Executive Branch employment INSIDE the United States in March was 2,631,530, an increase of 2,800 as compared with February. Total employment OUTSIDE the United States in March was 203,282, a decrease of 2,197 as compared with February.

The total of 2,834,812 civilian employees of the Executive Branch reported for the month of March 1971 includes 2,522,297 full time employees in permanent positions. This represents a decrease of 1,270 in such employment from the preceding month of February. (See Table 2 of accompanying report.)

The Executive Branch employment total of

2,834,812 includes some foreign nationals employed abroad, but in addition there were 99,499 foreign nationals working for U.S. agencies overseas during March who were not counted in the usual personnel reports. The number of February was 100,115.

LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL BRANCHES

Employment in the Legislative Branch in the month of March totaled 30,537; an increase of 241 as compared with the preceding month of February. Employment in the Judicial Branch in the month of March totaled 7,542, an increase of 137 as compared with February.

DISADVANTAGED PERSONS

The total of 2,872,891 reported by the Committee for March includes 20,544 disadvantaged persons employed under federal opportunity programs, an increase of 389 over the preceding month of February. (See Table 4 of accompanying report.)

In addition, Mr. Speaker, I include a tabulation, excerpted from the Joint Committee report, on personnel employed full time in permanent positions by executive branch agencies during March 1971, showing comparisons with June 1969, June 1970, and the Budget estimates for June 1971:

FULL-TIME PERMANENT EMPLOYMENT

Major agencies	June 1969	June 1970	March 1971	Estimated June 30, 1971 <sup>1</sup>	Major agencies	June 1969	June 1970	March 1971	Estimated June 30, 1971 <sup>1</sup>
Agriculture	83,425	82,912	82,769	85,600	General Services Administration	36,176	36,400	37,187	39,900
Commerce	25,364	25,427	27,832	28,400	National Aeronautics and Space Administration	31,733	31,223	29,634	29,900
Defense:					Office of Economic Opportunity	2,856	2,387	2,432	2,500
Civil functions	31,214	30,297	29,830	30,900	Panama Canal	14,731	14,635	14,291	14,800
Military functions	1,225,877	1,129,642	1,080,443	1,079,500	Selective Service System	6,584	6,665	6,621	6,500
Health, Education, and Welfare	102,941	102,297	104,024	105,300	Small Business Administration	4,099	4,015	3,986	4,100
Housing and Urban Development	14,307	14,661	15,246	16,000	Tennessee Valley Authority	11,987	12,657	13,406	13,300
Interior	58,156	59,349	56,514	58,000	U.S. Information Agency	10,500	9,989	9,789	9,900
Justice	35,106	38,013	40,354	43,600	Veterans' Administration	147,606	148,497	150,106	154,400
Labor	9,723	10,217	10,790	11,600	All other agencies	26,200	27,420	27,975	29,700
Post Office	562,381	565,618	567,735	585,200	Contingencies				5,000
State	24,658	23,618	23,188	23,600	Subtotal	2,633,762	2,552,571	2,520,427	2,574,000
Agency for International Development	15,753	14,486	13,734	14,000	Public Service Careers		552	970	4,900
Transportation	60,386	63,879	66,990	69,600	Total	2,633,762	2,552,571	2,522,297	2,578,900
Treasury	79,982	86,020	89,354	93,500					
Atomic Energy Commission	7,047	7,033	6,935	7,000					
Civil Service Commission	4,970	5,214	5,325	5,500					
Environmental Protection Agency <sup>2</sup>			4,846	6,700					

<sup>1</sup> Source: As projected in 1972 budget document; figures rounded to nearest hundred.

<sup>2</sup> Established as of Dec. 2, 1970, by transfer of functions and personnel from Interior, HEW, Agriculture, Federal Radiation Council and Atomic Energy Commission.

<sup>3</sup> Source: Civil Service Commission estimate of persons in "entry" component for whom ceiling relief has been granted.

MAINE'S SECOND DISTRICT SPEAKS OUT

HON. WILLIAM D. HATHAWAY

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, in February of this year I mailed questionnaires to my constituents in the Second Congressional District of Maine concerning a number of issues facing the 92d Congress and the American people. Replies have since been examined, results compiled, and, by means of a second newsletter, total survey findings are being sent this week to all households in the second district.

Response to the questionnaire was gratifying—there were more than 15,000 replies—and the depth of concern about the problems facing the Nation was impressive. The results of the February questionnaire are tabulated below for the information of Members of the House and Senate. They have also been sent to the White House and released to the Maine press for statewide distribution.

The results follow:

MAINE'S SECOND DISTRICT SPEAKS OUT NATIONAL ISSUES

1. The national and international issues listed below were rated by questionnaire respondents in order of their importance—36.7 percent of those responding, for example, thought the economy was first in order of importance, 22.3 percent said it was the second most important issue, and so on:\*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
a. The economy	36.7	22.3	16.1	8.6	7.2	5.5	3.1
b. The environment	16.8	20.1	19.1	14.8	13.1	10.3	5.2
c. Poverty	6.6	11.3	19.0	20.4	16.0	16.0	10.4
d. Health care	4.4	9.0	10.6	18.7	25.2	19.6	11.5
e. Education	3.1	10.2	12.2	15.7	16.5	17.8	22.3
f. Vietnam war	28.6	18.8	12.7	8.4	9.0	12.1	9.4
g. The Mideast	1.8	7.5	9.2	12.8	12.5	18.3	37.1

Note: "Other" issues suggested by respondents varied widely, with no single issue being predominant.

LOCAL ISSUES

2. Local issues were also rated by respondents in order of importance:\*

	1	2	3	4	5
a. Crime	20.1	18.4	23.2	19.7	17.6
b. Drug abuse	15.4	27.2	23.6	18.7	13.2
c. Fuel-power crisis	6.4	14.1	15.8	25.0	36.0
d. Pollution	21.2	21.6	20.4	24.1	11.6
e. Unemployment	32.4	16.9	17.1	18.6	12.7

Note: "Other" local issues suggested varied widely; none was predominant.

THE ECONOMY

3. Respondents stated whether or not they would support the following economic alternatives if inflation continues (by percentage):

	"Yes"	"No"
a. Voluntary wage-price guidelines	70.9	29.1
b. Wage controls	63.5	36.5
c. Price controls	77.0	23.0
d. Controls on interest rates	80.5	19.5
e. Restoration of a 5% surtax	28.8	71.2
f. Restoration of a 10% surtax	10.2	89.8
g. Reduced Government spending possibly extending to some essential services	76.7	23.3
h. Increased excise taxes on certain items such as liquor and tobacco	71.2	28.8

## THE WAR AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

4. Second-District residents were asked to select one of the following alternatives regarding the U.S. presence in Vietnam:

32 percent called for complete U.S. withdrawal now, entrusting the defense of South Vietnam to the 1,200,000-man South Vietnamese army;

14 percent recommended barring the use of funds for U.S. combat action in Vietnam after July 1, 1971, except for removal of U.S. troops;

37 percent suggested a "time-table" withdrawal of U.S. troops up to July 1, 1971, and the maintenance of an American "peace-keeping" force of some 280,000 troops, to be withdrawn as the military situation warrants;

17 percent called for escalation of the war to include an all-out attack on North Vietnam using all resources except nuclear weapons to bring about a complete military victory.

5. On whether the United States should extend diplomatic recognition to Red China, 64 percent of those responding said "Yes," while 36 percent said "No."

6. Regarding whether the United States should support the admission of Red China to the United Nations, 61 percent answered "Yes," while 39 percent said "No."

7. On the question of supplying Israel with economic and military assistance necessary to the maintenance of a "balance of power" in the Middle East, 59 percent said "Yes," while 41 percent answered "No."

## THE DRAFT

8. Respondents chose one of the following four alternatives concerning how the military services should be manned after June 30th of this year, when the current draft law expires:

14 percent recommended extending the present law for four years;

12 percent called for extending present law for two years, while reducing draft calls to zero;

18 percent suggested repeal of the draft in favor of an all-volunteer army;

56 percent recommended reforming the Selective Service System in favor of a plan that would offer every young man the choice of volunteering for the military service, of volunteering for acceptable alternative civilian service (e.g., Peace Corps, Teachers Corps, hospital work, etc.), or of taking his chances under the lottery system.

## VOTING AGE

9. Last December, the Supreme Court upheld a congressional enactment extending to persons between the ages of 18 and 21 the right to vote in Federal elections. Of those responding to my questionnaire, 84 percent said the 18-year-old vote should also apply to State and local elections, while 16 percent thought it should not.

10. Of the 84 percent favoring extension of the right to vote in State and local elections to 18-through-20 year olds, 33 percent thought this should be accomplished on a State-by-State basis; 67 percent recommended that it be done on a national basis, by means of an amendment to the U.S. Constitution, requiring a two-thirds vote in both Houses of Congress, followed by ratification by three-fourths of the States.

## HEALTH CARE

11. Sixty-three percent called for enactment by this Congress of a federally funded national health insurance plan that would guarantee financial health-care coverage to every American citizen; 37 percent expressed opposition to such a law.

## THE SST

12. Fifteen percent of all respondents said the Federal Government should continue to subsidize the supersonic transport plane; 85 percent said it should not.

## CONSUMER AFFAIRS

13. Seventy-six percent of all respondents favored and 24 percent opposed creation of an independent, Cabinet-level department in the Federal Government which could lead the case of consumers before Federal regulatory agencies that have jurisdiction over such areas as unsafe products, questionable credit practices, and deceptive advertising.

14. Eighty-three percent said they favored and 17 percent said they opposed legislation that would permit citizens to bring "class action" damage suits—law suits in which a number of consumers victimized by fraud or deception in the marketplace could pool resources and share court costs.

## EDUCATION

15. Congressman Henry S. Reuss (D-Wis.) has proposed a new idea to help spread education among citizens who, in their youth, ended their schooling at too early an age. The proposal is for a "sabbatical year" for adults, age 25 and older, who earn less than \$10,000. Qualifying persons would be given grants to cover education costs and lost salary for a full 12-month period. The plan is generally designed to aid the so-called "middle American" by broadening his educational horizons and improving his earning potential. Fifty-seven percent said they favored the suggested plan; 43 percent said they opposed it.

## FREEDOM FROM INFORMATION

## HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, persons who deal with public service corporations are familiar with their tendency to hide information which is relevant to regulators and customers. The deficiency is especially noticeable in areas of central importance to enforcement of law and order in the fields of antitrust, environmental protection, and ratemaking. I refer specifically to the inadequacy of reporting of beneficial ownership of the corporations, pollution by their facilities, payments made to retainers, stock option benefits for company insiders, and reports on corporate profits.

Some information can be gleaned from the annual reports of the corporations to regulatory commissions. Utility corporations frequently file their rate increase requests before they file their annual reports to regulatory commissions. About a year after the commissions file their annual reports, the Federal Power Commission and Federal Communications Commission publish their annual comparisons of utility statistics. These publications usually are not available until well after the utilities have gotten the courts to nail down the rate increase upon the basis of one-sided information which had not been properly challenged, because neither the regulators nor protestants had the information and staff resources for the adversary presentation which is supposed to characterize our regulatory and judicial system.

Potential parties to a rate or environmental case face a further impediment before the regulatory commissions. Most of these commissions will not provide free copies of the annual reports and

further submissions of the utilities. Some commissions have arrangements with private reporting companies to charge exorbitant fees for reproduction of such documents. The Interstate Commerce Commission, for example, has been requiring some persons to pay a private reporting company more than a dollar a page.

This freedom from information method of protecting utilities reaches its zenith in the State of Arizona. There the Arizona Corporation Commission regards even the annual reports of utilities as "confidential." The commission relies upon a statute which would permit the reports to be public on order of the commission.

Mr. President, this is one of the reasons why consumer protection legislation should include the modest disclosure requirements embodied in the Utility Consumers' Information and Counsel Act, which is S. 607 in this body and H.R. 4872, H.R. 5488, and H.R. 7444 in the House.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD pertinent correspondence between the Arizona State Corporation Commission and the Southwest Research and Information Center in Albuquerque.

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

ARIZONA CORPORATION COMMISSION,

Phoenix, Ariz., April 16, 1971.

(Attention of Richard Morgan, Research Associate).

SOUTHWEST RESEARCH AND INFORMATION CENTER, Albuquerque, N. Mex.

GENTLEMEN: Reference is made to your letter requesting copies of the annual reports or excerpts therefrom of several electric utilities operating in Arizona.

The annual reports of the utilities are the only documents in our office that are not open to public inspection and the information contained therein is confidential. We regret that we are unable to assist you.

Very truly yours,

ROBERT G. KIRCHER,  
Director, Utilities Division.

APRIL 19, 1971.

Mr. DICK HERBERT,  
Arizona Corporation Commission,  
State Capitol Annex,  
Phoenix, Ariz.

DEAR MR. HERBERT: We are a non-profit organization doing research on the problems of electric power development in the Southwest. On April 13, I sent a letter to the Arizona Corporation Commission requesting information on the accounts of several electric power companies which operate in your state. I received a reply, dated April 16, from Mr. Robert G. Kirchner, Director of Utilities Division, which said, "The annual reports of the utilities . . . are not open to public inspection and the information contained therein is confidential." I am surprised by this regulation, in that all other state utility commissions which I have contacted do willingly furnish this information at a nominal cost.

I am writing to you because of your favorable testimony in the *Congressional Record* of February 26, 1970, regarding the problems of regulating utilities in Arizona. I hope that you might help me find the information that I am looking for. I would like copies of the balance sheets of 1969 and 1970, including revenues, profits, and expenditures on advertising, public rela-

tions, and research and development, submitted by the following utilities:

Arizona Public Service Company  
Tucson Gas and Electric Company  
Salt River Project  
Arizona Power Authority  
Arizona Electric Power Cooperative

If there is any cost for these copies, I will remit by return mail. If this information is truly not available, I would appreciate your giving me an explanation for this policy. Thank you.

Sincerely,

RICHARD MORGAN,  
Research Associate.

ARIZONA CORPORATION COMMISSION,  
Phoenix, Ariz., April 23, 1971.

Re: Your letter of April 19, 1971 addressed to Mr. Dick Herbert.

Mr. RICHARD MORGAN,  
Research Associate, Southwest Research and Information Center, Albuquerque, N. Mex.

DEAR MR. MORGAN: In reference to your letter of April 19, 1971, Mr. Dick Herbert is no longer with the Arizona Corporation Commission as he completed his term of office. The reply dated April 16, 1971 from Mr. Robert G. Kircher, Director of our Utilities Division, was correct and enforced by the Commissioners. The Arizona Revised Statutes, Section 40-204, sections C and D read as follows:

C. "No information furnished to the commission by a public service corporation, except matters specifically required to be open to public inspection shall be open to public inspection or made public except on order of the commission, or by the commission or commissioner in the course of a hearing or proceeding."

D. "Any officer or employee of the Commission who divulges any such information is guilty of a misdemeanor."

Annual reports of the utilities are not open to the public, and the information contained in those reports is confidential. I hope that you can understand the position of the Commissioners in this type of situation as we are governed by these statutes and our Utilities Division has been instructed to abide by those rules.

If you should have any further questions with regard to this matter, please feel free to contact me again.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM R. JOHNSON,  
Executive Secretary.

#### CONGRESSMAN WYLIE LEADS MOVE TO RESTORE PRAYER IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, I want to call attention to the commendable efforts of our colleague from Ohio, the Honorable CHALMERS P. WYLIE, to instill life in the movement that seeks as its objectives the restoration of voluntary prayer in the public schools via a constitutional amendment as proposed in his House Joint Resolution 191. While it is acknowledged that a petition to discharge the committee from further consideration of the resolution is less desirable procedurally than having the measure considered on the committee's own initiative, Congressman WYLIE and others now recognize that the discharge

petition is the only alternative if there is to be any opportunity at all for the House to vote on the resolution in the 92d Congress. I have signed this petition and urge all those Members who have introduced similar or identical resolutions to do likewise.

Based on the strong public interest in this move, the Evening Star of May 1 carried an article outlining the history of the prayer movement and Congressman WYLIE's thinking in deciding to initiate the discharge petition. The article follows:

#### CONGRESSMAN WYLIE LEADS MOVE TO RESTORE PRAYER IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Almost nine years after the first of two U.S. Supreme Court decisions that had the effective impact of banning prayers and Bible reading from many of the nation's classrooms, the fight to restore the right to pray in public schools continues.

In Congress, prompted by strong grassroots support in his state, Rep. Chalmers Wylie, R-Ohio, has introduced a discharge petition in an attempt to get a prayer amendment bill out on the floor for open discussion and a vote.

The amendment is tied up in the Judiciary Committee by Rep. Emanuel Celler, D-N.Y., who is opposed to the measure.

Wylie admits that filing a discharge petition is not a popular move, but after talks with Celler felt it was the only avenue left open. He has some 40 signatures, but needs 218, or a simple majority of the House, to bring it to the floor.

The Ohioan reflected a veiled optimism about the prospects of bringing the bill before the Congress, much of it resting on the fact that the discharge petition has been introduced fairly early in the session. It marks the third time a discharge petition has been used to try to bring a showdown.

Last year, near the session's end, a discharge petition was introduced, and back in 1964 former New York Representative Frank Becker tried this route. Becker got some 160 signatures, but fell short of his goal.

A source of hope—and at the same time consternation—comes from the fact that 100 congressmen have filed prayer amendment bills similar to his. He scans, first, the list of those who have bills pending, and second, the list of those who've signed the discharge petition. It bothers him.

#### SOME HOLD BACK

"I was assured flatly by those who led this drive that they had the commitments—the positive commitments—of more than 218 members of the House to sign the discharge motion," he said.

"That may be so," he added, "but if it is, those who made these commitments have certainly not delivered."

Wylie, an active United Methodist layman, said that over the course of the years since the prayer issue came to the fore "more than a majority of the members of the House have introduced or cosponsored prayer amendments like mine, but I have noticed no great drive among those who ostensibly back this proposal to sign the motion that would get it to the floor for a vote.

"If they really want that action, it now is up to them . . . to take the actual step of signing my discharge petition."

One of the groups that keeps constant pressure on for passage of the bill—the exact language of the Dirksen Amendment—is the Back to God Movement. This week, Mrs. Bennett Miller of Washington presented the signatures of 170,000 persons on petitions supporting prayer in the schools.

In Ohio, Mrs. Ben Ruhlin presented Wylie with 100,000 signatures. In earlier efforts, the Jaycees produced 360,000 names.

Mrs. Miller, the national coordinator for

the Back to God Movement, cites a 122 percent increase in crime since the court decisions and believes the decisions play a role in that crime rise.

#### SEES A CONNECTION

"Regardless of the reasons for the breakdown of authority and deteriorated moral climate in our schools and streets, and the 122 percent increase in crime since 1963 the lack of any spiritual emphasis played its part in the formative years of the youth" she said.

The Rev. Robert Howes, an associate professor at Catholic University, and head of Citizens for Public Prayer, told Wylie: "Time and again we have noted . . . the matter of school prayer involves the whole idea of religion in our public life.

"Much more is at stake than a mere morning moment, however important this is in and of itself. What is involved, at this crisis point in our development as a people is a return of America to the reverence of its foundation."

The bill Wylie is authoring reads: "Nothing contained in this Constitution shall abridge the right of persons lawfully assembled in any public building which is supported in whole or in part through the expenditure of public funds, to participate in nondenominational prayer."

If the 218 votes are obtained, the measure still will need a two-thirds vote margin of victory in both houses to be sent to the states for ratification. Three-fourths of the states then would have to ratify the amendment within seven years of its passage.

But Wylie and those backing the bill think that if it ever clears Congress the people will pass it. The latest national poll indicates 80 percent still believe the matter of clarifying the public prayer issue—positively—is a congressional must, he said.

Mrs. Miller has issued a call for more help in her campaign. The Back to God Movement's headquarters are at 3004 Adams St. NE, and the telephone number is LA 6-3613. Howes' number is 265-3900.

JAMES RESTON ON ED MUSKIE

HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, as we know only too well, the corollary of leadership is exposure to intense criticism. Senator EDMUND MUSKIE's increased role as leader of the Democratic Party is, of course, accompanied by increased attention to his performance, and it is certainly not to be expected that this attention always be favorable.

Throughout the years, however, James Reston's columns have become noteworthy for the long-range perspective which they offer in the midst of the evanescent popular wisdoms expressed in Washington. In his column of April 28, appearing in the New York Times, Mr. Reston brings us back to what I personally feel so very strongly: Senator EDMUND MUSKIE of Maine is the most solid candidate for the highest national office. I am confident that the strength of his character and intellect will be reflected by increasing strength with the American people during the months ahead, particularly as more of our citizens have the opportunity to meet this man from Maine, and listen to him. For the benefit-



of my colleagues who may have missed Mr. Reston's column when it originally appeared, I insert it herewith:

BIG ED MUSKIE OF MAINE

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, April 27.—The man in the middle of Washington's smoky-room gossip these days is Big Ed Muskie of Maine. Much of the smoke is coming from the Senator himself, but suddenly all the pros in both parties are muttering against him, which is the treatment usually reserved for the front-runner.

For example, John Mitchell, the Attorney General, who ran President Nixon's last campaign and may run his next, expresses the view that Muskie will never make it through the Democratic nominating convention. In his opinion, the Democrats will tear each other apart in the primaries and wind up with a badly wounded nominee, "probably Humphrey or Kennedy."

Publicly, the Democratic candidates are sticking to their pledge not to criticize each other, but privately they are sniping at the Senator from Maine. Muskie, they complain, is poorly organized, indecisive, inexperienced on urban questions and foreign policy, an Adlai Stevenson without Stevenson's eloquence, experience or big-state political base.

This, it should be noted, is strictly Washington stuff. Poor Ed—he has nothing going for him but the people, the pollsters and a quiet personal New England determination to ignore the gossip and run his campaign in his own careful way and at his own time.

Well, he says, maybe there is something to all this criticism. Maybe he has been ambiguous, maybe he has waffled on Vietnam, maybe he has not been too well organized, but let's wait and see. People keep drawing my profile every day, he says, and the pressure will get much worse, but there's plenty of time.

Muskie has recently responded to the criticism by stepping up the pace of his campaign and sharpening up his shafts at the Nixon Administration. He has kept adding to his staff, though he is still short on professional political advisers. He has been talking out on the Calley case, supporting the public protests against the war though not the violent militants, attacking the F.B.I. for its snooping on the Earth Day rallies, and working energetically but quietly on urban and foreign policy problems.

Nevertheless, he has not increased his lead since the first of the year, probably because he is a cranky Yankee and not so sure that the main issues of the moment—the war and the economy—will look quite so promising a year or fifteen months from now. So he has been huddling back and conserving his energies and his ammunition for later on.

For the Republican strategists, this is good news. They might be worried if Muskie established himself early as a sure winner in the Democratic nominating convention and could therefore avoid a divisive struggle in the primaries and on the convention floor. But the longer he waits, the greater the chances are, in the Republican view, that the Democrats will fall out and the war and economy issues will begin to fade.

Attorney General Mitchell, for one, believes time is on the side of the Republicans. He says nobody has asked him to run the 1972 campaign, "and I'm not volunteering," but he thinks the outcry against the war and unemployment will have declined substantially by next spring, and that nobody, certainly not Muskie, will be able to unite the Democratic party.

Nor is Mitchell particularly worried about the 11.5 million 18-21-year-old voters who will be eligible to participate nationally in the '72 election for the first time. Though the Gallup Poll indicates that three out of four 18-21-year-olds favor the Democratic party, he is not convinced that they will develop

enough enthusiasm for any of the Democratic candidates to be decisive.

Instead, he points to "about five and a half million" older floating voters who under the new 30-day residence requirements are likely to be a bigger factor in the 1972 voting than ever before. He identifies these as men in lower and middle management jobs who are constantly moving from one location to another and who tend to be rather conservative. In 1968, long legal residence requirements for voting made it difficult for these men to cast their ballots, but the new 30-day rule, Mr. Mitchell believes, will bring them in far greater numbers to the Republican side.

Muskie and his staff are inclined to agree that this is a time for careful and quiet analysis of the changing electorate, rather than for starting a dramatic personal campaign which no candidate can maintain from now until the summer of 1972 and beyond.

What the Muskie men are concerned about now is holding the middle ground, avoiding any open splits in the party, and organizing the young. For example, one key issue is how to enable college students in the 18-21-year group to register and vote in the college towns and cities, where they will be on Election Day 1972 rather than at home.

So the muttering against Muskie is probably less important than the private organization building that is going on behind the headlines. The Senator from Maine is still the best television performer in the Democratic party, still more acceptable to most of the large voting groups in the ranks of the Democrats, and his problems, while formidable, seem desperate only when you forget the problems of his opponents, including Senators Humphrey and Kennedy and even President Nixon.

#### LIBERALS SHOULD HEED CRITICISM

### HON. DAVID W. DENNIS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. DENNIS. Mr. Speaker, I recommend to the attention of my friends and colleagues, particularly those of a "liberal" persuasion, the following timely and thoughtful column by Walter Trohan, from the Chicago Tribune of April 30, 1971:

#### LIBERALS SHOULD HEED CRITICISM

(By Walter Trohan)

WASHINGTON, April 29.—Liberals have their place in this world—make no mistake about it. But, if they have their place, so do conservatives, and let us not forget that, either.

If conservatives are extremists, as some liberals would have us believe, liberals can also be extremists. Extremists are intolerant of any opinion but their own.

The great trouble with liberals is that so many are so positive they know what God would do if He would only take the time to study the problem. So many are so positive that God could have made a better world if He had only consulted them at the time, and so many are so positive that they can repair the mistakes almost overnight, even at this late date.

There is no doubt that many liberals are sincere and honest in their desire for reforms they consider essential for the advancement of many. But it should be obvious that in these ranks are many phonies who are in for what they can get; and they are doing very well, indeed, in politics, for one example, and on the campuses, for another.

Liberals have been in the saddle for almost 40 years in one party or the other and more often in both, yet we have not achieved

the instant perfection they have been promising. In fact, it can be argued that things have gone from bad to worse.

Traditionally liberals have been against war, but they had no monopoly in this because all good men are, even in the military. However, they abandoned their traditional position in 1939, confident that victory in that war would bring all nations and all peoples into one happy and democratic world.

Liberals made it a holy war. They joyously allied themselves with one form of totalitarianism, Communism, to defeat the totalitarianism of Nazism and Fascism. How many wonder whether it would not have been better to let and to help the rival forms of totalitarianism destroy one another!

At any rate, instead of ending all war, World War II has spawned more than 40 wars since 1945. One of these is the war in which Viet Nam, which liberals are denouncing as an unholy war. They are impatient with the way in which President Nixon is winding it down and want it ended instantly, no matter what it may mean to those Vietnamese who do not want to live under Communism or what it may mean to our world image as the protector of small nations against aggression, especially Red aggression.

The 40 years of liberal rule have seen the growth of statism in the quest for reforms, often unobtainable reforms. Even worse, the 40 years of liberalism seem to have spawned a growth of nihilism, especially among the young.

So many are urging the destruction of whatever has been established as the only way to deliver the instant perfection. Some liberals have been blaming conservatives for their failures, altho conservatives haven't been in power nationally. Conservatives have been ridiculed as people who yearn to live in the 18th century or at the court of Louis XIV.

It would be great if we could have the 18th century prices, 19th century taxes, and 20th century wages, but even conservatives know this cannot be done. Conservatives know also that we cannot redistribute the wealth thru taxes, as liberals are striving to do.

Conservatives want to apply the lessons of the past to the promises of the present in order to win a better future. Liberals, true liberals, should invite such examination and scrutiny of their reform proposals. They should be as interested in the exposure of fallacies so that liberals and conservatives can join in getting on the right track.

#### SECRETARY OF STATE ROGERS ADVANCES THE CAUSE OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

### HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I think we should all applaud Secretary of State Rogers for the personal initiative he has taken to advance the cause of peace in the Middle East. The talks he will have with the leaders of Israel and the Arab states, and his very presence in the area, will bring home to all concerned the great importance we attach to helping the two sides achieve a just and lasting peace.

We know that Secretary Rogers is not taking any new proposals with him and that we should not look for dramatic progress in resolving the intractable problems which have blocked an Arab-

Israeli settlement for over two decades. Nevertheless, we can point to significant progress that has been made during the past year, and I believe there is a basis for new steps in forging a settlement which will provide security and new opportunities for peaceful development for all countries in the area.

It is important to take advantage of the present favorable climate resulting from 9 months of ceasefire and the recent developments in the Jarring talks which have opened the way for negotiating a peace agreement. Secretary Rogers now wants to keep up the momentum of these developments and to encourage the parties to move forward in confidential, serious peace talks under Jarring's auspices.

No one can question the importance to U.S. interests of progress toward peace in the Middle East. We are pleased that Secretary Rogers has moved constructively and forcefully to help the process along.

JACKSONVILLE, FLA., POLICE, ST. REGIS PAPER CO. PUBLISH "DRUG USE—DRUG ABUSE"

### HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, the Fraternal Order of Police in Jacksonville, Fla., the Third Congressional District of Florida, has published a very informative and worthwhile booklet "Drug Use—Drug Abuse" in cooperation with the St. Regis Paper Co.

I want to commend this effort by the police officers and St. Regis employees to the Nation by inserting in the RECORD a letter by the police lodge president, George Grosse, and the news release announcing the publication. The booklet is aimed at educating the public about drugs. The material basically came from U.S. Government publications, and was prepared for wide distribution in Jacksonville.

A large group of local sponsors joined the Fraternal Order of Police Jacksonville Consolidated Lodge No. 530 in the production of the booklet, and they all deserve great credit for the good work they have done.

To education the general public on the problem of drugs is a highly meritorious endeavor and all of us should be aware of the good such a program can accomplish:

FRATERNAL ORDER OF POLICE,  
JACKSONVILLE CONSOLIDATED,  
Jacksonville, Fla.

TO OUR CITIZENS: There is no question that there is a serious problem in this nation with the use and abuse of drugs, particularly among the young. In our opinion, there are several reasons for the tremendous upsurge in the use of drugs. One is the failure of parents to recognize symptoms of drug use in their children. Another is the failure of our young people to recognize the dangers and heartache that await them with the use of drugs.

Read this book and learn about the problem and the symptoms of drug abuse before it is too late. Only if we have the cooperation of a concerned and knowledgeable citizenry

can we protect the children of the Jacksonville Area from this very real menace.

This booklet is being distributed throughout the community of Jacksonville by the Fraternal Order of Police in conjunction with the participating sponsors listed herein without whose help and sincere dedication the wide distribution of this pamphlet would not be possible.

Sincerely,

GEORGE GROSSE,  
President.

FRATERNAL ORDER OF POLICE, JACKSONVILLE  
CONSOLIDATED, LODGE No. 530

JACKSONVILLE, February 16.—Seventy thousand copies of a booklet entitled "Drug Use—Drug Abuse" is being published today by Fraternal Order of Police, Jacksonville Consolidated Lodge No. 530. "The 24-page booklet is aimed at educating the public, and parents in particular, in identifying drugs that are most often abused in their use," states Bill LaVake, F.O.P. President.

The material from the booklets is reprinted from U.S. Government publications. The booklet relates in simple question and answer form detailed information concerning the up and down drugs, amphetamines and barbiturates; marihuana and the hard drugs, heroin, cocaine; and hallucinogens such as LSD, STP and DMT. A unique feature of the booklet is four color photographs which will make it simple for parents to identify the different types of drugs and the implements used in their preparation.

LaVake said, "The booklet is intended to supplement the efforts of other official agencies concerned with the drug abuse problem. Quantities of the booklets will be made available to these groups for distribution through civic clubs and other interested organizations." LaVake continued, "Although the F.O.P. sponsored the publication, monies for printing were donated by concerned businesses and industries in the Jacksonville area." *St. Regis Paper Company provided \$3,500 worth of paper to print the booklets on.*

"This is the culmination of a six-months' long project initiated during F.O.P. Past President George Grosse's administration and we sincerely hope the booklets will produce a significant decrease in drug abuse," LaVake said.

Single copies are available at 25¢ each to cover mailing costs from:

Drug Education Book, P.O. Box 29, Ortega Station, Jacksonville, Florida 32210.

### NEVADA MUSTANG HAS FANTASTIC BAG OF TRICKS

### HON. WALTER S. BARING

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, in line with the recent hearings in the House and Senate Interior Committees on legislation for the protection of wild horses, I believe this article which appeared in the Reno Evening Gazette on Saturday, March 27, by Nevada Senator Cliff Young, might be of interest:

NEVADA MUSTANG HAS FANTASTIC BAG OF TRICKS

(By Senator Cliff Young)

(NOTE.—State Sen. Cliff Young, R-Reno, is admired as one of the most entertaining and persuasive speakers in Nevada government. The following are remarks he made on the Senate floor March 22 on a favorite subject.)

Mr. President, I rise in opposition to the motion. This is the bill, of course, that makes the Mustang the State animal for Nevada. Over the years I have divided bills into three categories, good bills, meritorious bills and bills with extraordinary merit. I have concluded after some time that this bill falls clearly within the latter category a sort of legislative hole-in-one.

There is something about the name "mustang" that has a glandular effect on many of our citizens. It seems to increase production of hormones. I notice, most particularly in the stockmen, youth, and even newspapermen, all affected by its mystic spell.

I introduced this bill first out of respect for a very fine woman, Velma Johnston, also known as "Wild Horse Annie." At that time, Mr. President, I thought it was only an ordinary bill. After she testified on it I was convinced that it was a meritorious bill. And about two weeks after that there was testimony before the Federal, State, and Local Governments Committee by the opponents of the bill and at that time I realized that truly this was a meritorious bill with extraordinary qualities.

Let me give you the reasons why I arrived at that conclusion. Some of the testimony indicated that this noble animal is really more ferocious than a mountain lion and can only be approached with safety in a vehicle. Another witness testified that its reproductive capacity is such that if not controlled it could shortly denude the State, and there wouldn't be enough food left for a jack-rabbit. A third witness testified that there are no mustangs, which led me to conclude that perhaps they're invisible when they perform these depredations.

All these qualities taken together, the fact that it is more ferocious than a lion, capable of denuding the landscape and perhaps move with a phantom-like skill results in the conclusion that perhaps here at last we have a military weapon that can be put to great use in Vietnam. I think it has more destruction potential than the Vice President's golf club. Can you imagine what would happen if some of these mustangs were taken by helicopter to Laos or Hanoi? The Ho Chi Minh trail would soon become impassable. Pandemonium would rage near Hanoi. I can almost see the telegrams now going to Paris telling the envoys to stop 'horsing' around and start seriously negotiating for peace.

Another witness testified that there are no mustangs at all. We have in our midst a man equally at home in the saddle or in the seat of high finance. I am hopeful that sometime during discussion he can reaffirm the fact that there are indeed mustangs and thereby forestall a traumatic impact upon the youth of our country. To say that there are no mustangs would be like saying there were no pioneers, no 49'ers, no stage coach riders, no Buffalo Bill, no Kit Carson. We have had hundreds of letters from interested boys and girls and because of this I hope that the distinguished chairman of the Finance Committee will be able to refute this statement and reassure the youth of our State.

Another reason I think the bill has tremendous merit is the amount of publicity generated by this noble animal. All the deer, antelope, and chukars in the State, and indeed even Fish and Game Commission itself might disappear overnight, and there would be scant mention of it in the papers the following day. Yet half a dozen mustangs get caught on a snow-swept ridge and the publicity is tremendous. Mustangs have been featured in National Geographic and Life Magazines, New York Times, Christian Monitor and other publications. I don't want to give you the impression that all of the great newspapers are for the mustang. There is one in Northern Nevada in Elko County which apparently supports a contrary position. I happened to see one of its editorials which indicated that possibly this bill was introduced

as a result of the ecological madness that is sweeping over the country. The editor referred to a "hammer-headed, scrawny, runt" in his column. I trust he was referring to the mustang and not the introducer. The mustang has the potential to generate more news than George Miller and the Welfare program and we have to admit that there has been a remarkable job in this field. Most important, I think the mustang as a State symbol means something to the youth of our State. You have received many letters and I have received hundreds of them. One in particular stands out and I would like to read a portion of it to you. It is from a little girl in the 8th grade. She says, "Dear Sir, I have been thinking for a while and thought I might ask you if you could do something about the killing of wild mustangs." She then expresses her support for mustangs and concludes, "I have often told my brother to stop sniffing glue because it isn't fair to the horses."

Seriously though, there is a lot to commend the mustang as a State animal. It stands as a symbol of an indomitable fight for survival. About 50 years ago there were nearly a million mustangs; its numbers are now down to about 15 or 17 thousand. They have been chased by mechanical contrivances from the air and on the ground, they have been pursued by well-fed horses carrying well-fed riders. They have been shot, corraled, made into dog food and pushed into the most arid and hostile portions of our environment. And still they continue to fight on. Their record stands as something that even their arch rivals cannot match. They have done it all without federal aid or subsidy.

Mr. President, the very mention of the word "mustang" has a unifying effect. Even the people who are protesting treatment by welfare authorities have used it as a rallying point. I am convinced that with a mustang as our State animal a new spirit of harmony will prevail in Nevada. I can see liberals and conservatives, polluters and ecologists, lawyers and the non-lawyers, welfare rights protesters and the Nevada Taxpayers Association, and even Wild Horse Annie and Nevada stockmen going down the road together in a new spirit of unity and harmony. For these reasons, Mr. President, I hope that we will vote down this motion and then agree to make the mustang our State animal. Before we vote I would like to prevail upon the distinguished chairman of the Finance Committee to give us his observations on the merits of this bill and, in fact, indicate whether in his opinion mustangs still exist in the State of Nevada.

#### ISRAEL INDEPENDENCE DAY

### HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the State of Israel has just begun her 24th year as a nation.

On May 14, 1948, Mr. David Ben-Gurion read the proclamation to a group of tearful but happy Jews gathered in Tel Aviv, and a few hours later, at midnight, the State of Israel came into existence. It was a paradox of history in 1948, that this nation of people, one of the oldest on earth with a record of almost 4,000 years as a nation, should be welcomed into the family of nations as a new member. In the intervening 23 years, the Israelis have demonstrated that they are a young and dynamic nation, while at the same time showing that

they are the inheritors of the wisdom of their forefathers.

In the 23 years of her existence as a free state, Israel has become a model of courage, prosperity, and progress. Against seemingly unsurmountable odds, and in the face of constant danger from hostile neighbors, Israel will not be deterred from the course she charted 23 years ago, when in her Declaration of Statehood she stated:

It (Israel) will foster the development of the country for the benefit of all inhabitants; it will be based on freedom, justice, and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel; it will insure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race, or sex; it will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education, and culture; it will safeguard the holy places of all religions; and it will be faithful to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

The world is well aware of the trials faced by the State of Israel; there have been three wars between the Israelis and their Arab neighbors in the past two decades, wars that have drained away vital energy, riches, and time from the Israel people. More important, however, is that the pride of Israel, her young people, have been sent off to battle, slowing the process of nation-building. The Israelis live in an atmosphere of constant war, being subjected daily to the threat of renewed hostilities. But in spite of these burdens, the Israelis have amassed one of the most astonishing records of growth and development of any nation in the history of the world. The Israel triumph over adversity is truly one of the miracles of our time.

In every field of endeavor, the Israelis have shown an uncommon capability to provide new insights, to seek new approaches and to devise new methods. It is perhaps this innovative spirit which has made the State of Israel so prominent in so many different enterprises. But for all the initiative and invention of the Israel people, they have not been able to find the formula of peace for their land. It is the hope of all free men that the Israeli statesmen and diplomats, will be successful in their efforts at convincing the leaders of the Arab States to set aside their weapons of war and to accept the Israeli offers of peace and cooperation.

On the occasion of the anniversary of Israel independence, we join the many friends of Israel around the world in offering our heartiest congratulations and expressing the hope that the next celebration in Israel shall be for a permanent and meaningful peace.

#### THEY WERE NOT FOR PEACE OR FREEDOM

### HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, the vast majority of the 2.5 million young men who have seen service in Vietnam are

loyal Americans. During the past week, a very small percentage of these veterans marched on the Nation's Capital, under the Vietcong flag and a portrait of Mao Tse tung. They burned the American flag and committed numerous acts that fall in the category of misdemeanor or plain bad taste. They heard numerous speakers, some of them Members of Congress, echo the party line of our sworn enemies.

The sad part of this demonstration is the fact that some of the marchers are sincere pacifists, who are being used by hard-core militants whose publicly stated objective is to destroy our way of life. If the Vietnam war was settled tomorrow, this hard core would quickly seize another "cause" as a means for embarrassing our Government.

Mr. Speaker, such hard-core militancy only invites reaction. Under the Vietcong flag it is contemptible. In this regard, a very interesting and timely article by Leo "Tar" Paulin appeared in the Bethesda-Chevy Chase Advertiser, April 28.

The article follows:

#### THEY WERE NOT ON OUR SIDE

(By Leo "Tar" Paulin)

First came a contingent of Vietnam veterans, less than a thousand strong, a minute percentage of the 2.5 million Americans who have seen service in South Vietnam. The TV cameras gave them generous coverage. The broadcast microphones relayed the Vet's unsubstantiated charges throughout the land. The people at home heard the United States vilified and castigated. Nobody questioned the credentials of the accusers.

At night the ex-soldiers crept into their sleeping bags. Those with girls found places on the fringes of the crowd. A Star reporter asked one, "How long do you plan to stay here?" The protestor answered, "As long as the booze, dope and girls last." These are the "intellects" who would chart America's foreign policy.

All day last Friday and early last Saturday morning a vast multitude gathered from many parts of the land. Their bodies covered acres of greensward in beautiful Washington. According to official estimates they numbered between 175,000 and 200,000, less than 2% of the population, and not more than the number of spectators at a soccer game in Argentina.

On Saturday they marched to the Capitol. Along the way they burned the American flag. They marched under the flag of the Viet Cong, under a huge portrait of Mao Tse Tung. They heard a long list of speakers, including some members of Congress and David Dellenger, one of the "Chicago 7" and a self-proclaimed Marxist, bitterly denouncing the United States and demanding immediate withdrawal of all American troops.

Over and over the speakers parroted the Hanoi line. The protestors were not on our side; they unashamedly gave aid and comfort to the enemy. And along the way many of them were taken to hospitals suffering from bad LSD trips. These too, are the people who would chart America's foreign policy.

There is deep tragedy in the latest demonstration. Many, many thousands among the marchers are sincere pacifists. But they are not the ones who organized the demonstration. The leadership is the same communist-inspired militants who virtually made a prisoner of Lyndon Johnson when he was in the White House, and who mounted such pressures that Johnson decided against seeking a second term.

The hard core demonstrators are not nearly as concerned with the Vietnam conflict as they are with the destruction of Capitalism. The war could end before you finish reading

this piece and the militants would immediately mount another offensive on another front to disrupt the nation.

No sane citizen anywhere in this nation approves of our involvement in Indochina. And to no one, anywhere, is the war more distasteful and tragic than it is to President Richard Nixon.

Before Mr. Nixon took office he pledged to bring an end to America's role in the war. He is fulfilling his promise in an admirable and courageous manner. During his two years in office he has reduced our forces in South Vietnam over 50%. He is ahead of his announced schedule in bringing home the remainder of our troops.

Unless this nation is willing to be a party to a colossal carnage we must adhere to Mr. Nixon's policy of Vietnamization. Acceding to the demonstrators' demands for immediate withdrawal is paramount to extending an open invitation to the hordes to the North to pour over the DMZ and to slaughter the million North Vietnam refugees in South Vietnam with all the ferocity which attends a cultural revolution in Red China, is it possible the demonstrators want this?

It is difficult to rationalize that the demonstrators would willingly turn Indochina over to the Communist forces of the Far East. But it is equally difficult for any student of the peace offensives in this country to conclude otherwise. Never in all the protests has there been one word of reproach against Hanoi. Why?

We're in a ghastly bind in Vietnam and it wasn't of Nixon's making. And it prompts one to speculate on where we would be today if the Hatfields, the McGoverns, the Mathias-es, the Fulbrights, the Muskies, the Kennedys and a host of others in Congress, plus all the well-intentioned peaceniks would back our President and this country instead of lending aid and comfort to Hanoi. It is not unreasonable to conclude that meaningful negotiations would long ago have been underway in Paris.

Peaceful protests are one of the basic American freedoms. People have a constitutional right to assembly. But it is totally repugnant to see good Americans parading under the Viet Cong flag and the Mao banner. And the fact that those among us who think differently (the vast majority of the populace) did not rise up and tear those badges of tyranny from the hands of the marchers is a foreboding omen for the nation. It has ever been true that the prelude to dissolution is a sotted licentiousness nursed with lazy inertia incapable of generating righteous indignation.

IS THE SOVIET CIVIL DEFENSE PROGRAM REALLY BETTER THAN OURS?

**HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, recent confirmation of the continuing Soviet effort to attain an unsurpassed military capability on the nuclear level has been brought to our attention by the Secretary of Defense and Senator HENRY JACKSON. While they have dealt in the main with the most recent developments in Soviet deployment of strategic offensive and defensive weapons, the Soviets now have an intercontinental ballistic missile force practically 50 percent larger than ours in numbers of delivery vehicles and many times larger than ours in terms of total megatonnage or destructive power, there

has been no real official notice taken of an equally determined drive being undertaken by the Soviets to improve their civil defense capabilities.

Civil defense is of real importance to a power like the Soviet Union whose force in being and under construction make sense only when viewed in light of the intention to acquire a first-strike capability against the United States. This is because a first-strike capability consists in being able to lower the enemy's retaliatory capability below a certain threshold of acceptable damage through the use of counter-force weaponry and ballistic missile defense—EMD. EMD consists not only of active defense measures, such as the 64 launcher Galosh system currently operational around Moscow, or the new Galosh system now under construction, or the 1,200 site SA-5 surface to air missile Tallin system of which Dr. John Foster, Director of Defense Research and Engineering, has said:

If the SA-5 system is given information from the large ballistic missile acquisition and tracking radars, then it could have considerable capability in making successful intercepts of incoming ballistic missiles.

But also passive defensive measures such as civil defense.

Civil defense procedures limit damage. A well organized civil defense program, especially easy to organize in a totalitarian society such as the Soviet Union, can substantially lower the level of damage to the population resulting from a nuclear exchange. Dr. Eugene Wigner, U.S. Nobel laureate, has calculated that successful massive evacuation of Soviet cities prior to launching an attack on the United States would leave us with a best shot possibility—the Soviet strike does not damage our weapons system, their antiballistic missile systems are completely inoperative, and we aim only at evacuated civilians—of inflicting only 5 percent fatalities on Soviet society. Civil defense of this magnitude, or even anything approaching this magnitude, is a very real factor in damage limitation. It is therefore a very real factor in preparing for a first strike capability, the criteria for which is the ability to limit damage to one's own society.

The following article from *Survive* magazine of March-April 1970, gives us a good look at the magnitude and comprehensive nature of the Soviet civil defense program. It also draws some unsettling comparisons between their efforts to protect their population and our lack of effort in the same direction.

It should be kept in mind that for as long as there are nuclear weapons in the hands of governments outside of the United States that can reach the continental United States there is the possibility of these weapons being used against us.

While serious analysts of nuclear strategy have long ago seen through the spurious thinking behind the assured destruction strategy advocated by former Secretary of Defense McNamara—that is, constructing one's military forces in such a manner so that retaliation is limited to striking only enemy civilians and industry while hop-

ing against hope that the enemy would not develop an efficient means of effectively limiting this damage to himself through a combination of offensive and defense systems—the United States has still not taken measures designed to alter our force posture in a manner suitable to implementing a sounder strategy. On the other hand, the Soviets are going all out to lower the level of damage we are able to inflict.

The author of this extremely interesting article, Joanne Levey Gailar, is exceptionally well qualified to discuss Soviet civil defense programs. She is a member of the staff of the civil defense research project at Oak Ridge National Laboratories and has specialized in Soviet civil defense for a number of years. Miss Gailar points out that—

The Soviets spend one to three times more on civil defense in one year than the total amount allocated by the U.S. federal government for civil defense in past eight years. For a country only 15% larger than ours to spend over ten times more than ours on civil defense points to a seriousness of interest and order of magnitude greater than ours.

And, it might be pointed out, a country with a GNP one-half ours.

The author also brings forth the rather startling information that a review of the *Readers Guide to Periodical Literature* from 1966 to 1969 turned up only nine articles dealing with civil defense:

*Readers Guide* of March 1966 to February 1967 contained seven articles on "Civil Defense"; *Readers Guide*, March 1967 to February 1968, but two articles, one of which was on Russian civil defense; and *Readers Guide*, March 1968 to February 1969, not a single article on civil defense, U.S. or otherwise. Thus in the same years that Soviet periodicals and newspapers stepped up the number of articles on civil defense, American articles in periodicals and newspapers have decreased to zero.

For those who after reading Miss Gailar's article wish to pursue the matter of Soviet civil defense further we are extremely fortunate to have an English translation of the *Soviet Civil Defense Handbook* which was recently translated by the Oak Ridge National Laboratory and is now available from the National Technical Information Services, U.S. Department of Commerce. In order to familiarize my colleagues with this valuable work I include a portion of the U.S. editors preface in the *Record* following Miss Gailar's article.

Needless to say the Soviet civil defense program calls our entire strategic force posture based on second strike retaliation against civilians into question, if not rendering it totally obsolete. The contradiction embodied in attempting to construct strategic forces designed to limit damage to the United States through both deterrence and defense, if deterrence fails, without utilizing a counterforce posture—which has a first strike option inherent in it by way of happenstance rather than design is now rather obvious.

The article by Joanne Levey Gailar which appeared in *Survive* magazine of March-April 1970 and a portion of the American editors introduction to the *Soviet Civil Defense Manual*, follow:

## IS THE SOVIET CIVIL DEFENSE PROGRAM REALLY BETTER THAN OURS?

(By Joanne Levey Gallar)

## SOVIET PROGRAM GROWING; AMERICAN PROGRAM SHRINKING

When I speak to various groups on Soviet civil defense, a question that repeatedly comes up is this one: If someone so desired, could he not make just as good a case for the extensiveness of the U.S. civil defense effort as you have made for the Soviet one? This question is asked invariably by reflective, intelligent members of the audience, those who want to be sure that I have not been oversold on the earnestness of the Soviet civil defense effort by the Soviet material I have read.

I freely acknowledge that in the event of nuclear war, no one can give an ironclad guarantee that the Soviet program to protect their essential industrial workers in urban blast shelters and to evacuate everybody else to the surrounding countryside and provide fallout protection for them will work.<sup>1-5</sup> I can attest, however, both to the earnestness and the intensity of the Soviet effort to instruct their entire population in the means and methods of defense against nuclear weapons, compared with a very low-key American program. The Soviet program appears to be growing in strength and effectiveness, while the American program is shrinking.

## INSTRUCTION OF SOVIET POPULATION—NATION-WIDE, COMPULSORY, DIRECTED

Numerous articles,<sup>6-11</sup> for example, on the civil defense instruction of school children in grades five, six, seven and nine leave no doubt that the Soviet school children in all fifteen republics of the Soviet Union are being taught to protect themselves. Details about the 1968-1969 curriculum which include important changes in method and content of courses taught in the previous year, letters of suggestion and criticism from parents and teachers, and descriptions of equipment (gas masks, first-aid kits) and teaching materials (manuals, handbooks, posters, film strips) supplied to the schools, all point to the fact that Russian school children indeed receive a thorough training in civil defense.<sup>12</sup>

Nor is it school children alone who are instructed in civil defense. Marshal V. I. Chuykov, U.S.S.R. Chief of Civil Defense, when outlining the 1969 civil defense program in an interview, stated, "It is pertinent that this year the task of training the population in the 21-hour program is to be completed."<sup>13</sup> And as Joseph Romm, the then Director of Civil Defense, testified at a recent hearing, "They (the Soviets) have a tremendous civil defense training program. Their society is different. They can direct people to be trained. There is no question that over 100 million people have taken their intensive civil defense training course. They are now, I think, in their sixth mandatory\* training cycle."<sup>14</sup>

## INSTRUCTION OF U.S. SCHOOL CHILDREN—SPOTTY, VOLUNTARY, UNDIRECTED

On the other hand, I know of no similar nationwide program in the U.S. for instructing our own population. While the national Office of Civil Defense has provided training for instructors of adult education courses and has developed with the Public Health Services a medical self-help training course, these courses have been adopted in what Mr. Romm describes as "spotty fashion" at the junior high school and high school levels. Under a training program like ours, which in Mr. Romm's words is "voluntary . . . not directed,"<sup>15</sup> only a very small fraction of our populace, either in school or out of school, is learning about civil defense. In fact, few of us know of any children who have received any civil defense training.

Footnotes at end of article.

## DIRECTION OF SOVIET PUBLIC ATTENTION TOWARD CIVIL DEFENSE

Similarly, the attention of the Soviet public is continuously directed toward civil defense through all the press media—newspapers, magazines, movies, radio and television, while the attention of the U.S. citizen is rarely called to civil defense matters through any press medium whatsoever. A Soviet article informs us, for example, "It is very pleasant to note that in recent times materials on this subject (civil defense) have been published in all the central newspapers, and also in the magazines 'Kommunist,' 'Sovety deputatov trudyashchikh' and 'Sovetskiye profsoyuzy,' 'Ogonek,' 'Nauka i Zhizn,' and others."<sup>16</sup> Another Soviet source indicates that "more than a thousand persons have participated and are participating in (providing) television broadcasts in all studios."<sup>17</sup>

But skeptics need not take the word of the Russian sources. U.S. resident reporters in Moscow from two of our most distinguished newspapers verify the outflow of articles on civil defense in the Russian press. Bernard Gwertzman of the *New York Times* reports: "The article (on large-scale civil defense preparations in the Soviet republic of Kazakhstan) in *Pravda*, the Communist party newspaper, was the latest of a series in recent years stressing the importance of civil defense."<sup>18</sup> And Charlotte Saikowski of the *Christian Science Monitor* attests, "A drive to bolster public awareness of civil defense is under way here. The Soviet press recently has carried a number of articles about air-raid drills in factories, training exercises on farms, and other measures designed to prepare Russians in the event of nuclear war. . . . Movie houses show special films and veterans of World War II give lectures on the subject (of civil defense)." According to Miss Saikowski, "Justification for this heightened attention to civil defense is the allegedly growing threat of the 'forces of imperialism' and attempts of the West to undermine the Communist camp."<sup>19</sup>

## ATTENTION OF U.S. POPULACE DIRECTED AWAY FROM CIVIL DEFENSE

On the other hand, when Dr. Eugene Wigner, U.S. Nobel laureate, submitted an article on civil defense to the *New York Times*, it was politely received but never printed. A similar effort to interest the *Reader's Digest* in reprinting an article on Soviet civil defense was turned down with comments implying that the subject of civil defense was of little interest. That these are not isolated cases is substantiated by a review of the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* for the past three years. *Readers' Guide* of March 1966 to February 1967 contained seven articles on "Civil Defense"; *Readers' Guide*, March 1967 to February 1968, but two articles, one of which was on Russian civil defense; and *Readers' Guide*, March 1968 to February 1969, not a single article on civil defense, U.S. or otherwise. Thus, in the same years that Soviet periodicals and newspapers stepped up the number of articles on civil defense, American articles in periodicals and newspapers have decreased to zero. I recently questioned ten people at random; like me, none had seen a program or even a spot announcement having to do with American civil defense on television for several years.

## PARTY AND GOVERNMENT MANDATE STRENGTHENS SOVIET CIVIL DEFENSE; EVACUATION PLANS CONSOLIDATED

The increase in articles on civil defense in the Soviet Union can be viewed legitimately as a reflection of government and party concern. Soviet civil defense was given a major boost in 1966 at the Twenty-third Party Congress when the Central Committee of the Communist Party called for strengthening civil defense.<sup>20-22</sup> The Soviet government gave legislative teeth to this mandate with the

Law on Universal Military Obligation, article seventeen of which calls for compulsory civil defense training in the grade schools, high schools, and technical schools throughout the Soviet Union.<sup>24-26</sup>

Another result of the party and government mandate was to substantially consolidate and strengthen existing plans for pre-attack evacuation and dispersal of large segments of the civilian population during periods of crisis escalation. V. I. Chuykov, Soviet Chief of Civil Defense; O. V. Tolstikov, former Soviet Chief of Civil Defense; and Lt. Gen. D. Shuyvryn, First Deputy Chief of Soviet Civil Defense, have all recently emphasized that urban pre-attack evacuation is an extremely effective measure in saving lives. Shuyvryn, in describing evacuation as "the most radical means of defense," indicates that through evacuation, "it is possible to achieve a reduction in the population density by scores of times in the large cities." In addition, he points out that the feasibility of evacuation is enhanced in the Soviet Union (1) by the socialist system and the planned economy, which enables the S.U. to organize and carry out evacuation on a nationwide scale; (2) by the vast expanse of the motherland, the great capacity of the suburban area, which permits the settling of an enormous quantity of individuals in rural localities, and (3) by a well-controlled transport, which can move people out of cities in a short period of time.<sup>27</sup> Marshal Chuykov, in an article appearing in *Science and Life*, a widely distributed and highly regarded Soviet magazine, makes the same claims for the feasibility of evacuation<sup>28</sup> as Shuyvryn, stressing that in the light of its effectiveness, supplying people with food and water—not defending from nuclear weapons—is the really knotty problem.<sup>29</sup>

That the Soviets take evacuation seriously is also evident in the comprehensiveness and detail of their program. Every town, for example, has an evacuation transport commission, which is headed by the deputy chairman of the local Council of Workers' Deputies, whose responsibility is to coordinate the evacuation of the population by rail, motor and water.<sup>30</sup>

Elaborate evacuation plans including the designation of collecting points at which the evacuees would assemble; evacuation passes for every man, woman and child,<sup>31</sup> the presence of a doctor or nurse with every evacuation train or convoy of trucks; explicit instructions on what every family should take<sup>32</sup> (depending on climate and season) and the maximum weight of luggage and contents.<sup>33</sup> There are also plans for receiving the evacuees in the country<sup>34</sup>—providing them with food, water, and jobs; and even for having their mail delivered to them at their new addresses.<sup>35</sup> Thus, the seriousness with which the Soviets take evacuation is evident in (1) the declarations of their military strategists of its effectiveness, (2) the existence of civil defense evacuation commissions in every town and village, and (3) the comprehensive and detailed plans for carrying it out.

## DECREASING BUDGET ALLOCATIONS WEAKEN U.S. CIVIL DEFENSE

I have suggested that the increase in articles on civil defense in the Soviet press is a reflection of government and party concern. By the same token, it is likely that press apathy toward civil defense in the U.S. is a reflection of government apathy, which is evident in decreasing budget outlays for civil defense. While the U.S. government authorized \$238.9 million for civil defense in 1962, only \$105.1 million,<sup>36</sup> less than half the 1962 allocation, was authorized for 1966, the year that the Communist Party in the Soviet Union issued its mandate to strengthen civil defense. And the allocation for civil defense for 1969 was \$68.1 million,<sup>37</sup> the lowest

(Decreases in civil defense allocations admittedly reflect budgetary cuts to offset expenditures incurred by the Vietnam War. However, even when allowing for the higher priority of military requirements in Southeast Asia, the wisdom of so severely curtailing our civil defense program seems questionable. Joseph Romm has testified before the House of Representatives as follows:

"Last year I emphasized that the FY 1969 budget estimate of \$77.3 million was the minimum sustaining level for the national civil defense effort. The FY 1969 appropriation was \$61 million, or 21% less than the sustaining budget and 29% less than the FY 1968 appropriation. As a result, essential parts of the FY 1969 program have had to be severely curtailed and some elements deferred."<sup>38</sup> (Author's italics.) authorized Federal expenditure for civil defense in the past eight years.<sup>39</sup>

Present policy of attempting to provide fallout protection for people near their homes and places of work has prevailed since 1958 when the Federal Civil Defense Administration (FCDA) declared that national civil defense policy "which now includes planning for the movement of people from target areas if time permits, will now also include the use of shelter to provide protection from radio-active fallout."<sup>40</sup> In the same release the FCDA cast serious doubt on the effectiveness of blast shelters when they stated, "There is no assurance that even the deepest shelter would give protection to a sufficient number of people to justify the cost."<sup>41</sup> While the wording of the 1958 FCDA release seems to give equal billing to evacuation and fallout protection, in practice national policy since that time has placed almost exclusive emphasis on fallout protection with virtually no consideration of evacuation. Nor has any effort been made to provide blast protection for the population.

In citing the absence of a workable evacuation plan in the U.S., I am not suggesting that we should inaugurate such a plan ourselves. On the contrary, a federal order to evacuate our population during a period of crisis could very well serve to escalate the crisis rather than diminish it. Also, as the Soviets themselves recognize, an evacuation policy has a greater chance of success in the U.S.S.R. where there is a well established tradition of public obedience to the directives of a strong central government and a distinct separation of cities (in contrast to the megalopolises of the U.S.). And, finally, as the Soviets again correctly surmise, they could evacuate their population with reasonable confidence that we would not attack them unless we were ourselves attacked. Thus, I am not criticizing the U.S. for de-emphasizing evacuation as a civil defense policy. I simply want to point out that successful evacuation of Soviet cities during a period of escalating international crisis could give the U.S.S.R. a decided strategic advantage over us. It would degrade our deterrence capability, take the teeth out of McNamara's policy of assured destruction, and offset the strategic balance by substantially reducing the number of Soviet urban casualties in a countervalue attack. However, the only answer today to a successful Soviet evacuation might be a return to our pre-1958 evacuation policy, even with all the inefficiency and confusion an actual evacuation would entail.

#### ROUGH ESTIMATES OF CERTAIN, SPECIFIC SOVIET CIVIL DEFENSE COSTS

While figures on the cost of the Soviet civil defense program are not available, it is possible to make some very rough estimates of annual expenditures for certain specific civil defense activities, which we know exist, and to extrapolate the cost from that of the same civil defense activity were we to inaugurate it in the U.S. Let us take, for ex-

ample, the cost of civil defense instruction of the population. As we have already noted from Mr. Romm's testimony, over 100 million Russians have received intensive civil defense training. We also know that the present civil defense training course for adults in the Soviet Union is twenty-one hours, while school children receive eighty hours of civil defense instruction by the time they complete the ninth grade. Keeping these figures in mind, let us consider the cost of training 85 million Americans—the equivalent of 100 million Russians—in civil defense. If we allow \$1 per hour per person (The amount paid to U.S. industrial workers (in the Soviet Union workers receive civil defense training during work hours) "would doubtless be considerably more than \$1 per hour. However, since we must include students and the unemployed, an average cost of \$1 an hour seems fair.) for a 21-hour program of instruction, the cost to our national economy would be about \$1.7 billion (to the Soviet economy, over \$2 billion), a figure which is more than our total national allocations for civil defense for the past eight years. (The reader should be aware that even were we to inaugurate a civil defense instruction program similar to the Soviets' the actual costs would not be reflected in the federal defense allocations. Nevertheless, the cost of such a program would represent a real allocation of national resources "costing" approximately the amount we suggest. The Soviets, of course, may also keep their books in a similar way.) And this does not include the cost of training the instructors, who, in the Soviet Union receive 35 hours of special instruction for civil defense teachers.<sup>42</sup> Nor does it include teaching materials, such as slides, posters, and textbooks; nor equipment, such as gas masks and first-aid kits. Also, we must keep in mind that instructing the population is but one aspect of civil defense.

Again we know from Mr. Romm's testimony that the Soviet Union has a "heavy military organization from top right down to the bottom"<sup>43</sup> specifically to assist the civilian civil defense organization. The civil defense military organization is headed by V. I. Chuykov, a full fledged Marshal, and senior colonels are located in small political jurisdictions (equivalent to our cities and states), where they head up units of civil defense which consist principally of military people. The Soviet Union has several schools to train these people. One is the two-year Moscow military civil defense academy established in March 1967 to train junior officers in civil defense.<sup>44-46</sup> The costs for operating this academy and maintaining the civil defense military units are difficult to determine, but undoubtedly are considerable.

We have yet to mention the costs for urban blast shelters, which the Soviets have provided, at least in some degree, for essential workers in vital industries. And, of course, there are expenses connected with the elaborate plans that the Soviets have for evacuating the bulk of population, all people who are non-essential to vital industries,<sup>47</sup> to the countryside.

#### A COMPARISON OF CERTAIN SOVIET AND U.S. CIVIL DEFENSE EXPENDITURES

We have estimated the cost of instructing 100 million Soviet citizens in civil defense to be about \$2 billion. It is difficult to determine the time period over which this instruction has taken place, as we know that the thrust to provide every one with a minimum of 21 hours of training was a fairly recent one.<sup>48</sup> However, even if we should say that this training took place over the past six years, the total federal allocation in the U.S. to all civil defense activities during this same period—\$573.7 million—would represent 28.7% of the amount spent by the Soviets on one single aspect of their program: educating the public.

We have yet to mention the cost of the U.S. instruction program. Of the total fed-

eral allocation for civil defense over the past six years, \$573.7 million, the amount spent on education and training activities was \$63.7 million.<sup>49</sup> Thus, the budgetary allocation for all education and training activities over the past six years in the U.S. has averaged \$10.6 million a year, or 11.1% a year of the total authorized outlay for civil defense over this period.<sup>50</sup> If we were to use this percentage to extrapolate the total cost of the Soviet program over the past six years, we would arrive at the staggering figure of \$18 billion, or \$3 billion a year. Even if we were to raise the percentage of the Soviet civil defense outlay for education to 33 1/3%, we would still arrive at a figure of \$6 billion, or approximately \$1 billion a year. Thus, we can say with some degree of certainty that the annual Soviet budget for civil defense lies somewhere between \$1 and \$3 billion. Or, put another way, the Soviets spend one to three times more on civil defense in one year than the total amount allocated by the U.S. federal government for civil defense in eight years. For a country only 15% larger than ours to spend over ten times more than ours on civil defense points to a seriousness of interest an order of magnitude greater than ours.

#### SOVIETS RECOGNIZE NEED FOR BLAST PROTECTION

Thus, the Soviet Union, unlike the U.S., provides compulsory and nationwide civil defense instruction for its population. But the differences between the two programs do not end here: there is also an essential difference in philosophy over the importance of blast protection. The Soviets recognize the need for affording protection from the blast effects of nuclear weapons to people in cities and have provided such protection in all cities with subways. The Moscow subway system, for example, extends for over seventy-five miles and has more than eighty stations. U.S. visitors to the Soviet Union have attested to the depth of this subway and to the presence of both heavy blast doors in the stations and high-speed escalators, which convey passengers down into them. Nor is Moscow the only city with subways equipped with blast doors. Again U.S. visitors have observed similar protective facilities in both Leningrad and Kiev. Baki and Tbilisi also have subways, and new ones are being established in Tashkent and Kharkov. That all seven systems are designed for blast protection is substantiated by a recent Russian television scenario on "Reliable Means of Protection." This scenario, which includes shots from a film of a subway, has the accompanying script: "These structures can protect a person from blast waves, light radiation and radioactive contamination. Here you see the subway. In cities which have one the residents will always find protection in it."<sup>51</sup>

#### PROTECTION IN UNITED STATES LIMITED TO FALLOUT

Meanwhile, since 1958, the policy of the U.S. has been to focus exclusively on fallout protection. Thus, there has been no emphasis even on using preferentially those fallout shelters that afford some measure of blast protection. This policy has led, for example, to the identification of 10 million fallout shelter spaces in Manhattan (much more than the peak population of the island) with no preferential selection of those shelters for public use which might offer protection from blast as well as fallout.

#### SOVIETS STRESS FALLOUT PROTECTION IN RURAL AREAS

While the Soviets recognize the need for blast protection in cities, they emphasize protection against fallout in the country. Thus, there are explicit manuals with detailed instructions both on erecting hasty shelters out of materials at hand and on converting vegetable bins, cellars and basements and silage pits to fallout shelters.<sup>52</sup> Village dwellers are given blueprints and

Footnotes at end of article.

allotted bricks<sup>25</sup> for strengthening these facilities.<sup>26</sup> Since the centerpiece of the Soviet civil defense program is to evacuate all non-essential urban dwellers to rural areas, it is hardly surprising that they stress increasing the fallout facilities in the country.<sup>27</sup>

#### UNITED STATES DISCONTINUES RURAL SHELTER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

Meanwhile, the U.S. Office of Civil Defense, which appropriated funds to four agricultural engineers for the past year and a half for a minimal "Rural Shelter Development Program," brought this program to a close on December 31, 1969.

#### SUMMARY: YES, THE SOVIET CIVIL DEFENSE PROGRAM IS INDEED MUCH BETTER THAN OURS

Coming back to our original question—Is the Soviet civil defense really better than ours?—we have no choice but to answer in the affirmative. That the Soviets take civil defense more seriously than we do and are instituting it much more effectively than we are is evident in these facts which we have considered:

(1) Instruction of Soviet school children is nationwide, compulsory and directed; instruction of U.S. school children is spotty, voluntary, undirected.

(2) Direction of public attention toward civil defense in the Soviet Union is apparent in the increased use of all press media for civil defense purposes over the past three years; direction of public attention away from civil defense in the U.S. is apparent in the virtual disappearance of any mention of civil defense from all news media during the same period.

(3) Party and government have issued mandates for strengthening civil defense in the past three years and have funded a greatly extended program, of which one aspect alone, public instruction, has cost about \$2 billion; U.S. government has decreased total appropriations for civil defense from \$105.1 million to \$68.1 million over the same period of time, its eight-year total for civil defense allocations coming to less than the Soviet expenditure for instructing their population.

(4) Soviet policy is to recognize the need for blast protection and to provide it, for example, in seven urban subway systems; U.S. policy is to focus exclusively on fallout protection with no provision for preferential use of shelters which offer some degree of blast protection.

(5) Soviets stress fallout protection in rural areas and provide free blueprints and materials to farmers and villagers; the U.S. brought its extremely small Rural Shelter Development Program to a close at the end of 1969.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Chuykov, "Civil Defense Stressed as Common Concern," *Nauka i Zhizn' (Science and Life)*, January 1969.

<sup>2</sup> A. Bardin, "Role of Students in Civil Defense," *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)* (Moscow, 1967).

<sup>3</sup> I. Apostolov, "Methods of Protection: Evacuation and Dispersal," *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, No. 4 (Moscow, April 1967).

<sup>4</sup> S. Nurmagambetov, "Civilian Defense in Kazakhstan Discussed" (originally entitled "Civil Defense—A Public Affair") *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda* (January 10, 1969).

<sup>5</sup> D. Shuyryn, "Development of Civil Defense System Traced," *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, No. 10 (Moscow, 1968).

<sup>6</sup> "Secondary School Civil Defense Curriculum" (originally entitled "Civil Defense Training Program for Students in the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Grades of the Eight-Year and Secondary General Education Schools"), *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, No. 9 (Moscow, 1968).

<sup>7</sup> A. A. Sychev, "Civil Defense Training in Secondary Schools" (originally entitled "Study and Expand Experience"), *Voyennyye*

*Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, No. 9 (Moscow, 1968).

<sup>8</sup> "Civil Defense Training in Cherkasskaya Oblast," *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, No. 7 (Moscow, 1968).

<sup>9</sup> "Civil Defense Training in the Schools" (originally entitled "A New and Very Important Subject"), *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, No. 3 (Moscow, 1968).

<sup>10</sup> A. Tsikhun, "Civil Defense Training in Belorussia Discussed" (originally entitled "A Sacred Obligation"), *Sovetskaya Belorussiya* (10 April 1969).

<sup>11</sup> Ernits, "Estonian Teachers Instructed in Civil Defense," *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, No. 8 (Moscow, 1968).

<sup>12</sup> For a more detailed account of what Soviet pupils learn, see: Joanne Gallar, "Soviet Civil Defense Instruction in Grades Five, Six and Seven," *Survive*, Vol. 2, No. 5, September-October 1969, pp. 2-5.

<sup>13</sup> V. L. Chuykov (as interviewed), "Civil Defense Chief Outlines 1969 Program Tasks" (originally entitled "In the Prejubilee Year"), *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, No. 1 (Moscow, January 1969).

<sup>14</sup> "Independent Offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development Appropriations for 1970," Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, Ninety-First Congress, First Session, Subcommittee on Independent Offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development, Part I, p. 796.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 789.

<sup>16</sup> V. Sergeev, "Current Civil Defense Propaganda Means Discussed" (originally entitled "Universal Attention to Informational Propaganda"), *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, (Moscow, July 1969).

<sup>17</sup> K. Kotlukov, "Technique of Civil Training by Television Discussed" (originally entitled "If You Go on the Air"), *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, (Moscow, March 1969).

<sup>18</sup> Bernard Gwetzman, "East Soviet Adds to Civil Defense," *New York Times*, August 15, 1969, p. 1.

<sup>19</sup> Charlotte Saikowski, "Forces of Imperialism Cited; Kremlin Alerts Citizens on Civil-Defense Preparedness," *The Christian Science Monitor*, February 26, 1969, p. 14.

<sup>20</sup> O. V. Tolstikov, *CPSU on Imperative Upgrading of Civil Defense*, Atomizdat Publishing House (Moscow, no date).

<sup>21</sup> "Extension of Pupil Civil Defense Instruction" (originally entitled "What is New in Student Training?"), *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, No. 10 (Moscow, October 1967).

<sup>22</sup> "Spreading Civil Defense Information" (originally entitled "Only Specifically!"), *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, No. 2 (Moscow, February 1968).

<sup>23</sup> L. I. Brezhnev in report to Twenty-Third Congress, as quoted in "Everyone Should Know This," *Kommunist Tadzhikistan*, March 29, 1968.

<sup>24</sup> Extension of Pupil Civil Defense Instruction," p. 15.

<sup>25</sup> A. Getman, "The Role of DOSAAF in training Youth" (originally entitled "Teach the Youth Military Affairs"), *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, No. 2 (Moscow, February 1968).

<sup>26</sup> V. I. Chuykov, *Civil Defense in Nuclear Missile War*, Atomic Publishing House (Moscow, 1968).

<sup>27</sup> Shuyryn, p. 4.

<sup>28</sup> Chuykov, "Civil Defense Stressed As Common Concern," p. 43.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>30</sup> Tolstikov, p. 8.

<sup>31</sup> Ye. Pipus, "Evacuation, Dispersal Discussed by Civil Defense Official" (originally entitled "Everyone Ought to Know This"), *Bakinskiy Rabochiy* (Baku, September 5, 1969).

<sup>32</sup> Apostolov, p. 9.

<sup>33</sup> V. Vinogradov, "What Alarm Signals Mean" (originally entitled "On Signals").

*Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, No. 3 (Moscow, 1968).

<sup>34</sup> Morozov, pp. 1-3.

<sup>35</sup> G. Malinin, "Lessons Learned from a Factory Civil Defense Exercise," *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, No. 2 (Moscow, February 1967).

<sup>36</sup> "The Fiscal Year 1969-70 Defense Program and the 1969 Defense Budget," Statement by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara before the Senate Arms Services Committee—Prepared January 22, 1968, p. 215.

<sup>37</sup> "Independent Offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development Appropriations for 1970," pp. 806-807.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 788.

<sup>39</sup> "The Fiscal Year 1969-70 Defense Program and the 1969 Defense Budget," plotted from Table 2, p. 215.

<sup>40</sup> Federal Civil Defense Administration Release, SR 571, May 7, 1958, p. 1.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>42</sup> Tolstikov, p. 13.

<sup>43</sup> "On-Job Training in Civil Defense Makes Progress," *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, No. 8 (Moscow, 1968).

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>45</sup> Sychev, p. 16.

<sup>46</sup> "Independent Offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development Appropriations for 1970," p. 795.

<sup>47</sup> Ya Bryanskiy, "New Civil Defense School in Moscow," *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, No. 4 (Moscow, 1968).

<sup>48</sup> F. Popenko, "Moscow Civil Defense School Reports Activities," *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, (Moscow, February 1969).

<sup>49</sup> Chuykov, "Civil Defense in Nuclear Missile War," p. 34.

<sup>50</sup> Tolstikov, p. 13.

<sup>51</sup> As given by Miss Bette E. Funn, Administrative Assistant in the Training and Education Division of the National Office of Civil Defense.

<sup>52</sup> Plotted from information given by Miss Funn. (See reference 51.)

<sup>53</sup> Kotlukov, p. 47.

<sup>54</sup> L. Gorchakov, "Vegetable Storage Bins as Shelters," *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, No. 4 (Moscow, April 1967).

<sup>55</sup> V. Morozov, "Civil Defense in Rural Areas" (originally entitled "A Primary Concern"), *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, No. 3 (Moscow, 1968).

<sup>56</sup> A. D. Gorchakov, Yu. A. Zhukov, L. I. Koshelva, N. A. Rossal and A. A. Khomko, *Simple Shelters for Protection Against Weapons of Mass Destruction*, State Publishing House on Literature on Construction and Architecture (Moscow, 1964).

<sup>57</sup> B. Morkovkin, *Civil Defense in the Countryside* (Moscow, 1964).

<sup>58</sup> A. P. Durikov and V. I. Chumakov, *Protecting the Rural Population Against Radioactive Contamination*, Publishing House for Agricultural Literature (Moscow, 1963).

#### CIVIL DEFENSE

#### WHY WE HAVE TRANSLATED THE SOVIET CIVIL DEFENSE HANDBOOK

The USSR has a way of working inconspicuously on important projects. The news of Sputnik, for instance, practically exploded in our journals, destroying myths and preconceptions we had unconsciously harbored since 1944. Similarly, Soviet civil defense preparations have received little publicity in our media. Unfortunately, perhaps, the publication of their 1969 civil defense handbook is far from the colorful launching of a Sputnik, but the careful planning evidenced by it may have as much intrinsic importance as that which culminated in the Sputnik launching.

This handbook and other Russian publications on civil defense have been carefully studied by the Oak Ridge Civil Defense Research Project. Their practicality and completeness are impressive—especially their plans for the evacuation and dispersal of the

urban population into the rural areas. For these reasons, and since no comparable handbook has been published by our own government, we believe that its English translation will be valuable and interesting to the American public and that knowledge of the extent and character of the Russian civil defense preparations will be important to our leadership.

#### WHY THIS PARTICULAR HANDBOOK?

We have chosen this handbook first and foremost because of its thoroughgoing nature. While it is not difficult to find numerous Russian articles on the Soviet civil defense program—Soviet newspapers, periodicals, and broadcasts contain an abundance of information on this subject—this handbook is unusual in that it presents the Soviet civil defense program in its entirety under one cover: its reason for existence, its organization, its aims and goals, and its means and methods of implementation, even down to such minute details as to what to wear beneath protective clothing under various temperature conditions, how to convert a tractor-mounted farm sprayer into a decontaminating machine, and how to administer artificial respiration "when injuries to the ribs or upper limbs make all [the ordinary] methods of artificial respiration impossible" (p. 242).

Above all, it is a comprehensive and detailed account of the Soviet civil defense program from the Soviet point of view,<sup>1</sup> thereby affording the reader firsthand knowledge of where Soviet emphasis lies and allowing him to draw his own conclusions.

A further reason for selecting this particular handbook is its high endorsement by Soviet authorities. It is described by F. Popenko, a Soviet reviewer for the military journal, *Voyennyye Znaniya*, for example, as "the most thorough work among the books of civil defense published this year (1969)." According to Popenko, "The need for this publication had long been ripe."<sup>2</sup>

Intended as a textbook for agricultural VUZ (higher educational institutes), this handbook is the product of editor-in-chief N. I. Akimov and four other editors, with certain technical sections of chapters written by additional specialists. The Russian text consists of 351 pages, and 130,000 copies have been printed, priced at one ruble, one kopeck each (about \$1.12 at the current official dollar-ruble exchange rate given in the 1970 World Almanac, p. 559).

Before studying this translation, the U.S. reader may well wonder, why read a handbook which addresses itself primarily to rural civil defense when U.S. civil defense emphasis has been almost exclusively urban? Moreover, since a little over half the Soviet population lives in cities, would not an urban civil defense handbook have greater relevance than a rural one even in Russia? The answer to this last question is no—not in the context of the Soviet civil defense program. It is essential to realize at the outset that the keystone of Soviet civil defense is the evacuation and dispersal of the overwhelming majority of the urban population to rural areas during periods of escalating crisis, with urban blast shelters provided primarily for on-shift workers in vital industries in target cities. Soviet rationale for moving people to the country is simple: "The simultaneous dispersal of workers and evacuation of the plants and institutions will greatly decrease the number of people in the cities; this in turn will sharply reduce population losses in case of a nuclear attack by the enemy. . . . a nuclear attack of an unprotected large city may result in the loss of life of as much as 90% of the population. An early dispersal and evacuation could reduce the losses considerably, to a level between 5% and 8%" (p. 68).

Thus, because of the unexpected tremendous influx of people in the country, rural civil defense assumes a highly important role. Chapter 11 underscores this fact and goes on to indicate other reasons for the significance of rural civil defense as well (pp. 250-251):

(1) Agricultural regions provide human and material resources for civil defense and furnish manpower and materiel for rescue and emergency repair operations in stricken cities;

(2) In wartime, "not only . . . a large part of the dispersed workers, service personnel, and evacuated non-working population (would be transported to the country), but also the main material reserves";

(3) Rural communal buildings, hospitals, and other medical institutions would serve as the main base for treating the injured if the "big cities with their large populations (should . . . serve as targets of a nuclear enemy attack";

(4) The rural regions would have a primary role in protecting people, animals, plants, food, water supplies, and fodder from contamination by radio-active and chemical substances and bacterial agents;

(5) Responsibility for assuring the output of agriculture during wartime and in the post war years would fall to the countryside.

#### CONTEXT OF THE PRESENT SOVIET CIVIL DEFENSE PROGRAM

Before we examine the Soviet civil defense program, a few basic considerations are instructive. First, the Soviets have consistently put their civil defense effort within the framework of the threat of imperial aggression. This remains true today, the threat from Communist China and occasional allusions to it notwithstanding. (See Introduction, p. 2, and Chapter 1, pp. 4-5.)

Second, the civil defense program occupies an important position in the overall defense of the country. V. I. Chuykov, Chief of Soviet Civil Defense and a marshal of the Soviet Union, has admitted, "Civil defense alone is not capable of assuring the protection of the population and material resources." Such protection, he goes on to say, can be achieved only through the joint efforts of civil defense and the armed forces. But, he adds, neither is success in these areas possible without civil defense; in the event of nuclear attack, civil defense is vital to the "achievement of victory."<sup>3</sup>

Third, it is important to remember that when Marshal Chuykov and other Soviets speak of the importance of civil defense, they do so from experience. There are many Russians living today who vividly remember enemy attack on their homeland during World War II. They have seen Red Square on fire and the Kremlin ablaze; they have participated in the evacuation of over 10,000,000 people and over 1300 basic industries from vulnerable areas to the interior.<sup>4</sup>

Fourth, Soviet Civil Defense was given an authoritative boost at the Twenty-Third Congress, when the Central Committee of the Communist Party called for strengthening civil defense in 1966<sup>5-7</sup> and when the Soviet government strengthened this mandate by passing the Law on Universal Military Duty in 1967. Article 17 of this law calls for compulsory civil defense training in the grade schools, high schools, and technical schools throughout the Soviet Union.<sup>8-10</sup> Implementation of the new law has taken place to the extent that today, by the time a Soviet school child completes the tenth grade, he has received a total of 115 hours of civil defense instruction.<sup>11-12</sup> The publication of this 1969 handbook is a result of the continuing Party- and government-backed emphasis on civil defense.

Fifth, the entire Soviet civil defense derives from the Soviet concept of modern warfare. Chapter I of this handbook explicitly describes World War III: "If the imperialists were successful in unleashing war, it would

be an armed struggle among countries of two opposite world systems—capitalist and socialist. . . . Thus, it follows that [such a war] would be waged with the widespread use of weapons of mass destruction and, above all, nuclear weapons. Such a war would encompass an enormous area and involve whole continents. Not only troops, but also centers of vital industry, transport, energy production, and communications would be subject to devastating attack. . . . Distinctions between front and rear would disappear" (p. 5).

Cities would be targeted: ". . . one nuclear explosion is sufficient to destroy a large city with a population of millions and to contaminate an enormous area with radioactive materials."<sup>13</sup> And "in agricultural regions people, animals, and plants would be affected by fallout, and food products, fodder, water sources, and other assets would be contaminated" (p. 6).

". . . many administrative, industrial, political, and military centers, ports, airfields, mining enterprises, and other important installations could be subjected to nuclear and chemical attack, and the surrounding territories contaminated with radioactive fallout, poisonous chemicals, and bacteriological agents" (p. 9).

It is from this view of war that the rationale of the Soviet civil defense effort proceeds: If cities would be targeted, remove the bulk of the urban population into the country, providing those who would remain behind with blast shelters; if contamination from fallout, poisonous chemicals, and bacterial agents would constitute the main danger to people, animals, plants, food, water supplies, and fodder in the country, concentrate on providing protection (such as fallout shelters) from such contamination in rural areas. Moreover, confidence is expressed that civil defense will succeed. As Marshal Chuykov has pointed out, "Although the weapons we have examined are called mass weapons, with the knowledge and skillful use of modern defense measures, they will not injure masses, but only those who neglect the study, mastery, and use of these measures."<sup>14</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Leon Goure, director of Soviet studies at the University of Miami's Center for Advanced International Studies, has recently presented a comprehensive review of the Soviet civil defense program in "Soviet Civil Defense Revisited, 1966-1969," Memorandum RM-6113-PR (Santa Monica, 1969).

<sup>2</sup> F. Popenko, "New Book on Civil Defense Reviewed" (originally entitled "Not Only for Students . . ."), *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, No. 12 (Moscow, 1969), p. 4; in *Translations on USSR Military Affairs*, No. 577, JPRS 49,649 (January 20, 1970), p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> V. I. Chuykov, *Civic Defense in Nuclear Missile War*, Atomic Publishing House (Moscow, 1968); Soviet Military Translations No. 485 (22 October 1968), p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> I. Kovalev, "The Role of Transport in Modern War," *Kommunist Vooruzhennykh Sil (Communist of the Armed Forces)*, No. 23 (Moscow, December 1967); in JPRS 44,268, Soviet Military Translations No. 418 (February 7, 1968), p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> O. V. Tolstikov, *CPSU on Imperative Upgrading of Civil Defense*, Atomizdat Publishing House (Moscow, no date); Soviet Military Translations No. 485, JPRS 46,720 (October 22, 1968), p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> "Extension of Pupil Civil Defense Instruction" (originally entitled "What is New in Student Training?"), *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, No. 10 (Moscow 1967); in JPRS 43,558, Soviet Military Translations No. 411 (December 5, 1967), p. 15.

<sup>7</sup> "Spreading Civil Defense Information" (originally entitled "Only Specifically!"), *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, No. 2 (Moscow, February 1968); in JPRS 45,130, Soviet Military Translations No. 429 (April 22, 1968), p. 14.



<sup>8</sup> "Extension of Pupil Civil Defense Instruction," p. 18.

<sup>9</sup> A. Getman, "The Role of DOSAAF in Training Youth" (originally entitled "Teach the Youth Military Affairs"), *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, No. 2 (Moscow, February 1968); in JPRS 45,130, Soviet Military Translations No. 429 (April 22, 1968), p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> Tolstikov, p. 30.

<sup>11</sup> "Secondary School Civil Defense Curriculum" (originally entitled "Civil Defense Training Program for Students in the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Grades of the Eight-Year and Secondary General Educational Schools"), *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, No. 9 (Moscow, 1968), pp. 26-27; in JPRS 46,811, Soviet Military Translations No. 487 (November 6, 1968), pp. 40-46.

<sup>12</sup> A. A. Sychev, "Civil Defense Training in Secondary Schools" (originally entitled "Study and Expand Experience"), *Voyennyye Znaniya (Military Knowledge)*, No. 9 (Moscow, 1968), pp. 12-13; in JPRS 46,811, Soviet Military Translations No. 487 (November 6, 1968), pp. 14-19.

<sup>13</sup> According to Colonel General O. V. Tolstikov, First Deputy Chief of Civil Defense of the USSR, in a 1968 publication, U.S. strategy includes "various plans of 'assured destruction' of many millions of people and up to 80% of the industrial potential, and of at least 200 of the largest cities" of the Soviet Union ("CPSU on Imperative Upgrading of Civil Defense," Atomizdat Publishing House, Moscow, pp. 1-26; in JPRS 46,720, Soviet Military Translations No. 485, p. 7). However, the 1970 revised edition of this pamphlet omits this specific statement and instead says that U.S. strategy threatens to kill "many millions of people and up to 80% of the industrial potential," and to "destroy several hundred large cities and other targets of the attacked side" (p. 10).

<sup>14</sup> V. I. Chuykov, "Civil Defense as a Common Concern" in *Nauka i Zhizn Science and Life*, No. 1 (Moscow, 1969), pp. 43-47; in JPRS 47,772, Translations on USSR Military Affairs No. 511 (2 April, 1969), p. 43.

#### HOW THE ROLLOVER METHOD RECLAIMS MINED LAND

### HON. JACK BRINKLEY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I recently received a copy of the Engineering and Mining Journal, April 1971, from Mr. E. Bruce Harrison, vice president of Freeport Sulphur Co., of New York. Contained in this Journal was an article concerning the Freeport Kaolin Co., a division of Freeport Sulphur, and its excellent progress with land reclamation and water pollution abatement programs at its mines in Georgia. After reading the article, I thought it would be of great interest to my colleagues in the House:

#### HOW THE ROLLOVER METHOD RECLAIMS MINED LAND

Freeport Kaolin Company, a division of Freeport Sulphur, is making good progress with land reclamation, reforestation, and water pollution abatement programs at its mines in Georgia.

The company's three-fold conservation program is being undertaken with the cooperation of state and federal officials, the University of Georgia's School of Forestry, and other leading companies in the industry.

It is estimated that U.S. production of wet-processed kaolin, restricted almost entirely to the State of Georgia, runs 2.5 mil-

lion t.p.y. Plants using wet-processing techniques are most numerous in an area within about 50 miles east of Macon in a band approximately 15 miles wide. Freeport's open-pit mines are situated in this area near Gordon, Georgia, where the company's processing plants are located. The company operates five different properties within a three-mile radius of a centrally located de-gritting plant. From there the clays are slurried and piped some six miles to the plant site. The company's conservation program embraces both the mining tracts and the water-courses adjoining the plants.

For several years state and federal officials throughout the United States, as well as various conservation groups, have raised objections to the unsightly and hazardous conditions often associated with areas where open-pit mining has been undertaken. The "rollover" method, a complex mining technique developed by Freeport, and the key to the company's land reclamation program at Gordon, is clearly a step forward in this respect.

Instead of leaving mined-out areas in a disrupted state, where vegetation will not grow immediately, the rollover method leaves a relatively flat surface where a minimal effort is required for land reclamation and reforestation, and where little or no stream pollution occurs. Such a landscape contrasts sharply with the traditional strip-mined surface where unconsolidated soil conditions, poor water percolation and steep slopes are conducive to extensive erosion with resulting stream pollution.

#### THE ROLLOVER METHOD

Freeport's mining method consists of the removal of the upper portion of the overburden and levelling of the surface with scrapers. The balance of the stripping and the mining itself is accomplished by two walking draglines. This equipment handles approximately 4½ million cu yd per year.

Before the mining operation starts, all the marketable timber is sold, while unusable growth and underbrush is removed by bulldozers. Next, a cut, 70 ft to 90 ft wide, depending on dragline size, is staked out at the pre-selected edge of the orebody, parallel with the drill pattern, thus making the drilling data a more accurate guide for the selective mining of the clay.

The dragline is then placed at one end of the cut, at a right angle to the longitudinal direction of the pit, and digs what is known as a "box cut." The overburden is removed to the bare clay and placed 180° away. The dragline is then moved around to the front of the pit, mining the clay from this position and casting it between the edge of the pit and the removed overburden. The dragline is next moved again to the same side from which it dug the first box cut and digs another cut, continuous to the first one, and removes the overburden to the bare clay, again casting 180° away. The machine is then moved again to the front of the cut and the clay is mined and placed between the overburden just removed and the edge of the pit. This procedure is followed for the total length of the cut.

At this point, there is a windrow of overburden and a windrow of clay stockpiled next to and parallel to the edge of the cut. The dragline is then turned around and starts digging a new cut, of the same width, casting the overburden on the void left on the first cut. The overburden so cast is rough-leveled by the dragline and further leveled by a bulldozer to a smoother surface. The clay is then mined and placed on top of the smoothed overburden surface. This procedure is followed to the end of the cut and back and forth across the orebody.

The roll-over method provides ample flexibility in mining scheduling and has the following other advantages:

It leaves a relatively flat surface with a windrow of overburden at one end of the pit

and an open cut at the opposite end with windrows of clay piles in between.

It provides for the stockpiling of clay, thereby separating the actual mining rate from the kaolin production use rate and thus, allowing for full use of the stripping machines.

After the clay has been removed, only a minimum amount of effort is required for land reclamation and reforestation.

#### REFORESTATION

In 1965, Freeport inaugurated a reforestation program in mined-out areas where the roll-over method had been employed. The first step in the program was experimentation with various types of ground cover to establish the simplest and most economical seeding method. The results of these experiments indicated that native Georgia "slash pine" would be best suited to the soil and climate.

Initial trial seeding of approximately 15 acres produced a favorable crop of seedlings, about 80% of which had taken root by the spring of 1966. The application of "10-10-10" fertilizer to these seedlings in 1967 established the value of this fertilization in subsequent plantings. During the same year a trial planting of grass was undertaken which was partially successful, but which proved to be expensive.

Later in 1967, 50 more acres were planted with improved one-year "slash pine" seedlings which had been produced and recommended by the Georgia State Forestry Commission. Other experiments currently in progress include the planting of small areas with oak, cottonwood, hickory, sycamore and similar hard woods. While it is still too early to predict the outcome of these experiments, Dr. May of the Kaolin Strip-Mined Land Reclamation Research Council feels the initial results for sycamore seedlings are promising for certain areas. The other major kaolin companies are also members of the Research Council and participate in its work.

The rate of planting maintained at the company's mining sites at Gordon is 800 seedlings per acre, well above the 500 established-trees-per-acre minimum set in recently enacted state legislation affecting open-pit mining operations in Georgia. The high planting rate was designed to exceed state requirements despite normal seedling loss.

A new stage in the program is the planting of an additional 125 acres, again using the improved seedlings provided by the Georgia State Forestry Commission. These have now become the standard for all future plantings. By the end of 1970 up to 300 acres had been reclaimed by reforestation.

#### PROCESS WATER POLLUTION ABATEMENT

In 1968, the company put into operation a third phase of its conservation programs with the completion of a million-dollar treatment system for effluents from the plant at Gordon. The system consists of a series of pumping stations and pipes through which plant process water is channelled to a 600-million-gallon waste pond created by a dam approximately half-a-mile in length. The function of the system is to prevent solid material from returning in neighboring streams and to insure that released water is chemically neutral.

#### THE NEED FOR IMPROVING THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF WAGE EARNERS

### HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, it is the unusual that always

makes the news, while the ordinary events receive little attention from most of the citizenry. As an example, few of us recognize how desperately the average wage earner has been affected by the continuous rise in prices of the past few years.

The Communications Workers of America, which is widely recognized as one of the Nation's most responsible unions, recently pointed to this problem in an advertisement which appeared in a number of newspapers.

CWA pointed out that the wage increases it negotiated with Bell telephone companies in 1968 have been completely eroded by price increases. From all of this, the union concludes that a wage increase of about 25 percent would be justified at this time. Whether that is the correct figure or not, the facts clearly point to the need for improving the economic conditions of wage earners at this time.

I insert the text of the CWA advertisement together with a letter from President Joseph A. Beirne, into the RECORD: CWA IS SERVING NOTICE—OUR MEMBERS DESERVE MORE INCOME

CWA—The Communications Workers of America—strongly feels its sense of responsibility to its members and to the country as a whole. For over 30 years, CWA has helped improved the standard of living of the men and women of the telephone industry. The improvements CWA has negotiated in communications pay rates have done their full share to keep the American national economy moving ahead.

CWA is proud of the record of economic progress that it has written on behalf of the more than half a million working people represented by the union.

We are determined that this record—which we believe is impressive by any standard—will continue to be written in terms of higher incomes for telephone employees.

Notice has just been served on the Bell Telephone System that we will seek substantial pay adjustments for our members employed by the various Bell System operating affiliates.

The issue, very simply, is whether we can regain the level of buying power we achieved in 1968 and secure some additional improvement—in recognition of our members' increased productivity. Our economic surveys demonstrate that a wage increase of 25 percent is easily justified.

#### THE SITUATION HASN'T REALLY CHANGED

There was a time when government officials and newspaper editorial writers used to agree that a high wage policy is good for the nation. Now too many of them "point with alarm".

But now, in 1971, some of the off-the-cuff critics would have you believe that a fair pay increase will "ruin" the national economy. CWA, with its long experience in collective bargaining economics, applies the only fit word for that line of argument: "nonsense".

The validity of wage increases that give working people a fair share of the national productivity has not changed an iota.

Workers are not "getting rich". Wages are not "too high". Wage adjustments follow rising prices; price increases come first.

Look at these facts about the telephone industry:

1. The cost of living has risen 17.7% since our last Bell System contracts were negotiated in 1968.
2. Telephone wage levels are lower than in other utility or regulated industries.
3. Productivity in telephone labor has been rising by 5.5% over the past 10 years, and it will continue to increase in the future.

#### OUR PEOPLE HAVE A REAL PROBLEM

In communities throughout America, telephone people are known as good citizens. CWA, their union, is known as a leader in developing responsible activities to benefit the entire public.

Nevertheless, some government officials and some commentators would like to pin the label of "reckless irresponsibility" on unions like CWA that are trying only to win a decent break for decent working men and women.

We resent and we reject these smear efforts. We believe they are based on faulty comprehension of present-day economic problems. We believe they play into the hands of those corporate elements which have traditionally tried to keep wages down and profits high.

CWA people working in the Bell System and other telephone companies have a real problem. Their pay is too low. Their income is eroded by rising prices.

That's why we have served notice on the Bell System that our members need more income.

That's why we are convinced that wage increases will benefit not only our members but the buying power of those wages will benefit the entire public.

That's why, in the collective bargaining ahead, we know that you—the telephone-using public—will support the efforts of hard-working telephone employees to enjoy their fair share of American opportunity and a decent standard of living.

#### FACT SHEET: COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO

CWA represents more than one-half million telephone, communications and other workers in the United States and Canada.

CWA is the largest communications union in the world. Although one of the youngest of the major unions, CWA is among the dozen largest labor organizations in the AFL-CIO. About half the members are women.

CWA members work as switchboard operators, installers, clerks, linemen, cable splicers, repairmen, engineers, laboratory technicians, telegraph operators, directory salesmen, communications equipment production workers, secretaries, data processors, radio, TV and newspaper employees and in many other occupations.

There are more than 850 chartered Locals in the Union. The members live and work in some 10,000 different communities, indicating a very wide and even geographic spread across the map. Because of the fact that its members are almost everywhere—in the big cities, the smallest towns, the suburbs, in completely rural areas and at the far-away places on the edge of the desert, the mountains, the lakes and the oceans—CWA's political polls are noted for their almost uncanny accuracy.

The union has a record of high membership activity in community affairs, legislation, politics and volunteer work with neighborhood agencies.

Joseph A. Beirne has been president of CWA since 1943. He is the first labor leader ever to serve as president of the United Community Funds and Councils of America (1966-68) and serves on a number of Presidential commissions, boards and agencies.

Beirne, as president of CWA, is head of the union's 14-member Executive Board. Other members of the Board are CWA Secretary-Treasurer Glenn E. Watts; Executive Vice Presidents James M. Massey, George E. Gill and Gus C. Cramer, and Vice Presidents Morton Bahr, W. K. Edwards, R. B. Porch, Walter Schaar, Arthur B. LeFevre, D. L. McCowen, D. K. Gordon, John Carroll and James Booe. Four others who head up bargaining units also sit in on Board meetings. They are Patrick J. Morgan, National Director of CWA's Western Electric Installation unit; Frank J. Novotny, National Director

of CWA's Western Electric Sales unit; J. Curtis Fletcher, Independent Telephone Director, and George T. Myerscough, National Director of CWA's Long Lines unit.

Each of the nine vice presidents heads up a regional office, established to give members closer and better representation. CWA regional offices are in New York City, Washington, Atlanta, Lansing, Chicago, St. Louis, Omaha, Denver and San Francisco.

The Union's headquarters are at 1925 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Conventions, held annually, are considered models of democratic procedures. All delegates are rank-and-file. An unusual communications network makes it possible for all delegates to be heard easily from the floor. All sessions are open to the public.

The Union was founded at meetings in Chicago and New Orleans in 1938, after earlier attempts to form a national union to represent telephone workers had failed. The organization was first known as the National Federation of Telephone Workers. Convention delegates constitutionally changed the name to the Communications Workers of America in 1947.

#### COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA,

Washington, D.C.

We in CWA believe that our 1971 collective bargaining negotiations with Bell Telephone System companies, and with other communications corporations, are among the most important economic events on the domestic scene.

Furthermore, we want you to know precisely what CWA is saying and doing in the course of these negotiations. We in CWA are conscious of the public interest in our negotiations and of public concern about the direction of the whole economy.

That is why CWA has taken advertisements in leading American newspapers to explain its position, and why we intend to go to the public with our case throughout these negotiations. We believe that you may find this first advertisement—a copy of which is enclosed—of more than transient interest.

Inflation, as the advertisement points out, has eroded all the wage gains won by CWA members in 1968. The economic condition will be improved only—I repeat, only—by substantial wage gains this year. Any alternate program that seeks to prevent our people from gaining their income equity will be unsatisfactory for communications workers and dangerous for the whole economy.

We very much want you to know where CWA stands, and we seek your support.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH A. BEIRNE,  
President.

#### DEFENSE STILL FIRST PRIORITY

#### HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, no matter how much we understandably long for the things money will buy at the domestic level, it remains the first obligation of this Congress and this Nation to maintain an adequate defense deterrent.

Unless we keep America strong enough militarily to deter attack upon us, everything will go down the drain.

Frankly, we are not doing this. Renewed appeals to revised priorities in spending are almost always at the expense of defense dollars, the largest controllable source of dollars in the Federal budget.

Certain Members in the other body want to cut out or back on the B-1, the manned follow-on bomber after the B-52. Others would require less shipbuilding, fewer planes, and reduced research and development.

All this at a time when Soviet capabilities are demonstrably increased in almost every field from missiles to ships to submarines.

Certainly waste is to be eliminated, cost-overruns checked, and excess procurement adjusted downward. But the sad truth is that billions more dollars are needed for a minimum realistic defense for the United States, not less. We should be building five times as many naval vessels and twice as many submarines. The B-1 should be much further along, and the Navy's ULMS—deep-diving long-range, missile carrying subs—program sharply accelerated.

All this in the name of survival. Regretful but a fact of life. In this connection I commend a reading of Joseph Alsop's current column remembering that no nation ever dealt successfully with communism from weakness.

The article follows:

#### NATION'S DARKEST TIME

(By Joseph Alsop)

The chances are disagreeably high that the present may be remembered as the darkest time in the American story. In too many ways, it too much resembles the time in the British story, when government and people refused to respond to the grim challenge of Adolf Hitler—until it was much too late, and there was no possible response except a second World War.

The young fools (most of whom have never even heard of Adolf Hitler) demonstrate around the Capitol. Within the Capitol, the old fools prate of peace. Meanwhile, if facts mean anything at all, the vast power of the Soviet Union is being mainly used for military preparations which could end in war.

Facts probably do not mean anything at all, in view of the condition of wishful somnambulism that now afflicts so many politicians, almost all American intellectuals, and large sectors of the media. Yet the facts deserve to be clearly set out for consideration by the non-somnambulists. So here they are.

Some months ago, to begin with, one of the American reconnaissance satellites brought back evidence that the Soviets had halted deployment of their huge SS-9 missiles at the 300-level. The SS-9 is what the Pentagon calls a "counterforce weapon," specifically designed to break the backbone of the U.S. nuclear deterrent, the Minuteman ICBM system.

The federal Arms Control Agency, the bastion of wishfulness in the Nixon administration, promptly circulated a secret memorandum that the halt in SS-9 deployment meant the arms race was over. Secretary of Defense Melving Laird also announced the halt to the public, in a tone of cautious hope. The cheers were deafening.

A little later this winter, a second reconnaissance satellite brought back very different news. Having ceased to dig silos for the SS-9 missiles, the Soviets were now digging even bigger silos, with several special features. The news plainly indicated that the Soviets would soon be deploying quite new missiles, even more powerful and threatening than the SS-9s.

In consequence, this reporter went to the most normally realistic men in the government, to ask what future numbers they were thinking about. These men replied that the Soviets could hardly prepare to deploy more than 20 of the new missile-monsters this

year—or not enough to be unduly alarmed about immediately.

Yet a little later, once again, there was still more news, this time of a truly appalling nature. The news was that the Soviets were already digging silos for twice the maximum expected number of the new monster-missiles—or above 40 in all. If this tempo continues, therefore, the Soviets may perhaps prepare for deployment of anywhere between 80 and 100 of their new monster-missiles before the year ends.

THE WISER ANALYSTS do not expect the monster-missiles to be mere improved SS-9s. They expect altogether new weapons, certainly "mirved," and quite possibly carrying up to 10 one-megaton warheads apiece. When the new silos receive the new missiles that are destined for them—which takes about 18 months—that will then give the Soviets more than enough power to destroy the Minuteman system.

If these facts are not enough to frighten non-somnambulists, there are still worse facts to come. Briefly, the Soviets are going to the immense expense of digging their new missile silos without having finally tested the monster-missiles the silos are to hold.

This strange phenomenon of heavy spending in preparation for deployment, before any tests of the weapon to be deployed, has been seen before in the Soviet Union. To be specific, it was seen in the early stages, just after the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, when the Soviets were carrying on their nuclear-strategic buildup with great urgency.

The fact that the same strange phenomenon is being seen again, in immeasurably more dangerous circumstances, obviously means two things. It means that the Soviets have great confidence in their new monster-missile, whatever its form may be. And it also means that there is again urgency—that for reasons of their own, in fact, the Soviet military planners have some sort of deadline in mind.

If there is such a deadline, that also has a logical meaning. It means that the Soviets are preparing for positive action of some sort. Just possibly, they are preparing an attempted first strike, to knock out U.S. nuclear-strategic power. More probably, they have in mind some sort of hideously grave confrontation with this country, with overwhelming power on their side.

So this time of somnambulism may well be remembered as very dark indeed!

#### A NATION CANNOT SURVIVE TREASON FROM WITHIN

#### HON. FLOYD SPENCE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, certain individuals in this country, including some Members of Congress, are helping to prolong the war in Vietnam by their words and actions. As far as I am concerned, these people are guilty of giving aid and comfort to the enemy.

I do not know the reason for their conduct—whether they are naive, unrealistic, weak of resolve, or politically motivated; but sooner or later they will be exposed for what they really are.

They will be haunted by the spirits of thousands and thousands of brave men who have laid down their lives to make it possible for these people to live in a free land and engage in activities that would not be allowed in countries which they are aiding by their actions.

They will have to answer to the youth of today, and those yet unborn, for helping to weaken this country to the extent that our enemies will be encouraged to promote Korea and Vietnam-type situations which our young people will have to fight.

This is not just a question of some being on the other side from me on a political issue. This I can respect. But these people are working against the best interests of this country, even more insidiously than our more apparent enemies. For them I have no respect. Whether they be elected officials or private individuals, they have only my contempt.

Whether they burn the U.S. flag, or demonstrate with the enemy flag, or give support and favorable publicity to those who do, they must be recognized as serious obstacles to the continued peace and freedom of this country.

Since there is information available to the general public which indicates that the survival of our Nation is in jeopardy, I would seriously question the motives of anyone who directly or indirectly helps to weaken our defenses or undermine our resolve to defeat those who would destroy us.

Centuries ago, Cicero described eloquently the problem we have today:

Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 B.C.): "A nation can survive its fools, and even the ambitious, but it cannot survive treason from within. An enemy at the gates is less formidable for he is known and he carries his banners openly. But the traitor moves among those within the gate freely, his sly whispers rustling through all the alleys, heard in the very halls of government itself. For the traitor appears no traitor; he speaks in the accents familiar to his victims, and he wears their face and their garments, and he appeals to the baseness that lies deep in the hearts of all men. He rots the soul of a nation; he works secretly and unknown in the night to undermine the pillars of a city; he infects the body politics so that it can no longer resist. A murderer is less to be feared."

"MR. DEMOCRAT"

#### HON. CLAIBORNE PELL

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, there recently appeared in the Providence Sunday Journal an article entitled "Mr. Democrat," written by Mr. C. Fraser Smith about Lawrence P. McGarry, director of the Providence Public Works Department and chairman of the Providence Democratic City Committee.

This commentary on Mr. McGarry, affectionately known as Larry by his many friends, of whom I count myself as one, ably relates the positive effect one man can have on our society when he dedicates himself to a life of public service in his community.

Today, in this era of instant demonstrators and protestors, when people's concern for government only becomes apparent when they themselves are personally affected, it is refreshing to see extolled a man like Larry McGarry, who has worked hard and long with great

effectiveness for his goals and ideas that he believes in.

His trademark in politics has been that of a man who is both loyal and who keeps his commitments. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

MR. DEMOCRAT

(By C. Fraser Smith)

The band played *Hey, Look Me Over* as the candidates marched toward the dais.

Near the back of the line as it slipped between the tables at the 1025 Club was Lawrence P. McGarry, chairman of Providence's Democratic Committee. For the candidates it was the easiest kind of campaigning. More than 1,000 voters had come to them.

For Mr. McGarry, hobbled by what he thought was neuritis, the 50 paces were not easy. Just before last November's election, doctors would discover that the problem was much more serious: multiple sclerosis.

In spite of that, and not because of it, Mr. McGarry could be the Democratic Party's candidate for mayor in 1974, or sooner if Mayor Joseph A. Doorley should move on to other contests in 1972. Insiders say the powerful city committee would endorse him eagerly.

It would be like winning one for the Gipper and there is nothing now visible on the political gridiron that could do more than boo McGarry's team, as they say, has all the horses.

Even if his illness or his inclinations keep him out of the race as a candidate, it is unlikely that anyone could win without his endorsement and support. He can be king or kingmaker. But in the interests of drama and clarity, it is helpful to assume that he will be a candidate.

There are those who would hate to hear the words "Mayor McGarry" pass their lips. But there are others, if their on-the-record testimony is the guide, who would feel a rare tide of joy and reassurance that there is justice in the world.

The polarity of responses is part of the McGarry reign as party boss in Providence, six fast-moving years in which his name has become a code word, moving some to vilify and others to adore.

Those who find him distasteful believe he has sunk the city's roots into the 19th Century, that he has been more sensitive to roads and garbage than to people, and that his personal style is unbefitting to a public figure. They feel the newspaper should "get" him.

Those who love him—and that term is by no means unwarranted—fiercely resent his public image. They blame the newspapers for treating him unfairly.

Although most of his admirers would argue that "good politics is always good government," there are some episodes which undermine their faith. Patronage, despite its humanitarian characteristics, is patronage. And when the choice is between qualifications and party, qualifications often are revised.

But the issue here, primarily, is the process and not the product. Who is Larry McGarry? What makes up his "machine"? Why is his image clouded?

It is true that his press has been fairly one-dimensional. But one of the biggest factors in that circumstance is Mr. McGarry himself. He does not have to be told that elections cannot be won in classrooms or in the homes of college graduates. (Not yet, anyway.) So he plays to the voters in the walkups, the three-deckers and the cottages.

He adopts some of the style of the late Mike Quill, the transit union boss of New York, who liked to call Mayor Lindsey—John Lindsley.

During the last mayoral campaign, Mr. McGarry dubbed Lester Millman, "Harvey

Hillman" and said, "I can never remember his name."

When his endorsed candidate was opposed in a primary in Ward 7 last fall, Mr. McGarry publicly threatened that "not another leaf will be picked up" if the challenger won. The challenger lost.

When the Urban Coalition named a Task Force on the Administration of Justice, Mr. McGarry volunteered, "I don't see a working man on the list. If you own a business and have got a million dollars you're on it." He called the new appointees a bunch of "stuffed shirts."

"I thought I was reading the Chafee for Governor Commission," he said. Not overcome with the validity of complaints of racism and brutality among the police, Mr. McGarry dubbed the task force, "The Red Herring Committee."

When brutality was charged last fall, Mr. McGarry said, "I'm sick and tired of these constant gripes and complaints. If they (the blacks? the 'stuffed shirts?') don't like it here in the city, why don't they move?"

An editorial writer saw this question as the ultimate racial slur. It is probable, however, that in the tenement houses it was received as a logical question.

Not everyone will find Mr. McGarry's remarks amusing. That will not surprise Mr. McGarry. He would be surprised only if a majority of voters indicated they are looking for fancy language. There is little to suggest any such trend among those who travel from tenement house to polling place.

If the signs were there, Mr. McGarry would see them. After a lifetime of participatory politics, he appears to have psychic tools that can cut to the bare bones of public feelings. He can see the threads of common thought. City Clerk Vincent Vespa says, "He knows who snores and who doesn't."

Thus, among his associates he is known as a "great predictor." One friend declared that he is clairvoyant. In 1968, he predicted that Governor Licht would beat the unbeatable John H. Chafee by 20,000 votes. (I heard him tell 7th Ward Democrats assembled in the St. Bart's Hall on election eve, that he "felt" Democratic votes in the air.) The margin of victory was about 11,000.

Last year, Mr. McGarry predicted Governor Licht would win by 40,000 votes. The margin was less than 2,000.

But it may be, as he intimates, that the prediction is important, not for its precision, but for the impact it will have when made in clubrooms, bars, restaurants, on the telephone and anywhere.

It is a part of the McGarry magic, a constant drama of shadow and act. It is part illusion—his solemn declarations in behalf of the two-party system in Providence, his insistence upon loyalty to endorsed candidates and his apparent confidence when the race is close.

If Larry says it's so, it probably is so. It is faith. It is an extra dimension of strength that comes only when the machinery is running well. It is part illusion, but it is mostly real. And the reality is people. People who would follow Larry McGarry anywhere.

The following is reciprocal. Understanding that the people were against the income tax, he opposed it too. Suspecting that they were disgusted by charges of police brutality, knowing that his old parish was being splintered by the work of socially conscious priests, and being naturally suspicious of anything swooping down from the East Side, Mr. McGarry makes it clear that he, too, resents the interference.

WHOSE OX IS BEING CORED

Whether this makes him responsive or reactionary is not the easy question most "good government" spokesmen would say it is. It is, to some extent, a question of whose ox is being gored.

From the viewpoint of the man called "Mr. Democrat" all the right oxen are protected.

They are protected by the ward committee chairmen, a baker's dozen of special men. They are among the men that Larry knows best. In many ways they are his pressure points. Through them, Larry reads the city.

Their ranks include an undertaker, sexton at the North Burial Ground, an attorney, a city solicitor, a probate judge, a butcher and a public works department supervisor. Government may be moving away from the people, but the ward committeemen are not. They are the people.

You do not have to tell any of these men that "more people live in tenement houses than in mansions and their votes count just as much."

"These are the people you can ask to come out," Mr. McGarry says. "They're accessible. And this is where your ward committee shines."

Thus in the 13th Ward, as in the city's other wards, there is a man like Adolf Gianquitti. Mr. Gianquitti, proprietor of Adolf's Meat Market, is a political handyman. He has had his fights with Mr. McGarry, but now he is chairman of the 13th Ward Democratic Committee.

"I help a lot of people out when they're in trouble. Broke, I help them. This 'n that. They borrow from me. I let 'em take it. I feel if I can do these things, I may as well run and get a little recognition," he says.

Mr. Gianquitti had trouble with Mr. McGarry in 1966 when the recognition he sought had been reserved for someone else. He teamed up against the endorsed slate. Mr. McGarry then charged that Adolf lived in North Providence.

It is true, Mr. Gianquitti says, that his family lives in North Providence. He himself sleeps in a small room above his butcher shop "two times a week, sometimes three."

"The law says I only have to sleep there once a year to make it legal and later on I might sleep there more," he predicted last summer. Like some of his Federal Hill neighbors, Mr. Gianquitti is caught in transit. He has done well with his meat store. Like a lot of others, he moved his family to the suburbs. But his business and some of his interests are on the hill.

For the election work, Mr. Gianquitti has a truck outfitted with a loudspeaker system. But he talks to the voters every day. ("Basically," Mr. McGarry says, "the most important thing a ward committeeman does is be a politician 365 days a year. You simply cannot run to the people on primary day or election day and say, 'Hey. You're my friend.'")

Men like Mr. Gianquitti say "You're my friend" every day in almost every way. At one time, the 13th Ward Democratic Club made its headquarters in a building right behind Mr. Gianquitti's market on Atwells Avenue. It was the kind of setup that draws voters and politicians.

One of the few that surpasses it in both point of service and performance is the Russell J. Boyle Funeral Home on Smith Street. Mr. Boyle, former president of the city council, gives lessons to the neighborhood anti-poverty fighters. He has a staff of men who serve not only as funeral directors, but ambulance drivers, real estate men, keepers of the private public assistance rolls and public relations men of great humor and skill.

(When Lester Millman started running for mayor last fall, he said Mayor Joseph A. Doorley's aides looked like a brace of funeral directors. For those who have not read widely in the books that divine political strategy, this remark was undoubtedly counter-productive, a slur on the Doorley team and a tasteless gaffe in the sacred context of death.

(What seems ironic, meeting Mr. Boyle's men, is that they are funeral directors who might easily be described as mayoral aides, meeting the needs of the constituents day-by-day.)

Mr. Boyle himself is already a legend on Smith Hill. Last year he had 289 funerals

and the chances are high that not all of them are paid for or ever will be. For a long time, Mr. Boyle did not send bills. He does so today, he says, only because the accountants demand it.

Mr. Boyle has a face like Jack Kennedy. His eyes appear to work independently, one of them twinkling and reflecting the usual irony of his remarks while the other tries to peer behind the face of the listener, to see through and measure.

He says, "Larry takes care of the people who are loyal to him. He formed his circle of friends and the city got tremendous, responsible personnel.

"People who worked for the city, he'd make it a point to get to their funeral. They were his friends and he didn't forget them. To know Larry is to know he's a man of a lot of feeling," Mr. Boyle said.

Everyone who knows him well says so. But some suggest that his feelings are eclipsed by his calculations and by his personal estimation of value—to him. Stay on his side and remain satisfied of his natural disposition toward fair and "humanitarian" gestures. Oppose him and feel the force of every bit of pressure he can find to beat you. Every one.

But Mr. McGarry's interest in victory is not limitless. Rumors that he loses sleep over the loss of two of the 26 city council seats are not true according to Eddie Clement, an aide to Rep. Robert O. Tiernan. Two may be the optimum number of Republicans, he agrees.

"You could elect ONE, but who would he talk to?" Mr. Clement inquires.

#### WHO WOULD HE TALK TO?

Accepting Mr. Clement's joke as an indication of policy, we may conclude that Mr. McGarry believes he could win the two council seats he now leaves for the GOP. A generous thing, to be sure.

It is the limited toleration one can extend to one's opposition, lending them legitimacy and preserving the illusion of two-party democracy. One also denies them the forum that could develop beneath any party that was totally excluded from the city's administrative and political processes.

It is the kind of toleration that is seldom if ever extended willingly to one's own, the maverick elements that won't wait their turn.

Such a group of independent Democrats live in the 4th Ward. It is the "Out Back" of Providence Democratic politics. It is a place where Byzantine devices are employed to make the regular team a winner. It is the domain of "T.B."

"T.B." is Tony Buccell. In Washington, he says, he is known as "Mr. Asphalt." Having maneuvered the country's major oil companies into a position where they had to favor his clients with asphalt shipments, Mr. Buccell picked up a new nickname.

To be Mr. Asphalt and to be feared in Washington, one suspects, puts Anthony Buccell on a plateau not far removed from that of "Mr. Democrat."

Ask anyone else who advises Larry on political matters and they will ask you if you think Larry needs advice. Ask "T.B." and he smiles.

"You'd have to ask him," he says.

He says, "I think we think alike. He's a stickler for uncompromising loyalty and we also have a fetish for a man keeping his word because in politics you don't draw written contracts. The politician, he's got his word. Larry's word is good. He can go to sleep. I think I'm the same way."

He says he admires Mr. McGarry's ability to unite. It is the kind of talent a 4th Ward politician would appreciate.

"If I run Jesus Christ, I'm going to have a primary," Mr. Buccell says. Last year, four different slates appeared, on the primary ballot. Last names were duplicated throughout. It was not easy for the voter to find his way to the right Mr. Smith or Mr. Jones.

In these fights, it would seem, Democratic winners would take all. There is no reason to reward the unfaithful.

"You take care of your friends first. If there are any leftovers, you take care of the rest," says "T.B." Losing is losing and no one should expect otherwise.

"I don't gamble, but I don't know of anyone who bets on a losing horse and cashes the ticket," he says.

What must be done, in his view, is convince all the big bettors that you have the winner. Larry can do this.

The idea is to get everyone involved in the decision-making or candidate-choosing process. The idea of victory supersedes, in the political organizer's mind, the idea of who should win. The "who" of it is only important after your machinery is together.

#### WHO HAD \$75,000 FOR THE CAMPAIGN?

From "T. B.'s" point of view, Larry's greatest success came in 1963 when he became "the chief protagonist" in reconstruction of a unified party. There were three candidates and each one had something going for himself. But none had enough votes.

Larry's selection criterion, according to some, was money. Who had \$75,000 for the campaign? Joe Doorley did not have it, but he could get it. The others could not. Joe Doorley had to be the man.

From that point, the job settled down to selling the contenders two ideas: 1) accept the results of the informal polling among the city committeemen; 2) work for the winner.

Since then, to quote the great Irish historian, Dan Pat Murphy, it has been a matter of maintenance.

"The Irish are great maintenance people," Mr. Murphy says. They are not necessarily the kind of people who can widen their embrace, enlarge their constituencies and make their administrations truly democratic.

Someone like John O. Pastore may like primaries, suggesting from Washington that a good scrap in the ward is healthy. Mr. McGarry says he disagrees, but there is a blank spot in the loyalty ethnic. It is a spot that may come up unexpectedly or by design. It is a happening that signals a kind of open season in which one may, for example, oppose a Mayor Reynolds or, more recently, a Congressman Tiernan.

Some say Mr. McGarry's alleged opposition to Robert O. Tiernan defines the term "thick" as applied to Irishmen. The word means stubborn, belligerent perseverance that takes a man counter to his own best interests and allows him to break his own most cherished rules.

Eddie Clement, Mr. Tiernan's aide, says this report of disagreement is not a fruitful area of discussion. He did not know, he said, if Larry had "sandbagged" Mr. Tiernan in the primary fight with John A. Notte. To sandbag is to "take a walk" in the middle of election day, to put a leash on the drivers and to hide the voting lists from the callers. Mr. Clement says he doesn't know if this happened or not.

"I have an old Irish mother who says, 'When you win, don't ask questions,'" Mr. Clement says. He discounted the reports of bad blood. "We're in the business of electing Democrats," he said.

If Mr. McGarry did work against Mr. Tiernan it was not the only time he violated a cardinal rule of political loyalty. But some of his admirers believe it was a significant illustration of some basic characteristics that sometimes overrun his fundamental adherence to Democratic Party discipline.

Mr. Tiernan was from Warwick. He was one of those suburbanites that get fat off Providence pluralities. He was a good government candidate, who had not worked long enough for his endorsement. He was not Mr. McGarry's choice.

Mr. McGarry wanted a television personality, Salty Brine. Mr. Brine lost his saliency

when a deal with Joseph A. Bevilacqua, now house speaker, fell through, observers say.

Mr. Bevilacqua had agreed to fall out of the endorsement race if he drew no unusual support in the early, testing rounds of voting. But as the state committeemen stood to vote for their early choices, Mr. Bevilacqua apparently thought he saw something. "What if I pick up 10 votes in Westerville?" he may have said to himself.

It was at about this time, to Mr. McGarry's way of thinking, that Mr. Bevilacqua should have "dropped." Mr. Bevilacqua did not drop.

Mr. McGarry shouted at him, "Drop, you —, drop!" Mr. Bevilacqua did not drop. Not soon enough anyway. While he was thinking it over, Mr. Brine dropped and Mr. Tiernan went on to win.

This kind of public lapse is usually dealt with unmistakably. Vincent Vespa, the city clerk, who has watched the Democrats work for years, offered an example.

#### INTO THE DEEP FREEZE

There was recently, Mr. Vespa said smiling, a councilman who made a public display of opposition to the mayor and to Mr. McGarry. "Humanitarian" principles were used by Mr. McGarry to reconcile it initially, he says.

But, as Prof. Dooley says, politics ain't bean bag. Various live political bodies who have chosen public opposition to the organization, according to Mr. Vespa, have slipped quietly into "deep freeze" and may be viewed in their state of suspension by those who know where to look.

There are some opponents and potential opponents who always do well, however. A significant number of them are Republicans. Even more are Italian.

Recently, 20 city department heads, many of them making \$17,000 a year, took out an ad in the Federal Hill neighborhood newspaper, *The Echo*.

What these men said was similar to what factory workers have said traditionally to the mill owners—"Thank you for the Christmas turkey." Partly as a result of this brand of co-opting, the city's Italo-American community, by far the largest number of registered voters among the ethnic groups, has never elected a mayor.

Beating the Italians, an Irish poll will inevitably make clear, is no small part of the joy of politics. Give up the department heads, but don't let 'em have the council president's job and don't let 'em get the mayor's office.

Mr. McGarry's ability to pick winners is based, so say the insiders, on his insistence that those who lose the preliminaries must fight the main event.

This kind of consolidation, stock taking and investment counseling is fortified by patronage power of great depth and variety. Mr. McGarry can call the state house and blackball favor-seekers who have fallen from grace. His ward committeemen and the councilmen are the city's real personnel system. Job qualifications, to a large extent, are what he says they are.

Neither the school department nor the police and fire departments escape this scrutiny. Police department promotions, it is said, must be cleared through Mr. McGarry. And he is said to have accelerated the departure of former chief Howard A. Franklin.

Thus, his influence. When you name the chief of police, you decide what kind of law enforcement the city will have. (If you give a man his job, you can take it away. Sometimes you have to get a signed resignation in advance.)

It is not unusual to invest political leaders with this kind of power. Usually, however, the leaders are elected leaders.

That is not to say that Mr. McGarry could not be elected, or even that he has had no experience as a candidate. He has been elected and re-elected to two of the city's most important political bodies: the Employee Retirement Fund and the Democratic City Com-

mittee. He has the trust of the men and women at the center of the city's Democratic Party.

But one of Mr. McGarry's well-known adversaries suggests that adoration of the chief is not far removed from fear.

"He predicates everything on fear. Endorsements, jobs, everything. Until you call him, resist him, you're the guy who's losing.

"His secret is, he's always got someone in the middle he can use. Keep them in there to work for you till the tide starts going the other way and then you can sacrifice them. He plays the ball game tough without any concern for anything but power," this man said.

While fear may be a part of the McGarry way, it is not fear of Mr. McGarry alone. It is also fear of the uncertainty and need that come in the days that follow defeat. In those days, the world falls apart for men and women who owe their livelihood to the Party and to McGarry.

But most of them have few illusions. They rationalize whatever fear there may be as part of the game. The times they have volunteered their resignations after rare Democratic defeats are times to recall with good humor. As winners now, they can recall these days without anger or emotionalism.

One of this breed is Arthur Parenteau. He is not the kind of politician you'll find in the lobby of the Biltmore Hotel on election night. He is more than a little paunchy and seems to have only about one tooth left. For many years, Mr. Parenteau was "a roller man" with the Department of Public Works.

A few years ago he was made sexton at the North Burlal Grounds. It is a job that seems fitting for a ward-level politician, but Mr. Parenteau says he get few opportunities for politicking. He does not wear campaign buttons on his suits, he says, smiling.

"I told them I never thought I'd get a job walking on people," he says. That he would have some kind of a job, on the other hand, was never in doubt. The Democrats had won hadn't they?

Mr. Parenteau is the current caretaker in what Mr. McGarry refers to as "The Mighty 10th." Like the city chairman, Mr. Parenteau grew up with politics in the 10th Ward. He is the chairman there now.

For him, politics and livelihood merge, leaving no seams or patches or democratic theory showing. There is no difference between jobs and winning politics.

Whatever else Larry McGarry may do, he does not abandon men like Arthur Parenteau, Russell Boyle, Tony Bucchi, Adolph Gianquitti and the others. And even if he did they would know he was doing it for the good of the party.

## IMPLEMENTATION OF EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

**HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. President, on April 1, 1971, the Senate passed and sent to the House a measure entitled the "Emergency Employment Act of 1971." The bill would provide for direct Federal support for programs of public service employment for unemployed persons during periods of high unemployment. In view of the tremendous unemployment in my home State of California, I hope that the House will act swiftly to enact this legislation and that the President will not delay in approving this much needed bill.

It is my hope that this program can be implemented as quickly as possible after final passage in order to begin at once to provide jobs for the thousands of unemployed persons that have been victimized by our present economic situation. In pursuit of this goal, I think it is particularly important that our local officials be fully informed of the provisions of this bill so that they may begin immediately to develop ways in which to implement the program created by this bill. In this way, we can avoid a needless delay that would otherwise occur between enactment of the bill and actual implementation of the programs. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the excerpts from the bill and the Senate committee report on the bill be printed in the RECORD.

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

### S. 31

A bill to provide during times of high unemployment for programs of public service employment for unemployed persons, to assist States and local communities in providing needed public services, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Emergency Employment Act of 1971".

#### STATEMENT OF FINDINGS AND PURPOSE

SEC. 2. The Congress finds and declares that—

(1) there are great unfilled public needs in such fields as environmental quality, health care, housing and neighborhood improvement, recreation, education, public safety, maintenance of streets, parks, and other public facilities, rural development, transportation, beautification, conservation, and other fields of human betterment and public improvement;

(2) to meet the urgent need for greater public services and the equally urgent need for public service employment which will provide meaningful jobs for unemployed or underemployed persons, it is necessary to devote resources to public service employment and related training and manpower services;

(3) times of high unemployment severely limit the work opportunities available to low-income persons, especially those from socioeconomic backgrounds generally associated with substantial unemployment;

(4) expanded work opportunities must keep pace with the increased number of entrants in the labor force, including the many young people who are entering the labor force, persons who have recently been separated from military service, and older persons who desire to enter or reenter the labor force;

(5) many of the persons who have become unemployed as a result of technological changes and shifts in the pattern of Federal expenditures, as in the defense, aerospace, and construction industries, could usefully be employed in providing needed public services; and

(6) providing resources for public service employment during an economic slowdown can help as an economic stabilizer both to ease the impact of unemployment for the affected individuals and to reduce the pressure which tend to generate further unemployment.

#### FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 3. The Secretary of Labor shall enter into arrangements with eligible applicants in accordance with the provisions of this Act in order to make financial assistance

available in times of high unemployment to public and private nonprofit agencies and institutions for the purpose of providing employment for unemployed and underemployed persons in jobs providing needed public services, and training and manpower services related to such employment which are otherwise unavailable.

#### AUTHORIZATION

SEC. 4. (a) There are authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year prior to July 1, 1973, such amounts as the Congress may determine to be necessary for carrying out this Act.

(b) For the purpose of providing financial assistance for any fiscal year under this Act to enable eligible applicants to carry out public service employment programs, the Secretary is authorized, out of funds appropriated to carry out this Act, to obligate expenditures equal to the sum of the amounts determined in accordance with the following clauses:

(1) \$500,000,000 when the Secretary determines that the rate of national unemployment (seasonally adjusted) equals or exceeds 4½ per centum for three consecutive months prior to any such determination, but no more than one determination may be made under this clause in any given twelve-month period; and

(2) \$100,000,000 for each increment of one-half of 1 per centum by which the Secretary determines that the average rate of national unemployment (seasonally adjusted) for three consecutive months prior to any such determination exceeds the rate specified in clause (1), not to exceed an aggregate total under this clause of \$250,000,000 in the first twelve-month period after enactment or \$500,000,000 in any given twelve-month period thereafter.

(c) No further obligation of funds may be made under subsection (b) subsequent to a determination by the Secretary that the rate of national unemployment (seasonally adjusted) has receded below 4½ per centum for three consecutive months.

(d) Whenever the Secretary makes any determination required by subsection (b) or (c), he shall promptly notify the Congress and shall publish such determination in the Federal Register. At such time, the Secretary shall recommend to the Congress any further steps he deems appropriate.

#### ELIGIBLE APPLICANTS

SEC. 5. For the purpose of entering into arrangements with the Secretary to carry out public service employment programs under this Act, eligible applicants shall be—

(1) States;

(2) cities, counties, and other units of general local government; and

(3) public and private nonprofit agencies and institutions (including local service companies and public service agencies and institutions of the Federal Government).

#### APPLICATIONS

SEC. 6. (a) Financial assistance under this Act may be provided by the Secretary for any fiscal year only pursuant to an application which is submitted by an eligible applicant and which is approved by the Secretary in accordance with the provisions of this Act. Any such application shall set forth a public service employment program designed to provide employment and, where appropriate, training and manpower services related to such employment which are otherwise unavailable, in times of high unemployment, for unemployed and underemployed persons in jobs providing needed public services in such fields as environmental quality, health care, public safety, education, transportation, recreation, maintenance of parks, streets, and other public facilities, solid waste removal, pollution control, housing and neighborhood improvements, rural development, conservation, beautifica-

tion, and other fields of human betterment and community improvement.

(b) An application for financial assistance for a public service employment program under this Act shall include provisions setting forth—

(1) assurances that the activities and services for which assistance is sought under this Act will be administered by or under the supervision of the applicant, identifying any agency or agencies designated to carry out such activities or services under such supervision;

(2) a description of the area to be served by such programs, and a plan for effectively serving on an equitable basis the significant segments of the population to be served, including data indicating the number of potential eligible participants and their income and employment status;

(3) assurances that special consideration will be given to the filling of jobs which provide sufficient prospects for advancements or suitable continued employment by providing complementary training and manpower services designed to (A) promote the advancement of participants to employment or training opportunities suitable to the individuals involved, whether in the public or private sector of the economy, (B) provide participants with skills for which there is an anticipated high demand, or (C) provide participants with self-development skills, but nothing contained in this paragraph shall be construed to preclude persons or programs for whom the foregoing goals are not feasible or appropriate;

(4) assurance that, to the extent feasible, public service jobs shall be provided in occupational fields which are most likely to expand within the public or private sector as the unemployment rate recedes;

(5) assurances that due consideration be given to persons who have participated in manpower training programs for whom employment opportunities would not be otherwise immediately available;

(6) a description of the methods to be used to recruit, select, and orient participants, including specific eligibility criteria, and programs to prepare the participants for their job responsibilities;

(7) a description of unmet public service needs and a statement of priorities among such needs;

(8) description of jobs to be filled, a listing of the major kinds of work to be performed and skills to be acquired, and the approximate duration for which participants would be assigned to such jobs;

(9) the wages or salaries to be paid participants and a comparison with the prevailing wages in the area for similar work;

(10) where appropriate, the education, training, and supportive services (including counseling and health care services) which complement the work performed;

(11) the planning for and training of supervisory personnel in working with participants;

(12) a description of career opportunities and job advancement potentialities for participants;

(13) procedures for periodic reviews by an appropriate agency of the status of each person employed in a public service job under this Act; and procedures pursuant to which, in the event that any such participant and the reviewing agency find that the participant's current employment situation will not provide sufficient prospects for advancement or suitable continued employment, maximum efforts shall be made to locate employment or training opportunities providing such prospects, and the participant shall be offered appropriate assistance in securing placement in the opportunity which he chooses after appropriate counseling;

(14) assurances that agencies and institutions to whom financial assistance will be

made available under this Act will undertake analysis of job descriptions and a reevaluation of skill requirements at all levels of employment, including civil service requirements and practices relating thereto, in accordance with regulations promulgated by the Secretary;

(15) assurances that the applicant will, where appropriate, maintain or provide linkages with upgrading and other manpower programs for the purpose of (A) providing those persons employed in public service jobs under this Act who want to pursue work with the employer, in the same or similar work, with opportunities to do so and to find permanent, upwardly mobile careers in that field; and (B) providing those persons so employed who do not wish to pursue permanent careers in such field, with opportunities to seek, prepare themselves for, and obtain work in other fields;

(16) assurances that all persons employed thereunder, other than necessary technical, supervisory, and administrative personnel, will be selected from among unemployed or underemployed persons;

(17) ways in which the program shall, to the maximum extent feasible, contribute to the elimination of artificial barriers to employment and occupational advancement, including civil service requirements which restrict employment opportunities for the disadvantaged; and

(18) such other assurances, arrangements, and conditions, consistent with the provisions of this Act, as the Secretary deems necessary, in accordance with such regulations as he shall prescribe.

#### APPROVAL OF APPLICATION

SEC. 7. An application, or modification or amendment thereof, for financial assistance under this Act may be approved only if the Secretary determines that—

(1) the application meets the requirements set forth in this Act;

(2) the approval request for funds does not exceed 80 per centum of the cost of carrying out the program proposed in such application, unless the Secretary determines that special circumstances or other provisions of law warrant the waiver of this requirement;

(3) an opportunity has been provided to the community action agency in the area to be served to submit comments with respect to the application to the applicant and to the Secretary;

(4) an opportunity has been provided to officials of the appropriate units of general local government to submit comments with respect to the application to the applicant and to the Secretary; and

(5) an opportunity has been provided to the Governor of the State to submit comments with respect to the application to the applicant and to the Secretary.

#### APPORTIONMENT

SEC. 8. The Secretary shall apportion funds made available pursuant to this Act among States and local areas within each State on an equitable basis, and to the extent practicable such funds shall be apportioned in proportion to the unemployment in each such area.

#### TRAINING AND MANPOWER SERVICES

SEC. 9. For the purpose of providing training and manpower services for persons employed in public service employment services for persons employed in public service employment programs assisted under this Act, the Secretary is authorized to utilize, in addition to any funds otherwise available under federally supported manpower programs, not to exceed 15 per centum of the amounts available for carrying out this Act.

#### SPECIAL PROVISIONS

SEC. 10. (a) The Secretary shall not provide financial assistance for any program or

activity under this Act unless he determines, in accordance with such regulations as he shall prescribe, that—

(1) the program will result in an increase in employment opportunities over those which would otherwise be available and will not result in the displacement of currently employed workers (including partial displacement such as a reduction in the hours of nonovertime work or wages or employment benefits), and will not impair existing contracts for services or result in the substitution of Federal for other funds in connection with work that would otherwise be performed;

(2) persons employed in public service jobs under this Act shall be paid wages which shall not be lower than whichever is the highest of (A) the minimum wage which would be applicable to the employment under the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended, if section 6(a)(1) of such Act applied to the participant and if he were not exempt under section 13 thereof, (B) the State or local minimum wage for the most nearly comparable covered employment, or (C) the prevailing rates of pay in the same labor market area for persons employed in similar public occupations;

(3) all persons employed in public service jobs under this Act will be assured of workman's compensation, retirement, health insurance, unemployment insurance, and other benefits at the same levels and to the same extent as other employees of the employer and to working conditions and promotional opportunities neither more nor less favorable than such other employees enjoy;

(4) the provisions of section 2(a)(3) of Public Law 89-286 (relating to health and safety conditions) shall apply to such program or activity;

(5) the program will, to the maximum extent feasible, contribute to the occupational development or upward mobility of individual participants; and

(6) every participant shall be advised, prior to entering upon employment, of his rights and benefits in connection with such employment.

(b) For programs which provide work and training related to physical improvements, special consideration shall be given to those improvements which will be substantially used by low-income persons and families or which will contribute substantially to amenities or facilities in urban or rural areas having high concentrations or proportions of low-income persons and families.

(c) All laborers and mechanics employed by contractors or subcontractors in any construction, alteration, or repair including painting and decorating of projects, buildings, and works which are federally assisted under this Act, shall be paid wages at rates not less than those prevailing on similar construction in the locality as determined by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276a-276a-5). The Secretary of Labor shall have, with respect to such labor standards, the authority and functions set forth in Reorganization Plan Numbered 14 of 1950 (15 F.R. 3176; 64 Stat. 1267) and section 2 of the Act of June 1, 1934, as amended (48 Stat. 948, as amended; 40 U.S.C. 276(c)).

(d) Where a labor organization represents employees who are engaged in similar work in the same labor market area to that proposed to be performed under any program for which an application is being developed for submission under this Act, such organization shall be notified and afforded a reasonable period of time in which to make comments to the applicant and to the Secretary.

(e) The Secretary shall prescribe regulations to assure that programs under this Act have adequate internal administrative controls, accounting requirements, personnel

standards, evaluation procedures, and other policies as may be necessary to provide the effective use of funds.

(f) The Secretary may make such grants, contracts, or agreements, establish such procedures, policies, rules and regulations, and make such payments, in installments and in advance or by way of reimbursement, or otherwise allocate or expend funds made available under this Act, as he may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act, including (without regard to the provisions of section 4774 (d) of title 10, United States Code) expenditures for construction, repairs, and capital improvements, and including necessary adjustments in payments on account of overpayments or underpayments. The Secretary may also withhold funds otherwise payable under this Act in order to recover any amounts expended in the current or immediately prior fiscal year in violation of any provision of this Act or any term or condition of assistance under this Act.

(g) Acceptance of family planning services provided to participants shall be voluntary on the part of the individual to whom such services are offered and shall not be prerequisite to eligibility for or receipt of any benefit under the program.

(h) The Secretary shall not provide financial assistance for any program under this Act unless he determines, in accordance with regulations which he shall prescribe, that periodic reports will be submitted to him containing data designed to enable the Secretary and the Congress to measure the relative and, where programs can be compared appropriately, comparative effectiveness of the programs authorized under this Act and other federally supported manpower programs. Such data shall include information on—

(1) characteristics of participants including age, sex, race, health, education level, and previous wage and employment experience;

(2) duration in employment situations, including information on the duration of employment of program participants for at least a year following the termination of participation in federally assisted programs and comparable information on other employees or trainees of participating employers; and

(3) total dollar cost per participant, including breakdown between wages, training, and supportive services, and administrative costs.

The Secretary shall compile such information on a State, regional, and national basis.

(i) The Secretary shall not provide financial assistance for any program under this Act unless the grant, contract, or agreement with respect thereto specifically provides that no person with responsibilities in the operation of such program will discriminate with respect to any program participant or any applicant for participation in such program because of race, creed, color, national origin, sex, political affiliation, or beliefs.

(j) The Secretary shall not provide financial assistance for any program under this Act which involves political activities; and neither the program, the funds provided therefor, nor personnel employed in the administration thereof, shall be, in any way or to any extent, engaged in the conduct of political activities in contravention of chapter 15 of title 5, United States Code.

(k) The Secretary shall not provide financial assistance for any program under this Act unless he determines that participants in the program will not be employed on the construction, operation, or maintenance of so much of any facility as is used or to be used for sectarian instruction or as a place for religious worship.

#### SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE SECRETARY

SEC. 11. As the rate of unemployment approaches the objective of section 4(c), the Secretary shall establish procedures to assure

that maximum efforts will be made to locate employment or training opportunities not supported under this Act for each person employed in a public service job under this Act and that, on the basis of a review as described in section 6(b) (13), the participant shall be offered appropriate assistance in securing placement in the opportunity which he chooses after appropriate counseling.

#### SPECIAL REPORT

SEC. 12. The Secretary shall transmit at least annually a detailed report setting forth the activities conducted under this Act, including information on the extent to which participants in such activities subsequently secure and retain public or private employment or participate in training or employability development programs.

#### DEFINITIONS

SEC. 13. As used in this Act, the term—

(1) "Secretary" means the Secretary of Labor.

(2) "State" includes the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

(3) "health care" includes, but is not limited to, preventive and clinical medical treatment, family planning services, nutrition services, and appropriate psychiatric, psychological, and prosthetic services.

(4) "city" means an incorporated municipality having general governmental powers.

(5) "local service company" means a community development corporation or other corporation, partnership, or other business entity organized to operate a community service manpower program or component thereof and owned or operated in substantial part by unemployed or low-income residents of the area to be served.

#### EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 14. This Act shall be effective upon enactment and the determinations to be made under section 4(b) shall take into account the rate of unemployment for a period of three consecutive months even though all or part of such period may have occurred prior to the enactment of this Act.

#### EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1971

##### A BRIEF SUMMARY

The Emergency Employment Act of 1971 is an emergency piece of legislation sharply focused upon the crisis of high unemployment. It is stopgap legislation designed to deal with an extremely serious national problem in a responsible manner for the immediate future. The bill would be in effect for a relatively short period of time, during which period long-range and comprehensive legislation will be considered by the Congress.

The bill will deal with a national emergency which has two parts:

1. The rapid increase in unemployment in the past 15 months which has created substantial hardship for hundreds of thousands of individuals and their families; and

2. The inadequacy of many vital public services, some of which are being drastically curtailed because of lack of local and State revenues, severely aggravating problems in our most troubled cities and rural areas.

The proposed Emergency Employment Act of 1971 would address both these urgent national problems. During periods of high unemployment, it would authorize the appropriation of funds to enable State and local government agencies, and certain other eligible applicants, to hire the unemployed in jobs providing needed public services.

The responsible authority administering the program would be the Secretary of Labor. Eligible applicants would be States, cities, counties, and other units of general local government, and public and private nonprofit agencies and institutions. The Sec-

retary could contract with them for employment programs under which the Federal Government would pay up to 90 percent of the cost of the programs.

Funds would be triggered as unemployment increased. If the national unemployment rate averaged 4.5 percent for 3 months, a total of \$500 million would be authorized. For each increase in the unemployment rate of one-half of 1 percent (.5 percent), an additional \$100 million would be authorized. Thus, if unemployment were to average 6 percent for 3 months (as it did in December 1970; January and February 1971) a total of \$800 million would be authorized. If unemployment were to average 7 percent for 3 months, \$1 billion would be authorized. (However, the bill sets a ceiling of \$750 million through the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, and \$1 billion for fiscal year 1973.) The authorization would expire June 30, 1973.

#### CONSIDERATION FOR GROUPS ESPECIALLY HARD HIT BY UNEMPLOYMENT

Section 8(b) was added in committee to provide generally for equitable distribution of public service jobs among various significant segments of the unemployed population. A principal factor in determining equitability would be the relative number of unemployed persons in each segment.

The reference in the section to equitable distribution of jobs among significant segments "in accordance with the purpose of this Act" is designed to incorporate those segments identified in the section 2 "Statement of Findings and Purposes" as experiencing particularly serious unemployment problems during this nationwide unemployment crisis. These groups are: low-income persons and migrants, persons of limited English-speaking ability and others from socioeconomic backgrounds generally associated with substantial unemployment; new entrants into the labor market, including young and older persons and recently separated veterans; persons receiving welfare assistance and persons who have become unemployed as a result of technological changes or as a result of shifts in the pattern of Federal expenditures, and as in the defense, aerospace and construction industries.

#### Workers laid off in aerospace, defense, and construction industries

It is well known that many unemployed scientists and engineers and other aerospace and defense workers have exhausted their unemployment benefits and have no idea where to turn next. Meanwhile their idle talents constitute a scandalous waste of valuable national resources. Especially as they are often unemployed because of Federal governmental decisions.

It is the intent of the committee that this target group receive an equitable share of the funds available under this Act.

Aerospace, defense, and construction workers who are unemployed "as a result of shifts in the pattern of Federal expenditures" are referred to in the "Statement of Findings and Purposes" section 2(2) as persons who could usefully be employed in providing needed public services.

There are currently over 400,000 unemployed aerospace workers. Included in this group are approximately 60,000 unemployed scientists and engineers.

From December 1969 to December 1970, the number of California aerospace workers declined by 82,000. During this same period over 40,000 aerospace workers in the State of Washington lost their jobs. Substantial aerospace unemployment has occurred in cities around the nation such as Boston, Wichita, Dallas, and St. Louis.

As a result of cutbacks in federal aerospace spending together with a general slowdown in commercial aircraft purchases, over one third of all aerospace employees have lost their jobs during the past two years. An addi-



tional 600,000 employees have lost jobs due to general defense cutbacks during this period. These employees worked in areas such as armaments, chemical manufacture and defense planning for private corporations and the Department of Defense.

#### SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS

##### Section 1. Short title

This section provides that the legislation may be cited as the "Emergency Employment Act of 1971".

##### Section 2. Statement of findings and purposes

This section sets forth the purposes of the legislation to provide unemployed persons with employment in jobs providing needed public services and related training and manpower services during times of high unemployment and to enable such persons to move into employment or training not supported under this Act.

##### Section 3. Financial assistance

This section provides that the Secretary of Labor shall enter into arrangements with eligible applicants to make financial assistance available to public and private nonprofit agencies and institutions for the purposes, during times of high unemployment, of providing employment and related training and manpower services for unemployed persons in jobs providing needed public services and related training and manpower services, and enabling such persons to move into employment or training not supported under this legislation.

##### Section 4. Authorization

This section authorizes appropriations of \$750,000,000 through June 30, 1972, and \$1,000,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, for the purpose of carrying out this Act.

From the sums appropriated, the Secretary of Labor is authorized to obligate expenditures up to the following annual levels: \$500,000,000 when the national rate of unemployment (seasonally adjusted) equals or exceeds 4½ percent for three consecutive months, and additional amounts of \$100,000,000 for each increment of one-half of one percent by which the average rate of unemployment exceeds 4½ percent for three consecutive months. No further obligation of funds may be made after the unemployment rate has declined below 4½ percent for three consecutive months.

##### Section 5. Eligible applicants

This section provides that the following shall be eligible applicants to carry out public service employment programs under this legislation: States, cities, counties, and other units of general local government, Indian tribes, and public or private nonprofit agencies (including local service companies, and public service agencies or institutions of the Federal Government).

##### Section 6. Applications

Subsection (a) of this section provides that financial assistance under this legislation shall be available only pursuant to an application from an eligible applicant approved by the Secretary. Such application shall set forth a public service employment program designed to provide employment and related training and manpower services for unemployed persons, and to enable such persons to move into employment or training not supported under this legislation.

Subsection (b) provides that programs assisted under this Act shall be designed with a view toward developing new careers, providing opportunities for career advancement, providing opportunities for continued training (including on-the-job training), and enabling individuals employed under such programs to move into public or private employment or training not supported under this legislation.

Subsection (c) sets forth provisions which an application for financial assistance for a public service employment program must include.

##### Section 7. Approval of applications

This section provides that, before he may approve an application for financial assistance under this legislation, the Secretary must determine that the application meets the requirements of the legislation, that opportunities have been provided to the community action agency, the Governor, and officials of local governments, for comments on the application. The approvable requests for funds may not exceed 90 percent of the program costs, unless waived by the Secretary.

##### Section 8. Distribution of funds

Subsection (a) of this section provides that funds available under the legislation shall be apportioned on an equitable basis among States and local areas within States, including Indian reservations, and among rural and urban areas. To the extent practicable, such funds shall be apportioned on the bases of the relative numbers of unemployed persons and the severity of unemployment in each such area.

Subsection (b) provides that financial assistance be made available in such a manner that, to the extent practicable, public service opportunities will be available on an equitable basis among significant segments of the population of unemployed persons, giving consideration to the relative numbers of unemployed persons in each such segment.

##### Section 9. Training and manpower services

This section provides for training and manpower services related to the public service jobs, allowing 20 percent of the funds under the legislation to be used for such purposes.

##### Section 10. Special responsibilities of the Secretary

Subsection (a) of this section provides that the Secretary shall establish procedures for periodic reviews by an appropriate agency of the status of each person employed in a public service job under the legislation to assure that (1) in the event that any person employed in a public service job under the legislation and the reviewing agency find that such job will not provide sufficient prospects for advancement or suitable continued employment, maximum efforts shall be made to locate employment or training opportunities providing such prospects, and such person shall be offered appropriate assistance in securing placement in the opportunity which he chooses after appropriate counseling, and (2) as the rate of unemployment approaches the objective of section 4(c) of the bill—when the authority for further funding under this legislation would be detripped because the overall unemployment rate is falling below 4½ percent—or financial assistance will otherwise no longer be available under the legislation, maximum efforts shall be made to locate employment or training opportunities not supported under this legislation, and persons who have been employed in public service jobs under the legislation shall be offered appropriate assistance in securing placement in the opportunity which he chooses after appropriate counseling.

Subsection (b) provides that the Secretary shall review the implementation of the procedures established under subsection (a) at intervals six months after funds are first obligated under this legislation and at six month intervals thereafter.

Subsection (c) provides for the Secretary to reserve such amounts as he may deem necessary to provide for a continuing evaluation of programs assisted under this legislation and their impact on related programs.

##### Section 11. Special provisions

This section contains general and administrative provisions.

##### Section 12. Special report

This section provides that the Secretary shall transmit to the Congress at least annually a detailed report setting forth the activities conducted under this legislation, including information on the extent to which participants in such activities subsequently secure and retain public or private employment or participate in training or employability development programs, and the extent to which segments of the population of unemployed persons are provided public service opportunities in accordance with the purposes of the legislation.

##### Section 13. Definitions

This section contains definitions of terms used in the legislation.

The term "public service" is defined as including but not limited to work in such fields as environmental quality, health care, public safety, education, transportation, recreation, maintenance of parks, streets, and other public facilities, solid waste removal, pollution control, housing and neighborhood improvements, rural development, conservation, beautification, and other fields of human betterment and community improvement.

The term "unemployed persons" means (A) persons who are without jobs and who want and are available for work, and (B) adults who or whose families receive welfare assistance benefits who are determined by the Secretary of Labor (in consultation with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare) to be available for work, and who are either persons without jobs or persons at work in jobs providing insufficient income to enable such persons and their families to be self-supporting without welfare assistance. The determination of whether persons are "without jobs" shall be made in accordance with the criteria used by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor in defining persons as unemployed. This definition of "unemployed persons" is not applicable to the term "rate of national unemployment (seasonally adjusted)" used in the triggering provisions of section 4, which term refers to the seasonally adjusted unemployment statistics announced by the Bureau of Labor Statistics on a monthly basis.

##### Section 14. Effective date

This section provides that the legislation shall be effective upon enactment and makes clear that the determinations with respect to the triggering provisions of section 4(b) shall take into account the rate of unemployment for a period of three consecutive months even though all or part of such period may have occurred prior to such enactment.

#### GREEK RESISTANCE LIVES

### HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, for the many millions of the people of the world who love Greece and who pray for that great country's return to representative government, the voice of Melina Mercouri is one of courage and hope. Indefatigable in her efforts to rally world opinion against the military junta that has now been in power in Greece for 4 years, Miss Mercouri has written for the New York Times of April 21, 1971, the following article that de-

scribes precisely the spirit of resistance that still resides in that unhappy land:

GREEK RESISTANCE LIVES

(By Melina Mercouri)

PARIS.—We once had an unwelcome guest in our house. It was during the wartime occupation of Greece by the Germans. Nazi officers were billeted in people's homes. We drew Gunther. Gunther had a constant need to prove that he was of the "master race." He did so by brandishing an enormous revolver and commanding us to watch him urinate on the living room floor. Then he would wave to us with the revolver and say:

"If you don't like it, why don't you do something about it?"

I am reminded of Gunther when friends, or pretended friends, ask: "If the Greek people detest the colonels' regime so much, why don't they do something about it?"

Any fairly impartial observer of the Greek scene will tell you that at least, I repeat, at least 90 per cent of the Greek people oppose the regime, which took power in a coup four years ago today. Yet to date there has been no large manifestation of resistance. Can one then deduce that the Greek is a coward? Let anyone tempted to think so study the record of Greek resistance against the Nazis. Their courage was an inspiration to all of Europe. Their efficiency was applauded by Churchill, Hitler, in what he considered praise for the Greek fighter, spoke of his "contempt for death."

No, we Greeks have no death wish. We equate love of liberty with love of life. The Greek is only too well aware that the colonels' regime subsists only by force of arms, by court-martial and by torture. He knows that Mr. Papadopoulos, who was the coordinator of the C.I.A., with the Greek intelligence service, K.Y.P., was an able student.

He has created a vast spy system in Greece. Spies are present in every office, in every class of every school, in sports clubs, in municipal administrations, in public places. The tourist, seduced by the sun and beauty of Greece, may not know that the waiter who serves him an ouzo, or the taxi driver who takes him to the Acropolis, could be on the spy payroll. But the Greek knows it.

Yet if active resistance is slow and cautious in forming, the Greek has used another weapon, the weapon of isolation. The colonels are isolated. They have only their tanks and their spies. Not one single politician of any stature has in any way joined or given support to the regime.

Who supports them? Sad to say, their bulwark is the American State Department and the American Pentagon.

Spokesmen for the State Department, in justification of heavy arms shipments to Greece, have stated that the Greek regime was moving toward democracy. Permit me to say that not only is this not true, but also the State Department knows it's not true. Of course it would prefer that the colonels erect a more presentable facade, but so far the results have been pitiful.

There are many Americans who deplore and militate against their Government's support of the Greek junta. We know them and cherish them. There are others who say:

"Of course we hate dictatorships, but there are military considerations. Greece occupies a strategic position. It is the southeastern flank of NATO."

Let us then forget human considerations, or moral considerations. In this foolish age when peoples assign their destinies to Pentagon determination, let us have a look at military considerations. In time of crisis, what kind of ally could the present Greek regime be?

The junta, to stay alive, had to purge 2,000 officers from the Greek Army. These included the very best of the NATO-trained forces. Does not military consideration compel an

examination of what this means to the efficiency of the Greek Army?

To name all the officers purged or imprisoned by the junta would make a very long list, but it is a list of men whose hostility will one day explode. They resent bitterly that the junta, to maintain power, has resorted to bribe and purchase. Those who were not purged saw their salaries tripled. Does a mercenary army make a reliable ally? I submit that for military consideration.

But there is a longer list. It numbers eight million. These are the Greek people. They, who once admired the Americans, now see them as the main support of their oppressors. Admiration has turned to rancor. If in time of crisis the American Pentagon believes that the Greek people would support a hated regime, or would forgive the country that armed them, they are making a historic blunder, a blunder of monumental proportions.

If the moment comes in which the junta has to divert its rigid surveillance of the Greek people because its army is needed elsewhere, then as surely as night follows day the Greek people will rise up and crush them. On that day the question will no longer be asked: where is the Greek resistance?

GOODBY TO THE WILD HORSE?

HON. WALTER S. BARING

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, in line with the recent hearings in the House and Senate Interior Committees on legislation for the protection of wild horses, I believe this article which appeared in the Reader's Digest of May 1971, by Hope Ryden, might be of interest:

GOOD-BY TO THE WILD HORSE?

(By Hope Ryden)

On the vast open reaches of Texas' Fort Hood military base, in what was until recently the heartland of the famed mustang, only one wild horse is left. This venerable bay stallion has avoided capture and shipment to a pet-food plant for so long that the military have dubbed him "Born Free." The name is appropriate. Despite advanced age, the defiant creature still rears on his hind legs to paw a challenge at helicopters that approach too close.

A century ago, millions of wild horses ranged over the West. Today, scattered across 11 states, only about 16,000 remain. And they are going fast. A 1959 federal law, supposedly designed to protect them, is so full of loopholes and so callously flouted that its actual effect is to speed the horses' destruction.

The mustang is a paradox. He has been idealized in legends, books and movies. Yet his enemies are formidable. Stockmen regard him as a competitor for their herd's grass, despite the fact that he has been pushed into barren areas of little value. Some sportsmen's associations want the horse destroyed so his last retreats can be filled with game animals. Horsehunters run him to exhaustion from airplanes and helicopters, then sell his flesh to dog-food canneries and mink farms.

I first became aware of the wild horses' plight in the summer of 1968. At my ABC news studio in New York, I got a phone call from a special agent for the International Society for the Protection of Animals. "You'd be interested to know," he said, "that 200 wild horses are about to be rounded up and auctioned to dog-food canneries by the U.S. government." The horses, he explained, were located on the Montana-Wyoming bor-

der, in the federally owned Pryor Mountains. Officials of the Bureau of Land Management were insisting that the horses had destroyed the vegetation so badly that erosion was setting in. By eliminating the horses, they could "upgrade" the area and lease it to ranchers for grazing.

I flew West with a TV film crew to cover the Pryor mustang story. Little did I realize the battle I was getting into, or that further investigation would lead me into all 11 states where the wild horses remain.

BRIGHTER IMAGE

When I arrived in the Pryor Mountains, Dean Bibbes, then BLM district manager in Billings, took me up onto the barren, 8000-foot-high slopes. The area was eroded-looking, the grass sparse, the sagebrush stunted. It was hard to believe that anything could survive there. Then, suddenly, there they were—the first wild horses I had ever seen! And they were spectacular. Sweeping across the mountain slope, tails and manes streaming, screaming with an exuberance never heard in any pasture—in the brief instant before they disappeared, those horses brightened my whole image of modern America. Our streams may be polluted, I thought, our air dirty, our landscapes tamed. Yet we still have wild horses.

The sight of them carried my thoughts back to the dawn of American history, and to the colorful role these horses played in it. Although few people realize it, horses actually evolved as a species in North America, eventually spreading over a then-existing land bridge into Asia and Europe. About 8000 years ago, however, America's horses died out, possibly of an epidemic. Only when the Spanish arrived in North America in the 16th century, did the horse return to his primeval haunts.

The Spanish prized their Andalusian horse, and with good reason; he was a remarkably tough and agile animal. He was small, but what he lacked in size he more than made up in looks and can-do spirit. He had a wide, intelligent forehead, delicate flaring nostrils and small ears. He came in every shade, from solid black to the wildest appaloosas, paints, roans and buckskins. Fast and maneuverable, he could break trail tirelessly, cross mountain ranges unshod, survive desert treks without food or water.

Inevitably, some Andalusians ran away, or were stolen by Indians. And for many bloody decades the little horse helped the red man fight off white settlers. But despite their passion for their newly acquired horses, the Indians proved to be poor herdsman. So, by the 19th century, huge herds of wild horses drifted over the West.

The white man was quick to use these available mustangs (from the Spanish *mesaño*). Indian ponies helped explorers Lewis and Clark, the early trappers, the cowboys, the Pony Express riders and untold numbers of pioneers to open the West. As I tramped over the Pryor Mountains and other wild-horse ranges, I learned much about the mustang's precarious way of life.

LORD AND MASTER

Each band is a harem of mares dominated by a single battle-scarred stallion who won't tolerate the approach of any other adult male horse. Only when a mare is about to give birth in the spring does the stallion allow her to roam from the harem. She then seeks a secluded spot where she drops her foal, often with another mare standing solicitously by as "aunt."

The stallion remains constantly on the lookout, not only for rival studs, but for men, wolves and mountain lions. When the herd must flee, its lead mare heads toward the nearest escape trail, while the others run single file behind her. The stallion takes the dangerous rear position; from there he can hurry his mares along or stop to make snorting stands against the enemy.

These bold stands have not, however, helped him against man. As far back as the 1880s, the government and cattlemen were slaughtering thousands of mustangs as part of an unofficial policy of starving the Plains Indians into submission in order to clear the area for cattle-raising. At the turn of the century, the killing slackened briefly as cowmen discovered that a gentled mustang made a superb working horse. But they insisted on "breeding him up" by turning big savalry and draft stallions loose with wild mares. Unfortunately, these breeding experiments raised a question that today has nearly sealed the mustangs' doom: Are the remaining horses really wild, or are they domestic? If they are domestic, who owns them?

The stockmen's associations early decided that they owned the horses; by range tradition, they had first claim to any unbranded steers in their vicinity. Why not horses, too? This fuzzy situation was clarified in the early 1900s, when Western states adopted laws which gave over to newly formed state livestock commissions all revenues from sales of "slick" (unbranded) domestic animals, including horses. Thus, despite centuries of freedom, the mustang is now legally defined as an "estrays," or unbranded domestic animal. State livestock commissions have turned the job of mustang-catching over to professional horse-hunters, who retain sale profits in return for the "service" they perform.

The usual method of mustang-hunting is brutal in its simplicity. The hunters locate a herd by airplane, then buzz it repeatedly, sirens shrieking, to start a stampede. After blasting the stallion with buckshot, they drive the leaderless herd to the catching corals—often a distance of many miles. Some horses, their lungs bursting from exhaustion, drop dead on the run. Others, piling into the corral, fight and trample each other. After the auction (they sell for a few cents a pound), the mustangs are roped and hobbled, dragged into trucks and hauled to the packing plant.

#### WILD HORSE ANNIE

In 1959, an attempt was made to outlaw airborne horse-hunting. A Nevada rancher named Velma Johnston (now known as "Wild Horse Annie") campaigned until she got Congress to pass a bill making it a federal offense to run wild unbranded horses with planes on public lands. But the Wild Horse Annie bill was only a stopgap prohibitive measure, not a protective one, and mustangers soon found loopholes galore. One tactic was to release a branded mare or two near a wild herd, and then corral them all. If accosted by a sheriff, the mustangers would claim that they were only gathering their own stock. Another scheme was to drive the wild horses onto private property and corral them openly.

Although Wild Horse Annie and her supporters continued to fight the anti-horse interests, they eventually came to realize that there is only one way to save the mustang: new legislation that will remove him from his perilous stray status and put him under the full protection of the Department of Interior. Some sportsmen's associations bitterly oppose this idea, maintaining that horses in wildlife refuges will destroy the forage and thwart efforts to build up target game.

#### REPRIEVE

This mustang-vs.-game controversy has at the heart of the bitter legal battle I became involved in when I went West to film the Pryor Mountain horses. During the filming, three facts became clear to me. First, claims made by BLM officials that elimination of the horses was "humane," because they were starving anyway, were nonsense; the horses were clearly in good condition. Second, although the area was undeniably scrubby, this could not be blamed primarily on the mustangs, but rather on normal land erosion and other factors. Third, even with the horses

gone, the rugged Pryor slopes were simply too dry and steep to sustain cattle, and not craggy enough for the bighorn sheep that the state game officials hoped to introduce.

Armed with these facts, plus films of the mustangs themselves, I returned to New York and put together a news feature. It was aired by ABC on July 11, 1968, and for several weeks afterward both ABC and the BLM were deluged with letters from an outraged public.

At this point, the battle to save the Pryor horses moved to Washington; it really heated up when several powerful Congressmen and animal- and horse-protection organizations joined the fray. The upshot was that Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall declared the Pryor Mountains a Wild Horse Refuge.

Thus, one little band of 200 horses has—for the moment—been saved. But individual battles on behalf of single bands of mustangs offer no real solution. Clearly, new legislation is required.

In the current session of Congress, several bills have been introduced in both the House and Senate. The strongest of these, according to Wild Horse Annie and many conservationists, is one sponsored by Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D., Wash.). Among other things, the Jackson bill would place the mustangs in a new category of protected animals called "national heritage species"—thus firmly closing off the horse-hunters' loopholes.

Some such law must be enacted—soon—if the mustangs are not to be lost forever. For their contribution to our history, for the way they have adapted to the harshest of environments, for their pure untamed magnificence, our wild horses deserve to be respected. And protected.

#### REPLY TO WTOP EDITORIALS

### HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Benjamin Ginzburg, executive secretary of Accuracy in Media, a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization to promote accuracy in news reporting, located in my northern Virginia district, recently called my attention to an editorial broadcast on April 17 and 18, 1971, by WTOP-TV and WTOP radio, questioning the right of Congress to investigate charges of distortion and falsification leveled against radio and television stations. Mr. Ginzburg's organization requested and was granted permission by WTOP to present an opposing view.

As I believe all Members of this Congress, as well as all who read this RECORD, will be interested in exploring both sides of this question, I insert the editorial and the editorial reply, which was broadcast on April 26 and 27, 1971, at this point in the RECORD:

[A WTOP editorial, broadcast Apr. 17 and 18, 1971]

#### FIRST AMENDMENT ALSO PROTECTS BROADCASTERS

The hallowed American tradition of a free press *must* be broad enough to include news on television and radio.

Congress has triggered that issue by demanding formally that CBS explain how it assembled the controversial television documentary called "The Selling of the Pentagon."

Congress wouldn't dream of such action had a major newspaper published an exactly identical report on the Pentagon, and the reason is the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. That amendment, which guar-

antees a free press, marks the key distinction between this nation and the dictatorial governments which dot the globe today.

Alert, vigorous, and unfettered news media are the best insurance against a tyranny in the United States. In current times, TV and radio have become the prime sources of news for most Americans. Broadcast journalism, therefore, must have the protection of the First Amendment.

The fact that the airwaves easily become overcrowded makes some regulation necessary. But it's a long and perilous jump from government allocation of available frequencies to government involvement with broadcast news.

Broadcast journalists—like all journalists—have heavy responsibilities. But the practice of journalism doesn't take place in a vacuum. Any news organization pays for sloppiness in reporting with a loss of its most precious asset—credibility.

The same non-governmental checks which have restrained irresponsible newspapers over almost two centuries operate today to restrain irresponsible electronic news organizations.

An intensive national debate is now taking place over the CBS documentary. Whether the program was fair or unfair will be decided ultimately by the public.

The First Amendment guarantees which protect newspapers from government must protect broadcast news with equal strength. The way the news is gathered by broadcasters is no proper business of Congress.

This was a WTOP Editorial . . . Norman Davis speaking for WTOP.

[A WTOP editorial reply, broadcast Apr. 26 and 27, 1971]

(A recent WTOP Editorial said that Congress has no right to second-guess television newsmen in the gathering and preparation of news. An organization known as Accuracy in Media has a dissenting view, and has engaged Mr. John Beinhart to present a reply.)

Accuracy in Media, a private organization which seeks to improve the accuracy of news reporting, supports the right of Congress to investigate charges of staging and distortion in TV news. The networks serve neither the public interest nor their own in refusing to cooperate in such investigations. They have a duty to quell public doubts about their credibility by proving the authenticity of their reporting and correcting any unprofessional practices.

CBS and NBC have been charged with fakery in two recent documentaries. Accuracy in Media has formally charged that the CBS documentary, "The Selling of the Pentagon," contains serious violations of the Television Code of the National Association of Broadcasters. We charge that CBS used "artifice" to mislead with respect to material facts. NBC has publicly admitted that part of the documentary, "Say Goodbye," was faked.

Congress has a duty to investigate such charges to determine how best to protect viewers, whose rights are paramount. Because the airwaves are not available to everyone, broadcasting, unlike other modes of expression, is subject to government regulation, to quote a Supreme Court decision. The Court has stated: "Differences in the characteristics of the news media justify differences in the first amendment standards applied to them."

The FCC has labeled deliberate slanting of the news "a fraud upon the public." Congressional investigations are needed from time to time to protect the public against fraudulent practices, including the staging and distortion of TV news.

Broadcasters with nothing to hide should not hesitate to cooperate in such investigations. Those who refuse to cooperate, claiming the protection of the first amendment, can only arouse suspicion and undermine their credibility.

COVERAGE OF PRESCRIPTION  
DRUGS UNDER MEDICARE

**HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 27, 1971

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY) for his exceptional articulation of this most pressing matter. I am pleased to join with him and with other Members in cosponsoring this important and much-needed amendment to the Social Security Act. This bill would expand the scope of the present medicare program to include the costs of outpatient prescription drugs required by present and future beneficiaries.

Prescription drugs now represent the largest single personal health expenditure that the elderly must meet almost entirely from their own resources. Average annual per capita drug expenditures for persons over 65 are more than three times that of the younger population groups. It is true, of course, that many older people have purchased on their own additional health insurance protection over and above that afforded by medicare. The Social Security Administration

recently reported that the net number of persons with additional hospital protection, for example, is nearly 10 million. But only about 3 million older people have managed to obtain out-of-hospital drug insurance, or only about 15 percent of the elderly.

For many beneficiaries, and particularly for those with chronic conditions, annual drug outlays may reach several hundreds of dollars. And these expenditures are in addition to whatever other deductibles and coinsurance costs older people are now being asked to pay under medicare. Many of the aged must get along on social security cash benefits and perhaps some meager savings—major drug expenses can literally destroy the financial security of the retired husband and wife.

Study after study has shown clearly that there is a need for this sort of legislation. Congress has repeatedly postponed action nevertheless. I say that further delay is totally unjustified. H.R. 2355 has been carefully drafted and designed to meet most of the problems regarding administration of a drug benefit pointed out 2 years ago by the Task Force on Prescription Drugs. It is, therefore, a feasible, as well as desirable, revision in the medicare protection scheme.

The bill proposes to extend the "ven-

dor" concept to the provision of pharmaceutical services for medicare beneficiaries. The administrative arrangements for the program, therefore, would not involve the beneficiaries, just as they are not involved when these people are patients of hospitals or extended-care facilities. Individual recordkeeping and filing would, thereby, be eliminated.

This bill is, Mr. Speaker, an important piece of legislation, and I commend it to the Members for their careful consideration.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW  
LONG?

**HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE**

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 3, 1971

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 1,600 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

**SENATE—Tuesday, May 4, 1971**

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. ELLENDER).

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

O Thou Creator Spirit, Thou Light of the World and Revealer of Truth, we thank Thee for the occasional dazzling flashes of pure beauty, pure goodness, pure love, which show us who Thou art and what Thou dost desire of us. We thank Thee that the vision of Thy holiness throws into vivid contrast the cruelty, the horror, the greed, the oppression, the ugliness which still stain the life of man and efface the divine image of Thy creation.

Help us to hear Thy call and to say with the prophet, "Here am I, send me." Send us, O Lord, into this very world to help remake it. When Thou hast shown us the way, help us to do the right though difficult thing, to give the unpopular message in the uncongenial place, to sacrifice our personal advantage when sacrifice is the only way to redemption, to do what we do for the good of the Nation and the welfare of mankind.

We pray in Thy holy name. Amen.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Leonard, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session, the President pro tempore laid before the Senate

messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

(The nominations received today appear at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Berry, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 135. An act to provide for periodic pro rata distribution among the States and other jurisdictions of deposit of available amounts of unclaimed Postal Savings System deposits, and for other purposes;

H.R. 155. An act to facilitate the transportation of cargo by barges specifically designed for carriage aboard a vessel;

H.R. 1100. An act to provide for the disposition of funds appropriated to pay a judgment in favor of the Grand River Band of Ottawa Indians in Indian Claims Commission docket numbered 40-K, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1444. An act to provide for the disposition of funds appropriated to pay judgments in favor of the Snohomish Tribe in Indian Claims Commission docket numbered 125, the Upper Skagit Tribe in Indian Claims Commission docket numbered 92, and the Snoqualmie and Skykomish Tribes in Indian Claims Commission docket numbered 93, and for other purposes;

H.R. 4353. An act to provide for the disposition of funds appropriated to pay judgments in favor of the Iowa Tribe of Oklahoma and of Kansas and Nebraska in Indian Claims Commission dockets numbered 79-A, 153, 158, 209, and 231, and for other purposes;

H.R. 6072. An act to provide for the disposition of funds appropriated to pay a judgment in favor of the Pembina Band of Chippewa Indians in Indian Claims Commission dockets numbered 18-A, 113, and 191, and for other purposes;

H.R. 6283. An act to extend the period within which the President may transmit to Congress reorganization plans concerning agencies of the executive branch of the Federal Government, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 6797. An act to provide for the disposition of funds appropriated to pay judgments in favor of the Kickapoo Indians of Kansas and Oklahoma in Indian Claims Commission dockets numbered 316, 316-A, 317, 145, 193, and 318.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to House Resolution 414, that the bill of the Senate (S. 860) relating to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, in the opinion of the House contravenes the first clause of the seventh section of the first article of the Constitution of the United States, and is an infringement of the privileges of the House, and that the said bill be respectfully returned to the Senate with a message communicating this resolution.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred, as indicated:

H.R. 6283. An act to extend the period within which the President may transmit to Congress reorganization plans concerning agencies of the executive branch of the Federal Government, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Government Operations.

H.R. 155. An act to facilitate the transportation of cargo by barges specifically designed for carriage aboard a vessel. Referred to the Committee on Commerce.

H.R. 135. An act to provide for periodic