

of Idaho, Mr. KING, Mr. KUYKENDALL, Mr. MAZZOLI, Mr. McCLOSKEY, Mr. RUNNELS, Mr. SHRIVER, and Mr. SIKES):

H.R. 8301. A bill relating to the conservation and restoration of marginal farmland; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. SPRINGER:

H.R. 8302. A bill to extend the act of September 30, 1965, relating to high-speed ground transportation, by removing the termination date thereof, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. STEELE:

H.R. 8303. A bill to amend the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 8304. A bill to amend the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, to provide assistance for the development of nonlethal weapons and police protection equipment, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. VIGORITO (for himself, Mr. HECHLER, of West Virginia, Mr. NIX, Mr. REES, Mr. HARRINGTON, Mrs. GRASSO, Mr. EILBERG, Mr. SCHEUER, Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana, Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. MITCHELL, Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD, and Mr. SEIFERLING):

H.R. 8305. A bill to provide that no department, agency, or instrumentality of the United States shall contract to purchase coal which has been mined by the surface mining method; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PERKINS:

H.R. 8306. A bill to further provide for the farmer-owned cooperative system of making credit available to farmers and ranchers and their cooperatives, for rural residences, and to associations and other entities upon which farming operations are dependent, to provide for an adequate and flexible flow of money into rural areas, and to modernize and consolidate existing farm credit law to meet current and future rural credit needs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. FOUNTAIN:

H.J. Res. 628. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to attendance assignments in public schools on the basis of race or color; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAGAN:

H.J. Res. 629. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to the freedom of choice; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'HARA:

H.J. Res. 630. Joint resolution providing for the designation of the third week of October of 1971 as "National German Shepherd Dog Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PETTIS:

H.J. Res. 631. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States with respect to the flag of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. QUILLEN:

H.J. Res. 632. Joint resolution amending title 38 of the United States Code to authorize the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to provide certain assistance in the establishment of new State medical schools and the improvement of existing medical schools affiliated with the Veterans' Administration; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. BENNETT (for himself, Mr. DELLENBACK, and Mr. HALPERN):

H. Con. Res. 295. Concurrent resolution; Joint Committee on Impoundment of Funds; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. WHITEHURST:

H. Con. Res. 296. Concurrent resolution that it is the sense of Congress that the Federal Government should take appropriate steps to determine if new research methods for its research projects can be developed, where feasible, to complement or eliminate current methods involving the direct or indirect use of animals; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

By Mr. ZABLOCKI (for himself, Mr. NIX, Mr. FRASER, Mr. BINGHAM, Mr. BROOMFIELD, Mr. MORSE, Mr. FINDLEY, Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania, Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin, and Mr. MAILLIARD):

H. Con. Res. 297. Concurrent resolution calling for the humane treatment and release of U.S. prisoners of war held by North Vietnam and its allies in Southeast Asia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mrs. HICKS of Massachusetts:

H. Res. 435. Resolution calling upon the United Nations to help to eliminate the illegal international traffic in narcotics and

other dangerous drugs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

167. By the SPEAKER: memorial of the Legislature of the State of Nevada, relative to the recreational values of public lands; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

168. By the SPEAKER: memorial of the Legislature of the State of Alabama, relative to designating an "American Creed Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. BEGICH:

H.R. 8307. A bill for the relief of Michael A. Korhonen; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 8308. A bill for the relief of John and Libera Chimenti; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MILLER of California:

H.R. 8309. A bill to grant a Federal Charter to the National Association Legions of Honor; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 8310. A bill for the relief of Kang-Be Chu; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TERRY:

H. Res. 436. Resolution commending the Shriners Hospitals for Crippled Children and Burns Institutes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

71. The SPEAKER presented a petition of the city council, Brook Park, Ohio; relative to restoring a bulk mail handling station to the greater Cleveland area; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

WHITE HOUSE WORSHIP SERVICE
FEATURES GRAFTON, W. VA., HIGH
SCHOOL CHOIR AND STIRRING
SERMON BY REV. JOHN C. HARPER

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the White House worship service this past Sunday, was impressive and inspiring. The occasion was of especial significance to Representative HARLEY STAGGERS and me, with members of the Grafton, W. Va., High School concert choir were present to sing the moving anthem, "Gloria," by Franz Schubert, and other selections.

President Richard Nixon, in opening remarks, noted that the proclamation designating the second Sunday in May as Mother's Day was signed by President Woodrow Wilson on May 8, 1914.

Mother's Day, which has become a permanent part of American life, is the work of one woman, Miss Anna Jarvis. A native of West Virginia and Taylor County, Miss Jarvis campaigned dauntlessly for a special day of the year on which Americans could honor mothers.

I knew Miss Jarvis personally, and recall our mutual fondness for the words of the poet Henry Van Dyke, in the tribute to his mother:

I cannot pay my debt
For all the love that she has given;
But thou, love's Lord,
Will not forget
Her due reward
Bless her in Earth and Heaven.

The project to create a special day for mothers became the life's work of Miss Jarvis in memory of her own mother. She buttonholed industrialists, businessmen, politicians, and church officials in her ceaseless drive for a national observance.

Fittingly, the first organized Mother's

Day observance occurred exactly 63 years ago yesterday in the Andrews Methodist Episcopal Church at Grafton. Today that church is the center of a developing International Mother's Day Shrine.

The Grafton Senior High School choir, under the direction of Kenneth Godwin, Jr., had 25 participating members of the larger choir group in the chorus. They include:

Bob Bryan, Roger McCauley, Fred Smith, Chuck Kelley, Bob Leonard, Pam Stevens, Kathy Davis, Dawn Jenkins, Mike Fawcett, Nancy Ludwick, Janine Manley, Steve Thompson, Bob Weaver, Judy Godwin, Linda McWilliams, Mary Reneau, Pam Sapp, Nancy Warder, Laura Ferrell, Pam Knotts, Ron Wolfe, Dave Phillips, Tom Walls, Joe Radcliff, and Lloyd Spring.

Other participants in the White House visit, in addition to Mr. Godwin, were faculty members and staff, including: Ted Thompson, Mrs. Calvin Morrison, Mrs. Frank Sador and James Havenner,

together with Grafton High School Principal Edward A. Whitecarver, teacher Russell Walls, pianist, Mrs. Robert Gough, and Miss Ellen Jane Wiseman, photographer.

The following Grafton High School students were at the White House for the reception when the President and Mrs. Nixon met personally with approximately 300 worshippers:

Patti Weaver, Robin Lucas, Earl Bartlett, Dennis Boliner, Jim Steadman, Bill Knisley, Mike Ellington, Darleen Havenner, Kenny Mick, Connie Sapp, Karen Manley, Kathy Garrett, Debbie Haddix, Luann Funkhauser, Jackie Stevens, Rober Carder, Steve Hauk, Phil Stevens, Larry McWilliams, Tom Poling, Tim Newlon, Linda Floyd, Lisa Smith, Marlene Kalo, Glenda Watkins, Nancy Foley, Carla Sansbury, Tara Taylor, Fred Queen, Steve Lambert, Herb Dodrill, Cathy Brewer, and Steve Ward.

Mr. President, the eager faces of these fine young men and women—60 in all—was in contrast to some of the faces we have been confronted with on Capitol Hill in recent days. They listened, intently and earnestly, to the President's appropriate remarks and to a stirring message by the Reverend Dr. John C. Harper, rector of St. John's Episcopal Church at Lafayette Square. I ask unanimous consent that the sermon be placed in the RECORD, because it is probing and profound spiritual essay on the university of man.

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

THE RAGGED EDGE OF FORTITUDE

(A sermon preached at The White House on May 9, 1971, by the Reverend John C. Harper, D.D., Rector of St. John's Church, Lafayette Square in Washington.)

I

I am honored to come here as a neighbor on Lafayette Square. For one hundred and fifty-six years St. John's Church, across what was first called the President's Park, has had close association with this Mansion. The architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe, who before and after the War of 1812 worked on this building as well as the center section of the Capitol itself, designed St. John's Church in 1815 and commented at the time that he had "made many Washingtonians religious who had not been religious before!"

President Lincoln once gently turned down a young office seeker who had nevertheless asked if he might leave his papers at The White House. "Don't do it!" exclaimed the President. "Keep 'em. They might—now mind you I don't say they will, but they might—gain you a membership at St. John's." I am glad to say that the times have changed, although St. John's Church continues to try to be "a beacon of hope in the nation's capital."

This morning I am mindful of our country's and church's strong tradition. Admiral Dewey, at the beginning of the Spanish-American War, said: "My greatest and dearest personal ambition is to conquer Manila and to be allowed to live in order that I may return to pass the plate at St. John's." A few minutes ago when we sang the Doxology, which usually comes at the end of the Offertory, I thought of the good Admiral and of the proud association St. John's has had with our nation and our country's heroes.

II

One of America's wisest historians today is the retired professor at Harvard Samuel Eliot Morison, biographer of two of our indomitable heroes, Christopher Columbus and John Paul Jones, not to mention the author of the fifteen volume history of Naval operations in World War II. At the age of eighty-four, at a time when a lesser breed of men would be winding down, Admiral Morison has just published the first of what he expects will be three volumes about the European discovery of America. He ends the preface to the first volume, which describes all the known voyages across the North Atlantic prior to 1600, with these words:

"I am highly conscious of writing amid 'the tumult of the times disconsolate'—as Longfellow wrote of the 1860's. And to those now whimpering about the state of the world, and especially Americans predicting the collapse of society, I will say, 'Have faith! Hang on! Do something yourself to improve things!' What if England and France had given up trying to establish colonies after the failures . . . and had become ingrown? What if they had written off North America as worthless for want of precious metals? Where then would you be? . . ."

"In human affairs there is no snug harbor, no rest short of the grave. We are forever setting forth across new and stormy seas, or into outer space."

Here is a wise voice of hope for us amid "the tumult of the times disconsolate." It is a reminder that there is never a snug harbor, for we must always be a pilgrim people setting forth afresh in behalf of an ideal, sometimes towards an impossible goal, but always moving on into the vast unknown because we are forever dissatisfied with where we have been and yearning for something which lies beyond our present experience.

If I understand it correctly, our Judeo-Christian tradition rests on two assumptions. One is that there is plenty wrong with the world, the result of human failure to answer God's commands; the other is that in spite of our alienation from goodness—what the Bible conveniently calls our sin—there is a way out. God for quite unfathomable reasons does not desert us even at those times when we turn against him. He provides every man with his Bethlehem where new hopes are born and with a Calvary where failures are answered by unswerving love. In short, God offers us that venturing, creative spirit which surmounts our past and scorns the terror of the present, telling us that religious hope is founded on the promise of the future.

"In the face of this," St. Paul wrote, "what is there left to say? If God is for us, who can be against us? Can anything separate us from the love of Christ? Can trouble, pain, or persecution? Can lack of clothes and food, danger to life and limb, the threat of arms? No, in all these things we win an overwhelming victory through him who has proved his love for us."

These truths of the spirit however are not evidenced by acknowledging them or being sentimental about them, but by acting upon them. They are dependent upon what we do, for upon us may depend the reality of God here on earth. Real religion finds its center in a style of life in which we are each called to responsibility and dignity, where hope permits us to be open to the future as it is determined by God who is found in people no better or no worse than ourselves.

If we believe, as did St. Paul, that "neither death nor life, neither what happens today nor what happens tomorrow . . . has any power to separate us from the love of God in Jesus Christ," we can go on and accept with some degree of courage the belief that God is indeed found in history, that he is identified

with change—the rapids of life—no less than with the abiding rocks.

III

The religiously oriented person today is called to accountability as he acts out his faith in whatever circumstances are appropriate to his particular life. He is called to try to redeem his society rather than to continue to condemn what is wrong without any possibility or resurrection; he is motivated to act upon his religious hope rather than to live in the ghettos of despair. Hopelessness says, "There is no exit"; the voice of hope says that there is a way out as we continue to pray, "Thy kingdom come . . . through me; thy will be done . . . through me."

"The great tragedies of history," said Albert Camus, "often fascinate men with approaching horror. Paralyzed, they cannot make up their minds to do anything but wait. So they wait, and one day the gorgon devours them. But I should like to convince you that the spell can be broken, that there is only an illusion of impotence, that strength of heart, intelligence, and courage are enough to stop fate and sometimes reverse it."

This is where hope breaks in upon the sheer incongruity between "the world's slow stain" and the promises that God has made. The task of men of faith is always to struggle for freedom against those fatalities that appear to close in upon us, as we recognize that the God of hope calls us to judgment and that the ultimate outcome, while often uncomfortable and unsettling, is in his hands. When we discover "the eternal shining through the temporal" we understand that we are summoned now to respect the realities of man's disorder but also to believe in God's ultimate design in human history, to understand in Stephen Vincent Benet's words that,

Always and always life can be lost without vision
But not lost by death.
Lost by not thinking, willing, caring,
Going beyond the ragged edge of fortitude
To something more—Something no man has seen.

It is in this spirit that we continue a search for eternal greatness incarnate in events and in people, and in so doing go "beyond the ragged edge of fortitude to . . . something no man has seen."

PURSUIT OF WORLD PEACE
THROUGH STUDY, RESEARCH
AND TEACHING CAN BE STIMULATED BY U.S. PEACE AGENCY

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 10, 1971

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, there is no higher challenge to men of good will than the pursuit of peace for all mankind.

Joseph Conrad wrote:

What all men are really after is some form, or perhaps only some formula, of peace.

This is true throughout the world today, even as we go about the building of stockpiles of weapons to stop future wars; as we pray for an earlier solution to the Vietnam war; as we continue our efforts at the SALT talks, and as we inch

toward accommodation with mainland China.

It is my feeling, as a longtime member of the House Armed Services Committee, that we need an agency in our Government dedicated solely to finding a way to peace.

I have reintroduced in this session of Congress—as I have for more than a decade—a bill—H.R. 585, pending in the House Foreign Affairs Committee—to establish the U.S. Agency for World Peace within the Department of State.

I believe it is necessary to pinpoint in one single agency the role of finding solutions to peace. My bill would accomplish this, by setting up an independent agency within the Department of State which will not deal in policy formulation but will do intensive research on problems related to achieve peace. To study the causes of war and to develop techniques for the elimination and reduction of these causes would be purposes of the peace agency.

Two interesting projects have recently come to my attention in my work and sponsorship of the peace agency research bill.

First, is the news that Manhattan College in New York will offer what is believed to be the first undergraduate major in peace studies in an American college or university. This course will involve history, religion, biology of human behavior, world economic studies, and other studies. I have included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD information on this new involvement by Manhattan College and its Peace in Terris Institute, headed by Dr. Tom T. Stonier, director, peace studies major program.

Second, a study of international wars from 1816 to 1965 is being published by researchers at the University of Michigan; and the National Science Foundation is assisting in further programs in this area. An article from the New York Times of May 6, 1971, describes the work of political scientists and historians in their efforts to explain the causation of war.

Mr. Speaker, George Catlett Marshall once said:

If man does find the solution for world peace it will be the most revolutionary reversal of his record we have ever known.

We know we have a difficult problem to solve, but we can make great gains if we really devote ourselves to finding the ways to peace and the causes of war. I believe that the Manhattan College studies and the University of Michigan paper are strong indications that we can do more in researching peace. We have just scratched the surface. A U.S. Agency for World Peace within the State Department would further stimulate those studies to end wars. I hope that my legislation will be enacted into law at an early date.

The items follow:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 25, 1971]
MAJOR TO BE GIVEN IN PEACE STUDIES; MANHATTAN COLLEGE SAYS UNIT WILL BE FIRST OF KIND

(By M. S. Handler)

Manhattan College, a Roman Catholic School in the Bronx, will offer this fall what it believes will be the country's first undergraduate major in peace studies.

The major, based on interdisciplinary studies, will draw on courses from the history, government, English, economics, philosophy and biology departments. Students will be required to take 30 credits as well as attend weekly peace seminars and undertake a yearlong independent project in the field.

The prime mover in the establishment of the peace major was the Pacem in Terris Institute, an organization of faculty members and friends of Manhattan College who maintain that a peace study major is a valid academic discipline.

A BIOLOGIST IN CHARGE

Dr. Tom T. Stonier, professor of biology, is the director of the new program. Outlining the general scope of the new major, Dr. Stonier said the course offerings would include the biology of human behavior—territoriality, hierarchy, aggression, violence of intergroup conflict among primates and among men.

Other subjects to be covered are the social psychology of social problems, international relations and international organizations, world economic geography and economic development, the anatomy of peace-making efforts from ancient times, peace and revolution—the attitudes of Christians, the church and Ghandism and the literature of peace and war from ancient to contemporary times.

War, according to Dr. Stonier, is a social institution like slavery and as ancient. In dealing with war, he continued, one is dealing with cultural patterns.

"IN A CULTURAL TRAP"

"War is culturally determined by people just as there are people who are culturally pacifist," he said. We cannot legislate peace. We are in a cultural trap.

"Society projects an image of group and individual conflicts from the earliest age. There is reason for some optimism because the primary motivation and the source of war—the conquest of resources—has ended. These resources are now being replaced by technological developments which can produce materials cheaper and faster, just as the industrial revolution replaced slavery.

"We are, however, in a dangerous situation because of the rapid development of new weapons systems and the lack of social machinery to control them."

Dr. Stonier said he hoped that the students who enrolled in the peace major next fall would go on to graduate school, obtain graduate degree and organize peace studies in colleges where they might teach.

MANHATTAN TO OFFER MAJOR IN PEACE STUDIES; FIRST IN THE NATION

RIVERDALE, N.Y.—Manhattan College has become the first institution in the nation to establish an undergraduate major in the study of peace.

The new major, which will be available to students beginning in September 1971, will be an interdisciplinary one for undergraduates "interested in the problems of peaceful resolution of conflict and of stability in community and world affairs," according to Brother Francis Bowers, F.S.C., dean of Manhattan's School of Arts and Sciences.

Described as a "major breakthrough" by Dr. Tom T. Stonier, the program's director and a professor of biology, the peace studies major involves a core curriculum of seven courses, totaling twenty-one credits. Typical courses will include: Anatomy of Peace, a history course; Peace and Revolution, to be taught by religious studies faculty; Biology of Human Behavior; and World Economic Geography. In addition to regular course work, students will be required to attend a weekly seminar in peace studies and conduct an independent research or field project with an advisor.

In announcing the new offering, Brother Francis explained that students may elect to pursue peace studies as a separate major

in conjunction with a second related major; e.g. social psychology, government, history.

Dr. Stonier calls peace studies a "rapidly developing science that encompasses many traditional disciplines." Students majoring in the field have several career options, he says. Executive careers, especially with internationally-oriented firms, government service and education are some of the areas Dr. Stonier lists as offering opportunities to undergraduate peace studies majors.

"Peace studies majors," says Stonier "will be particularly well-equipped to go into fields like labor-management, with a background in inter-group conflict and management of conflict. The peace major would have a more international education and would be able to relate to other cultures easily," he adds. "His education too, will have been problem-oriented, not the traditional discipline-oriented."

Stonier describes the new major as an example of far-sighted thinking. "As society turns toward the university for help, as it always has during times of stress, the need for peace studies by the late nineteen-seventies will be enormous," he says, "to deal with the outstanding social problem of our time—lethal inter-group conflict."

Dr. Stonier is a founding member and first chairman of Manhattan College's Pacem in Terris Institute, an organization of scholars, diplomats and educators dedicated to the establishment of world peace. The Institute was one of the prime movers behind the formation of the peace, studies major at the College.

THE PEACE STUDIES MAJOR

The students would be required to take seven three-credit courses, plus a "Peace Studies Seminar" and a program of independent research or field projects in the Senior year. The core curriculum for the Peace Studies Major would therefore comprise a total of 30 credits. Each student will be under the direction of an advisor who would be drawn from the active membership of the Pacem in Terris Institute. The advisor would be teaching, or have expertise in the area of the student's interest, e.g. economics, philosophy, science, etc. The specific courses listed in the 1970-71 catalog, are as follows:

History 431. *The Anatomy of Peace* (Christen): Following an historical review of significant war-limiting and/or peace-maintaining systems employed prior to 1919, this course utilizes a case history approach to World War II, and the Cold War, and Vietnam, to establish specific causes for the break-down of peace and to suggest paths to long-term peace-keeping. Three credits.

Religious Studies 433. *Peace and Revolution*. (Fahey): Peace and Revolution. A study of the world in revolution. An investigation in the light of Christian theology into the peaceful means of revolutionary change. The role of foreign policy, various revolutionary ideologies, and the concept of international peace will be considered in the context of Christian ethics and related sciences. Cosponsored by the Pacem in Terris Institute. Three credits.

World Literature 307. *The Literature of Peace and War* (Taylor): A thematic study of peace and war in western literature. Man's evolving response to war, and the human and cultural values underlying this response, will be examined in the major works of writers ranging from Homer and Euripides to Wilfred Owen and Jaroslav Tasek. Three credits beginning 1972 spring.

Government 441. *International Relations*. (Heller): International Relations. Analysis of the political, social, economic and psychological bases and the methods by which states conduct their relations with one another. Three credits.

Government 442. *International Organizations*. (Heller): International Organizations. The development of the League of Nations,

the United Nations and the specialized agencies, a study of their structure, functions and operations. Three credits.

Economics 331. *World Economic Geography*. (Cahill): World Economic Geography. A study of the continental problems of particular zones and of individual countries, with special attention to landforms, climate natural resources agricultural and industrial production. Three credits.

Psychology 336. *The Social Psychology of Social Problems*. (Goggins): Selected contemporary social problems will be studied from the viewpoint of the social psychologist. Violence, urban and campus disorders, the social psychology of war and peace; social psychological, psychoanalytic, and behavioral approaches to crime and juvenile delinquency; the social psychology of overpopulation. Three credits.

Biology 307. *Biology of Human Behavior*. (Stonier): Biology 307. An interdisciplinary inquiry into human behavior within the context of the evolutionary processes with considerations of biological, psychological, sociological and socio-cultural aspects with special consideration of phenomena such as imprinting, learning, creativity, sexual behavior, altruism, hierarchy, territoriality aggression, violence and war. Three credits.

In addition to these seven existing courses the student would be required to take a Seminar in Peace Studies and spend time in his Senior Year in a research of field project. The Seminar in Peace Studies would consist of one two-hour meeting per week with the entire Peace Studies Institute Faculty. Discussions would center around reports by students, faculty, or outside experts.

[From the New York Times, May 6, 1971]

WARS STUDIED IN EFFORT AT PREVENTION (By Robert Reinhold)

Almost from the day some prehistoric tribesmen picked up their clubs and spears and started the first war to avenge a stolen wife or the malpractices of a witch doctor, man has had reason to wonder what causes the deadly quarrels that afflict his species.

Unfortunately for the modern-day political scientists who study such matters, warfare and its causes have become vastly more complex in the 20th century. In an attempt to unravel part of this puzzle, a team of researchers at the University of Michigan has undertaken a massive statistical study to discover which characteristics and actions of nations and men tend to lead to international war and which to peace.

The "correlates of war" project, as it is called, is beginning to attract wide attention among scholars and its research team has just been awarded a \$149,000 grant from the National Science Foundation to continue the study for four more years.

SCIENCE OF PREVENTION

The study is more than just an academic exercise, according to its director, Dr. J. David Singer, a political scientist at the Ann Arbor campus.

He regards the project as an attempt to help lay the foundation for an "applied science of war prevention," notwithstanding the skepticism of some political theorists that such a science can ever be developed.

"We do research to get rid of sewage, reduce air pollution and build better bridges," he said. "What makes us think we do not need to understand what really causes war—it's clearly something more complicated than the absence of good will."

Dr. Singer concedes, however, that developing an "applied science of war prevention" will be a prolonged and difficult task for social scientists.

WATERSHED DATE

After seven years of work, involving an exhaustive study of the literature on war in many languages, the project identified for study and statistically described 93 interna-

tional wars fought in the 150 years between the end of that Napoleonic period in 1816 and the very recent past, 1965. Of these 93 were "interstate" wars, involving two or more sovereign nations, and 43 were imperial and colonial wars.

The year 1816 was chosen because most historians regard it as a watershed date between the prior and modern epic in international relations. The modern system of nations began to take shape of that time. Current wars, notably the Vietnam conflict, were excluded because the statistics are not yet complete.

For inclusion in the study, the researchers decided, a war must have had at least 1,000 battle fatalities. An imperial war was defined as one in which a major power was attempting to impose control on another people and a colonial war as one in which a colony was trying to throw off foreign control. Unless they became internationalized, civil wars were excluded to limit the study.

Part of the study involved the drawing of a won-lost table showing national performances in war. England, for example, was found to have won 16 wars and to have been on the losing side in two—the Mahdist war (1882-85) in the Sudan and the Indonesia war of independence (1945-46), in which the British fought on the side of the Dutch.

From these compilations has emerged a computer-generated statistical handbook entitled "The Wages of War," to be published by John Wiley & Sons later this year or next. These are some of the observations on 150 years of war:

War was under way in all but 24 of the 150 years. Altogether 144 nations spent a total of 4,500 "nation months" in combat and suffered 29 million battle deaths, exclusive of civilians. A "nation month" is one month spent in combat by one nation.

An interstate war began every 30 years and a colonial or imperial one every 3.5 years. The years 1917, during World War I, and 1943, during World War II, were the most "warlike" in terms of national involvement and intensity.

There were 6.2 wars in the "average" decade, with peaks every 20 years in the volume of war under way at any given time.

Most wars begin in the spring or autumn, generally April or October, but the longest and bloodiest wars start in the summer.

Europe has been the most "war prone" area, having had 68 wars, as compared with the next highest, the Middle East, which had 22. France and Britain fought 19 wars each, followed by Turkey (17), Russia (15), Italy (11) and Spain (9). The United States, which did not become a world power until the 20th century, fought in six wars, excluding the one in Vietnam—the Mexican-American, Spanish-American, second Philippine Insurrection, World War I, World War II and Korea.

For the purpose of the study, these figures merely help to provide a statistical base.

FIVE COLLABORATORS

Dr. Singer and his collaborators hope to use such figures to "test out" statistically the various theories that traditional scholars have advanced to explain the causation of war. This phase, just getting under way now, is based on a hypothesis that to a large extent, war is the outcome of the interaction of many complex variables that can be measured, just in the way that meteorologists attempt to predict weather patterns by measuring such factors as air flows, temperature and pressure.

Collaborating with Dr. Singer are Dr. Melvin Small, a historian at Wayne State University, and three political scientists: Dr. Stuart Bremer of Michigan, Dr. Russell Leng of Middlebury College and Dr. Michael Wallace of the University of British Columbia.

Their effort reflects a growing trend toward the use of mathematics as a tool in social science, a trend stimulated by criticism that

much social science research has been fuzzy and lacked scientific rigor. This quantitative approach is still controversial because many doubt that a phenomenon as complex as war and its roots can be reduced to numbers.

Dr. Singer acknowledges that "one loses subtlety and some complexity" with quantitative, or "operational," techniques. But, referring to previous research on the war, he added: "I sit here in my office surrounded by about 942 linear feet of delightful and plausible speculation on the causes and consequences of war—and there's not a damn shred of reproducible evidence."

Traditional scholars have posited a number of theories on war. They have invoked such factors as population pressure, economics, bipolarity, alliance aggregation, political ambition and technological change. Two earlier, but more limited, attempts to examine these theories systematically were made by the late Quincy Wright of the University of Chicago and Lewis Richardson of England.

In continuing the Wright-Richardson quantitative approach, the Singer group at Michigan has sought to reduce all the possible "variables" to numbers so they can be analyzed by computer. The first task was to build a basic descriptive list of wars during the 150-year period. All 93 wars, ranging from the British-Maharattan War of 1817-18 to the second Kashmir War in 1965, were assigned a number.

For each war, a list of statistics was compiled, based on the best available historical evidence. The "magnitude" of each was measured by the number of nations involved and the length of the war. "Severity" was measured by battle deaths and "intensity" by the ratio of deaths to population and size of armed forces.

For example, the Korean War involved 16 nations, lasted 37 months, or 516.5 "nation months," and resulted in 2 million military deaths. With 3,872 battle deaths per nation month, it was less intense than World War II (with 17,084) but more intense than the Spanish-American War (with 1,250).

With this data, a wide variety of analyses were run on the war experience of the entire international system, its subsystems and the individual nations. Hundreds of tables were compiled listing such things as the frequency, seasonal and monthly distribution and ranking of wars by intensity, as well as the ranking of nations by war proneness.

Having thus drawn a statistical picture of war, the Michigan group is now developing a comparable picture of the fluctuation of other social, political and economic conditions and events during these years to learn which "are most regularly associated with periods and places characterized by the highest and lowest incidence" of international violence.

The researchers are looking at two broad groups of variables in the hunt for the correlates of war and peace—"ecological" and "behavioral" variables.

The ecological variables constitute the milieu within which international conflicts develop. These are "physical, structural and cultural" factors such as alliances, international trade, membership in intergovernmental organizations, diplomatic bonds, population, urbanization, iron and steel production and military expenditures.

Statistics for these and many other factors are being compiled for the entire international system, for pairs or small clusters of nations and for individual states. With them, the conditions of the international system, or even the relationship between specific pairs of nations at any given time, can be measured and fluctuations noted.

Some preliminary tests have been run. The researchers say their initial results suggest, for example, that rises in alliances do seem to correspond to rises in war incidents during the 20th century, but not as much during the 19th.

Once the "ecological" correlates are known, the Michigan group will turn to the "behavioral" variables. These are the diplomatic, military and economic moves and counter-moves that nations make in the months before a shooting war breaks out. The hypothesis is that certain patterns of behavior may regularly lead to war while others lead to peaceful resolution of disagreements.

These behavioral factors are much harder to reduce to operational terms than the ecological ones and a special system had to be devised. Each kind of act, such as the seizure of a piece of foreign territory or the issuance of an ultimatum, is assigned a code number. Then each time a nation commits such an act it is coded and later all acts in each category are added up.

When this is done for all wars, the Michigan researchers say, it should be possible to scan the figures by computer to detect behavioral patterns associated with war. They point out that one might ask, for example, if a sequence of five threats in a row followed by less than three capitulations is usually followed by war or peace.

Eventually, Dr. Singer hopes to compare the behavioral sequence in 50 conflicts that led to outright war with 50 similar conflicts that did not, to determine if there are some critical behavior patterns that tend to avoid armed conflicts.

While the Vietnam War is not included in the study, Dr. Singer said it could fit into his system despite the war's ill-defined character. He noted that it had evolved from a colonial war against the French (1945 to 1954) into a civil war until 1961, when it finally became an "interstate" war with the entry of North Vietnam and later the United States.

One of the objections that has been raised to the study is that the nature of international relations has been radically changed by the advent of the atomic bomb and that any generalized formula to predict war that is based on the last 150 years would have little meaning in the future.

Dr. Singer acknowledges the problem. He points out that one facet of the study focuses on how and why radical changes in the international system are brought on by new technology, weaponry, economics and other factors.

PERFORMANCES IN INTERNATIONAL WAR, 1816-1965

Nation Name	All Wars won lost	Interstate Wars won lost
England	16-2	6-0
Russia	13-2	8-2
France	14-4	9-2
Italy (Sardinia)	8-3	8-2
United States	5-0	4-0
Brazil	3-0	2-0
Japan	5-2	5-2
Yugoslavia (Serbia)	4-1	4-0
Rumania	4-1	4-1
Austria-Hungary	5-3	3-3
Belgium	2-0	2-0
Chile	2-0	2-0
Germany (Prussia)	4-2	4-2
Greece	4-2	4-2
Holland	3-1	1-0
Israel	2-0	2-0
Mongolia	2-0	2-3
Spain	5-4	2-0
Australia	1-0	1-0
Canada	1-0	1-0
Colombia	1-0	1-0
Czechoslovakia	1-0	1-0
New Zealand	1-0	1-0
Nicaragua	1-0	1-0
Norway	1-0	1-0
Pakistan	1-0	1-0
Paraguay	1-0	1-0
Portugal	1-0	1-0
Poland	1-0	1-0
South Africa	1-0	1-0
Baden	1-1	1-1
Bavaria	1-1	1-1
Ethiopia	1-1	1-1
Guatemala	1-1	1-1
Two Sicilies	1-1	1-1
Wurttemberg	1-1	1-1
Argentina	1-1	0-1
China	3-4	2-4

Nation Name	All Wars won lost	Interstate Wars won lost
Bulgaria	1-3	1-3
India	1-2	0-2
Mexico	1-2	1-1
Peru	1-2	1-1
Salvador	1-2	1-2
Ecuador	0-1	0-1
Hanover	0-1	0-1
Hesse Electoral	0-1	0-1
Hesse Grand Ducal	0-1	0-1
Iraq	0-1	0-1
Jordan	0-1	0-1
Lebanon	0-1	0-1
Mecklenburg-Schwerin	0-1	0-1
Persia	0-1	0-1
Saxony	0-1	0-1
Syria	0-1	0-1
Bolivia	0-2	0-2
Denmark	0-2	0-2
Finland	0-2	0-2
Honduras	0-2	0-2
Morocco	0-2	0-2
Papal States	0-2	0-2
U.A.R. (Egypt)	0-2	0-2
Hungary	0-3	0-3
Turkey	5-11	4-6

Source: Dr. J. David Singer and Dr. Melvin Small.

H.R. 585

A bill to establish the United States Agency for World Peace within the Department of State

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

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "World Peace Agency Act."

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 2. It is the purpose of this Act to establish an independent agency within the Department of State which will not establish policy but will do research on problems related to achieving peace, including an examination of the economic, political, and sociological causes of war and the development of techniques for the elimination or reduction of these causes.

CREATION AND FUNCTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR WORLD PEACE

SEC. 3. There is hereby established within the Department of State the United States Agency for World Peace (hereinafter in this Act referred to as the "Agency"). The Agency shall, under the direction of the Secretary of State, undertake programs to carry out the purpose of this Act, including, among others, programs—

(1) for development and application of communications and advanced computer techniques for analyzing the economic, political, and sociological problems of nation states as they bear upon world tensions and tensions among states which might possibly result in conflict,

(2) for development of new analytic organizations to—

(A) apply the techniques of operations research to peace problems in the same way that "war gaming" is conducted for the military problems,

(B) conduct studies on alternative methods of achieving world peace,

(3) for support of studies and research on projects such as—

(A) legal aspects of national sovereignty extended to the space domain and freedom of the seas, insofar as they contribute to the possibility of war,

(B) analyses of the effects of world peace upon national economies, and

(C) analyses of economic, political and sociological problems which contribute to the possibility of war,

(D) analyses of the effects of military and economic aid programs on the attainment and retention of world peace.

(4) for research on educational techniques

aimed at rendering underdeveloped nations less technologically dependent, insofar as their dependence contributes to the possibility of war,

(5) for research and development on problems of underdeveloped nations, insofar as they contribute to the possibility of war, in such areas as food production, conservation of mineral and water resources (including desalination of sea and brackish water), practical power-generating systems, and medicine and health,

(6) for research in meeting adequately the tensions created by overconcentration of population in some areas and inadequate population in other areas of the world,

(7) for research into the effect of present foreign policies of the United States upon world tensions and alternative courses or policies which might promote peace or tend to diminish the possibility of both long-range and short-range tensions and conflicts, and

(8) for research into long-range goals of United States foreign policy which would promote the interests of the United States and world peace.

LABORATORY FOR PEACE

SEC. 4. The Director of the Agency shall establish in the Agency a Laboratory for Peace through which the Agency shall develop and administer its research and study programs. In carrying on such programs the Agency shall enter into contracts with educational and research institutions within the United States and abroad with a view to obtaining the benefits of scientific and intellectual resources, wherever located in the world.

POLICY FORMULATION

SEC. 5. The Director is authorized and directed to prepare for the President, the Secretary of State, and the heads of such other Government agencies, as the President may determine, recommendations concerning United States efforts for peace: *Provided, however,* That this Agency's powers are restricted solely to research and no action shall be taken by this Agency under this or any other law that will obligate the United States to undertake any policy or commitment, except pursuant to the treaty-making power of the President under the Constitution or unless authorized further affirmative legislation by the Congress of the United States.

RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER AGENCIES

SEC. 6. The Secretary of State shall establish procedures designed to insure that the Agency will carry out its functions in close collaboration with the other agencies of the Federal Government, but without duplicating the efforts of any such agency or other agencies within the Federal Government. Such procedures shall also provide that information available to other agencies will be made available to the Agency, and shall prescribe other means by which other agencies of the Government may support the efforts of the Agency.

DIRECTOR AND DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE AGENCY

SEC. 7. (a) The Agency shall be headed by a Director, who shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and shall receive compensation at the rate of \$32,000 per annum. Under the supervision and direction of the Secretary of State, the Director shall be responsible for the exercise of all powers and the discharge of all duties of the Agency, and shall have authority and control over all personnel and activities thereof.

(b) There shall be in the Agency a Deputy Director, who shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall receive compensation at the rate of \$31,000 per annum, shall perform such duties and exercise such powers as the Director may prescribe. The

Deputy Director shall act for, and exercise the powers of, the Director during his absence or disability.

ADMINISTRATION

SEC. 8. (a) In the performance of its functions, the Agency shall have the following powers:

(1) To make, promulgate, issue, rescind, and amend rules and regulations governing the manner of its operations and the exercise of the powers vested in it by law.

(2) To appoint and fix the compensation of such officers and employees as may be necessary to carry out such functions. Such officers and employees shall be appointed in accordance with the civil service laws and their compensation fixed in accordance with the Classification Act of 1949.

(3) To accept unconditional gifts or donations of services, money, or property, real, personal, or mixed, tangible or intangible.

(4) Without regard to section 3648 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (31 U.S.C. 529), to enter into and perform such contracts, leases, cooperative agreements, or other transactions as may be necessary in the conduct of its work and on such terms as it may deem appropriate, with any agency or instrumentality of the United States, or with any State, territory, or possession, or with any political subdivision thereof, or with any person, firm, association, corporation, or educational institution. To the maximum extent practicable and consistent with the accomplishment of the purpose of this Act, such contracts, leases, agreements, and other transactions shall be allocated by the Director in a manner which will enable small business concerns to participate equitably and proportionately in the conduct of the work of the Agency.

(5) To use, with their consent, the services, equipment, personnel, and facilities of Federal and other agencies with or without reimbursement, and on a similar basis to cooperate with other public and private agencies and instrumentalities in the use of services, equipment, and facilities. Each department and agency of the Federal Government shall cooperate fully with the Agency in making its services, equipment, personnel, and facilities available to the agency, and any such department or agency is authorized, notwithstanding any other provision of law, to transfer to or to receive from the Agency, without reimbursement, supplies and equipment other than administrative supplies or equipment.

(6) To appoint such advisory committees as may be appropriate for purposes of consultation and advice to the Agency in the performance of its functions.

(7) To establish within the Agency such offices and procedures as may be appropriate to provide for the greatest possible coordination of its activities under this Act with related activities being carried on by other public and private agencies and organizations.

(8) When determined by the Director to be necessary, and subject to such security investigations as he may determine to be appropriate, to employ aliens without regard to statutory provisions prohibiting payment of compensation to aliens.

INFORMATION AND SECURITY

SEC. 9. (a) In order to promote the free flow and exchange of new ideas and concepts in the new technology of peace research and development, the Agency shall, so far as possible, have all research efforts of the Agency performed in subject matter not requiring classification for security purposes. Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to change or modify security procedures or to exempt personnel of the Agency from being required to obtain security clearance before obtaining classified information.

(b) The Director shall establish such security and loyalty requirements, restrictions, and safeguards as he deems necessary in the interest of the national security and to carry out the provisions of this Act. The Director shall arrange with the Civil Service Commission for the conduct of full field background security and loyalty investigations of all the Agency's officers, employees, consultants, persons detailed from other Government agencies, members of advisory boards, contractors, and subcontractors, and their officers and employees, actual or prospective. In the event the investigation discloses information indicating that the person investigated may be or may become a security risk, or may be of doubtful loyalty, the report of the investigation shall be turned over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation for a full field investigation. The final results of all such investigations shall be turned over to the Director for final determination. No person shall be permitted to enter on duty as such an officer, employee, consultant, or member of advisory committee or board, or pursuant to any such detail, and no contractor or subcontractor, or officer or employee thereof shall be permitted to have access to any classified information, until he shall have been investigated in accordance with this subsection and the report of such investigations made to the Director, and the Director shall have determined that such person is not a security risk or of doubtful loyalty. Standards applicable with respect to the security clearance of persons within any category referred to in this subsection shall not be less stringent, and the investigation of such persons for such purposes shall not be less intensive or complete, than in the case of such clearance of persons in a corresponding category under the security procedures of the Government agency or agencies having the highest security restrictions with respect to persons in such category.

BISHOPS URGE "MOST RAPID TERMINATION" OF VIETNAM WAR

HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 10, 1971

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, a most significant document was issued on May 7, 1971, by all of the Catholic Bishops of northern New England.

This unusually forceful statement signed by the 14 Catholic Bishops of Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont points out that the policies pursued by the United States in Indochina have caused countless civilian deaths and that as a result "We must sadly but resolutely affirm that they (these policies) violate the principle of civilian immunity from direct and indiscriminate attack and therefore merit the severest moral censure."

The complete text of this pastoral letter follows:

[From the Pilot (Boston, Mass.) May 8, 1971]
BISHOPS URGE "MOST RAPID TERMINATION" OF VIETNAM WAR

(This is the complete text of a pastoral letter issued by the Catholic Bishops of the Boston Province on Friday, May 7.)

Dearly Beloved in Christ: One of the central moral problems facing our Nation today is the war in Vietnam. We share the deep

concern of millions of our fellow Americans over this prolonged conflict and the anguishing questions of conscience which it has provoked. With them, we too search for answers as we acknowledge the complexity of the moral and political issues involved in the waging of this war both for individual citizens and for those in public office. Yet we must not allow complexity to deter us from addressing ourselves, as shepherds of the flock, to this grave national crisis nor, in the light of our ethical tradition and teachings, can we be deterred from attempting to provide guidance for the formation of the conscience of our people.

We draw from our tradition two principles for analyzing the morality of the war. The first prohibits the direct killing of non-combatants; the second seeks to evaluate the total effect of a nation's policy even in the pursuit of a just cause. This latter is known as the principle of proportionality in judging the justice of war.

We are painfully aware that peace is threatened in places other than Vietnam. The scourge of war afflicts the Middle East, Pakistan and other areas of the globe. We are vitally concerned about these conflicts and our country's relationship to them because they too threaten or destroy the peace which is a precondition of human development.

Yet Vietnam is our specific concern in this letter because our nation is more directly involved in the Indo-China conflict. To be sure, we are not the only party wreaking devastation in Vietnam. Our adversaries bear substantial responsibility for the death and destruction visited on South-East Asia. If we concentrate on American policy in this letter, it is not because we are oblivious to the well known wanton and immoral disregard for innocent lives and prisoners of war shown by the other side. Obviously, we cannot allow their actions to become the norm by which we judge the morality of our own.

Our primary moral concern in the matter at hand, as Bishops, is for the consequences of American policy in Vietnam. We do not question the sincerity of the motives of our elected officials, but if the evidence we see and hear is accurate, we are constrained by conscience to question the wisdom and morality of at least some aspects of our policy.

I. NON-COMBATANT IMMUNITY

It is the means of our policy, its strategy and tactics, which primarily concern us in this letter. These means include the use of massive conventional air power pursued in conjunction with the declaration of "free zones" which has resulted in the thousands of civilian casualties reported in the press and through the testimony of certain government officials. On the ground, similar tragedies have resulted from practices of search and destroy, and from harassment and interdiction fire, which in spite of laudable intentions to limit civilian casualties have nevertheless brought injury and death to many thousands of innocent victims and untold suffering to millions of refugees in Indo-China.

If these policies have in fact caused the civilian deaths reported, then we must sadly but resolutely affirm that they violate the principle of civilian immunity from direct and indiscriminate attack and therefore merit the severest moral censure.

II. VIETNAMIZATION

We are also extremely apprehensive from a moral viewpoint about the announced policy of Vietnamization. Will it bring peace to Vietnam? Does it mean a decreasing role for American combat forces, but an increasing mechanization of the war through the use of American technology and tactical air support? The policy to continue the speedy

withdrawal of our troops we eagerly encourage and commend. But the possibility of increased mechanization of the war is fraught with troubling moral consequences. It is precisely this form of American involvement which has apparently resulted in the already great number of civilian casualties and refugees.

We are, therefore, greatly disturbed by the announced proposal to place no limits on the use of our air power in the Vietnamization program, with the sole exception of the employment of nuclear weapons. The declining number of our American casualties, which will come with withdrawal of our combat forces, may easily dull our moral sensibility to the tragedy of intensified human and material destruction in a far off land. We commend the diligent persistent efforts to save American lives, but we must in conscience criticize the ethical validity of any doctrine, attitude or policy which seems to give American lives an intrinsic superiority over those of other people. Every human life, regardless of nationality, color or ideology is sacred and its defense and protection must be of deep concern to us. For these reasons, therefore, moral responsibility demands from us that we appraise both the goals of Vietnamization and the means we use to achieve them.

III. PROPORTIONALITY

Three years ago, we joined the Bishops of the United States in the publication of a collective pastoral letter, on human life. At that time, we addressed ourselves to the Vietnam War and its justification from the viewpoint of the moral principle of proportionality in the following words:

"In assessing our country's involvement in Vietnam, we must ask: have we already reached, or passed, the point where the principle of proportionality becomes decisive? How much more of our resources of men and money should we commit to this struggle, assuming an acceptable cause and intention? Has the conflict in Vietnam provoked inhuman dimensions of suffering?" (On Human Life, United States Bishops' Statement, 1968).

The passage of three years has given renewed emphasis to this principle of proportionality and deepened our doubts about the justice of further prosecuting this war. In Indo-China, the ravages of the war with its political, economic and strategic consequences have now been expanded into Laos and Cambodia, with continuing incursions into the North through periodic bombing missions. Recent studies of scientists made public within the past year testify to the effect our policies have had on the destruction of crops and the long-term disruption of the ecological balance in Vietnam. The effect of crop destruction again falls most heavily on the civilian population.

The effects of the prolongation of this war at home are also of grave consequence and concern. We speak not only of the tragedy which has come into the lives of those loved ones who have been killed, maimed, or imprisoned, but also of the deep divisions, turmoil and confusion which this war has provoked throughout our land. We speak too of the grave problems of conscience which it presents for sincere men and women and especially for so many of our youth. Americans have turned against Americans to a degree seldom witnessed in our history as a nation. Too many billions of dollars which might have been used to relieve poverty and promote domestic programs of social needs have already been allotted to this war.

We realize the difficulties involved in establishing the conditions for an orderly withdrawal of our military forces and for a peaceful political settlement in Vietnam. We

have a moral and political obligation to protect those who have been our friends and allies from savage reprisals. We recognize that the setting of an exact date for the withdrawal of all our forces is a complex diplomatic and strategic issue. Nevertheless, we urge that the most rapid possible termination of the war and the establishment of peace in Vietnam be given the highest priority by our government.

IV. PROBING QUESTIONS

The main theme of this letter has been the moral responsibility we bear as a people in the face of the Vietnam war. We have tried to raise questions, and indicate principles which would help ourselves and others think through our personal responsibility as citizens, soldiers or public officials in this conflict.

A people cannot be responsible for the actions of individual soldiers, but in a democracy the people must ultimately accept political and moral responsibility for the policies and actions of their government.

We cannot disregard the principle of personal responsibility and thereby approve and allow in war actions which we would condemn in peace time.

The moral questions which emerge from the war should also make us conscious of the broader question of the moral climate of our nation. Are not the moral ravages brought to light by our policy in Vietnam traceable in part at least to a disregard of the principles of morality in other areas of our private and public lives? The moral questioning provoked by the war must not be confined to this issue; it must extend to the analysis of the very fabric of our lives as a people.

Are we truly for peace? The building of a peaceful world society is the work of justice and the duty of every man. It begins with ourselves and the acknowledgement that all men are truly brothers, children of a common Father. It grows with the conviction that men can live in peace and that the evil of war is not inevitable. It can be fostered and promoted by education in spiritual and moral values and by group cooperation. Are we ready for the difficult task of personal moral renewal necessary for peace everywhere?

Peace can most confidently be hoped for and won by a people who sincerely strive for it, a people who first are at peace with God. Ultimately, peace is a gift from God to "men of good will". (cf. Luke 2:14) "Peace I bequeath to you, my own peace I give you, a peace the world cannot give, this is my gift to you." (John 14:17)

Our Risen Savior's message of peace is very much before us. In union with Him, and with Mary, the Mother of the Church and Queen of Peace, we ask you to join us in fervent and persevering prayer: "Father, you have told us that peacemakers shall be called your sons; help us, then, to work tirelessly for that justice which alone can bring true and lasting peace."

Most Reverend Humberto S. Medeiros, Archbishop of Boston.

Most Rev. Joseph Tawil, D.D., Melkite Apostolic Exarchate.

Most Reverend Christopher J. Weldon, Bishop of Springfield.

Most Reverend Bernard J. Flanagan, Bishop of Worcester.

Most Reverend Robert F. Joyce, Bishop of Burlington.

Most Reverend Ernest J. Primeau, Bishop of Manchester.

Most Reverend Peter L. Gerety, Bishop of Portland.

Most Reverend Daniel A. Cronin, Bishop of Fall River.

Most Reverend Jeremiah F. Minihan, Auxiliary Bishop of Boston.

Most Reverend James J. Gerrard, Auxiliary Bishop of Fall River.

Most Reverend Thomas J. Riley, Auxiliary Bishop of Boston.

Most Reverend Timothy J. Harrington, Auxiliary Bishop of Worcester.

Most Reverend Edward C. O'Leary, Auxiliary Bishop of Portland.

Most Reverend James L. Connolly, Retired Bishop of Fall River.

SHOULD WE SACRIFICE LAW FOR ORDER?

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 10, 1971

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, compassionate people everywhere were appalled by the tragic illogic of an American military commander in Southeast Asia who ordered his troops to destroy a South Vietnamese village in order to save it.

That myopic thinking has reared its ugly head once more. This time the scene was not Vietnam but Washington, D.C., where administration officials ordered police to violate the constitutional rights of thousands of citizens in order to "save" the orderly operation of Government.

Early last week we witnessed the wholesale arrest and illegal detention of thousands of persons in an effort to remove a tiny handful of actual lawbreakers. On Wednesday, hundreds of persons were arrested on the steps of the U.S. Capitol. Persons were being dragged in—literally—not because they were breaking any laws but because they were an inconvenience and an embarrassing reminder of the divisions this war has created among the American people.

It is most disconcerting that the President of the United States and his Attorney General, both experienced lawyers, would show such utter contempt for the principles of law they are sworn to uphold, just so they could effectuate their authoritarian concept of order.

It is impossible to preserve and protect civil liberties for all Americans by suspending them for some Americans. It is a contradiction in terms. These freedoms are too precious, too delicate, too hard won to be so treated.

For the 10,000 or so persons swept off the streets last week, to have been treated like common criminals would have been a considerable improvement.

I personally visited the makeshift stockade and witnessed the conditions of their confinement—they were woefully lacking shelter, sanitary facilities, medical treatment, and food—in fact, I saw one person who tried giving food to those confined actually arrested and thrown inside himself.

This cannot be allowed to happen again. We cannot afford repeat performances of last week's tragic suspension of constitutional law.

Congressman BOB ECKHARDT, of Texas, speaking last week for himself and a

group of our colleagues, issued a particularly cogent statement following the mass arrests on the Capitol steps, and I would like to have it printed in the RECORD at this point along with an editorial from the New York Times on "Repression on Capitol Hill":

STATEMENT BY HON. BOB ECKHARDT OF TEXAS

No matter what restraint may be exercised in the process, the deliberate use of strategy or tactics in the exercise of police power which trades off considerations of individual guilt or innocence for efficiency in skimming off a sufficient number of members of an assemblage to make it more controllable can never be condoned in a just and democratic society.

However embattled, our society is not so strained as to justify throwing aside constitutional rights and due process. But if a society may be said to have so alienated a sufficiently large number of its members to make it necessary to abandon or short cut due process, it had better look to the cause of the alienation and ameliorate the conditions which bring it about rather than to alter its fundamental character of justice of democracy.

We believe the Justice Department has directed a strategy and tactic of martial law in response to the demonstrations of this week at a time when civil police action, with its respect for the concept of personal guilt or innocence could have worked and, under our Constitution and laws, must be applied.

Our system envisages some over-stepping of authority by the police and that is the reason for the criminal courts. But there is no justification for a continuing and deliberate shunting past the constitutional rights of the accused—which is what the Attorney General is doing now.

We may understand the conduct of a policeman, harried by the crowd, when he sometimes arrests one who is innocent. But we cannot condone the Attorney General's policy of mass arrest and his keeping more than a thousand persons in custody for more than 18 hours without bringing them before a magistrate, charging them and permitting bail. The innocent and the guilty alike are herded together in a place worse than a common jail and are thus commonly punished for an offense that can be proved against but a small number of them.

We demand that the Attorney General put an end to this condition of *de facto* martial law and restore respect and adherence to due process of law in the Nation's Capital.

[From the New York Times, May 8, 1971]

REPRESSION ON CAPITOL HILL

The arrest of more than a thousand persons on the steps of the Capitol on Wednesday brought the week's antiwar protests to an ominous climax. In a crass display of arbitrary power, the Constitutional rights of these citizens were ignored as they were hauled off to a makeshift detention center. It was a spectacle of lawlessness and repression hardly to be expected in a republic of free men.

The mass arrests earlier in the week were questionable because the Washington police suspended the use of normal arrest forms and simply swept up thousands of citizens in a dragnet operation. Inevitably, innocent persons who were merely walking to work were seized by mistake. But since the demonstrators had publicly avowed that they intended to disrupt traffic, block access to Federal offices and "shut down the Government," the police had a difficult assignment in keeping the streets open and maintaining public order. The police were constantly confronted with the fact that the potential for violence was there.

None of these extenuating circumstances applied to what took place on the Capitol steps on Wednesday afternoon. The protesters were sometimes shouting, singing and gesturing, but their assembly was entirely peaceful. Even larger crowds often gather on the same site without difficulty. It is a Constitutional right of every American to assemble peacefully and to petition members of Congress. Yet the police, after giving a warning to disperse that was inaudible, began arresting these citizens. Both houses had already adjourned for the day and the Capitol building had been closed except to members and employes before the arrests began, while sympathetic Congressmen were actually addressing the crowd when the police moved in.

The most profoundly disturbing part of this entire debacle is the response of most members of Congress. It is no surprise that such reactionaries as Representative Joe Waggoner of Louisiana and John Hunt of New Jersey applaud this police depredation, but even members who can be expected to know better such as Representative Edith Green of Oregon blithely dismiss the matter because they disapprove of the manner and style of those arrested. Is this nation to have one Bill of Rights for the "crazies" and another for the respectable people?

The Justice Department, which has been closely supervising Washington police tactics, shares responsibility for this outrage. But when Congress does not defend constitutional liberty on its own front steps, it cannot shift the ultimate blame to the Executive. Wednesday was a day of shame for this nation's representative institutions.

RUMANIA'S INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 10, 1971

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, today, the 10th of May, marks the anniversary of three great events in the history of the Rumanian people.

On May 10, 1866, Charles, Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a scion of the Southern and Catholic branch of the Prussian royal family, was proclaimed in Bucharest as Prince of Rumania, and thus founded the Rumanian dynasty.

This was the successful outcome of the nation's long struggle to acquire the right of electing as its sovereign a member of one of the Western non-neighborly reigning families in order to put an end to the strifes and rivalries among native candidates to the throne.

Eleven years later, on May 10, 1877, the Principality of Rumania proclaimed her independence by severing the old and outdated bonds that linked her with the Ottoman Empire. This came during the turmoil of the Russo-Turkish War. The Principality of Rumania, until that time, was nominally a vassal of the Sultan.

Four years later on May 10, 1881, Charles I was crowned by the will of his people. The country embarked on a prosperous era which lasted over six decades, its apex being attained when national unity within the historic boundaries was reached after World War I.

This socially progressive country had become a factor of peace and equilibrium in the southeast of Europe.

Thus, it is clear that there is good reason for Rumanians to cherish and revere the 10th of May as their national holiday, the anniversary of the happy and glorious events in their history. It remains the symbol of their determination and perseverance to reach the ultimate end of freedom and well being.

The ruthless foreign rule which now oppresses the Rumanian nation has not been able to uproot the people's attachment to the traditional celebration of the 10th of May, and I am happy to join with my colleagues in marking this occasion.

ACTION NEEDED NOW

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 10, 1971

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, as this Nation approaches the summer season, we hear more and more about the potential for "brownouts" during the months ahead.

These, of course, have been and will continue to be caused by an inadequate supply of electrical energy. I was interested to note the indication of progress in meeting this deficiency as is reflected in an excellent editorial published in the three newspapers of the McClatchy press in California.

So that my colleagues could share in the thinking of these excellent newspapers serving much of interior California, I would request leave to insert at this point the editorial published in the Sacramento, Modesto, and Fresno Bees on April 20, 1971, entitled "Nixon Gives Hopeful Signs He Sees Need for Action in Electric Crisis."

The editorial follows:

NIXON GIVES HOPEFUL SIGNS HE SEES NEED FOR ACTION IN ELECTRIC CRISIS

There are hopeful signs the Nixon administration is facing up to the problem that the United States presently has an electric power shortage and that this will continue to get worse unless an all-out effort is made to correct the situation.

The President's concern is evidenced by a full-fledged Cabinet meeting to review the action which may be taken to assure that industries and homes have electricity when it is needed.

Participating in the session were members of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy; Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, and George A. Lincoln, director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness.

Particular stress was placed on the possibility of the use of nuclear power to take care of the sorely needed supply of electricity.

The answer to the electricity shortage is not as some ecologists maintain in cutting back on its use. Industry in an industrial society is too dependent upon its use to keep the wheels turning.

Nor will the American people accept going back literally into the dark ages, turning out

the lights and burning candles, abandoning the vacuum cleaner, the electric washing machine, air conditioning and other electrical conveniences which have made life far more pleasant and less burdensome for everyone, especially the housewife.

The answer would seem to be the full development of the remaining hydroelectric power sites as an important step. Such plants cause no pollution.

As these potential plants cannot assure the needed capacity, a program should be pushed vigorously for atomic plants, giving thorough study as to their location and operation so there will be no harmful effects on the environment.

Competent scientists say this can be done. The need for more electricity has been stressed by John A. Carver Jr., a member of the Federal Power Commission.

Referring to 19 voltage cutbacks from Chicago to New England, Carver said:

"I don't see any respite in our near future. The problem is that demand for electric power doubles every 10 years with the per capita demand growing five times faster than the population—much faster than the utilities capacity to produce it."

The situation calls for action and action now.

UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE PROBLEMS IN ALASKA

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, I have followed with great interest the efforts of my distinguished colleague from Rhode Island, the Honorable FERNAND ST GERMAIN, to provide essential Federal aid to the sagging State unemployment assistance programs. His bill, H.R. 6186, is a fine effort to alleviate this problem on an emergency basis.

Recently, I received a letter from Alaska Commissioner of Labor Henry Benson which confirmed my support for this legislation, and pointed out the specific and more serious nature of this same problem in Alaska. The letter suggests alterations in the legislation which I will certainly support, but more importantly, it eloquently sets forth the characteristics of the unemployment problem in Alaska. As I believe you will see, Alaska very likely has the most serious problem in the Nation. I believe the ideas of Commissioner Benson should be of interest here. At the conclusion of the letter, I have included the comparative table relating to unemployment insurance in all States which Mr. Benson mentions in his letter.

The letter and table are as follows:

STATE OF ALASKA,
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
Juneau, Alaska, April 22, 1971.

Hon. NICK BEGICH,
Congressman for Alaska, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BEGICH: House Resolution 6186, recently introduced by Rhode Island Representative Fernand J. St Germain and cosponsored by Representative Robert O. Tiernan, providing for 26 weeks of emergency unemployment compensation in addi-

tion to the regular and extended compensation, is of considerable importance to Alaska. In light of the following remarks, we request that you review H.R. 6186.

The inherent seasonal nature of the Alaska economy has, for many years, caused Alaska to suffer from the highest unemployment of any state in the nation. In the last decade, as many as one out of every three unemployment compensation claimants exhausted his benefit entitlement. Since 1966, when the maximum number of weeks a claimant could draw unemployment compensation was increased from 26 to 28, at least one out of every five claimants exhausted his entitlement. Indeed, when unemployment reaches such levels, as it has nationwide, it becomes a major social concern and, likewise, major steps must be taken to alleviate the economic hardships of those affected and to strengthen the nation's first "line of defense" against a downhill "snowballing" economy.

The Administration and Congress recognized the need for an immediate economic front to stifle runaway unemployment through the economically sensitive Federal-State Extended Compensation Program enacted with the "Employment Security Amendments of 1970." However, such a program will not do enough when the level of unemployment is significantly higher than the minimum level at which it is recognized as being severe. It is at this level that one must differentiate the long-term unemployment resulting from local economic conditions from the extended long-term unemployment which is caused by nationwide recessionary conditions.

Alaska, as many other states, is currently experiencing such severe unemployment. The insured unemployment rate rose from an eighteen year low of 6.8 percent in 1969 to an estimated seven year high of 8.3 percent in 1970 (the highest since 1963). It is not expected to decline below 8.0 percent in 1971 unless oil-related construction begins.

The rural areas of Alaska receive the most crushing blows from the adverse forces which accompany nationwide recessionary conditions, as economic stimulation is usually concentrated in urban areas of the state where a recession's momentum is the most destructive to the state's economy as a whole. While Alaska was experiencing its best economic conditions of the decade in 1969, one out of every three rural claimants exhausted his unemployment compensation entitlement. Of those rural claimants formerly employed in the service industry, almost one out of two exhausted his entitlement.

Even more disturbing is the low earnings of the rural claimant. One out of every four earns less than \$3000.00. Compared to the amount of benefits a rural worker earns, it is clearly evident the regular or extended benefits will not cover his weekly nondeferrable expenses. Related to the large number of rural claimants who exhaust benefits even in good times, it is clearly recognized that an expanded program beyond the scope of the present extended compensation program is seriously needed now to reinforce the nation's first line of defense against eroding economic conditions.

Since the emergency compensation would terminate on June 30, 1972, we might suggest amendments to the bill to provide for an on-going emergency compensation program by striking the termination date. In addition, we recommend adding a new section which would restrict the on-going emergency compensation to times when the economic conditions reflect the need for such emergency measures. With regard to the triggering "on" and "off" of the emergency program, we would recommend that language similar to that in section 203(d) and (e) of P.L. 91-373

be used with these "minimum" amendments:

(1) The insured unemployment rate of "6 per centum" substituted in place of 4.5 per centum in subparagraphs (1) and (2) of subsection (d);

(2) "160 per centum" substituted in place of 120 per centum in subparagraph 1(A) of subsection (e);

(3) "5.5 per centum" substituted in place of 4 per centum in subparagraph 1(B) of subsection (e).

These amendments would assure that the payment of emergency compensation would be tied to severe unemployment and triggered by national or state economic conditions. We would also recommend that a state program be triggered "on" if either the conditions in 1(A) or 1(B) of subsection (e) were experienced. This could be provided by deleting the last word in 1(A) which is "AND" and substituting "OR." This would allow a state such as New Hampshire to participate, which experiences relatively low unemployment when compared to other states, but considerably high unemployment within the state, which directly reflects potentially severe statewide economic conditions.

The latter trigger provisions should be incorporated into H.R. 6186 to provide for emergency compensation only after the extended duration benefits are exhausted.

As we noted, these would be considered the "minimum" amendments to section 203 of P.L. 91-373. We recommend further amendments be made to make the extended compensation trigger provisions of P.L. 91-373 economically responsive to high unemployment conditions. For example, under the present trigger provisions if gradually increasing unemployment is experienced three years in a row, the program would not trigger "on" for any period in the third year; (1) because the trigger "on" is computed based on weeks claimed experience of 120 percent above the previous two years and (2) if an extended benefit period were in effect in any one of those two years, the extended benefit claims used in the base for the computation would cause the program not to trigger "on" in the third year unless worse economic conditions are experienced. This would mean, in Alaska, if the same high unemployment pattern in 1970 is experienced in 1971 and 1972, weeks claimed in 1972 could be less than 120 percent of the previous two years yet the 13-week insured unemployment rate in 1972 could be as high or higher than the same 13-week period in the previous two years, causing the program not to be triggered in the year when unemployment is highest and extended compensation is needed most.

These amendments would not jeopardize Alaska's or Rhode Island's participation under the current provisions of H.R. 6186 but would assure an on-going program of extended and emergency compensation reasonably responsive to the severity of the economic conditions.

For reference, we have enclosed the *Alaska Unemployment Insurance Financial Handbook*. The supportive data above was taken from tables 2 and 3 of Part II which contains significant financial comparisons of Alaska and other states and tables 84-96 of Part VII which contain characteristics of claimants exhausting their Alaska unemployment compensation entitlement. In addition, we have enclosed Title II of P.L. 91-373, "Federal-State Extended Unemployment Compensation Program."

I am also sending this letter to Senators Gravel and Stevens. If I can provide further information, I shall be pleased to do so.

Sincerely,

HENRY A. BENSON, *Commissioner*.

TABLE 2.—HANDBOOK OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE FINANCIAL DATA 1969

State	Financial data (in thousands)					Employment and wage data			
	Contributions collected	Interest credited to trust fund	Benefit disbursements	Reserve as of December 31	Average monthly covered employment	Wages in covered employment during year (amount in thousands)		Ratio of wages taxable to total	
						Total	Taxable		
United States ¹	\$2,545,021	\$536,202	\$2,127,877	\$12,637,530	52,363,980	\$366,939,936	\$181,913,033	0.496	
Alabama	26,969	5,627	19,630	133,733	703,631	4,163,762	2,216,063	.532	
Alaska	13,990	1,045	7,647	28,652	52,621	585,024	409,486	.725	
Arizona	20,289	4,434	8,013	108,406	370,052	2,489,310	1,396,119	.561	
Arkansas	15,541	2,188	12,984	52,744	397,724	2,048,963	1,246,007	.608	
California	533,122	54,070	416,838	1,304,868	5,266,907	40,378,623	21,273,544	.527	
Colorado	8,164	3,441	6,933	80,820	488,287	3,204,739	1,593,389	.497	
Connecticut	65,814	13,143	65,560	304,677	966,006	7,539,542	3,583,582	.475	
Delaware	5,134	1,062	6,485	24,202	166,570	1,231,715	604,775	.491	
District of Columbia	7,095	3,306	8,447	75,843	298,705	2,156,208	968,810	.449	
Florida	31,281	10,903	20,659	256,341	1,469,183	9,364,162	4,825,478	.515	
Georgia	39,682	13,394	14,560	321,210	1,111,726	6,737,266	3,566,021	.529	
Hawaii	14,175	1,714	7,232	43,561	203,897	1,311,654	881,313	.672	
Idaho	8,409	1,870	6,965	44,812	140,482	817,926	503,591	.616	
Illinois	45,294	22,317	89,415	499,741	3,246,492	24,906,153	10,742,859	.431	
Indiana	52,335	13,461	25,058	324,137	1,431,266	10,279,616	4,666,039	.454	
Iowa	13,395	5,799	16,839	133,909	581,107	3,686,676	1,775,085	.481	
Kansas	17,138	4,227	14,926	109,445	440,227	2,705,310	1,362,273	.504	
Kentucky	27,036	7,288	21,181	172,934	618,966	3,854,337	1,986,623	.515	
Louisiana	31,321	7,218	41,597	163,277	729,933	4,795,558	2,386,488	.498	
Maine	9,858	1,949	11,962	44,510	224,225	1,275,321	704,794	.553	
Maryland	21,554	10,033	28,668	229,528	934,456	6,067,298	2,927,529	.483	
Massachusetts	117,694	17,310	98,796	412,531	1,730,324	11,538,509	6,333,044	.549	
Michigan	130,974	26,882	111,588	630,253	2,418,931	20,016,793	9,278,284	.464	
Minnesota	45,779	4,607	23,173	120,334	945,126	6,409,560	3,966,751	.619	
Mississippi	7,308	3,713	8,361	85,787	385,086	2,051,248	1,212,915	.591	
Missouri	35,498	12,442	39,053	286,736	1,203,717	8,214,186	3,821,001	.465	
Montana	6,242	1,071	5,447	25,657	124,732	729,072	396,052	.543	
Nebraska	7,240	2,366	6,033	55,852	300,881	1,798,486	925,466	.515	
Nevada	12,194	1,550	8,134	38,196	153,884	1,104,169	652,924	.591	
New Hampshire	6,689	2,252	2,743	53,811	190,903	1,138,436	602,332	.529	
New Jersey	170,848	20,403	161,662	482,698	2,025,694	16,152,190	7,565,653	.468	
New Mexico	6,932	1,818	6,122	42,414	184,204	1,085,254	578,841	.533	
New York	327,860	77,219	308,684	1,798,812	5,507,236	43,175,121	18,708,657	.433	
North Carolina	51,125	16,488	23,533	394,861	1,329,400	7,359,670	4,180,006	.568	
North Dakota	5,168	416	3,796	11,066	81,234	451,548	258,108	.572	
Ohio	84,976	29,928	60,257	702,599	2,966,489	22,549,999	9,721,772	.431	
Oklahoma	10,808	2,649	11,546	60,984	485,142	3,033,132	1,547,263	.510	
Oregon	28,965	5,904	27,960	136,636	516,941	3,464,852	1,924,273	.555	
Pennsylvania	167,213	36,282	118,700	863,846	3,418,362	23,291,597	12,123,982	.521	
Puerto Rico	28,550	3,632	26,049	85,984	383,115	1,514,954	1,081,878	.714	
Rhode Island	19,334	3,605	17,835	84,770	263,879	1,622,470	944,250	.582	
South Carolina	25,045	6,627	13,960	158,354	613,942	3,379,463	1,907,987	.565	
South Dakota	1,987	835	3,784	19,606	93,533	492,428	274,541	.558	
Tennessee	45,490	8,620	30,713	207,205	959,800	5,640,986	3,222,222	.571	
Texas	27,147	15,533	29,153	357,543	2,571,470	16,630,917	8,330,451	.501	
Utah	11,761	2,071	9,907	49,054	222,915	1,309,063	812,577	.621	
Vermont	6,504	1,082	4,403	26,433	102,491	640,903	372,066	.581	
Virginia	14,207	9,057	9,077	212,390	996,306	5,903,893	3,114,648	.528	
Washington	49,749	14,609	52,400	333,440	828,661	6,178,555	2,816,428	.456	
West Virginia	19,418	4,189	11,181	101,551	357,047	2,427,182	1,317,085	.543	
Wisconsin	61,618	13,808	39,809	332,811	1,088,615	7,636,157	4,047,394	.530	
Wyoming	2,802	745	1,780	17,964	72,411	419,980	254,314	.606	

¹ Includes contributions and penalties from employers and contributions from employees in States which tax workers.

TABLE 2A.—HANDBOOK OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE FINANCIAL DATA

[1969 benefit and claims data]

State	Taxable wage base	1st payments issued	Weeks compensated for all unemployment	Claimants exhausting benefits		Average duration (in weeks)			Insured unemployed	
				Number	Percent of 1st payments	Potential	Actual	Actual for exhaustees	Average number	Percent of covered employees
United States		4,216,938	47,970,160	811,532	19.8	24.4	11.4	21.4	1,101,429	2.1
Alabama	\$3,000	47,189	569,418	13,260	25.6	23.7	12.1	21.3	14,150	2.0
Alaska	7,200	11,607	172,382	2,199	20.4	27.3	14.9	25.9	3,558	6.8
Arizona	3,600	18,298	189,920	3,813	20.9	22.7	10.4	20.2	5,097	1.4
Arkansas	3,000	35,882	384,899	7,873	25.1	22.4	10.7	19.3	10,047	2.5
California	3,800	665,099	8,239,662	148,050	23.6	24.0	12.4	22.4	178,278	3.4
Colorado	3,000	15,041	139,965	2,527	17.3	21.8	9.3	19.3	3,844	0.8
Connecticut	3,600	125,873	1,228,529	15,771	13.1	25.9	9.8	25.7	23,946	2.5
Delaware	3,600	18,915	146,060	2,084	11.6	23.9	7.7	22.3	2,787	1.7
District of Columbia	3,000	12,604	184,259	2,638	21.6	30.6	14.6	27.9	3,844	1.3
Florida	3,000	57,655	625,670	19,969	35.0	19.7	10.9	16.0	18,912	1.3
Georgia	3,000	49,953	406,484	12,884	26.1	19.9	8.1	15.2	10,723	1.0
Hawaii	5,000	12,276	164,786	2,220	18.8	26.0	13.4	26.0	3,711	1.8
Idaho	3,600	16,557	168,463	3,922	23.3	18.7	10.2	15.5	4,285	3.1
Illinois	3,000	183,738	1,099,145	35,918	20.3	23.4	10.9	20.3	43,726	1.3
Indiana	3,000	82,945	679,559	17,932	21.9	20.3	8.2	14.8	15,644	1.1
Iowa	3,000	32,100	303,413	7,867	25.3	22.4	11.3	17.1	8,253	1.4
Kansas	3,000	30,572	327,505	6,283	21.3	23.2	10.7	21.5	7,318	1.7
Kentucky	3,000	49,504	525,742	9,700	20.9	23.1	10.8	20.4	13,471	2.2
Louisiana	3,000	69,699	1,003,296	21,540	32.0	24.2	14.4	21.1	21,050	2.9
Maine	3,000	32,706	344,373	6,148	21.6	22.8	10.0	18.1	8,068	3.6
Maryland	3,000	64,376	665,415	8,684	12.9	26.0	10.3	26.0	14,119	1.5
Massachusetts	3,600	175,105	2,224,565	35,322	21.1	26.9	12.7	25.0	48,647	2.8
Michigan	3,600	230,699	2,251,929	39,939	17.0	23.5	9.8	19.5	52,771	2.2
Minnesota	4,800	46,977	549,203	11,514	24.2	23.0	11.7	19.0	12,691	1.3
Mississippi	3,000	25,099	265,895	4,921	21.1	23.6	10.6	21.0	7,054	1.8
Missouri	3,000	96,682	943,372	13,975	15.3	23.6	9.8	20.9	25,331	2.1
Montana	3,000	13,627	159,083	3,224	24.9	22.6	11.7	19.7	3,571	2.9
Nebraska	3,000	13,751	156,945	3,083	21.4	22.7	11.4	18.2	3,374	1.1
Nevada	3,800	16,162	189,482	3,676	22.9	22.6	11.7	21.4	4,178	2.7
New Hampshire	3,000	11,713	75,535	67	0.6	26.0	6.4	22.6	2,059	1.1
New Jersey	3,600	236,146	3,067,339	57,228	24.3	23.6	13.0	21.3	61,731	3.0

See footnotes at end of table.

TABLE 2A.—HANDBOOK OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE FINANCIAL DATA—Continued

[1969 benefit and claims data]

State	Taxable wage base	Claimants exhausting benefits				Average duration (in weeks)			Insured unemployed	
		1st payments issued	Weeks compensated for all unemployment	Number	Percent of 1st payments	Potential	Actual	Actual for exhaustees	Average number	Percent of covered employees
New Mexico	\$3,000	13,316	177,840	2,424	18.3	28.8	13.4	25.9	4,355	2.4
New York	3,000	498,657	6,455,783	70,249	14.2	26.0	12.9	26.0	138,516	2.5
North Carolina	3,000	84,811	817,890	11,795	14.6	26.0	9.6	24.7	19,218	1.4
North Dakota	3,400	6,248	90,275	1,063	15.3	23.7	14.4	21.3	2,278	2.8
Ohio	3,000	137,267	1,314,930	13,760	9.6	25.4	9.6	24.4	32,206	1.1
Oklahoma	3,000	25,010	365,007	8,013	33.5	26.5	14.6	22.6	9,464	2.0
Oregon	3,600	63,204	697,655	7,965	14.4	25.6	11.0	24.8	17,274	3.3
Pennsylvania	3,600	257,910	2,815,925	26,656	10.2	28.6	10.9	26.6	65,410	1.9
Puerto Rico	3,000	79,798	862,947	40,798	51.4	13.4	10.8	13.3	34,942	7.0
Rhode Island	3,600	38,874	412,914	7,323	20.1	23.1	10.6	19.8	8,950	3.4
South Carolina	3,000	37,259	395,083	10,115	29.1	22.0	10.6	19.6	9,678	1.6
South Dakota	3,000	4,385	54,169	1,026	24.1	21.8	12.4	18.4	1,411	1.5
Tennessee	3,300	90,128	899,034	18,551	22.2	23.7	10.0	22.4	22,292	2.3
Texas	3,000	73,551	794,618	19,288	27.8	21.9	10.8	14.9	20,437	0.8
Utah	4,200	19,886	247,786	4,863	25.8	25.4	12.5	20.0	6,178	2.8
Vermont	3,600	8,792	101,933	1,066	12.1	26.0	11.6	26.0	2,241	2.2
Virginia	3,000	30,919	260,098	5,879	20.9	21.3	8.4	17.6	6,788	0.7
Washington	3,000	128,607	1,522,042	18,401	17.6	28.1	11.8	25.7	33,412	4.4
West Virginia	3,600	39,574	400,686	5,297	12.0	26.0	10.7	24.8	10,156	2.7
Wisconsin	3,600	76,339	818,383	12,166	16.7	29.4	10.7	22.9	18,998	1.8
Wyoming	3,600	3,853	42,869	603	15.9	23.1	11.1	20.4	988	1.0

¹ 1st payments for fiscal year 1969; for years previous to 1960, 1st payments for 12 months ending September 30. ² Insured unemployment as a percent of covered employment excludes employees engaged in agricultural aspects of the sugar industry. ³ Includes employees engaged in agricultural aspects of the sugar industry beginning in 1964.

TABLE 2B.—HANDBOOK OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE FINANCIAL DATA, 1969

State	Significant measures (in percents)								Wage data		Average weekly benefit	
	Ratios to total wages				Ratios to taxable wages				Average weekly wages in covered employment		Ratio to average weekly total wages	
	Collections	Benefits	Year-end reserve	Average employer tax rates	Collections	Benefits	Year-end reserve	Average employer tax rates	Total	Taxable	Amount	Ratio to average weekly total wages
United States	1.0.69	0.58	3.44	0.68	1.1.40	1.17	6.95	1.38	\$134.76	\$66.81	\$46.17	0.343
Alabama	.65	.47	3.21	.52	1.1.22	.89	6.03	.98	113.80	60.57	35.30	.310
Alaska	12.48	1.35	5.07	2.11	13.42	1.87	7.00	2.91	206.49	149.65	45.55	.221
Arizona	.82	.32	4.35	.83	1.45	.57	7.76	1.49	129.36	72.55	42.72	.330
Arkansas	.76	.63	2.57	.75	1.25	1.04	4.23	1.24	99.07	60.25	34.96	.353
California	1.32	1.03	3.23	1.31	2.51	1.96	6.13	2.49	147.43	77.68	51.87	.352
Colorado	.25	.22	2.52	.23	.51	.44	5.07	.47	126.22	62.75	51.05	.404
Connecticut	.87	.87	4.04	.86	1.84	1.83	8.50	1.81	150.09	71.34	55.76	.372
Delaware	.42	.53	1.96	.42	.85	1.07	4.00	.86	142.20	69.82	45.79	.322
District of Columbia	.33	.39	3.52	.33	.73	.87	7.83	.73	138.82	62.37	50.02	.360
Florida	.33	.22	2.74	.34	.65	.43	5.31	.66	122.57	63.16	33.76	.275
Georgia	.59	.22	4.77	.58	1.11	.41	9.01	1.10	116.54	61.69	38.19	.328
Hawaii	1.08	.55	3.32	1.10	1.61	.82	4.94	1.63	123.71	83.12	52.04	.421
Idaho	1.03	.85	5.48	1.04	1.67	1.38	8.90	1.69	111.97	68.94	43.81	.391
Illinois	.18	.36	2.01	.18	.42	.83	4.65	.41	147.53	63.64	45.91	.311
Indiana	.51	.24	3.15	.49	1.12	.54	6.95	1.08	138.12	62.69	37.67	.273
Iowa	.36	.46	3.63	.38	.75	.95	7.54	.78	122.00	58.74	48.56	.398
Kansas	.63	.55	3.68	.63	1.26	1.10	7.30	1.25	118.18	59.51	46.57	.394
Kentucky	.70	.55	4.49	.68	1.36	1.07	8.70	1.32	119.87	61.78	40.56	.338
Louisiana	.65	.87	3.40	.66	1.31	1.74	6.84	1.33	126.34	62.87	42.49	.336
Maine	.77	.94	3.49	.77	1.40	1.70	6.32	1.39	109.38	60.45	38.12	.349
Maryland	.36	.47	3.78	.36	.74	.98	7.84	.74	124.86	60.25	45.15	.362
Massachusetts	1.02	.86	3.58	1.02	1.86	1.56	6.51	1.85	128.24	70.39	47.81	.373
Michigan	.65	.56	3.15	.65	1.41	1.20	6.79	1.39	159.14	73.76	50.42	.317
Minnesota	.71	.36	1.88	.70	1.15	.58	3.03	1.13	130.42	80.71	43.77	.336
Mississippi	.36	.41	4.18	.35	.60	.69	7.07	.60	102.44	60.57	32.51	.317
Missouri	.43	.48	3.49	.43	.92	1.02	7.50	.92	131.23	61.05	44.85	.342
Montana	.86	.75	3.52	.86	1.58	1.38	6.48	1.59	112.41	61.06	34.22	.304
Nebraska	.40	.34	3.11	.39	.78	.65	6.03	.75	114.95	59.15	39.38	.343
Nevada	1.10	.74	3.46	1.13	1.87	1.25	5.85	1.91	137.99	81.60	44.24	.321
New Hampshire	.59	.24	4.73	.57	1.11	.46	8.93	1.08	114.68	60.68	41.64	.363
New Jersey	1.06	1.00	2.99	.97	12.26	2.14	6.38	2.06	153.34	71.82	54.88	.358
New Mexico	.64	.56	3.91	.64	1.20	1.06	7.33	1.20	113.30	60.43	35.40	.312
New York	.76	.71	4.17	.76	1.75	1.65	9.61	1.76	150.76	65.33	50.88	.337
North Carolina	.69	.32	5.37	.68	1.22	.56	9.45	1.20	106.49	60.48	30.00	.282
North Dakota	1.14	.84	2.45	1.12	2.00	1.47	4.29	1.96	106.90	61.10	42.61	.399
Ohio	.38	.27	3.12	.37	.87	.62	7.23	.86	146.18	63.02	46.83	.320
Oklahoma	.36	.38	2.01	.37	.70	.75	3.94	.75	120.23	61.33	32.20	.268
Oregon	.84	.81	3.94	.84	1.51	1.45	7.10	1.52	128.90	71.59	41.42	.321
Pennsylvania	.72	.51	3.71	.73	1.38	.98	7.13	1.39	131.03	68.21	46.20	.353
Puerto Rico ²	1.90	1.72	5.68	1.94	2.67	2.41	7.95	2.71	76.04	54.31	25.71	.338
Rhode Island	1.19	1.10	5.22	1.21	2.05	1.89	8.98	2.07	118.24	68.81	46.52	.393
South Carolina	.74	.41	4.69	.73	1.31	.73	8.30	1.29	105.86	59.76	36.24	.342
South Dakota	.40	.77	3.98	.39	.77	1.38	7.14	.70	101.25	56.45	36.76	.363
Tennessee	.81	.54	3.67	.80	1.41	.95	6.43	1.41	113.02	64.56	35.56	.315
Texas	.16	.18	2.15	.15	.33	.35	4.29	.30	124.37	62.30	37.80	.304
Utah	.90	.76	3.75	.91	1.45	1.22	6.04	1.46	112.93	70.10	40.71	.360
Vermont	1.01	.69	4.12	1.00	1.75	1.18	7.10	1.72	120.25	69.81	45.19	.376
Virginia	.24	.15	3.60	.23	.46	.29	6.82	.43	113.96	60.12	36.43	.320
Washington	.81	.84	5.40	.81	1.77	1.85	11.84	1.77	143.39	65.36	34.64	.242
West Virginia	.80	.50	4.18	.81	1.47	.93	7.71	1.48	130.73	70.94	31.65	.242
Wisconsin	.81	.52	4.36	.79	1.52	.98	8.22	1.49	134.90	71.50	51.04	.378
Wyoming	.67	.42	4.28	.64	1.10	.70	7.06	1.06	111.54	67.54	43.28	.388

¹ Includes contributions and penalties from employers and contributions from employees which tax workers. ² Ratios do not include employment and wage data for employees and employers engaged in agricultural aspects of the sugar industry. ³ Includes dependents' allowances.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I recently reported the results of my 1971 Congressional Questionnaire in a newsletter to the residents of the 18th District of Michigan. Included in the report is a letter to the President summarizing the results of the poll. The text of the report follows:

YOUR VIEWS GO TO THE PRESIDENT

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., May 1, 1971.

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I thought you would like to know the results of my 1971 Congressional Questionnaire. Nearly 30,000 residents of the 18th Congressional District of Michigan participated—without a doubt, the greatest response ever to this annual program.

As in past years, seniors in high schools throughout the District were invited to participate. Nearly 6,000 young people were involved and, like the adults, their response was the most enthusiastic ever. The enclosed tabulation provides an interesting comparison of their views and the replies of adults.

A majority of the adults—54 percent—indicated their support for gradual withdrawal of U.S. forces from Southeast Asia and Vietnamization of the war, exactly the same percentage of support offered when my poll was conducted a year ago. There was a significant increase, however, in the numbers of people who favored U.S. withdrawal immediately (30 percent) or by a fixed deadline (18 percent). Only five percent favored stepped-up U.S. involvement. Among the young people, 42 percent favored gradual withdrawal, 28 percent immediate withdrawal, 27 percent disengagement by a fixed deadline and only two percent stepped-up fighting.

Both adults and teenagers were opposed to the Supersonic Transport plane. They agreed in their support for an all-volunteer military, better pollution control programs financed by increased taxes, and more flexible penalties for drug users provided sellers are dealt with more harshly.

Three-quarters of the adults who replied supported automatic cost-of-living increases in Social Security as did 55 percent of the young people. A majority of both groups supported welfare reform but rejected a national health insurance program financed by higher Social Security or other Federal taxes.

Twenty-eight percent of the young people said they would favor a reduction in U.S. troops committed to NATO while 52 percent of the adults supported such a reduction. Similarly, a majority of adults said they favor revenue sharing but just 35 percent of the young people backed it. Wage and price controls were approved by a bare majority of adults—51 percent—but by only 41 percent of the young people.

The opinions of people in my District are important to me as I know they are to you. I hope you will find them useful and informative.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD,
Member of Congress.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS (TABULATED BY DATA MANAGEMENT, INC.)

[In percent]

	Adults	Students
Vietnam: Which do you prefer?		
Withdraw all troops immediately.....	30	28
Withdraw troops gradually and turn the war over to the South Vietnamese.....	54	42
Withdraw all troops by a fixed deadline. Send more troops and step up the fighting.....	18	27
Which national proposals would you favor?		
1. Social security: Provide for built-in, automatic cost-of-living adjustments.....	77	55
2. Revenue sharing: Return part of all Federal tax moneys to State and local governments for use as they see fit.....	54	35
3. Military manpower: Begin building an all-volunteer military by improving benefits for military service.....	61	69
4. Pollution: User fees and/or taxes on all polluters and users of water to fully finance water pollution control programs.....	73	79
5. SST: Further Federal financial support for development of a supersonic transport plane.....	25	13
6. Welfare: The President's plan to place a floor under the incomes on the poor and to emphasize the work incentive.....	60	52
7. Economy: Wage and price controls applied to all segments of the country.....	51	41
8. NATO: Reduction in U.S. troops committed to North Atlantic Treaty Organization.....	52	28
9. Drugs: More flexible legal penalties for possession and use of marihuana, provided sellers are subject to more severe penalties.....	71	59
10. Health care: A national health insurance program for everybody to be financed by increased social security and other Federal taxes.....	45	54

SIMPLIFYING FEDERAL TAX FORMS

As every taxpayer knows, Federal income tax forms get more confusing and more complicated each year. Last year, more than half of the 75 million people who filed Federal tax returns required the help of a tax expert. As a result, tax preparation services have become a major new industry and in some instances pose new dangers for taxpayers. The raw financial data accumulated and computerized by many of these firms has found a ready market in the form of mutual funds, banks, insurance companies and credit bureaus. Taxpayers have found themselves receiving unsolicited offers of investment counseling, insurance, loans and other financial services tailored to their individual needs. It seems to me this practice seriously compromises every taxpayer's right to privacy. After all we require the Internal Revenue Service to observe the strictest confidentiality with regard to the individual return, yet we allow private firms to sell highly personal information without the taxpayer's consent.

I recently introduced two bills which I hope will provide relief to both problems. One bill would require the client's consent before personal tax data could be disclosed. The other bill is aimed at the heart of the problem—the complicated Federal tax form itself. It calls for the creation of a citizens commission to study ways of making the form simpler to understand and prepare. Hopefully, both of these measures will receive priority consideration from Congress.

BROOMFIELD BILLS—92D CONGRESS

Since the new Congress convened in January, I have introduced nearly 50 pieces of legislation. Some of the 50 measures which

may be of special interest to you are summarized below. Additional information and copies of the bills are available on request.

H.J. Res. 557—A proposal for the total withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam within nine months after the release of all U.S. war prisoners to a neutral third party and an immediate ceasefire.

H. Con. Res. 129—To curtail international drug traffic by United Nations action and by cutting off U.S. foreign aid to nations that refuse to cooperate.

H.R. 5223—To regulate the use of water-polluting phosphates in detergents.

H.R. 7176—A bill to make it a Federal crime to commit a felony with a firearm.

H.R. 6262—Legislation to set limits and disclosure requirements in campaigns for Federal office and to provide a tax credit for individual political contributions.

H.R. 3947—to require open-dating of foods sold in supermarkets to insure their freshness.

H.R. 6364—Providing for the mandatory retirement of members of Congress at age 65.

1971 YEARBOOKS AVAILABLE

A limited supply of the 1971 Agricultural Yearbook, *Contours of Change*, is still available through my office. I will be pleased to fill requests for them on a first-come first-served basis as long as they last. Please let me know if you would like a copy by writing me at 2435 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515. I also have a supply of pamphlets prepared by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare containing questions and answers on six kinds of dangerous drugs. These also may be obtained by writing my Washington office.

SAVE THE MUSEUM MONTH

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts, Mr. Speaker, the dreams of small boys and a significant segment of the Nation's history are two things well worth preserving. Both reside in the Marine Museum in Fall River, Mass., which is now seeking funds to continue and expand its function as their repository.

The museum is relatively new, having opened in 1968, not far from the U.S.S. *Massachusetts*, the Commonwealth's World War II memorial. Its principal impetus came with the acquisition of the mementoes and exhibits of the Seamen's Church Institute of New York.

More memorabilia have been added, and now the museum has one of the world's finest representations of steam shipping. Exact replicas of many of the great steamships of history are in its gleaming glass cases.

They range from 100-year-old steamers to the Liberty ship of World War II. Included are ships of the Fall River Line, which were the height of luxury travel for 90 years between New England and New York; the trans-Atlantic steamer *Empress of France*, which was a favorite of the Prince of Wales; the Danish ship *United States*, donated by King Frederick IX of Denmark; and many other models that have come from Japanese

Emperor Hirohito, Pandit Nehru, Queen Frederika of Greece, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Burl Ives.

All of which constitutes a panoramic chronicle of the history and development of an industry, a region, a nation.

Falls Church Mayor Nicholas W. Mitchell has designated May as "Save the Museum Month" to launch an enthusiastic fundraising drive, not only to save the museum, but also to enhance it.

I wholeheartedly endorse both the museum and the effort to improve it. I wish its supporters every success, for they are fighting for the dreams of children.

JAMES D. HITTLE

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an editorial published in the Navy Times of April 21, 1971. The editorial is a well-deserved tribute to one of our dear and long-time friends, former Assistant Secretary of Navy for Manpower and Reserve Affairs James D. Hittle, who recently resigned to become vice president in charge of the Washington office of Pan American Airways. General Hittle is known and respected by most of us on both sides of the aisle. His many years of dedicated service to his country led him to the Hill, where he served with distinction and effectiveness, first as special legislative assistant to the Commandant of the Marine Corps and then as special legislative assistant to the Secretary of Defense. I am proud of my friendship with Don Hittle and am pleased to join Senators and General Hittle's many friends in wishing him well in his new career. The editorial is certainly a splendid reflection of the high regard in which all who have been exposed to General Hittle hold him.

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

[From the Navy Times, Apr. 21, 1971]

JAMES D. HITTLE

The people of the Navy and Marine Corps—and of all the Armed Forces for that matter—have lost the services of the man who, anyway you figure it was the greatest civilian personnel chief they ever had.

James D. (Don) Hittle, Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Manpower and Reserve Affairs, resigned effective March 31 to enter private business.

On the day of his departure, Secretary of the Navy John Chafee—with whom Hittle had a close and warm working relationship—gave Hittle the highest award a civilian can receive: the Distinguished Public Service Award.

Never was such an award more appropriately bestowed. Probably never was a citation so meaningful. Incidentally, one of the almost innumerable actions Hittle took during his two years as personnel chief was to plead for more succinct and down-to-earth

language in citations. That the citation accompanying his own decoration was down-to-earth is obvious from an inspection of it.

"Assistant Secretary Hittle's dedication, creative thinking and guidance have significantly improved military and civilian manpower management within the Department of the Navy and have made positive contributions to U.S. government policy in a number of areas."

Just one example of this was the matter of attendance at chapel at the service academies. When several Annapolis and West Point students filed suit against that policy a number of government lawyers felt that the government probably would lose in court. Hittle argued for an all-out defense. "Just because you are going to lose is no reason to roll over and play dead," he said. "We must stand firm on issues pertaining to the flag and God."

The government won the case.

"His deep interest in the welfare of the officers and men of the Navy and Marine Corps has been inspirational and he has been a major factor in a number of significant actions to improve the quality of life for these personnel."

Some of those actions are referred to specifically later in the citation. Let's now look at some which are not.

He pushed the removal of the policy which required men in uniform to show their ID cards in commissaries and exchanges; he pushed for creation of the two retiree committees, one for officers and one for enlisted, and following the recent second meeting of those committees urged creation of similar committees at local levels; he had a hand in the assignment of the hospital ship *Respose* to help relieve the overcrowding at Long Beach Naval Hospital.

Rather little things, but important to various people—and Hittle knew that the little things often were more important than major actions.

Not little but of vital concern to thousands was his pushing of recommendations from the Surgeon General and the Vice Chief of Naval Operations for a major revision of physical disability retirement procedures. An office of Naval Disability Evaluation was created. In its first three months of operation the average time to process a physical retirement or discharge was reduced from 89 days to 45 days. The number of initial findings which had to go on to lengthy, formal hearings was reduced from 30 percent of cases to 10.8 percent. This was done without additional processing people, and the benefits to the disabled people involved are well nigh incalculable.

"His personal interest and active participation were instrumental in carrying out the establishment of a temporary lodging program and contributed very substantially to the successful implementation of that program."

We need not dwell on this. The idea was Secretary Chafee's, and he supported it down the line. The selection of sites, the drive which got 900 units at 13 places under contract (and two of them opened) in just a year, and only \$500,000 over the initially estimated \$10 million cost—that was largely Hittle's doing.

"His actions in supporting a reorganization of the Naval air and surface Reserve programs will contribute materially to the achievement of a single force concept which should enhance the combat readiness of the entire Navy."

Appointed in March 1969, Hittle began showing up at conventions that summer. He told the groups that he regarded the duties of the second part of his title "Reserve Affairs" as important as the first part. His attendance at all these affairs, his willing-

ness to speak at them, his staying to talk with the rank and file delegates—all at great personal sacrifice—established a rapport which had never previously existed.

It was this rapport which helped "sell" the reorganizations referred to, which—let's face it—hurt some long-time reservists.

The NROTC and the Junior ROTC programs were his special concern. He fought to retain necessary military aspects of the college program and to have them receive credits toward a degree, and where he could not obtain this he consented to the phasing out of units—AND PROMOTED ACTIVATION OF NEW ONES—rather than have the usefulness of old units destroyed. He pushed the creation of units at predominantly Negro colleges.

In his last month of office he recommended assigning a TAR officer to the staff of the Commander-in-Chief Naval Forces, Europe, to coordinate Reserve matters in Europe. There is a big Reserve population on that continent, so big that the Reserve Officers Association has long had a vice president for Europe. Hittle's action will strengthen the Reserve participation of former active-duty men now in Europe.

He sponsored the transfer of administrative support and control of the Naval Reserve Policy Board to his office, thus giving the board direct access to the Secretary of the Navy. When the board met in January 1971, it included enlisted members—voting enlisted members, thanks largely to Hittle. (The board had recommended non-voting enlisted advisers.)

"His compassion for the men and women of the Naval service has been evidenced by numerous personnel actions to insure fair and just treatment of personnel problems. His individual effort was responsible for preventing the erosion of overseas cost of living allowances for military personnel."

As new Assistant Secretary, Hittle was made Navy member of the Pentagon, Per Diem, Travel and Transportation Allowance Committee and on Jan. 1, 1970, was named chairman.

In the pre-Hittle era, this committee sat from time to time mostly to act on changes required by new laws or recommended by one of the services. Hittle held more frequent meetings and put the committee to work to seek out ways to improve the lot of service personnel. He directed compilation of comparative benefits of servicemen, of Defense and other government civilians and of industry in the areas in which the committee had jurisdiction, and then set to work to bring military benefits up to at least the level of benefits enjoyed by the other groups.

But first, he stepped into a controversy. The Comptroller General had outlawed the system of determining overseas cost of living and housing allowances, as the citation indicates. The law was on the Comptroller's side. In most such cases in the past, Defense would have conformed to the money watchdog's ruling. But Hittle was not the "roll over and play dead" type.

Largely through his efforts, the Comptroller was induced to hold up conformity to his ruling while Defense sought a change in the law; Congress changed the law, and the system objected to was made legal.

Accomplishments of the Per Diem Committee under Hittle's leadership are too numerous to mention. They include the recent stay of a cost-of-living allowance cut in Naples, and such earlier things as: extending COLA to Oahu; raising the maximum weight allowance of lowest grade enlisteds; providing that personnel will not lose quarters allowance for temporary stay in government lodgings; allowing autos to be moved to and from overseas in advance of actual permanent change of station orders, and increased allow-

ances for Reservists coming to or going home from temporary active duty.

E-4s with two years service and committed for six years get the travel benefits of career men a year earlier, travel largely to Hittle. Defense approved the move for July 1, 1971, but Hittle was able to show how it could be done a year sooner. In this, as with most of the other accomplishments of his term in office, Hittle stresses that the climate—the active support of the President, the Secretary of Defense and other officials—had to be right to get these things done.

"Through his efforts he helped make the Department of the Navy a leader in programs for labor relations, domestic action and equal opportunity. He also stimulated the development of the U.S. government's policy with respect to finding other employment for Vietnamese civilians as U.S. forces are withdrawn from that country."

The citation thus is an impressive recital of or reference to enough accomplishments to make any individual proud.

But even so, it covers only two years of Don Hittle's life. It does not, of course, mention that Hittle served a full career with the Marine Corps, was in both theaters in World War II, earned the Legion of Merit with Combat V and the Purple Heart. It does not mention his services, first as legislative assistant to the Marine Commandant and then to the Defense Secretary before his retirement as a brigadier general, or his accomplishments in those two key posts.

It does not mention his post-retirement career as a newspaperman, and as director of national security and foreign affairs for the Veterans of Foreign Wars. It was in this post that Navy Times began to have frequent contact with Don Hittle as the two worked to promote many projects for the betterment of servicemen and veterans—projects which, we are bound to admit, frequently originated with Hittle, not with us.

It does not mention his services as consultant to both the House and Senate Armed Services Committees, most notably in connection with the hearings on the deserters in Sweden.

It does not mention the military books he wrote, some of them classics. Nor his interest in archeology and Oriental history.

Even as respects the last two years, the citation does not mention because it is a personal thing, that Don Hittle lost his first wife suddenly the very month he became Assistant Secretary, yet that loss unquestionably had an effect on his accomplishments in office, as he worked even harder and longer to try to forget his grief. Nor, because it is equally personal, does the citation mention his second marriage, just this past summer, and how, with new personal responsibilities, he continued his arduous official duties by the simple expedient of enlisting the second Mrs. Hittle. Don Hittle has always done the work of two men; in the last third of his tour he and Patricia Herring Hittle as a team have done the work of at least three.

Their departure from public life is a great loss to us all. But looking at it from their standpoint, they will deserve relief and the right to pass on personal work (which Hittle rightly said the other day is never finished anyway) to other hands.

PRAISE FOR THE WASHINGTON D.C. AND CAPITOL POLICE FORCES

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 10, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, at this time I would like to add my voice to those

of my colleagues who have congratulated Washington Metropolitan Police Chief Jerry Wilson and Capitol Police Chief James M. Powell on the outstanding job they and their men did in controlling the insurgents who flooded into Washington during the last several weeks.

As a member of the House Committee on Internal Security I am personally aware of the amount of planning and organization which went into the effort to close down our Nation's Capitol. It was no easy thing to assure that this well-organized effort did not succeed.

The police conducted themselves in the highest traditions of intelligent and efficient police work in the face of sometimes quite extreme provocation. No one who has not personally witnessed the amount of abuse taken by police officers from people such as those who came to disrupt the process of orderly government can appreciate the dedication and restraint it takes to perform one's job in the fine manner in which both the Washington and Capitol police did.

The defense of our Nation's Capitol from those who would abridge the rights of all the American people in order to jam their views down the throats of elected representatives was admirably handled.

PETER MACDONALD IS THE NEWLY ELECTED CHAIRMAN OF THE NAVAJO TRIBE

HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, a new leader has assumed office on the largest Indian reservation in the country containing nearly 25 percent of all the Indians living in our country.

Peter MacDonald is a young man, but he is dynamic, ambitious, and understands his people well. He will preside over probably the best example of democratic government to be found at any level within our country, and I am certain that working in cooperation of all of his tribe, the Navajos will make great strides forward in the years ahead.

An interesting article published in the National Observer of May 3 will give Senators a better insight into this important new leader. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

NAVAJO'S NEW CHIEF CALLS FOR NEW SPIRIT—
YOUNG INDIANS HEAD FOR RESERVATIONS

(By Nelson Wadsworth)

"Whenever the white man treats the Indian as they treat each other, then we shall have no more wars. We shall be all alike—brothers of one father and one mother, with one sky above and one country around us and one government for all. The Great Spirit Chief who rules above will smile upon this land, and send rain to wash out the bloody spots made by brothers' hands upon the face of the earth."—Chief Joseph, Nez Perce, 1879.

After more than a century of second-class citizenship on isolated reservations, Ameri-

can Indians—or at least some of them—are being swept with a new, militant spirit.

That spirit is manifesting itself these days in both positive and negative ways. Last week, the positive approach held center stage for about 800 Indian youths at a conference here sponsored by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormons). All the conferees, from tribes all around the land, Mexico, and Canada, are practicing Mormons.

NO MORE "BACK BURNER"

But the star of the show was not a Mormon but a full-blooded Navajo Indian with the rather surprising name of Peter MacDonald. Mr. MacDonald, 42, is the newly elected chairman of the Navajo Tribe, the largest tribe with the largest reservation in the United States. An electrical engineer, he is the first college-trained chief of the Navajos.

He brought the high-school and college-age Indian delegates a message of hope that a new era of progress, prosperity, and nationalism is dawning at last for the North American Indian.

"It is important," Mr. MacDonald told the youths, "that today we all get together and move in a direction that will give us a place in America that rightfully belongs to us. I see Indians all over the land beginning to move forward toward the front of society. We have been on the back burner far too long."

The great hope of the American Indian, he added, lies with its youth and their struggle to become educated. "I am happy to say that you are beginning to move, and the rest of us are going to move with you."

Mr. MacDonald isn't given to rhetoric. He works hard, moves fast, and is difficult to corner for interviews. But he surfaced at the youth conference, and these facts emerged:

He got his surname from his enthusiastic rendering of *Old MacDonald Had a Farm* as a pupil in a reservation boarding school. He dropped out of school in the sixth grade, enlisted in the Marine Corps at age 15, and earned his high-school diploma and college degrees assisted by the "GI Bill of Rights" after World War II. He was elected tribal chairman in January.

Mr. MacDonald gave up a comfortable-salaried job with Hughes Aircraft in 1963 to return to the reservation and work with frustrating tribal problems. "I felt I was missing out on what was happening on the reservation," he said. "I was lonesome for my own people and wanted to be a part of their progress." As tribal chief for a four-year term, he receives \$18,000 a year.

Mr. MacDonald appears to have few illusions about the problems that plague thousands of Indians. "The Indian today suffers three kinds of depredation," he says. "The first is a depredation of the physical needs, which creates hunger, lack of clothing and housing. The second is a depredation of his economy, which keeps him from a good life. And the third is a depredation of his soul, which results in alcoholism, suicide and hopelessness. The promise of youth gives the Indian a new spirit of hope to determine his own destiny."

But pulling the Indian out of poverty on the reservation isn't going to be easy. "Sure, there will be lots of hard work," Mr. MacDonald acknowledges. "But these young people are not afraid of hard work."

The biggest problem facing the Indian, he continues, lies in simple economics. On the Navajo Reservation, for example, 65 per cent of the working force is unemployed. There simply are not enough jobs to go around, and about 2,000 Navajos enter the labor market every year.

"In a lot of ways, the Indian is more deprived than any other minority group," the tribal chairman says. "But at the same time he possesses a unique opportunity not af-

forded to other minorities. We do have a land base and some natural resources."

Under the old Government ward system, Indians are 95 per cent dependent on Uncle Sam for all of their needs. "But the Indian wants self determination," Mr. MacDonald says. "He wants to take on his own responsibility and reverse that dependency."

On the Navajo Reservation, with its 130,000 population in Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado, the tribal organization is now attempting to set up an "ownership economy" whereby the wealth of the Navajo nation will be vested with the people themselves rather than with the tribal government.

Also, a newly formed Navajo Economic Development Authority is seeking to build a tourist industry and to lure labor-seeking industry to the reservation.

And there is a drive under way to get more and better roads on the reservation so the Navajos can do away with the old Government boarding-school system. Navajos, says Mr. MacDonald, want to run their own schools.

Of course, execution of all of these plans will cost money, but the tribal leader says Indians have just as much right to revenue sharing as the states and the cities. "For the young people, the future holds great promise," Mr. MacDonald continues. "The reservation is really virgin territory. It has been left alone too long and development has gone up around the reservation, not on it."

Mr. MacDonald told the youths about a Navajo legend in which two young people saved the Indian nation by sowing the right seeds that would bear fruit. "Now we are asking you to bring back to the reservation those things which will now bear new fruit," he said. "You must bring back experience, knowledge, and service. We need you. The people need you, not just the Navajos, but all other Indian reservations."

The delegates to the conference could hardly be described as "rank-and-file" Indians; indeed, they well may be the Indian elite, for this was an "All Lamanite LDS Youth Conference." Lamanite is a Mormon word applied to all the descendants of the inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere before the arrival of the white man. Mormons believe the Indians, like the Jews, are God's chosen people. Mormon prophets have predicted that the Indian in the last days will "blossom as a rose" and will build a "New Jerusalem" in America before the Second Coming of Christ.

BELL BOTTOMS AND MINISKIRTS

The young Indians Mr. MacDonald spoke to were not wearing Western shirts, denim, cowboy boots, and gaudy colors. Most were dressed like whites, the boys in suits and ties and the girls in prim dresses, skirts, sweaters, and blouses. A few of the boys wore their hair long and sported bell-bottom trousers and other mod clothing. Some girls wore miniskirts. And many were students from Brigham Young University who already have committed themselves to return to their reservations as teachers, social workers, nurses, and even businessmen to help lift their people out of poverty.

There was little talk of "red power" or of "brown power" at the conference. Arturo Dehoyos from Brigham Young University, in a speech at one session, told why: "We are talking about 'gospel power' not 'red power,'" he said. "The power we seek emphasizes the brotherhood of man, not the differences between the races. 'Gospel power' builds up; the other kind destroys."

"I think the Navajo nation is going to rise up and be a great force in this country," says 18-year-old Lorraine Bileon of Teec-
Nos-Pos, Ariz., Mr. MacDonald's hometown. "I want to be a teacher and go back and work on the reservation."

Miss Bileon, like most of the youths attending the conference, is receiving her edu-

cation through the Mormon Church's "Indian Placement Program." Under this plan, some 5,000 Indians leave their reservations every fall and live with Mormon foster parents. They return to their reservations at the end of the school year. This way they receive an elementary and secondary education without cost to their own parents. Yet they do not lose touch with their own culture.

"The boarding-school system on the reservations is stagnant, a failure," says 27-year-old Wilfred Numkena, a Hopi Indian from Tuba City, Ariz. "Under the placement program we are able to gain new experiences. We learn how to interact with the world, how to communicate, how to be a part of it."

SUNTANS IN DRIVER'S SEATS

Mr. Numkena will receive a degree soon in education at Brigham Young. He plans to return to the reservation to work with his own people.

Robert Nakai, a student from Brigham Young and a Navajo from Gallup, N.M., summed up the Mormon point of view the last day of the conference at a meeting in the Tabernacle on Salt Lake City's Temple Square. "I am really happy to look down and see so many black heads and beautiful suntans," he said. "You are in the driver's seat, and you can run your world if you really want to. We have many promises, but if we don't perform, we will lose all of these blessings."

This new Indian militancy, it should be clearly understood, doesn't contemplate any quiet extermination of Indians by assimilation into the white population. Rather, Navajo Chieftain MacDonald and the youthful conferees are charting a course aimed at somehow allowing Indians to thrive in a white man's modern economy while maintaining their Indian identity.

That theme was heard again and again like a refrain during the conference meetings, seminars, and banquet speeches: "We are proud to be Indians," it ran. "A new day for the Indian people is at hand!"

RUMANIANS CELEBRATE

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 10, 1971

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, today, the 10th of May, is the traditional national holiday of the people of Rumania.

Historically, the day commemorated is that of May 10, 1866, when Prince Charles was proclaimed Prince of Rumania, establishing the modern Rumanian dynasty and the creation of the modern Rumanian state.

Exactly 11 years later, on May 10, 1877, the principality of Rumania proclaimed her independence from the Ottoman Empire and, in the battles that followed, the Rumanians secured their independence.

In continuation of the significance of the 10th of May, on that day in 1881 the kingdom of Rumania was proclaimed and the Rumanian people and the nation entered into an era of progress that marked the country except for the disruption of World War II.

As a result of President Nixon's visit to Rumania, the interest of our country in developments there has been accentuated. It is important, Mr. Speaker, that we keep in mind not only current events and present day politics on an occasion such as this, but that we also emphasize

the traditions, uniqueness, history, and spirit of the nation and its people on the occasion of a national independence day.

Anyone who knows the Rumanian people recognizes their determination to shape their own destiny and to have a truly free government of their own choice.

J. EDGAR HOOVER

HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 10, 1971

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to add my remarks in tribute today to the truly unique and great service of J. Edgar Hoover during the last half century. On the anniversary of his becoming the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation 47 years ago, I wish to express my thanks and best wishes to J. Edgar Hoover.

Our Nation certainly owes a great debt of gratitude to this man and to the organization which he brought into being and which is now far greater than any one man. It is, however, difficult to discuss the man without at the same time discussing the FBI which he directs. Should my remarks appear to be sometimes directed more toward the FBI and less toward its Director of 47 years, I am willing to give the Director a significant portion of the credit for the agency as well.

In a preface to the annual report on crime in the United States, J. Edgar Hoover makes the following statement:

The decade of the 1960's has seen many changes in society, both good and bad. Our Nation has experienced a number of significant advancements during recent years; however, unusual increases in crime and criminal behavior as documented in this publication have most certainly detracted from these improvements. Crime increases were not unique to the United States. They have occurred in most of the advanced nations of the world which publicly report crime statistics. The causes—social, human, and material—that contributed to these trends are beyond the immediate control of law enforcement agencies. The effect, however, placed new and increasing demands on the law enforcement profession requiring substantial changes in all phases of its activities.

May I remind detractors of Mr. Hoover that he is well aware of the many and varied causes of crime. As he states, these include social, human, and material aspects. As he also states, they are largely beyond the immediate control of the law enforcement agencies, and as he also states the law enforcement agencies must be constantly changing to remain effective. I might add that the living proof of the adaptability of the man and the Bureau which he has headed for 47 years lies in the mere fact that in a city and government of great change, this man has continually adjusted to a series of Presidents, Congresses, courts, and times. We can point to no greater success story in terms of adjusting to change.

I recently received a letter from a former FBI agent, Harvey G. Foster of Park

Ridge, Ill. This letter is forceful and sincere and I include it at this point in my remarks:

APRIL 16, 1971.

Hon. TOM RAILSBACK,
House of Representatives,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN RAILSBACK: I have become increasingly concerned with the spate of comments from columnists, Congressmen and others asking for J. Edgar Hoover's removal or retirement from the F.B.I. I spent 23 years in the F.B.I., the last 15 years in charge of various offices around the country. I chose to retire and am very happy with a very challenging second career.

I cite my career in the F.B.I. only because I want to comment, I hope authoritatively, about Mr. Hoover and the F.B.I.

I found Mr. Hoover the most dedicated public official I ever met. He lives for the F.B.I. and for the United States—these are his constant unflinching interests. I found him a superb administrator, a tough disciplinarian and something seldom mentioned, even quicker to recognize and reward outstanding service on the part of the F.B.I. employees.

He bent over backwards to assure that the F.B.I. investigations were impartial and objective and that everyone's personal and constitutional rights were to be considered inviolate. I think he personally is very responsible for leading law enforcement to an early recognition of the necessity for this. He is an able and an exceptional man who has chosen to devote all his energies to a governmental agency and who has made it an agency looked up to and respected by the public and by law enforcement around the world.

I see him criticized as being a publicity seeker for himself and his agency. Certainly he has sought to keep the F.B.I. before the American public, but this is because he was long ago astute enough to recognize that the F.B.I. would rise or fall as an investigative body depending on the confidence the public had in it.

A law enforcement agency is dependent on the public for the information it needs to pursue an investigation. If it were unknown or in discredit, its investigations would quickly reflect this.

I read that he should retire because of his age. I think this should be interpreted in the light of the man. I have seen no lessening of his mental powers and I personally feel that if there were he would be the first to retire. I am interested in efficiency in government as well as economy in government. Mr. Hoover could have retired at full pay some years ago, so actually we are getting his services for nothing. I can't imagine a greater bargain.

I read that he and his organization are suspected of tapping the telephones of some Congressmen. I know from experience that this is absolutely impossible. The F.B.I. scrupulously follows the U.S. Department of Justice regulations on this and there were none made without the express authority, not of Mr. Hoover, but of the Department of Justice for whom the F.B.I. is an investigative arm.

I read that he is not adjusting to the times. How can this be said when both he and his agency have steadily and most successfully adjusted with the times since 1924?

I read that he should have been grooming a successor. Who says he hasn't? But his successor, when that time comes, will be appointed by the President, the Attorney General, and by Congress. Does any one think they would necessarily select a person who had been publicly groomed as a successor? I doubt it.

In summation, I feel that I can attest that Mr. Hoover is an able executive, and administrator with few peers in Government, and

I would like to suggest that he is one of the greatest bargains in Government. I would hope that he would be permitted to continue to serve his country with his obvious dedication until such time as he steps down—and that he be supported in this endeavor partially as a reward for long and dedicated service, but more importantly, because in this day of permissiveness that in him we have a dedicated person of integrity in a most responsible position of trust, where permissiveness would be disastrous.

Most sincerely,

H. G. FOSTER.

Mr. Foster's letter is a forceful defense of and testimonial to J. Edgar Hoover. I am sure that many others would echo the same sentiments. I doubt if very many people in this country would ever attack the FBI on its record.

In the May 1, 1971, issue of the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, Mr. Hoover speaks out for those innocent victims of crime in this country. There are several who speak forcefully for the rights of the criminals and there are few who speak in behalf of the victims. Mr. Hoover does us all a service in speaking out for the victims. I include his message at this point in my remarks:

MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR TO ALL LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS

Question: Who speaks for the victims of crime in America?

Answer: Aside from the weak, muffled cries of the victims themselves, practically no one.

Are crime victims in the United States today the forgotten people of our time? Do they receive a full measure of justice? Is public welfare secondary to private privilege? These questions raise some troublesome issues.

Crime rates, based on the number of serious crimes per 100,000 inhabitants, show the incidence of crime to our population. More realistically, a crime rate could be considered a count of victims. During the 1960's, the crime rate increased 120 percent while our population rose 13 percent. Since 1960, each citizen's risk of becoming a victim of crime has more than doubled. Thus, the plight of the crime victim should be of paramount interest to every law-abiding person.

While many victims are specifically picked by their criminal assailants, others are "chance" targets, ill-fated in being at the wrong place at the wrong time. No one is immune. As a rule, when criminal violence strikes, any number of things may happen to the victim. He may be murdered. If not, he may receive serious injuries, sustain a sizable monetary loss, miss time from work, incur costly medical and hospital expenses, and suffer untold mental anguish. To some degree at least, his right to freedom and the pursuit of happiness is violated.

Meanwhile, if his assailant is apprehended and charged, the full power of our judicial processes ensues to protect his constitutional rights. This is well and good.

But, how about the victim? Frequently, the compassion he may receive from the investigating enforcement officers, his family, and friends is the only concern expressed in his behalf. Indeed, in some instances, the crime victim witnesses organized campaigns of propaganda to build sympathy for his guilty assailant, campaigns of lies and innuendoes which charge that the criminal, not the victim or the law-abiding public, is the one who has been "sinned against." The tragedy is that in some instances these false claims are repeated and publicized without question by various means, apparently for no reason other than that those doing so want

to believe the accusations. Consequently, the popular cause to legally protect the criminal is crowding his victim from beneath the dome of justice.

It has been said that, "Justice is the insurance we have on our lives and property, and obedience is the premium we pay for it." To my mind, too many Americans, victims of pampered criminals, are paying the premium without collecting the insurance.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER,
Director.

In addition to calling for and instituting constant change in updating law enforcement and in addition to serving as advocate for the innocent victims of crime, J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI have served as a prime investigator of civil rights cases in this Nation. During the last fiscal year reported, the volume of civil rights cases handled by the FBI under criminal statutes dealing with interference with constitutional rights reached an all time high of 5,933, up 14 percent over the previous year. In addition, the FBI handled 810 investigations under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 dealing with discrimination in employment, public schools, public facilities, and places of public accommodation. Also conducted were some 250 investigations of discrimination in housing which is prohibited by the Civil Rights Act of 1968. The FBI was instrumental in the arrest of James Earl Ray for the murder of Martin Luther King, Jr. Civil rights work called for the participation of an average of 1,974 agents each month during fiscal 1969.

In the area of organized crime, the FBI has intensified its drive against the criminal element and a record 319 convictions of hoodlum, gambling, and vice figures resulted for the fiscal year 1969. Another 1,027 individuals were awaiting prosecution as of February 1, 1970.

Fines, savings, and recoveries recorded in FBI-investigated cases increased nearly \$43 million during 1969, reaching a new all-time high total of \$345,832,583. This averages out to \$1.57 for each \$1 of FBI appropriated funds in 1969.

And the Bureau continued its preeminent position in providing training for law enforcement officers throughout the Nation. Graduates of the FBI National Academy now number 5,635, including 175 from 40 foreign countries. Some 28 percent of those still active in law enforcement occupy top executive positions in their agencies. Congress recently authorized an increase in the number of trainees at the academy and this will be a significant boon to providing modern and well-trained officers to all levels of law enforcement.

Mr. Speaker, J. Edgar Hoover is unique. There will never be another like him. He has remained above politics in a city in which politics is its own worst enemy. We can never expect any bureau chief to have a tenure nearly as long as the 47 great years of J. Edgar Hoover. Future Directors will find themselves subjected to immense political pressures and they will often ask themselves—"How did J. Edgar Hoover ever do it?" Only he can provide the answer, but we all can add the advice that "It sure wasn't easy."

So I am proud on this anniversary of his great service to salute J. Edgar Hoover for 47 years of service as Director of the FBI and I wish him the very best in the future. The entire Nation should be forever grateful and I am fortunate to have this opportunity to express my respect and gratitude.

RESTORATION OF FULL CITIZENSHIP FOR GEN. ROBERT E. LEE

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the National Observer on May 10 published an interesting article by Earle Dunford on the subject of the effort to win full citizenship rights, posthumously, for Gen. Robert E. Lee.

The article correctly points out that President Nixon has taken the position that restoration of full citizenship cannot be restored by Executive action.

This confirms my own view. From the outset, I have maintained that full justice to General Lee can be achieved only by congressional action. Accordingly, I have introduced Senate Joint Resolution 68, which would accomplish this purpose.

Senate Joint Resolution 68 is cosponsored by my colleague from Virginia (Mr. SPONG) and the Senator from Delaware (Mr. BOGGS). I hope that early action will be taken on the proposed legislation.

Mr. Dunford's article is a thorough review of the circumstances surrounding the Lee citizenship issue.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the article, "Virginians Trying To Rehabilitate Robert E. Lee," be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

VIRGINIANS TRYING TO REHABILITATE ROBERT E. LEE

(By Earle Dunford)

(I, Robert E. Lee, of Lexington, Virginia, do solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the Union of the States thereunder, and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all laws and proclamations which have been made during the existing rebellion with reference to the emancipation of slaves, so help me God.—R. E. Lee.)

There it lay, a document dated Oct. 2, 1865, under the astonished but discerning eye of a National Archives staffer in Washington, D.C. It was a document no one living had known existed, part of a historical mystery. It seemed to be the Confederate chieftain's oath of amnesty, required by Presidential decree before Southern leaders could be pardoned and restored to citizenship.

But Robert E. Lee was never pardoned. To obtain pardon, Confederate leaders were required to fill out and sign two Government

forms; one was an application for pardon and the other was an amnesty oath.

Other records show that Robert E. Lee filled out the pardon application and sent it to U. S. Grant, ignorant until months later of the additionally required amnesty oath. When he learned about that, he quickly appeared before a notary in Lexington, signed it, and sent it to Washington.

Then it disappeared until now. It was long supposed that General Lee wasn't pardoned mainly because he never had signed the amnesty oath. But if the newly discovered document, in mint condition, is genuine, then the mystery deepens about why General Lee was never "rehabilitated." Why the two required forms never got together in Washington is baffling. Could the missing document have been lost casually in some bureaucratic shuffle?

Whatever the true story about the document, its disappearance, and its reappearance after more than a century, Sen. Harry F. Byrd, Jr., of Virginia has introduced a joint resolution to restore General Lee's "full citizenship rights" posthumously. Senator Byrd's father, along with Sen. John F. Kennedy and Sen. Hubert Humphrey, introduced similar resolutions, but these always seemed to get lost in committees.

Rep. Joel Broyhill, a Republican, led the Virginia congressional delegation in a futile attempt to get President Nixon to do something for the general. The White House did some checking and said that the President would like very much to oblige, but that "our research reveals that on Dec. 25, 1868, President Andrew Johnson issued a proclamation which granted full pardon and amnesty unconditionally and without reservation to all persons who participated in the Civil War." The conclusion was that Mr. Nixon couldn't think of any way to go beyond what Andrew Johnson had already done.

Mr. Byrd credited an article by Elmer Oris Parker, assistant director of Old Military Records at the National Archives, with springing the news about the new document. The article appeared in the winter 1970 issue of Prologue, the journal of the National Archives.

Actually, even the pardon application went astray and is missing now. Its existence and the text of it are well known from other records. Mr. Parker states in his Prologue article that "Secretary of State William H. Seward gave Lee's application to a friend as a souvenir and his oath was evidently pigeonholed."

A number of official documents of this period somehow "escaped" Federal custody and are in possession of collectors. Occasionally, some are offered for sale. National Archivists hope that someday Robert E. Lee's pardon application will turn up so that it may at last join the newly found amnesty oath as it should have 100 years ago.

After General Lee's futile effort to obtain pardon, the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted making it necessary that a two-thirds majority of both Houses of Congress approve full citizenship for former Federal officers who had subsequently fought for the South.

A spokesman for Senator Byrd said earlier attempts to get Congress to pardon General Lee failed mainly because of apathy and, once, because some Southern historical groups feared irreverent Northerners and others might say disrespectful things about him during congressional consideration of the measure.

Whether the general's rehabilitation is imminent still isn't clear. But Southerners know why General Lee was never pardoned: "It was that damned Seward!" snaps an un-reconstructed Richmond newspaperman.

GENOCIDE BY TURKEY

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I was struck recently by the tragic connection between two articles I read concerning the country of Turkey.

The first, which I am sure many Members of this body also read, appeared in the Washington Post, April 24, 1971, and reported the previous day's demonstrations here by Armenians in memory of the more than 600,000 of their countrymen massacred by the Turks in 1915.

The second article, by William Schulz, appears in the May edition of the Reader's Digest and is entitled "Let's Halt Heroin at the Source." It records the attempts the United States has made to halt the heroin traffic into this country by appealing to the source of much of the problem—the Government of Turkey. This article records the obvious disinterest of the Turkish Government in taking any action to halt its production of opium which accounts for 80 percent of the heroin which eventually lands on these shores.

Mr. Speaker, 200,000 American addicts are literally killing themselves, and in many cases innocent others, because of heroin addiction. In addition, they are running up an annual crime bill that probably exceeds \$10 billion.

Just as the Turks of 1915 committed genocide on the 600,000 or more Armenians of that day, so too is the Turkish Government of 1971 committing genocide on hundreds of thousands of Americans through its callous refusal to close the opium fields which produce the raw material transported to Marseille, France, for refinement into the heroin that is smuggled into the United States.

The slaughter of the Armenians in Turkey in 1915 reportedly was the first example of genocide in modern times. Much of the cruelty inherent in that act is manifested today by the Turkish Government concerning the opium problem.

I believe this body should study this situation closely and then should re-examine our longstanding acceptance of the theory that Turkey is our ally.

We know Turkey is a component of NATO, and that in a world that increasingly seems hostile to the United States she always carries the label pro-American.

But of what value is an ally on the international level if our Nation itself is eaten away from within? And make no mistake, that is what the drug-related crime problem is doing to our once great cities. When it becomes too dangerous and disagreeable for the public in these cities, the public will desert them and the cities will die.

The tragedy of all this is that so much of it could be halted if the Government of Turkey would cooperate.

It should be emphasized that what we are asking would not be a body blow to the Turkish economy. This Nation's

Cabinet Committee on Heroin, headed by Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, discovered that legal exports of opium amount to less than one-third of 1 percent of Turkey's foreign trade.

This is a damning indictment of the Turkish Government since it indicates that the Government's uncooperativeness results from its desire to protect those who are engaged in the illegal export of opium.

Mr. Speaker, it is time for this body and this Government to reassess our view of Turkey. Unless immediate action is taken by the Turkish Government to halt the cold blooded opium traffic that is debilitating the United States and slaughtering our people, I can see no reason for continuing the charade that Turkey is our friend.

We in this Chamber can no longer afford to simply decry the drug problem. We must, at the very least, identify the opposition and then let that realization be reflected in our daily decisions on aid, trade, and other measures which affect that country.

Mr. Speaker, the depth of this problem and the intransigence of the Turkish Government are spelled out concisely in Mr. Schulz' article in the Reader's Digest. I am submitting it for the Record at this time, in the fervent hope that my colleagues will not only read it but also will give serious consideration to my suggestion that we begin to reassess our view of the Turkish Government. I am also submitting the Washington Post article on the Armenian demonstration of last month.

[From the Reader's Digest, May, 1971]

LET'S HALT HEROIN AT THE SOURCE

(By William Schulz)

(NOTE.—Eighty percent of the drug that is poisoning our cities originates in the poppy fields of Turkey. The Turkish government refuses to cut off the flow. Has the time come to re-appraise this ally?)

A 26-year-old Vietnam veteran lies fatally wounded in a New York gutter, the victim of knife-wielding addicts who needed money to buy heroin. Authorities report that half the city's crime is committed by desperate addicts who must finance habits that require as much as \$50,000 a year each.

In Philadelphia, the son of well-to-do parents dies of a heroin overdose. Five times as many Philadelphians are dying from drugs as from combat in Vietnam.

In Miami, police arrest a teenage pusher who makes \$80,000 a year peddling heroin and other drugs.

In crowded ghettos and affluent suburbs, in college towns and rural hamlets, the talcum-like powder called heroin is taking an awesome toll. Two hundred thousand American addicts are literally killing themselves; in the process, they are running up an annual crime bill that probably exceeds \$10 billion.

Behind the ruined lives and the soaring crime is the shocking fact that American addicts are fed by a valued ally: 80 percent of the nation's heroin originates in Turkey, a cornerstone of NATO, a loyal supporter of American foreign policy.

"Cut off the Turkish supply," President Nixon has said privately, "and you've gone a long way toward ending the drug crisis." But the "Turkish problem," as it is known gingerly in official Washington, has proved enormously frustrating. Despite the President's personal attention, despite extraordinary efforts at high-level negotiation, the deadly flow of Turkish heroin continues.

PRETTY POPPIES

For 2000 years the farmers of the desolate Anatolian Highlands of southwestern Turkey have eked out an existence by growing wheat, barley and opium. The seeds of the opium poppy are used in cooking; the stalks are fed to livestock. Adults swallow tiny bits of opium as a pain-killer and cold remedy. But there is no addiction.

The crop is planted in the fall. By spring, fields of beautiful poppies—white, blue and red—bloom throughout the region. A few weeks after the petals fall, the farmer makes an incision in the pod and "milks" the plant. A white substance—opium—seeps out and hardens. A day later, it is scraped off and rolled into sticky, malodorous balls.

Theoretically, the opium is to be sold only to Toprak, a monopoly of the Turkish government which supplies pharmaceutical houses throughout the world. There is little effort to police distribution, however, and much of the crop goes into illicit channels. American and Turkish officials know the names of the major opium brokers, but can do little. The dealers operate through front men and dummy corporations; insulated by aides and bodyguards, they never handle the stuff themselves.

Once collected, the opium is boiled down to an odorless morphine base, which reduces its bulk by 90 percent, and smuggled to Marseille, France. Some of its goes by sea, but in recent years most of it has moved overland by automobile. The cars, with hidden storage panels and false-bottom gas tanks, are generally driven through Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, to exit at the Italian or Austrian border. "It makes it impossible to tail them," says a weary U.S. agent. "The communists let them operate with impunity."

In Marseille, the morphine is delivered to Corsican gangsters, who maintain some dozen laboratories for converting it into heroin. From Marseille it is smuggled into the United States by international traffickers who supply the Cosa Nostra and other crime syndicates.

The profits of the trade are enormous. The kilo (2.2 pounds) of morphine base that sold for \$350 in Istanbul is worth ten times that once it is converted into heroin in Marseille. Smuggled into the United States, its wholesale price triples to \$10,000. Cut and re-cut, it will ultimately bring \$250,000 in street sales—more than 700 times the original price in Turkey.

DIPLOMATIC DEAD END

From the day he declared the White House, President Nixon declared war on drugs. A tough, onetime Assistant U.S. Attorney, Myles J. Ambrose, was appointed Commissioner of Customs, and the nation's first line of defense against major drug smugglers was beefed up. The budget of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs was doubled. And for the first time a U.S. President elevated narcotics to the highest foreign-policy level. A Cabinet committee on heroin, headed by Henry A. Kissinger, White House adviser on national-security affairs—and including representatives of the Central Intelligence Agency—was given one order: stop the flow of heroin.

Obviously, Turkey was the key to the problem. While opium can be grown in many areas of the world, an end to Turkish production would force illicit traffickers to spend years developing additional supply sources and setting up new routes to the United States. To their surprise, committee members learned that legal exports of opium amount to less than one third of one percent of Turkey's foreign trade. Turkey, clearly, could get out of the business with almost no economic distress.

President Nixon wrote a personal letter to Turkey's prime minister, Suleyman Demirel, reminding him that it was the United States that came to Turkey's rescue when the com-

munists threatened a takeover after World War II. Every bit as serious, said the President, was the threat now posed to the United States by Turkish heroin. This brought no action from Demirel.

Then the American ambassador at Ankara, William J. Handley, was instructed to approach Demirel with an extraordinary deal. The proposal: Turkey to announce an end to opium production; the spring-1970 crop to be plowed under; Demirel to be given \$5 million to compensate the growers.

Again, Demirel demurred. A native of Isparta province, in the heart of the opium country, he argued that his constituents "would call me an American lackey."

Demirel did agree to reduce the number of opium-growing provinces from nine to seven—and then to four in 1972. But American officials found little to cheer about. As the House crime committee noted: "To placate the United States, the Turkish government has merely weeded out the inefficient opium-producing areas." Indeed, Demirel's own government estimated that opium production would increase by 25 percent this year.*

DRASTIC MEASURES

Frustrated by its inability to move the Turks, the United States turned to the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs. There, John E. Ingersoll, director of the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, urged a drastic revision of international law to replace current "voluntary" drug controls with tough, enforceable standards. U.N. reaction was disappointing. Communist and neutral nations tend to shrug off drugs as a "U.S. problem," and attempts to amend international drug statutes are likely to take years.

"For the present," says a key Washington official, "it all comes down to Turkey." Thus discussions of the "Turkish problem" continue at the highest levels of government. Among other things, U.S. officials have discussed an economic embargo on Turkey or a cessation of all Turkish aid. Both moves have been rejected, at least for now, for fear they might bring down a seemingly pro-American government without ending opium production.

Turkey cannot afford to miscalculate the mood of the American people much longer. Late last year, the House of Representatives approved legislation giving the President power to cut off aid to any nation "not fully cooperating" with us in ending the international drug traffic. Supporters of the amendment made clear that it was aimed at Turkey.

As the months go by, as heroin continues to flood the nation, even more drastic measures are being considered—including re-evaluation of Turkey's very worth as an ally. "It is time to decide," says one government leader, "if the solution to our drug crisis does not outweigh the military and strategic benefits of our Turkish alliance. For, until she acts, Turkey must share the blame for the deaths of thousands of young Americans."

TURKS HERE PICKETED BY ARMENIANS

(By Paul Hodge)

Most of Washington's small community of Armenian-Americans turned out last night to demonstrate near the Turkish Embassy, in memory of the more than 600,000 Armenians massacred by the Turks in 1915.

More than 300 persons, including 2- and 3-year-olds with posters declaring "I am an Armenian," marched at the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and 24th Street NW during the rush-hour start of their four-hour demonstration.

* On March 12, 1971, Demirel was forced out of office by the Turkish military.

"Hitler asked 'who still talks about the extermination of the Armenians?' We do," said a poster carried by a young girl who speaks Armenian but has never visited the country that was divided between Russia and Turkey in 1920.

"The Turks still refuse to admit anything happened in 1915," said Mark Keshishian, a leading Oriental rug dealer here, who said he lost 35 members of his family and escaped himself only because he was out of the country at the time.

"It was the first genocide of modern time," said Mr. Keshishian, his words echoed in posters and leaflets handed to slowly passing motorists.

"About 1.5 or 2 million Armenians were murdered (historians estimate at least 600,000 died). There are hardly any left in Turkey today, maybe 30,000 in Istanbul and another 30,000 elsewhere. They are not officially persecuted . . . but unofficially, yes."

One of the elders of Washington's community of about 500-600 Armenians, Mr. Keshishian visited Turkey in 1959, following a visit to Russia the year before when he was met by then Premier Anastas Mikoyan, also Armenian-born.

"There about 4.5 million Armenians in Russia today, and they are treated very nicely," says Keshishian.

The closely-knit Armenian families here and around the country—"the whole city of Fresno, Calif., is Armenian . . . there must be 1.5 million Armenians in America," says Anne Atanosian, who carried a black wreath—are calling for Turkish admission of guilt and hopefully someday, to return to historic Armenian territories.

"It's like the Jews resettling in Israel," said one placard bearer, "The United States helped them and maintains their independence, and President Wilson promised us support." President Wilson, to whose house at 2340 S St. NW they also marched on their way past the Turkish Embassy, asked the United States to make Armenia a protected mandate territory.

Thousands of Americans are expected to protest at the United Nations in New York today, the anniversary of the beginning of the massacre in 1915, demanding that Turkey be punished under provisions of the genocide convention.

Here on Sunday, the ancient chants of the Armenian Orthodox liturgy will resound throughout Washington Cathedral at a special service commemorating the 1915 massacre.

Dean of the cathedral, the Very Rev. Francis B. Sayre Jr., and the Right Rev. Papken Varjabedian, pastor of St. Mary's Armenian Apostolic Church here, will conduct a combined commission service at 11 a.m. Bishop Varjabedian in announcing the services, said the cathedral is of special significance to Armenians because President Wilson is buried there.

THE POISONING OF THE WEST— PART II

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, in Vietnam we kill innocent people while conducting saturation bombings. When our Armed Forces defoliate, they use so much defoliant that they turn jungles into mud-holes and maim civilians.

Overzealous destruction of life can also be found in the United States, specifically in the Interior Department's Fish and

Wildlife Service predator control program.

Under the guise of protecting sheep and cattle ranches from predators, the Fish and Wildlife Service is wiping out large numbers of coyotes, mountain lions, bobcats, wolves, foxes, badgers, skunks, raccoons, beavers, opossums, and porcupines. I need not tell Senators of the importance of these animals to the balance of nature.

In the second of a series of articles published in *Sports Illustrated*, Jack Olsen discloses widespread violations of Federal poisoning regulations by Fish and Wildlife personnel. It is this kind of irresponsible action that causes the unwarranted deaths of precious wildlife.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Olsen's article be printed in the RECORD.

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

POISONING OF THE WEST: PART 2—A LITTLE BIT GOES A LONG WAY

(By Jack Olsen)

If the sincere conservationist is disturbed by the poison saturation of the American West by sheep ranchers, he may take some small comfort from the fact that such free-lance poisoning has been made illegal in a few states. Lamentably, the sheepmen's power remains so great, that hardly any of these antipoisoning laws are enforced, but at least they are on the books.

But what of the public poisoning Establishment, the official earth polluters, the men of the Wildlife Services division under the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, those dedicated public servants who preach about the wonders of wildlife and the wisdom of nature? To cite just one year—1963—these professional poisoners and trappers killed 90,000 coyotes, 300 mountain lions, 21,000 bobcats and lynx, 2,800 "red wolves," 800 bears, 24,000 foxes, 7,000 badgers, 19,000 skunks, 10,000 raccoons, 1,200 beavers, 7,600 opossums, 6,700 porcupines and 600 others. (These figures, no longer readily available to the general public, do not include many other animals that dined at poison stations and staggered away to die untabulated.) Were all these deaths necessary? Were they ecologically justified? Or were they part of a runaway killing program that years ago lost its scientific justification and now rushes on like an unbraked train? Dr. Alfred Etter, a distinguished naturalist, has studied the federal poisoning program more closely than anyone, and his conclusions are not very encouraging.

One wintery night Etter lost his dog to poison, probably the supertoxic 1080. The angered biologist immediately set about a one-man investigation of U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service poisoning policies in his own neighborhood, Pitkin County, Colo., which includes within its borders the popular resort of Aspen. His research turned up wholesale violations of almost every rule in the service's own book. "The infractions," Etter wrote later, "included placement of compound 1080 poison baits and cyanide guns on Bureau of Land Management and Forest Service lands without authorization, placement of guns on prime recreational land without notifying the owner, leaving of baits out over the summer season, failure to post warning signs, failure to keep accurate records and other equally serious offenses." Etter found that there was complete confusion within the Fish and Wildlife Service as to where its own poisons were located, and while his disclosures were being published in *Defenders of Wildlife News*, a hiker named Martin Carswell accidentally pulled a cyanide gun on Burnt Mountain near Aspen and escaped

death by a fraction of an inch. Evidence indicated the gun had been set by a Government trapper. The gun had not been authorized by the U.S. Forest Service, which controlled the land in the area.

Etter was also angered by the desultory Fish and Wildlife investigation into his dog's death, an investigation which only accidentally turned up the fact that Etter's own township was studded with 1080 stations and poisonous gadgetry despite its proximity to Aspen. One result had been the drastic reduction of the area's coyote population (not to mention the area's pet dog population) and, as a result, the proliferation of malnourished and stunted deer, some 600 of them on 3½ miles of overgrazed winter range. Coyote getters, with the dye markings of the Fish and Wildlife Service, seemed to be as common as mushrooms in the township, and strychnine drop baits were being sown like seed. Etter wrote, "In a single county, one or more infractions of 10 different Wildlife Services ground rules were identified. These infractions related to both summer and winter operations and involved two different poisoners, a subdistrict supervisor, a state supervisor and, indirectly, a regional inspector."

But far more significant than the individual infractions was the pattern unearthed in Etter's own backyard by a man who was himself a field representative of the Defenders of Wildlife and a longtime thorn in the side of poisoners. "If there is one area of the United States where we might expect Wildlife Services to be on its good behavior, it should be in Pitkin County, Colo.," Etter wrote. "There are two reasons: first, because it is one of the most important recreational areas of the entire nation, and second, because I make my office there, and one of my projects is to study the federal predator-control program. Wildlife Services is well aware of this fact. If the agency cannot control what happens in this county, then the chances are excellent that it cannot control any part of its western killing campaign."

Anyone who makes the most cursory study of the toxification of the American West soon becomes accustomed to the sight of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service's district field assistants (DFAs) sallying out on the attack every morning without the slightest regard for their own rules and regulations. But one also learns quickly that the rules and regulations of the service do not seem to have been intended seriously in the first place, that they exist largely for the purpose of camouflage and that DFAs and their supervisors honor them almost entirely in the breach.

Take, for example, the broadcasting of strychnine drop baits. Although strychnine kills less discriminantly than the fearsome 1080, the drop baits in which it is used are highly perishable in warm weather, making it a safer outdoor poison. But as though to counteract this safety factor, Government poisoners distribute strychnine drop baits everywhere. According to official records, over six million of the sugar-and-lard-coated pellets have been sown by Government trappers in the last 10 years. The baits are distributed by hand, by snowmobile, by pickup truck, by trail bike and by airplane. Along with the other millions of poison pills put out by private stockmen, they are annihilating animals and birds that were protected by natural conditions for thousands of decades. "When you spread strychnine across all that area in the winter, you might just as well forget wildlife," says a retired Government predator trapper, Charles Orlosky. "The only thing that'll survive is a few rodents in hibernation."

Characteristically, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service has elaborate rules about the use of strychnine baits, and it displays them at the drop of a complaint so that the public

may see how carefully such lethal agents are controlled. "Strychnine alkaloid tablets . . . must not be dropped from aircraft without the Regional Director's approval," the rules state. "Care must be taken to prevent exposure of perishable baits to domestic animals, pets, and beneficial wildlife. All perishable bait placements must be covered with cow chips, flat stones, or similar loose material, or placed in such a manner as to reduce hazards to nontarget species."

But Government trappers would go into paroxysms of laughter if they were asked when they last positioned a drop bait under a cow chip or a flat stone. "They ain't enough cow flops in the whole West to cover all the baits," says a retired DFA.

One of the reasons Charles Orlosky resigned from his job as Government trapper in western Colorado was the aerial seeding of strychnine. "One day they called me up and told me to make 5,000 drop baits," Orlosky recalls. "They said they were gonna drop 'em from an airplane on national forest land. So I told 'em to go to hell. I said it's against regulations and I'm not gonna do it. They said not to worry, there was nothing but coyotes where they were gonna make the drop. I had to laugh. I asked if they ever heard of birds? Why, the second that one of those paper sacks of baits hits the ground it opens up and throws the strychnine balls all over, and the birds pick 'em up and finish the job of scattering. They call this selective poisoning. I call it extermination."

Lately, the Fish and Wildlife Service has been carrying out its extensive drop baiting on a sub-rosa basis to avoid public criticism. There hasn't been a significant embarrassment since a predator-control agent named Vern Tuttle was loading 1,500 drop baits into an airplane and one fell on the ground. Before Tuttle could intervene, his own dog gulped the bait down and died. The story was later printed in a Colorado newspaper, to the chagrin of the Fish and Wildlife Service.

The accidental misplacement of baits could be tragedy enough, but even more serious is the attitude reflected all too clearly by the poisoning methods, namely that neither Government nor private poisoners have the slightest intention of following the rules.

A Montana state senator named Arnold Rieder decided to test this theory. He introduced legislation that superficially seemed absurd, for it simply required the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to obey its own regulations as a matter of state law. Immediately a bulletin went out from the Montana Wool Growers Association to all members: "Senator Rieder of Jefferson County has introduced Senate Bill 196, which places an unnecessary restriction on the use of poison for the control of predatory animals. We were unable to kill the bill in committee, and it has been reported out with a due pass label. Passage of this bill would greatly restrict the use of poison for coyote control and would prohibit it in some cases. The senate will vote on the bill soon, and we need the support of your senator to kill the bill. Would you please wire him immediately. . . ." Said an amazed Rieder when his bill lost: "It would only have required them to follow their own rules!" With the Wool Growers Association working against him, he was defeated in the next election.

Says Alfred Etter: "The average Government poisoner may start out obeying the rules but soon he is spending all his time with sheepmen, and hearing their gory tales, and he changes from a predator-control agent into a plain old-fashioned hunter. The hunting instinct takes over completely, and from then on all he wants to do is exterminate."

One irony is that DFAs and their supervisors talk of being overworked, but press their attentions with supreme dedication on even the most reluctant ranchers, ones who insist predators have a place and who encourage their survival. Some poisoners do not

hesitate to establish 1080 stations where they have neither sought nor received authorization, nor are they reluctant to lay out deadly baits in areas where sheep populations are nonexistent or negligible and predation all but unknown.

Every control meeting between poisoners and sheepmen begins and ends with the same admonition: "Be sure to keep the forest ranger and the public-land manager informed of your predator loss." Each time a district field assistant calls on a stockman, he reminds him of the need for statistics. The result of this monotonous reiteration is not surprising. The figures come in by the mile. Sheepmen, eager to publicize their troubles to the world, compile horrifying lists of losses, anticipated losses and possible losses. The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service feeds the statistics into its computers and works up its programs accordingly. The result is a galloping Parkinsonism that would drive a privately financed organization out of business within months. Every year the reported stock losses rise, the Wildlife Services budget climbs proportionately and the population of larger wild animals sinks to a new low. With each drop in the populations, there is an increase in the efficiency of the poisoners and of the devices they employ.

The researcher who attempts a study of predator-control statistics is asking for a massive headache. If ever figures seemed to be manipulated to produce predetermined results, it is the figures of the Wildlife Services. For years the statisticians of the poisoning Establishment furnished summary reports on the total numbers of "predators" killed annually, but a few years ago they abandoned this practice as poor public relations and began emphasizing their reports on "resource losses"—as compiled from figures provided by those old reliable, the stockmen and trappers. Says Small Game Supervisor Robert Tully of the Colorado Department of Game, Fish and Parks: "I never did like the federal reporting system in the first place. They used to report that they took so many bears, so many coyotes, so many foxes, and then they'd report 'others.' Well, we wanted to know what 'others' were. Were they pine martens? Fishers? Where were they killed, and under what circumstances? Now they've switched to nothing but livestock losses. There are political implications in this. They don't want the public to know how many bears and lions they are taking. I think this should be a standard part of their reporting, and part of the public record. People contact us and want to know how many coyotes and bears and lions Fish and Wildlife killed, and Fish and Wildlife won't tell us. We have to put pressure on them and demand the figures. But how good are the figures when we get them? Some of the Government trappers do additional trapping after hours. They are paid by private landowners to take additional animals. These aren't reported in any manner, either on their reports to their agency or to us. And I'm talking about animals like bears and lions that under the law must be reported to us. So you have to conclude that Fish and Wildlife statistics don't mean a whole lot."

Under the system of reporting resource losses, new heights of statistical comedy have been scaled. In Arizona, stockmen listed \$62,000 damage by predators in 1966 and \$63,000 in 1967. In response to fervent appeals for more and better statistics, they doubled these figures in 1968, turning in loss reports of \$126,000. In 1969 they more than doubled this new figure—to \$271,000. The state supervisor of Wildlife Services reacted predictably to this news of horrifying loss. Extreme problems call for extreme measures, and the supervisor took one: he authorized the spring-time use of 1080-baited carcasses for the first time in Arizona's history. Numerous studies of 1080 have warned against the use of this poison on summer ranges for predator con-

trol, because it kills many animals that would be hibernating in the winter. But apparently something had to be done about the stockmen's rising losses, and the supervisor sprang into action.

The situation brought to mind a statement by Charles Orlosky a few years earlier. "When I was trapping for the Government," Orlosky had said, "a lot of sportsman pressure built up over the trapping of bears. The sportsmen said we were taking too many, and so the service decided to show them how many bears were taking sheep. They sent out instructions to take out the stomach of every bear we trapped, tie it up, soak it in formaldehyde and send it into headquarters. My own boss, when he told me about this, said that I should be sure and put some wool in the stomach before I sealed it up. In that way there wouldn't be any doubt about what bears ate. They told trappers to do the same thing with coyotes. I couldn't go for that, so I never sent in any stomach at all. But it wasn't surprising that all the reports came out showing that a high percentage of bears and coyotes were killers. The fellows that were honest wouldn't send the stomachs in, and those stomachs that were sent in mostly had wool in them. They're still quoting those old figures today."

Armed with such deliberate distortions, spokesmen for the federal poisoning program seek larger budgets from a misled Congress, and the end result is fiscal irresponsibility on an imposing scale. In Colorado, the annual Wildlife Services kill dropped 20%, from 10,200 wild animals in 1967 to 8,200 wild animals in 1970, while the budget was rising by \$30,000. In 18 national forests in California, the value of sheep lost in 1962 was \$3,500 and the cost of federal predator-control programs a whopping \$90,000.

But the Wildlife Services does not deal exclusively in the extermination of predators; it also puts out tons of 1080-treated grain and other poisons to kill off the rodents that seem to be gaining the upper paw in the West. It is difficult to imagine a more fertile area for bureaucratitis than the rodent-predator cycle. As Constance Helmericks wrote in *Defenders of Wildlife News*: "The coyote-rodent cycle is perhaps the real mainstay of the extermination business. When properly exploited, this cycle can be exceedingly productive for a self-perpetuating bureaucracy. If you poison a great many coyotes this year, you sow your own harvest of lovely rodent and rabbit colonies for the next year, or soon thereafter."

U.S. Representative John Dingell of Michigan told a witness at a congressional inquiry: "You folks in the Interior Department have had some instances where you cleaned out the coyotes very thoroughly in the area and followed up the next year by being overrun with rodents and then had to conduct a fairly extensive rodent program to bring the population back into balance." By no means could instances cited by Dingell be considered exceptional. The West abounds in rangelands where rodents have moved into the ecological vacuum left by the annihilation of predators, and the Government poisoners are thus kept busy exterminating the rodents and thereby accidentally poisoning any furbearers that might wander back into the area. Nor is there anything new about this peculiar procedure. Seven years ago a committee of distinguished wildlife scientists appointed by Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall to examine the predator-control program observed, "It is curious that [Wildlife Services] will distribute great quantities of 1080-treated grain . . . in exactly the same areas where they take elaborate precautions in their predator-control program to protect carnivores other than the target species. . . . In many regions of the Western United States where there are no sheep and where coyote damage is negligible, the coyote nevertheless

has been essentially extirpated from treated areas as a secondary result of rodent-control programs. In addition to coyotes and badgers, uncounted numbers of bears, foxes, raccoons, skunks, opossums, eagles, hawks, owls and vultures are exposed to possible secondary poisoning in these programs."

Carried away by the vigorous poisoning operations, DFAs and their programmers seem to lose their perspective about the delicate checks and balances of nature and they settle down to the single-minded task of killing predators, any predators, all predators, all predators, without the slightest regard for the total biological picture.

"Not long ago," Dr. Etter recently wrote, "I found a line of coyote guns along a fence line drifted with sand blown from an adjacent field of watermelons. In these drifts the kangaroo rats had found the habitat they desired. The coyotes thrived on the rats, and the poisoners thrived on the coyotes while justifying their scheme by claiming to protect the watermelons from the coyotes. Meanwhile the watermelons lay rotting in the field, being largely unharvested because of their small size. The official report of this campaign would no doubt read: 'Coyotes are attacking melons and causing serious losses.'" Etter also wrote: "One of the most distressing evidences of Wildlife Services' lack of sensitivity to the environment is its continued operation in areas where land has been heavily overgrazed and eroded. Countless observations have been made throughout the Western states of this unfortunate practice. These lands should not have livestock on them, much less poison. For example, foxes are killed in large numbers on ruined sandy lands in West Texas and New Mexico where rodents abound and where livestock search vainly for feed. While the federal control program spends money to perpetuate a ruinous agriculture, ranching losses are used as a tax deduction from vast income from oil and gas derived from the same property." Sometimes, it seems, only the taxpayer loses, only the environment suffers.

To perpetuate such programs and justify their high budgets and sprawling hierarchy of personnel, Wildlife Services spends some of its annual \$7 million budget on public relations, on newsletters and on publications aimed at exposing the predator menace. But the best public-relations agent in the poisoning business—as in almost any business—is the man in the field, the DFA who meets the public and solves problems and gets the midnight telephone calls from customers. These Government poisoners have a product to sell, and a large proportion of their working and nonworking hours are spent selling it, to the dismay of conservationists.

"There is no justification for promotion of predator control by federal employees, least of all those who depend upon this activity for their support," Alfred Etter testified before a U.S. Congressional hearing in 1966. "The demands already exceed the needs."

The five scientists of the U.S. Department of the Interior's study committee came to the same conclusion.

"Too often [Wildlife Services] support and encourage control decisions without critical appraisal," their report noted. "At times they are known to solicit requests for control and to propagandize against predators as a basis for such solicitation."

Former Government Trapper Paul Maxwell put it forcefully: "Every damn one of those trappers is a Fuller Brush man selling poison. The whole predator-control operation is nothing but a sales pitch by the Federal Government to keep that bunch off the breadlines, to keep them out in the sunshine hunting and shooting and poisoning and enjoying themselves at the public expense."

Some would agree with Maxwell, but it is an oversimplification to indict the federal trappers personally. In many ways, their re-

actions are very human—and very American. They have thrown themselves into their work, and they have come to look on it as the most important task in the world. For the most part they are uncomplicated, outdoors-loving men. They are not conversant with ecological principles. They suffer from the same insecurities as the rest of us. They have mortgage payments to meet, children to put through school, old age to anticipate. Like many other Americans, they are struggling to get even, to get ahead, and then to stay ahead for good, and such an existence leaves little time for the study of subtle biological processes. There are too many coyotes to be killed, too many sheepmen to be placated and too many stockmen clear on the other side of the state who need to be sold on the program.

Thus the problem of the overmotivated poisoning proselytizer is not so much that he is intentionally engaged in a giant confidence game but that he has fallen for his own propaganda and is striving with the zeal of a missionary to bring others under his spell. Nonetheless, his missionary zeal and his enthusiastic drive are having deleterious effects on the environment. His insecurities are endangering future generations, both wild animal and human.

How long will the poisoners be permitted to rush blindly ahead? Until all the wild animals are gone? Or 75% of them? One recalls the comment of a Colorado Wildlife Conservation officer, Louis Vidakovich, who is watching the tragic performance from his front-row center seat: "There will be a day of reckoning. All that they are doing will collapse on them. I just hope there is some game left for us to manage."

ZANZIBAR: RACIAL SOLUTIONS PROVOKE COUNTERREVOLUTION

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, last November I had commented on the bizarre attempts of Sheik Karume, the leading commissar of Zanzibar, to abolish racial differences in his multiracial colony by forcing the daughters of Arabs to marry his black party chiefs. See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 116, part 28, page 38589, "Racial Solutions in Zanzibar."

Today we learn that the same Communist boss waved his ceremonial stick over 19 accused counterrevolutionaries on public exhibition at a May-day rally and ordered them to be shot for treason.

Apparently the Arab fathers of the kidnapped young women objected to their daughters being forced into white slavery.

Objection to forced race mixing is considered counterrevolutionary by Communists.

I insert a news clipping:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 10, 1971]

ZANZIBAR'S LEADER ANNOUNCES PLANS TO EXECUTE 19 ARRESTED IN COUP PLOT

ZANZIBAR.—Sheikh Abeid Karume told a cheering crowd of several thousand yesterday that 19 men who plotted to overthrow his revolutionary government would be shot for treason.

"There will be no pardon," he declared, brandishing his ceremonial stick over the 19 accused counter-revolutionaries who were paraded before the rally.

It was not immediately announced when the executions would be carried out.

At one stage armed troops had to force back part of the crowd, which surged toward the handcuffed group.

The crowd was told that the five ringleaders, all of Arab descent, left Zanzibar in 1964 when the centuries-old Arab Sultanate was overthrown in a bloody revolution which brought Sheikh Karume and his left-wing revolutionary council to power. An army officer told the rally that the 19 men—all Zanzibaris—were seized last September.

Sheikh Karume, who is also first vice president of Tanzania, earlier told a May-day rally that the plotters had been caught smuggling arms and ammunition into Zanzibar.

"THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF PRIVATE INSTITUTIONAL FINANCIAL GRANTS, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN STIMULATE ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE, INNOVATION, REFORM, AND DIVERSITY"

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, one of our most urgent national challenges is to determine how the Federal Government can most prudently and effectively act to sustain the diverse elements of higher education.

Recently, on April 22, last, Dr. Glenn W. Ferguson, the distinguished president of Clark University in Worcester, Mass., addressed himself to the solution of this challenge in testifying before the Educational Subcommittee of the U.S. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. At this point I wish to include the very timely and thought-provoking statement Dr. Ferguson presented to the subcommittee:

STATEMENT BY GLENN W. FERGUSON

President Nixon has suggested that the United States must provide "post secondary education for all who aspire to it." This is a commendable objective. The American people are supporting a higher level of education for more people than any society in history, and the projected requirement to place twelve million "aspiring" students in college by 1980, has become one of our basic national goals.

At the same time, twelve million Americans will not desire the same kind or level of higher education. The hallmark of American higher education has been diversity. As we realize the quantitative goal, we must nurture the qualitative attributes which are produced by pluralism and diversity.

Today, approximately one-third of our 2,200 colleges and universities are public institutions. They enroll more than sixty percent of the college students, and in another decade, they will enroll more than seventy percent. Each of seventy universities in America, predominantly public institutions, enrolls in excess of 20,000 students. Clearly, the trend is toward the large, public university, and current financial realities enhance the growth potential of the large and public combination.

While public universities are increasing enrollments, the multi-versity is under attack. Many contemporary students are "turned off" by the relatively de-humanized large university, and some are "searching for relevance" in smaller colleges or outside of

the educational system. Of equal importance, a significant percentage of faculty members are beginning to recognize that the multi-versity has failed generally to produce the cross-fertilization of ideas, the inner-disciplinary programs, and the academic innovation and reform which were anticipated.

The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Mr. Richardson, has stated that colleges and universities are "among the most inefficient institutions in the country". As a student of business and public administration, I challenge that statement. At the same time, I recognize that a degree of inefficiency, poor communication, and lack of relevance, which are associated with the multi-versity, has been made more acute by the nature of existing Federal aid programs.

In prior years, Federal funding of higher education has tended to endorse projects rather than institutions, fields of study rather than educational approaches, individual professors rather than outstanding institutional leadership, research rather than operating needs, and the growth of academic specialties rather than integrated academic programs.

When Federal funds were available to launch a new institute or academic unit, the multi-versity was prepared to add another academic feather. The results are manifest: academic excellence in narrow substantive fields, faculty withdrawal from student contact, and high-cost individual programs which cannot be maintained without extensive public subsidy.

To meet these criticisms, including the inefficiency which results from isolation, the multi-versity is attempting to decentralize without losing administrative control. In virtually every state, branches of the public universities are being established. In many cases, the branch units incorporate the alleged anachronisms of the multi-versity. There is only limited opportunity for innovation, curricular reform or close interaction between students and faculty. With low tuition levels and excessive enrollment pressures, the purposes of decentralization are being diffused.

As a nation, we are moving in the direction of endorsing the idea that financial circumstances should not be the pivotal factor in determining whether a student can pursue his education beyond high school. To make that concept a viable reality for our young people, we must also endorse the philosophy that higher education, in a variety of forms, will be available to each of them. The public university is prepared to cope with part of the problem, but the private university must also fulfill its responsibilities.

We are aware of the pressures placed on State legislatures to fund public higher education. We respect their efforts to respond, and we realize that because of financial realities, it is extremely difficult for state governments to allocate resources to private institutions. I suggest that the Federal Government review its priorities in an effort to sustain diverse elements of higher education. The small, private university needs help. It needs help now to meet the current demands for change. As qualified students have the opportunity, through financial support, to broaden their choice of schools, the private institution must be able to respond.

Traditionally, it has been the responsibility of the private school to innovate and to offer a broad range of academic programs. In recent years, both public and private colleges and universities have shared Federal dollars. Given current pressures, I am concerned that the Federal Government may minimize its commitment to the private institution.

If minimal diversity is to be maintained; if education, in its broadest sense is to be encouraged; if a significant percentage of

the projected twelve million college students are to be educated, as well as trained, and if academic standards of excellence are to be supported, the Federal Government must assume the leadership.

If Federal financial support continues, in the traditional format, the heterogeneity of American higher education will be in jeopardy. If the Federal Government does not provide a larger percentage of financial assistance to private institutions, rather than treating public and private colleges and universities in parity, the number and diversity of colleges will decline, the large will grow larger, and the remaining private colleges will become havens for the socially and financially elite.

Currently, most private colleges reflect curious mixtures of students from very affluent or from very impoverished circumstances. Unless institutional grants are awarded by the Federal Government, tuition will continue to rise, and students from middle-income families will disappear from private colleges. As costs increase, the private colleges will be unable to maintain the requisite student financial assistance levels for minority and other low income students. If this occurs, the private sphere will no longer offer the wide range of sizes, fields, standards, philosophies and reforms which must be preserved.

Given financial strictures, the Federal Government must consider a combination of institutional grants and direct loans and grants to the individual student; however, unless national higher educational priorities are established, the status quo will be unaffected. A recommended priority incorporates Federal support for private rather than public institutions. If aid were still based on total enrollment, the large private colleges would grow larger and the smaller private colleges would atrophy.

To obviate this development, the Federal Government might consider awarding a basic institutional grant to each accredited private college or university coupled with variable monetary increments reflecting national priorities. In the United States, all colleges and universities were not created equal, even though the Federal Government has treated them equally. At the national level, we should exercise judgment and attempt to assign financial values to stipulated educational objectives. For example, if we feel that the Ph.D. recipient will continue to experience placement difficulties, we may wish to award a financial bonus to those private institutions which introduce innovative professional programs, doctorates in more "relevant" fields, or unique terminal degrees stressing the teaching dimension. Several variables exist, and in each case, hard decisions would have to be made concerning the future objectives of higher education. Historically, the Federal Government has been reluctant to discharge this function.

Through the medium of private institutional financial grants, the Federal Government can stimulate academic excellence, innovation, reform, and diversity. In addition to reflecting present values, American higher education should continue to prepare some students for an unknown future.

LEST WE FORGET

HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, in a land of progress and prosperity, it is often easy to assume an "out of sight, out

of mind" attitude about matters which are not consistently brought to our attention. The fact exists that today more than 1,550 American servicemen are listed as prisoners or missing in Southeast Asia. The wives, children, and parents of these men have not forgotten and I would hope that my colleagues in Congress and our countrymen across America will not neglect the fact that all men are not free for as long as one of our number is enslaved. I insert the name of one of the missing.

Major James Sheppard Morgan, U.S. Air Force, XXXXXXXX, El Dorado, Arkansas. Married and the father of four children. The son of Mrs. Harriett P. Morgan and the late David A. Morgan, El Dorado, Arkansas. Officially listed as missing November 10, 1967. As of today, Maj. Morgan has been missing in action in Southeast Asia for 1,277 days.

DENTON, TEX.

HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. PURCELL, Mr. Speaker, outstanding examples of community spirit and diligence are often found wanting in these days of troubled cities. Many urban areas, once the hope of solid investments, are now merely bedroom communities—stagnant havens for Americans wearied by unimaginative jobs and surroundings.

I have come to recognize a city in my district, however, as an exception to that blighted picture. I firmly believe Denton, Tex., is one of those outstanding examples of community spirit and diligence.

Today Denton is a progressive north Texas economic and cultural center. The home of two fine universities, one of them the alma mater of Miss America—a Denton girl herself, this city has consistently shown the way in civic and economic development. Now 50 percent larger than in 1960, Denton is not looking upon the increase as a burden. Rather, the city now has greater capabilities.

An example of the spirit which is the backbone of this truly unusual Texas city is the development of its business sector. The Denton Chamber of Commerce is no store front operation. Like the citizens of Denton, it is an aggressive and dynamic institution.

Glancing through the Denton Record Chronicle of April 25, I came across an article which suggests that spirit. As well as boasting of companies such as Loadcraft, Inc., Victor Equipment Co., and several strong banks such as the 1st State Bank, Denton is the home of an insurance company.

I am inserting the article in the Record in an effort to share the pride which I have personally developed in Denton and her business community.

[From the Denton Record Chronicle, Apr. 25, 1971]

LIFETIME SECURITY CONTINUES GROWTH
Charles "Boe" Adams, president of Lifetime Security Life Insurance Company, reports that the company continues to grow beyond expectations. Through April 15, Lifetime Se-

curity had over \$250,000,000 of insurance in force.

Lifetime Security, which has been operating only in Texas, has current plans to expand their operations into more than 20 states. Contracts to purchase two additional companies have been signed.

Adams said he believed Lifetime Security to be one of the most dynamic, progressive organizations in the insurance industry today.

"Lifetime Security Life Insurance Company's record of rapid growth is evidence enough of the reliable insurance service offered to the general public. Lifetime Security has clearly lived up to its philosophy of providing quality insurance protection at a reasonable cost with prompt efficient handling of all claims," he said.

PULITZER PRIZE TO BILL CALDWELL

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, on May 3, the leadership of the journalism profession noted what Bergen County has known all along. Bill Caldwell is a kind of genius journalist.

William A. Caldwell, associate editor of the Record has won the 1971 Pulitzer Prize in the commentary category for the daily column he has written for more than 40 years.

That is how his newspaper, the Record of Hackensack, N.J., called it in a lead story last week. One of his colleagues calculated that Bill has written 40,000 columns and described each as typed precisely 85 inches long on a single sheet of paper, free of erasures, strikeouts or strikeouts.

This exacting approach to composition typifies the carefulness and accuracy Bill always brings to his columns.

Bill Caldwell is known for extracting general applications from local stories, and for that reason his columns have attracted wide readership. His writing style employs an extraordinary range of words and phrases, of which his colleagues note:

When any of us writes he's writing for Bill, with Bill in mind, with Bill's standards right there.

I would add that during my years in the New Jersey Assembly and the U.S. Congress, I have weighed problems with Bill Caldwell's standards in mind.

Assembled here are a few stories, Mr. Speaker, that illustrate the life of this fine man and offer a view of his enormous talent:

A PULITZER TO CALDWELL

[From the Record, May 4, 1971]

(By George James)

William A. Caldwell, associate editor of the Record, has won the 1971 Pulitzer Prize in the commentary category for the daily column he has written for more than 40 years.

Although the 64-year-old writer-editor and the Record have won many state and national awards, it is the first time any staff member has won the most prestigious honor in journalism.

"It's the verdict of the profession. Since I respect the profession, I can't think of anything more I could want. It's like a certificate you exist," Caldwell said yesterday when reached by telephone at his summer cottage in Martha's Vineyard, Mass., where he is vacationing.

"It's just as well I'm not there," said Caldwell, a white-haired, barrel-chested six-footer who has often claimed he becomes uneasy when asked to make a speech. "I'd just burst out into tears."

Donald G. Borg, chairman and editor of The Record and Caldwell's friend through the years, said he couldn't be happier.

"I'm delighted that the Pulitzer Prize Committee and trustees have recognized what I knew a long time ago from working with him. We're all finally in agreement."

"Bill has been influencing New Jersey public opinion for more than 40 years. His style is fluent and persuasive. He can be indignant, jocular, appreciative, solemn, or funny. The end product is a column or editorial that will be helpful to the reader, and at the same time invite him to form his opinion."

Malcolm A. Borg, president of The Record, said the award is the highest accolade Caldwell could receive.

"It is certainly fitting for a man of Bill Caldwell's competence and intelligence to receive a tremendous award just eight months before reaching Age 65, an age he might consider his time to retire but which I and members of the staff hope he does not."

At the moment he received notice of the award from a fellow editor, Caldwell was painting a fireplace as part of a week-long effort to ready his vacation home for the summer season.

Asked if on winning the Pulitzer Prize he intended to suspend his housework and have some fun, he said: Don't separate the two. Work around the house is fun."

This concept of work and fun pervades his day at The Record.

Caldwell arrives for work each morning at 6:30 and leaves 11 hours later at 5:30 p.m.

Besides writing his column of general interest which appears six days a week, Caldwell supervises the editorial page staff, edits their editorials as well as writing his own, edits wire and local copy for the page opposite the editorial page, writes the headlines, and designates the art to illustrate the material.

He also finds time to chat with reporters who wander into his office to take issue with an editorial, gripe, or seek advice.

The 55th annual Pulitzer Prize comes at the zenith of a career at The Record that began in 1924, when at the age of 17, he worked for the paper as a sports stringer.

As in 1970, when the award for criticism or commentary was first established, the trustees gave two separate and coequal \$1,000 prizes in each category.

The criticism award was won by Harold C. Schonberg of The New York Times for his music criticism during 1970.

Caldwell's column, "Simeon Stylites," takes its name from a fifth century Syrian hermit who spent 35 years in meditation atop a pillar in the desert.

In a nominating letter Executive Editor Don Carter wrote that the column deals with local but universal topics for an audience that has come to appreciate good writing, sharp thinking, and provocative commentary.

"This modern Simeon . . . finds it difficult to dismiss anything as irrelevant," Carter wrote.

"(He) finds fallacy in our demands for more roads and schools and waste disposal plants, but not in 'our' backyards. He spots humor in the misery of being born a December child, music in the sunrise over Katama Bay, event merit in the left-footed attempts

of broadminded gents to agree with women's liberation."

Carter said, "He feels the thorns in a racist argument, deciphers what makes a vice-presidential speech divisive, pleads guilty, like most of us, to the gambling urge, and rediscovers the meaning and the message of the boy's first foul cigar."

Caldwell was born in Butler, Pa., Dec. 5, 1906. He grew up in Titusville, Pa., where his father was managing editor of the local paper.

His father moved the family to New Jersey and was Associated Press foreign news editor when he died at 44.

He left his widow with five minor children. Young Caldwell, a 14-year-old sophomore at Hasbrouck Heights High School, continued at high school and took odd jobs. One was pumping the organ at a local church, where he eventually worked his way up to be organist.

He was never to get to college but he is considered by his colleagues a learned man, widely read, philosophical, and sensitive to issues and language.

He is a trustee and former board chairman of William Paterson College, Wayne. He was awarded an honorary LL.D. by Rutgers last June.

Organizations for which he has given his time include the American Cancer Society, the Bergen County Grand Jurors Association, the New Jersey Press Association, the Tuberculosis and Health Association, the Bergen County Medical Society, Americans for Democratic Action (he was a founding member of the New Jersey Branch, and the American Civil Liberties Union.

HOBBIES

He was elected to the Board of Directors of the Bergen Evening Record Corporation Jan. 27, the same day Malcolm Borg became president of the corporation. Caldwell is secretary of the corporation.

For the record, he lists his hobbies as "piano, writing, drawing, boats, fishing if it's fishing, conversation if it's conversation, cooking, Martha's Vineyard."

His younger brother, Robert, assistant editor of The Record, has written of him, "When Bill came to The Record he was the youngest man on the staff. He still is."

He and his wife live in Ridgewood. They have two daughters and a son.

Caldwell, in discussing editorial and column writing, once wrote:

"As a poet's struggle with his rhyme scheme shapes his thought and compels him to reconsider it and reshape it, so any writer's evolution of a sentence across the face of the page refines his language, dictates the flow of the sentence next emerging, and leads sometimes to the happy accident that is a sentence he knows no man could very much improve.

"You write an editorial the way you write a poem or an epitaph or a novel or a love letter, so that when it is done you know in your gut you did the best you can and can settle for that.

"As for a column, the same principle applies, I guess, although there are so many kinds of columns that nothing anybody says could be true of them all.

"My own theory, born I suspect of desperation, is that if the subject interests me it'll be interesting to someone else—plus the somewhat arrogant assumption that my opinion, within the limited framework of my intellectual competence, may be sufficiently bizarre or vehement or sympathetic to justify the use of the newsprint and the reader's time. I guess it should be added that any effective humor depends on the writer's deadly seriousness.

"I hope it is understood that all this has to do with the way I work. It is not a formula for success, because I don't know what success in writing is."

He also has written that he tries never to end a piece of writing with a quote.

[From the Record, May 4, 1971]

DECEMBER'S CASTAWAYS

NOTE.—This is one of the columns for which William A. Caldwell was awarded the Pulitzer Prize this week. Several other award-winning columns will be reprinted.

(By William A. Caldwell)

I have no clear recollection of the event, but the first of many unforeseen calamities in my life occurred Dec. 5, 1906, in Butler, Pa. I was born.

The pickle into which a December baby gets by letting that happen to him is peculiar and, I have been persuaded, embittering. Except for a relatively few persons who appear to have been generated in the form of mildew on the walls of damp cellars, everyone gets born. But only 8.333 . . . per cent of us have our birthday so close to Christmas that, instead of being a revenue-producing asset, it is a bleak embarrassment.

For the other 91.666 . . . per cent a birthday is when the family forgathers from miles around to indulge in drink and gluttony and insane laughter. The table is festive. Best clothes are worn. In the living room the birthday celebrant presides over the submission of the loot, piece by glittering piece.

"Oh dear, this is much too much," says the child of March or August or November—correctly, by the way.

"Oh, but birthdays come but once a year," oozes Aunt Molly. "Come over here and let your auntie kiss you."

The December child stands in the doorway examining this repellent scene and understanding how oppressed minorities feel. He knows what will happen on his birthday. Everybody will be too much fatigued by the holiday gadding to come to his party, or will be preparing to be all fagged out, and besides there won't be any party. Since everyone is watching his diet at this time of year, cake is an indulgence that should be resisted, and one does grow so tired of turkey!

The small remembrance is in a small, flat, square box. The other kids get Maseratis and Winchester .22s and motorboats and hip boots. December's child will never run out of handkerchiefs.

As a December child named Love was complaining not long ago in one of the Washington papers, this, like any other discrimination based on the accident of birth, is especially hard to bear. Mr. Love worked himself into a fine lather of indignation. I found myself reading the piece with a curious sense of detachment.

A little while before my birthday the bride had been crayoning holiday engagements into the squares on the kitchen calendar.

"You have a birthday coming up," she said. "Or would you just as soon forget it? For two bits I won't tell anyone."

For it? What else, I snarled, have people been doing all my life? I do a passable imitation of my aunt with the adenoids.

"Your birthday does come so close to Christmas, William," I said, "that your uncle and I thought you'd rather we saved a real surprise for you until then."

"I wish to peace I'd known you feel so deeply about it," she said. "But now that I know, we're going to do something about it. What would you like for your birthday?"

"Nothing," I said. "If you must know, I'm down to my last three dozen handkerchiefs."

She handles children sympathetically. "If you had to wish for something or be sentenced to another year as chairman of the board of trustees," she said, "what would you wish for?"

There have been Decembers when I'd have known what to say: a sled with steel runners, an electric train, a BB gun, a pair of football shoes, a deerskin jacket, counter-

point lessons of all things, ice skates, a basset hound, a sailfish, a bicycle, a little printing press and a font of 12-point italic type . . .

She was waiting.

Abruptly, on the eve of my birthday, I had run out of things to want. The goods and gadgets I had yearned for as a kid and had begrudged not getting were irrelevant. I have clothes enough to last me a lifetime though I live to be 200, and as for things to do there's a piano that could keep me busy practicing cheerfully four hours a day at least, plus, although it is old and its lower-case characters are clogged, a typewriter that works quite well enough to keep pace with my brain.

This is not to imply that my cup runneth over. The world is a mess, a dangerous mess, and the air is fouled and there is all around us and anxiety—a combination of tension and envy and smoldering anger and hate—that is becoming diagnosable illness.

But nobody can knit you or run down to the store and buy in a package the cure for things like these, and no kinfolk can chip in and present to a man that whose name he dares scarcely to say even to himself: that, knowing what he does now, he could go back and be again a kid of 25 or 30 or maybe 45. He would like to be wiser, leaner, more patient, less lazy, better read, braver, more honest and at the same time more lenient toward the people around him . . .

She was waiting.

"Look," I said, "My birthday comes so close to Christmas, why don't you save a real surprise for me till then?"

[From the Record, May 4, 1971]

WE KNEW IT ALL THE TIME

In any other first week of May in the past 42 years Bill Caldwell would have been at his typewriter in the office here beating out his Simeon Stylites with the conscientious care he's made a habit. Yesterday when word came of his Pulitzer Prize he was away on his first springtime vacation, and there was something wonderfully appropriate about it. A wave of applause broke across the office, and newspapermen who thought they were case-hardened found themselves congratulating each other as if each had himself been the winner. Bill wasn't here, except he was—as he always is.

Because when any of us writes well he's writing for Bill, with Bill in mind, with Bill's standards right there. That means that the writer demands the best he can do on this particular writing assignment; the right message, of course, but the right word scrupulously chosen, the right organization of the material, the right cadence. He's taught us how one must sit at the typewriter and bleed; someone may do you the honor to read this, and you'd better be up to that reader's standards.

A famous prize like the Pulitzer is simply an affirmation. It is not to minimize the prize to note that a significant public in The Record's circulation area has known about William A. Caldwell for a long time. He had to go to work early when his father died young; he never got to college; there's some doubt that he even got his diploma from high school. He came to The Record first in 1924 as a sports reporter, and he decided way back then to make his ignorance an asset. He knew how much he didn't know, and he has spent his adult life trying to fill in the holes. That accounts for the breadth of his columns, the multiplicity of subjects he treats, and the warm sympathy with which he perceives the world and the world's people.

And for a purely professional aside, his column is only one aspect of his excellence. He's out of town and can't edit or write the editorials as he usually does; so we can say that he selects, illustrates, headlines, and edits the material on this page and the

one opposite. He does more work than any of us, he does it better than any of us could have imagined until he showed us how easy it was. Only it wasn't.

It's a privilege working with him.

[From the Record, May 4, 1971]

A LEGEND TO ALL

(By Mark A. Stuart)

(NOTE.—Mark A. Stuart works for Bill Caldwell as an editorial writer. He's been a newspaperman for 25 years.)

Bill Caldwell is the most complete reporter and self-effacing legend I know. When I tell reporters who've never worked with him only half the truth I know about this man, they don't believe me.

The sheer amount of work of which he is capable is staggering. Every morning, six days a week, he writes three or more editorials. Every afternoon, six days a week, he turns out a column.

That's 12,000 columns in the past 40 years, give or take a dozen. Each is faultlessly typed on a long sheet of paper. Each is exactly 85 lines long—not 86, not 84. There are no erasures, no overtyping to x-out a word.

The prose is as clean, as logical, as vivid, as biting, as mind-expanding as if he had spent a week honing each essay.

Every day Bill Caldwell sits at his desk in the corner office on the fourth floor. Before him are a container of sharpened pencils, a huge penknife, several pipes, tobacco, matches, and a few neatly placed sheets of information.

He looks out the window at the courthouse dome in the distance, at the parking lot below, bends to his machine, and starts typing. The words stream out, line after steady line; and the world intrudes on 150 River St., Hackensack.

Bill Caldwell, his brother Bob is fond of saying, was a sage at 17. It was easy.

"All he had to do," said Bob, "was learn to write beautifully by the time he was 15, and along with it learn that you'll never write as well as you ought to, and at the same time learn to be a crack player in football and baseball, be a pianist, an organist."

Bill Caldwell is a great editor who would rather be a reporter than anything else he knows. Out in Chicago at the Democratic party convention in 1968 he had two men with him, each less than half his age.

He left them panting. As they were ready to drop, he was off and running to see for himself what was happening. His copy flowed into the office crisp, complete, colorful, and on time—always on time.

He's tuned in. At 64 he is a companion the young would rather be with than some of their contemporaries. He appreciates. He encourages. He always has time for others. After those three editorials—or more—and the column and the editing and the copy-reading, there's always time for a chat, for a story, for advice to a young colleague.

They like to say all this was self-taught. He taught himself to play the piano and the organ, to read music, to cook like Escoffier, to play a major league brand of baseball and football.

Bill Caldwell was forced to leave school at 14 when his father, a newspaperman, died. But he never stopped devouring an education. He's read everything including Dr. Elliot's five-foot shelf. He leads a group of homegrown philosophers calling themselves "The Wranglers" whose diet is the Great Books, or Ovid, or the Mets, or anything anyone that week has decided he'd like to be a nut on.

[From the Herald-News, May 4, 1971]

BILL CALDWELL WRITES WAY TO PULITZER PRIZE

HACKENSACK.—Bill Caldwell was vacationing at Martha's Vineyard when he got the news that his columns had won him a Pulit-

zer Prize. For the first time in his career, he used a platitude.

"It's just short of a state of shock," he said.

For 47 years, William Anthony Caldwell has been putting his thoughts on paper for *The Record of Hackensack*. He's worked in the sports department, the women's page, the city desk, and most of all on the editorial page, which he still comes to work at 6:30 a.m. to edit.

For the past 41 years, he also put his thoughts and a plethora of words nobody else knew existed to work for "Simeon Stylites" a column of observations on anything from the war in Vietnam to the financial problems of the high school newspaper in his home town of Ridgewood.

His knowledge comes from reading, and reading, and more reading; and was developed without the college education that his family couldn't afford after his father died while Bill was still in high school.

"The first law," says Bill Caldwell, "is that you're interested. There isn't anything that isn't interesting. Indifference is the cruelest thing that can happen to a writer."

The end product is usually written at the tag end—"two or 2:30 p.m.—of a day that includes editing, editorial writing and general supervising.

"If it's good," he says of the column, "it takes me a little over an hour. If I have to drag it out, it's two or two and a half."

The result usually mixes a personal philosophy with some of history's better minds.

He's won one other major award, a Silurian. "I just sat down and got rid of all my feeling about Barry Goldwater."

His unique writing style—"I guess they'd be able to find me pretty easily if I ever wrote a ransom note."—is, according to Caldwell, "just one of those things that happens." As a boy, he was constantly exposed to words from his father, an Associated Press editor, and his mother, a teacher. His younger brother, Bob, is now an assistant editor of *The Record*.

Caldwell grew up in Hasbrouck Heights and lives now in Ridgewood with his wife, his daughters, Alix and Toni, and a son, William Alexander Caldwell. "His middle name is Alexander, so he won't even stand for a junior, or 'the second' or anything like that," says William Anthony Caldwell.

Every so often, Bill Caldwell finds himself apologizing for his lack of a college degree, particularly with one of his outside activities. "Yes," he says. "It's one of the things that embarrasses me about being on the board of William Paterson College."

SOVIET JEWS RELIEF ACT OF 1971

HON. HAMILTON FISH, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, today I am joining in cosponsoring a bill introduced by my colleague, EDWARD L. KOCH, which I consider to be a highly important, humanitarian piece of legislation.

This legislation, entitled the Soviet Jews Relief Act of 1971, would authorize 30,000 special visas outside the regular immigration quota system for Soviet Jews who are permitted to leave the Soviet Union and who may wish to come to this country. I not only entirely support the humane philosophy of this bill, but congratulate Mr. KOCH on its introduction.

This legislation is in the great tradition of this Nation as a haven of refuge for the oppressed from many lands. The proposed bill is a direct linear descendant of special legislation passed by Congress which permitted over 30,000 Hungarian refugees to settle here after the suppression of their 1956 revolt. Similarly since 1968, over 10,000 Czechoslovakian refugees have been assisted in coming to the United States, while over the past decade more than 565,000 Cubans have made the United States their new home through exemptions in the immigration laws. This bill would extend the same consideration to Russian Jews.

Even though I am fully aware that Soviet Jews may be prevented by Soviet restrictions on emigration from availing themselves of these 30,000 special visas, I believe enactment of this bill would serve the dual purpose of letting the leaders of the Soviet Union know the American people disapprove of their repressive tactics toward their proud Jewish minority. Its passage will also proclaim not only to the Jews of Russia, but to the oppressed of all Nations, that America and the freedoms which have made this Nation great, still exist.

In a very real sense, passage of this legislation would serve as a challenge to the Soviet Union to throw wide their doors to allow those Soviet Jews who wish to leave to do so. Of course, many of these people, should they be permitted to go, would immigrate to Israel, the very existence of which has fired their imaginations and stimulated in large part the present drive to leave the Soviet Union. But this consideration should not be used as an argument against this proposed legislation.

Through positive action on the Soviet Relief Act of 1971, Congress could influence, I believe, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Austria, as well as other nations outside the Soviet bloc to enact similar legislation. We know from experience that the Soviet Union is sensitive to charges of mistreatment of their Jewish minority, and such a worldwide movement would have particular value in imposing yet another pressure on them to allow free emigration of those Jews wishing to leave that country. Such pressure is clearly needed if the U.S.S.R. is to be encouraged through world opinion to live up to the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article XIII, which confirms the concept of emigration as a basic human right, and which is supported in principle by Russia.

I do not need to outline to this body the long history of U.S.S.R.'s efforts to blend its 3.5 million Jews into the general culture of the various Russian states. But 50 years after the Russian revolution, and 35 years after the last period when Jewish education and study was permitted, it seemed quite logical that Jewish youth, without access to synagogues, reading no Jewish books, and having no Jewish cultural life would become less and less Jewish and gradually would be assimilated into Russian society.

Surprisingly, quite the reverse has happened. Instead of losing their identity as Jews, many of the young people

proclaim it proudly. Probably the most important single factor in the development of this proud racial and national identity has been the development of a free Israel since 1948. For there was a state and a people with which they could identify. A state where their religion was practiced, their books read, their traditions preserved, the richness of their cultural heritage known. This knowledge has led to the mounting drive by Soviet Jews to emigrate.

How large this Jewish drive to emigrate may be, no one knows, as requests for emigration visas have increasingly become the cause of prosecution and persecution by Soviet governmental agencies. In addition to job loss, demotion or other subtle forms of persecution, some Jews who have asked to leave Russia have gone not to Israel, but to Soviet prisons. Yet in spite of this, the wave of emigration requests by Jews to leave the U.S.S.R. continues and increases. To date, only a minute trickle has been granted permission to join families in Israel or other countries, among the tens of thousands of applications which have been refused.

Given the steady growth of militant Judaism and militant Zionism in the Soviet Union, and the tensions they cause, and given the increasing pressures to emigrate, it would seem reasonable to believe that with enough pressure from world opinion, the Soviet Government could in the foreseeable future decide to allow an ever-increasing number of Jews to emigrate. Should this occur, this Nation must be ready to receive those who wish to come to this country. For now is the time for us to make such plans, in contrast to the neglect of the Jews by mankind 30 years ago, when so many countries, including the United States refused sanctuary to many of those Jews who escaped or would have been permitted to leave Nazi Germany through negotiations had such special visas been available.

This is particularly important at this point in history as the special refugee quota of 10,200 visas available under present law for refugees from the Eastern Hemisphere has been oversubscribed for the past 2 years, and would not meet the need if the Soviet Union were to open her doors to emigration even on a modest scale.

Mr. Speaker, for all these reasons, I am proud to become a cosponsor of the Soviet Jews Relief Act of 1971, and urge its speedy enactment into law.

DIAMOND ANNIVERSARY

HON. PHILIP E. RUPPE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. RUPPE. Mr. Speaker, I have the honor of acknowledging the "Diamond Anniversary" of the Michigan Optometric Association. The State convention meeting May 30-June 3 on Mackinac Island in my district, is to commemorate 75 years as a professional association

and as a principal provider of professional services.

The evolution of the Michigan Optometric Association since 1896 clearly illustrates the high degree of initiative, foresight, and professionalism of the optometric practice itself.

The Michigan Association was founded on September 10, 1896, in the city of Grand Rapids. Dr. A. J. Shellman was elected the first president and Dr. Ernest Elmer, secretary-treasurer. Founding of the organization preceded the first Michigan optometric State licensing law by 13 years.

The first decade of the 20th century was truly a remarkable one for optometry. In 1909, passage of the State's first optometry law required 1 year's attendance at a recognized optometric school or 2 year's apprenticeship under a registered optometrist. Today, all optometric colleges require 4 years of professional study after 2 years of pre-optometry.

Later that same year, the first Board of Examiners in Optometry was established, consisting of Drs. Elmer, B. W. Hardy, A. Altenberg, A. Kludt, and P. Scholler. This board proved to be the precursor of present-day registration, certification, and regulation of practitioners.

As technology advanced and the profession evolved, the organization's name was changed in 1904 to the Michigan Society of Optometrists, and on September 23, 1945, to the Michigan Optometric Association which it has remained to the present time.

Subsequent decades saw research and development in such areas of optometry as examinations for pathological diseases and other specialized services including child care, vision care for the aging, aid to the partially sighted, vision and highway safety, and occupational vision. These advancements led to a vastly improved and highly efficient program of vision care to the extent that, as is true in my own district of 415,000 people, over 70 percent of all vision care in the United States today is provided by the optometric professional.

I am delighted to have the opportunity to honor the association's diamond anniversary, the men who steered its development, and the dedicated vision care professionals who serve the public. The association is not only a tribute to the optometric profession, but also to the State of Michigan.

EMOTIONAL JOURNALISM

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. DON CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, several months ago an article appeared in the San Francisco Chronicle written by Mr. Arthur Hoppe entitled "To Root Against Your Country." In my judgment, the article was an irrational appeal to emotionalism and, regrettably, it seemed to hit its target. However, recently an

answer to Mr. Hoppe was brought to my attention, written by the Honorable Charles J. Conrad, assemblyman, State of California, and in my opinion, it points out the fallibility of the emotionalistic and unreasoned basis on which Mr. Hoppe roots against his country.

At this point, I insert in the RECORD Assemblyman Conrad's reply to Mr. Hoppe's appeal to "root against your country."

APRIL 15, 1971.

Mr. ART HOPPE,
San Francisco Chronicle,
San Francisco, Calif.

DEAR ART: I note that your article of March 1, in which you say, "Now I root against my own country" is being given wide circulation and, apparently, has met with general approval.

You've done a clever job, Art . . . you always do. You excuse your present attitude by laying down a smoke-screen over the past.

You figure to avoid criticism when you "root against your country" by recalling how you loved and supported it during World War II. You would have the public believe it was America that changed.

So you write:
"We licked Hitler and Tojo and Mussolini. Those were our shining hours . . . they were evil; we were good. They told lies; we spoke the truth."

Do you really believe that, Art? Did Franklin Delano Roosevelt tell the American people the truth following Pearl Harbor? Undoubtedly, it was desirable to lie about our casualties, but does not that same reasoning apply to Cambodia and Laos?

At the courtmartial of the two commanders at Pearl Harbor, Kimmel and Short, were the higher-ups in Washington ever brought to account? What is the difference between the Kimmel-Short trials and the Calley trial, except that in the former, only Americans had died?

What about the Nuremberg trials you have referred to on so many occasions? Was America told of the charges by the Polish leaders in exile that communists, not Nazi's, were responsible for the Katyn Forest massacre of Polish officers?

In fact, from Nuremberg to this day, has any individual ever been held responsible for a war crime except a Nazi or an American?

Have you forgotten the propaganda of those years, much of which was produced in the district I represent and by the industry in which I have been employed? Have you forgotten "Mission to Moscow" with kindly, old Joe Stalin portrayed as a loving and devoted father? Or have you never bothered to read his daughter's articles?

Were the American people during those "shining hours" told of the American flyers who crashed and died attempting to reach their home bases because the Russians, even when fighting for their existence, would not permit our planes to land on their soil?

The truth is, Art, many years ago you and others like you who dominate our avenues of communication . . . the writers, broadcasters, teachers, etc., decided that fascism was evil, to which almost everyone would agree. But you and your associates went further. You also decided that fascism had to be destroyed. Any falsehood was permissible if it achieved that desirable end.

However, for some reason, which has baffled me for over forty years, you have never considered it necessary, or even desirable, to take up arms against communist aggression. Thus, in your article of March 1, you say of the enemy, "I doubt that they are any better than we."

And so you dramatize every shortcoming and every evil deed of our allies, our leaders, and even our own men in the field.

Yet, Diem and Ky, at their worst, have

never approached the bloody tyranny of a Stalin or a Khrushchev, whom we embraced, even though they had, only a short while before, signed a non-aggression pact with Hitler.

But let us return to those "shining hours" when "we spoke the truth." When you and your associates decided that America must join the war against fascism, but it had to be done without alarming the American people.

And so the script writers of that day wrote speeches for Franklin Delano Roosevelt, such as:

"I have said it before but I shall say it again and again and again. Your boys are not going to be sent to foreign battlefields."

I wonder what you and your associates would have written if some of us had refused to go overseas on the grounds that our Commander in Chief had assured us "again and again and again" that we were not going to be sent to foreign battlefields.

Thirty years ago, there also were sincere individuals who were opposed to our involvement in World War II just as there are sincere individuals today who oppose our involvement in Southeast Asia.

However, there are a couple of differences. Thirty years ago, those who opposed our becoming involved in a foreign war were never described by the news media as "idealistic." Remember what was said about Charles A. Lindbergh and his supporters?

The other difference: I cannot recall a single leader of America First who ever "rooted against his country." Certainly, none were ever guilty of treason or sabotage. I can't even remember a leader of the America First movement who was a conscientious objector. With the onset of hostilities, those who opposed Roosevelt's policy joined with the rest of the country in a determination to bring about victory. Many of them served in the armed forces.

If you and those like you are right, then the isolationists of the thirties and forties also were right. Perhaps our country would have been better off (and the world no worse off) if we had not become involved in Vietnam or Korea or World War II.

But America decided otherwise. It was a "shining hour" when we fought fascism, asking nothing in return for our expenditures of lives and wealth. When we were willing to assist even our enemies after the conflict was over.

And so was our willingness to combat communist aggression a "shining hour" but that "shining hour" has been tarnished by those like yourself who have depicted it as evil and now, I fear, our "shining hour" is over. You and your associates forced our armed forces to fight communism with one hand tied behind their backs.

The reception accorded your article of March 1 seems to indicate that your side has won and future dictators are likely to have a free hand, provided of course, they are left wing dictators acceptable to those who control the American news media.

That is the burden you are going to have to carry the rest of your life.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES J. CONRAD.

RUMANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. JAMES V. STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 10, 1971

Mr. JAMES V. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, each year on May 10 Americans of Rumanian descent join with the peo-

ple of Rumania to celebrate their national independence day.

For these people trapped behind the Iron Curtain the struggle for freedom is a very real conflict. Rumanians in Cleveland and elsewhere throughout this Nation look forward to the day when Rumania will emerge as a free and independent nation.

This holiday marks the three great events that occurred on May 10 which led to the brief independence of this proud nation from 1881 until World War II.

On May 10, 1866, the Rumanian dynasty was established and its people won the right to elect their own sovereign leader. Rumania proclaimed her independence from the Ottoman Empire on May 10, 1877.

Charles I was crowned King of Rumania on May 10, 1881, marking the beginning of a prosperous era that lasted six decades.

During all those years this holiday has remained a symbol of Rumania's perseverance and determination to continue the fight for freedom until all oppressors have been overcome. Even the Communists have not been able to uproot the peoples attachment to the traditional May 10 celebration.

When it was decreed that the official celebration be shifted to May 8 in honor of the Soviet victory, the flags were hoisted. But in their hearts the people celebrated on May 10, awaiting with faith and courage the dawn of better times when freedom and independence would be theirs.

FAR FROM A STEREOTYPE

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, May 1, 1971, the Nation was saddened by the news of the death of one of its great journalists, Laurence E. Davies, longtime journalist for the New York Times. Mr. Davies, while enjoying the reputation of being a fine newspaper reporter, was also a true and dedicated friend of Alaska. Larry Davies was one of the most noted journalists to regularly cover Alaska's growth from territory to statehood.

Mr. Davies' zest for news carried him to Alaska to cover the earthquake in 1967. His many friends in Alaska as well as his keen journalistic abilities made his reports the most accurate description from the Alaskan disaster.

After Mr. Davies retired from the New York Times, he accepted the position as director of news services for the University of Alaska in College. There he earned continued admiration and respect from the people of Alaska as he had during his 44 years as one of America's great writers.

I would like to include for the RECORD a story the New York Times wrote about Lawrence Davies, one of the great journalists of our time, and one of Alaska's most devoted friends.

The article follows:

FAR FROM A STEREOTYPE

The antithesis of the rowdy Hollywood reporter stereotype in appearance and demeanor, Laurence Ellsworth Davies surpassed the image in professional prowess.

As the Times bureau chief in San Francisco from 1941 to 1970, he ranged from the Rocky Mountains to Alaska and Hawaii, covering news of politics, industry, agriculture, science and sports—"everything," he once remarked whimsically, referring to an old file label, "from Dams to Disasters."

His many reportorial coups included a "beat" of more than an hour on the shelling of the California coast by a Japanese submarine in 1942, and an exclusive inside story of the Alcatraz prison riot in San Francisco Bay in 1946.

He learned of the Japanese attack from a San Francisco telegraph operator chatting on the wire with a colleague 300 miles away, and quickly confirmed details by telephone.

While scores of other reporters were vainly circling the smoldering Alcatraz in boats, Mr. Davies observed the island through field glasses atop Telegraph Hill, then telephoned the warden and got a play-by-play account of events in the prison.

Noted for his quiet modesty, Mr. Davies was given to neat, gray sartorial ensembles that blended with his hair in a sort of self-effacing camouflage. His most distinctive features were piercing blue eyes that missed nothing.

An unofficial but celebrated part of his operation often was his wife, who helped gather information, hold open telephone lines, and drove the family sedan at up to 80 miles an hour while Mr. Davies typed in the back seat.

ZEST FOR HIS WORK

His outstanding trait was his zest and conscientiousness about the article he was working on, however small. His byline files at The Times contain more than 4,000 articles, and there probably were an equal number of unsigned ones.

Called by the National Geographic Society a few years ago a San Francisco landmark along with the Golden Gate Bridge, Mr. Davies had a vast acquaintance among people in all walks of life throughout the West.

"When we landed in Alaska to cover the earthquake," a colleague recalled, "there was nothing but devastation in sight—no transportation, no people. Within five minutes there was a crowd of 20 or more people clustered around us, all anxious to help Larry."

Mr. Davies' zest for news came early. He was born in Girard, Kan., on Feb. 5, 1900, the son of William H. Davies, a wheat farmer. As a boy he saved pennies to subscribe to The Kansas City Star, from which he methodically clipped stories that interested him.

When his family moved to St. Helen's, Ore., he edited the high school paper. He was graduated from nearby Willamette University in 1926. He worked three years for the Portland (Ore.) Telegram, then followed the Hemingway trail to Paris, where he was sports editor of The Paris Herald, at \$20 a week.

After 18 months, Mr. Davies returned to New York, joined The Times and headed its Philadelphia bureau for 15 years before going to San Francisco. Among the other major stories he covered were the evacuation of the West Coast Japanese-Americans in 1942; the trial of Harry Bridges, the longshore leader; the 1948 Oregon flood and the development of the Grand Coulee and other Northwestern power projects.

AT U.N. FOUNDING

Mr. Davies made the arrangements for The Times coverage of the 1945 United Nations founding conference in San Francisco, the 1951 Japanese peace conference there, the 1955 United Nations anniversary meeting and

the 1956 Republican National Convention. He coordinated the publication of the first West Coast facsimile edition of The Times, in 1945.

DO THE PEOPLE REALLY FAVOR IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL FROM VIETNAM?

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, while a great majority of the American people want to bring the American involvement in the Vietnam war to an end as soon as possible—as President Nixon does—an even larger majority do not favor withdrawal by the end of this year if it threatens the lives or safety of American prisoners of war and a substantial majority would not choose this course if it meant a Communist takeover of South Vietnam. This is the finding of a recent national poll taken concurrently with the May Day peace demonstrations here in Washington by the highly respected Opinion Research Corp., of Princeton, N.J. I include the findings of the poll in the RECORD for the information of my colleagues:

DO THE PEOPLE REALLY FAVOR IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL FROM VIETNAM?

PRINCETON, N.J.—The Public seems willing to endorse any plan that promises to bring all U.S. troops home from Vietnam soon—but not if it endangers our POW's or threatens a Communist take over, according to the latest survey conducted by Opinion Research Corporation of Princeton, N.J.

72% of the public say they support President Nixon in his plan to end the war in Southeast Asia, compared to 18% who do not support his plan and 10% who have no opinion. At the same time, 68% of those polled would approve their Congressman voting for a proposal requiring the U.S. Government to bring home all U.S. troops before the end of this year; 20% opposed this move and 12% have no opinion.

However, when various possible consequences of quick withdrawal are tested, the public is against withdrawal of all U.S. troops by the end of 1971 if it means a Communist take over of South Vietnam. When asked if they would favor withdrawal of all U.S. troops by the end of the year if it means a Communist take over of South Vietnam, 55% said no, 29% said yes, and 16% had no opinion. Also an overwhelming majority, 75%, would not favor withdrawal by the end of 1971 if it threatened the lives or safety of the United States POW's held by North Vietnam.

11% of those polled would favor such a withdrawal and 14% had no opinion.

The results of this survey were obtained by nation wide telephone interviews conducted among 1,026 persons age 18 and over during the period May 1 and 2. Following are the actual questions asked and their results:

1. "Do you support President Nixon in his plan to end the war in Southeast Asia?"

Yes ----- 72
No ----- 18
No opinion ----- 10

2. "A proposal has been made in Congress to require the U.S. Government to bring home all U.S. troops before the end of this year. Would you like to have your Congressman vote for or against this proposal?"

Yes ----- 68
 No ----- 20
 No opinion ----- 12

3. "Would you favor withdrawal of all U.S. troops by the end of 1971 even if it meant a Communist take over of South Vietnam?"

Yes ----- 29
 No ----- 55
 No opinion ----- 16

4. "Would you favor withdrawal of all United States troops by the end of 1971 even if it threatened the lives or safety of United States POW's held by North Vietnam?"

Yes ----- 11
 No ----- 75
 No opinion ----- 14

SOME NEEDED WORDS FROM SENATOR HUGHES

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, Senator HAROLD E. HUGHES came to Tucson, Ariz., the other day and said some things which badly needed saying.

He sharply criticized the way in which the Nixon administration has conducted its business and the resultant erosion of public confidence.

In his speech to the Arizona AFL-CIO he reminded us that not only has the President failed to deliver on major promises but questions whether the people in the administration really can feel the problems as they are felt by the average American.

I commend to my colleagues the Senator's speech of April 30:

SPEECH BY SENATOR HAROLD E. HUGHES

On March 1, 1971, President Richard M. Nixon, who had carried Iowa big in 1960 and big again in 1968, visited Des Moines to talk to the Iowa State Legislature about his revenue sharing proposals.

It was obviously a hand-picked spot from which to launch the selling of the Nixon Domestic Program, 1971—a safe Nixon state with a conservative state legislature that had already endorsed the Administration's revenue-sharing program. What more could you ask?

Approaching Iowa, the Chief was ready to be hailed.

But the reception was the exact opposite of what had been expected.

Instead of a cheering crowd, Mr. Nixon was met by some 3,000 demonstrators carrying angry, critical signs.

This was news in itself.

But the mix of the crowd was even more notable.

There were about 1,500 young people, waving signs that said "end the War."

Side by side with the young people were 750 hard-hat construction workers, protesting the Administration's discriminatory attack on their segment of the economy. "We're going broke under Nixon economy," the placards read.

Then alongside the young people and the hard-hats were 750 farmers. "You promised farmers 74 percent parity, then turned your back when we got only 67 percent" . . . Thus read the banners in this contingent.

And so, on a March day in Iowa, it was clearly exhibited that a turning point had

been reached in the political course of the country.

The people had caught up with Mr. Nixon. It is not just that the President failed to deliver on his major promises—to end the war, to straighten out the economy, to bring us together, and to raise the quality of living.

It is more the way in which this Administration has conducted its business that has destroyed the public confidence:

The unwillingness to level with the people about the war, the economy, and other areas of national concern.

The lack of feeling in the White House for the problems that rank and file people have. The favoritism toward moneyed interests and the adoption of economic and tax policies that place an unfair burden on the average citizen in a period of simultaneous recession and inflation.

The preoccupation with statistics and the unconcern about human beings.

The veto of critically needed human-value legislation passed by the Congress in such areas as employment, education, and manpower training, and the cut-back of existing programs.

The stacking of sensitive government regulatory agencies—such as mine safety—with unqualified political hacks.

The unprecedented centralization of executive power in a White House super-cabinet, which carries on its powerful activities behind a curtain of secrecy.

These are the kinds of characteristics of the Nixon Administration that have brought the President's popularity to its present low point and his credibility to an even lower level.

I am aware that the condition of the economy in the Tucson area is well above the average.

Yet I am sure the continuing rise in prices eats up your wages, and while prime interest rates have eased the situation for large banks, the average citizen still must pay sky-high interest on what he borrows at the bank or buys on the installment plan.

However an individual may feel about the war, there is no longer any doubt about who is bearing the brunt of paying for it.

You and I and the other middle Americans are paying the tab. We are paying for it when milk costs a dime a quart more than it did five years ago and when gasoline is a nickel more a gallon. We are paying for it when the cost of living rises over 25 percent since the war started.

In passing, I might note that for what this war has cost the nation on the average, each year, we could have given annual scholarships of \$2,400 to each of the 8.8 million college-age children of American workers.

Mr. Nixon has laid the blame for the present state of our economy on what he terms a "do-nothing" Congress.

Let's examine the record.

What did the President do in 1970 when, in the face of dire national need, the Congress passed a vitally needed manpower bill?

He vetoed it.

What did the President do after the Congress took the initiative to pass an historic Occupational Health and Safety bill?

This time, he didn't veto the bill, but he waited more than half a year to appoint an Administrator of the program—this despite the fact that 14,500 workers were killed by accidents and that 250 million working man-days were lost to accidents in 1969 alone.

And where has the leadership come from for tax reform, adequate national health insurance, consumer class actions, no-fault auto insurance, and other measures of benefit to the working people?

It has come from the Congress.

Admittedly, the Democratic party has not deserved an Academy Award for every phase of its performance in our lifetime.

Yet, the fact remains that every major social reform that benefits the working man today—from Social Security to Medicare—was gained under a Democratic Administration.

And through the years, under administrations of both parties, the Democratic members of Congress have led the fight for the working people and for the Middle Americans in general.

Obviously we can't expect to coast into office in 1972 on past achievements or on Mr. Nixon's failures.

We need to come up with new, innovative programs, and we need to present to the electorate a party that is both responsive and responsible.

With regard to the latter, it is worth noting that during the past two and a half years, while the Republican party was perfecting its Southern Strategy, the Democratic Party was subjecting itself to the first major political party reform the country has seen in generations.

Party reform is a difficult and unglamorous undertaking, and there has been considerable confusion about exactly why it was needed.

Specifically, what stake does labor have in reform?

In the first place, working people were severely under-represented in the 1968 Democratic Convention.

Only about three percent of the delegates at the Convention were members of labor unions.

One reason for this was that, under the old system, the average annual income of delegates to the '68 Convention was almost \$19,000.

While reform is not a notably popular cause with most of us, the fact is that the opening up of the Democratic Party processes will give you a better shot at adequate representation at the 1972 Convention than ever before.

With regard to new programs of special interest to labor, here are a few of the directions in which I think a new Democratic administration should go.

First, we should recognize that jobs are our top domestic priority.

We need to provide a guaranteed job for every employable American. Obviously, this means creating new jobs, as would have been done under the 1970 manpower bill that the President vetoed. I believe the course laid out in that legislation was sound—namely public service employment that would carry out needed public services that are not now being furnished.

It is obvious that we need to come to the immediate aid of laid-off defense workers with emergency employment legislation. An emergency employment bill, of which I am a co-sponsor, is in the Senate at the present time, reportedly viewed with disfavor by the Administration.

I think that in the future we need to give a great deal more consideration to long-range labor policy. For example, job training should be available not only for persons who are unemployed, but also for employed workers who want to upgrade their skills.

Certainly the minimum wage rate should be raised, as the AFL-CIO has recommended.

Veterans' benefits should be upgraded and extended to be consistent with those allowed after World War II—particularly in housing and education.

I need not tell you that tax policies need to be changed to enable lower and middle income people to get by in an era of constantly rising prices. A tax deduction for sending youngsters to college is necessary, or a lot of working people won't be able to give their children this opportunity. Additional tax breaks are needed for the elderly who are trying to survive on fixed incomes.

Certainly a basic objective of the post-

Nixon period must be to counter inflation by creating wage and price stability, rather than by monetary policy. We need an economic environment that gives incentives to stability, in place of the discriminatory, let-them-sweat-it-out policies we are experiencing under Nixon.

The shift from war to peace that is coming requires more than a conversion of our technology. Retooling our machines to produce high-speed trains instead of high-powered tanks is only the first adjustment we must make to peace.

We are going to have to completely readjust our vision—to focus, for the first time in our country's history, on the individuals who constitute this nation and on the quality of the lives they are living.

The questions will not be "How big?" or "How much?" But "How good?" Not "How fast?" or "How powerful?" But "How fulfilling?"

If we get the right kind of direction, the decade of the '70's should turn out to be one of the most exciting and progressive periods in American history.

It is true that Mr. Nixon hasn't done much toward fulfilling his promise to "raise the quality of living for all Americans."

But there was nothing wrong with the idea.

LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, I place in the RECORD the following letter from the Baptist Ministerial Foresight Alliance of Indianapolis without further comment:

APRIL 13, 1971.

HON. RICHARD M. NIXON,
President, United States of America, The White House, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We understand you are going to review the case of Lieutenant William Calley, and there are some vital issues we feel are being overlooked. We feel morally compelled to call them to your attention.

Such issues as: Is America committed to remaining in the humane, civilized and advanced Family of Nations? Is America still committed to the principles of humanitarian conduct of war, as set forth in the Geneva Agreements? Are not the alleged atrocities of My Lai and all similar incidents an outrage against the decency of mankind? Were we not, a few months ago, crying about the atrocities of Biafra? Have we not been shocked and horrified by atrocities of the enemy in World Wars I, II and every other war in which we have been engaged?

Mr. President, we feel it is more important at this hour that you act as a statesman in the defense of the honor and integrity of this country than as a politician attempting to satisfy the emotional bias of the bigots blinded by hate and prejudice. For we are in danger, as a nation, of taking the same road to national ruin and disgrace as Nazi Germany. We hope, Mr. President, that you will not go down in history as the national head who started America down that road.

As men of God, we heartily support any act of mercy you might extend to Lt. Calley. Forgiveness is always in order. All we are saying is let us unequivocally affirm that barbaric and inhuman acts, even in war, constitute behavior contrary to international

law to which we as a nation subscribe, and make any nation that so behaves unworthy of membership in the Family of Nations. If this is not the case, then on what basis are we denying membership in the United Nations to Communist China?

Mr. President, please remember when you review the case of Lt. Calley that you will not be just reviewing the case of a soldier in Vietnam: You will be deciding the place America will assume in the world at this hour, and whether America will continue much longer in history. Mr. President, please decide wisely. Be not like Pilate, who washed his hands of Jesus and set free Barrabas to satisfy the bigots of his day.

Respectfully submitted,

Rev. WILLIAM A. DENNIS,
Pleasant Union Baptist Church.
Rev. S. WILLIAMS, Jr.,
Greater Galilee Baptist Church.

RUMANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, in many towns and cities along the Danube in southeastern Europe, countless thousands of Rumanians quietly celebrated their most important national holiday, the 10th of May.

It was on the 10th of May in 1866 that the geographic area became recognized as Rumania under the rule of Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, thus founding the Rumanian dynasty.

A little more than a decade later, on the 10th of May 1877, the principality of Rumania declared itself free and independent of the oppressive rule of the Ottoman Empire. A bloody battle ensued, but in 1878 the Congress of Berlin confirmed Rumania's independence and conferred on the state Europe's official recognition of it as a nation.

Today, however, proud Rumanians still living in their homeland must celebrate their glorious national holiday in quiet and fear. The Soviet Union has dominated their country since World War II. Its leaders bending to the wishes of the colossus to the east have changed the day of national celebration to the 9th of May—the anniversary of Soviet victory.

These quiet voices of peace and freedom within are joined by many not so quiet voices in the free world calling for the liberation of the captive states of Eastern Europe. The people cannot speak for themselves in the councils of world governments. So then it is important that we who enjoy the freedoms of speech and assembly speak out in support of the cause of freedom and independence in Rumania.

The will of the people of Rumania is strong still and I know that the continued efforts of freedom-loving people throughout the world is helping build the courage needed to one day throw off the yoke of oppression now on the shoulders of these valiant people.

EMPIRE STATE COLLEGE (NEW YORK)

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, a new approach to undergraduate education has been instituted by the State University of New York with the aid of a \$1,000,000 grant awarded jointly by the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation. Empire State College is, in effect, a college without a campus, emphasizing individual study under the guidance of master teachers. Students will utilize correspondence courses, books, television, and occasional classes and seminars with the emphasis upon flexibility of format, curriculum, and patterns of study.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD material recently published by the State University of New York describing Empire State College.

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

[From the State University of New York News, Mar. 8, 1971]

NONRESIDENTIAL COLLEGE PLANS 1971-72
OPENING—UNIVERSITY ESTABLISHES EMPIRE STATE COLLEGE

The announcement of the establishment of the new Empire State College within the State University of New York heralds an entirely new approach to undergraduate education within the University.

Plans for the new college, accelerated through grants of \$500,000 each from the Carnegie Corporation and the Ford Foundation, have been conceived, according to Chancellor Ernest L. Boyer, in response to many current questions and developments which "sharply challenge the conventional wisdom of educational planners.

"Institutions of higher learning are everywhere being forced to re-examine their traditional assumptions about who should go to college and what the length and nature of the college experience ought to be," the chancellor said.

Large numbers of inquiries about the non-residential college have resulted from its formal announcement February 16. In the interest of disseminating all available information, the NEWS presents answers to several frequently asked questions:

Q. What is Empire State College?

A. The Empire State College is a "college without a campus." It is built on the assumption that learning is an individual experience and that the highly motivated student can pursue degree study without spending full time at a campus. Students using books, correspondence courses, television and occasional classes and seminars will study largely on their own. Emphasis will be on individual study under the guidance of master teachers.

Q. Why is the new College being established?

A. Empire State College reflects the determination of the University's Board of Trustees to extend the opportunities for increasing the effectiveness of higher education. It is a bold attempt to adjust the college to the student by adjusting the place, the content and the length of study. The aim is to add

to the network of State University colleges an institution that will be able to draw upon the resources of the existing colleges and serve especially the student who cannot or should not reside full time on a conventional campus.

Q. Who can apply for admission to the new College?

A. Generally, enrollment will be limited to high school graduates wishing to study at the undergraduate level. The College will serve people of all ages who wish to study according to their own needs and interests:

1. Those students who wish more flexibility in educational environment and modes of learning.

2. Persons who may wish to pursue a degree at home for personal reasons.

3. Persons who wish to pursue an individual educational objective or to complete a degree program.

4. Employed persons wishing to pursue education part-time for career objectives.

5. Selected secondary school students.

Q. How will Empire State College operate?

A. The College will have its own president, faculty and advisory council. Its administrative staff will be located in the Capital District area at a site to be determined and separate from existing campuses.

Regional learning centers, located in various parts of the state, will provide facilities for individual advisement, counseling and tutoring.

The academic program of the College will be developed by a distinguished faculty who will ensure the quality of the programs and determine the degree eligibility of the student.

Q. What degrees will be conferred?

A. At the outset, the following programs will be offered: Associate in Arts, Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Arts in an interdisciplinary area and Bachelor of Arts in an academic major.

The degrees will be conferred by the State University of New York upon recommendation of the faculty of the College.

A. How will the student accumulate credits toward a degree?

A. A student may complete degree requirements by any combination of a number of learning processes:

Independent study designed by the student under guidance of faculty advisers.

Satisfactory completion of studies prepared by the college faculty and offered through various combinations of the newer educational techniques and technologies.

Satisfactory completion of studies at one or more of the 70 existing campuses of State University or, when approved by faculty advisers, at other colleges.

Proficiency examinations.

Earned credits as the result of competencies gained through employment research or special community service which are approved by the faculty.

(Full-time students could expect to complete the degree requirements in no longer than the traditional time period. Normally, this is two years for an Associate Degree and four years for a Bachelor's Degree.)

Q. What would be a possible program of study for a student entering the College as a freshman?

A. The student and his mentor will design a program of studies which will lead to the associate degree over a two-period, or to the baccalaureate degree over a three- or four-year period. During his first year, for example, the student might pursue a program of guided study including tutoring in such specific areas as language and literature, scientific and technological studies, and social, historical and philosophic studies. In the following years, the study pattern could include community service, such as experience in a laboratory, museum, or social service agency, study at one or more campuses of the University, correspondence study by mail, or study in an urban setting with a

recognized writer or artist. Working closely with his mentor, a student in his final year could complete his degree through preparation of a concluding paper or project or through an oral examination given by a panel of mentors.

Q. When will the College accept its first students and what is the anticipated first year enrollment?

A. Empire State College will accept its first students as soon as possible during the 1971-72 academic year. Initial enrollment will be no less than 500.

Q. What are the tuition costs?

A. Full-time students will be assessed the standard \$550 tuition paid by all undergraduates at the state campuses. Tuition for part-time students will be pro-rated according to the courses taken. Scholarship aid programs for which a student may be eligible will be determined at enrollment.

An opening date and initial study programs will be announced in the near future. Interested persons can write to the address below. They will be placed on a list to receive further information and an application blank by the end of the spring.

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IN PRAISE OF FBI DIRECTOR HOOVER

HON. JOHN H. TERRY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 10, 1971

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased and proud to join with my colleagues this week in praise of FBI Director J.

Edgar Hoover, who now has embarked upon his 48th year in that position. The mark of his success, I sincerely feel, has been the vicious attacks he has been subject to, both by extremists of the left and the right. Most recently the attacks have been originating from the extremists of the left and this is nothing new in Mr. Hoover's career. However, it should be noted that the charges leveled against Mr. Hoover have always been just that—allegations. Over the years, the Bureau has demonstrated an unmatched record of integrity and performance.

The charge is often made that the FBI just arrests and prosecutes small-time criminals while organized crime flourishes. This simply is not so. Several of the largest raids in our history were made on organized crime during 1970. Between June and September 1970, more than 50 organized crime personnel were arrested in 70 raids in the Philadelphia area alone. More than 50 members of a syndicate-controlled bookmaking ring, allegedly handling over \$35 million in bets annually in New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut were arrested last year. And this is only part of the story.

As I mentioned before, it is not just a coincidence that the New Left dislikes Mr. Hoover. They are learning what the Soviet secret police and others have known for a long time. The counterintelligence activities of the FBI are outstanding. The so-called Weatherman group of the SDS is only too well aware of Mr. Hoover's efficiency. It is alleged by some that while Mr. Hoover and the FBI may be efficient, they are leading us toward a "police" or "Fascist" type state. In rebuttal to this, one only needs to note that during the early days right after Pearl Harbor, hysteria had gripped this Nation and a decision was made to carry out a mass evacuation of all Japanese Americans on the west coast. Director Hoover opposed the action on the basis that very few of them were disloyal and he knew and could pick up the few that were. He was correct and the decision was tragic. He was overruled. I think this fact says much about the man and I wish him well for as long as he serves.

**NEW BRITAIN, CONN., JUNIOR
WOMEN'S CLUB DEDICATES ME-
MORIAL TO VIETNAM WAR DEAD**

HON. ELLA T. GRASSO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mrs. GRASSO. Mr. Speaker, on Monday morning, May 10, it was my honor and privilege to join the members of the New Britain Junior Women's Club in the dedication of a living memorial to the 11 young men from this city who had given their lives in the Vietnam war.

We gathered beneath dark skies, the families of the dead, friends, club members, veterans representatives, government officials, and a sprinkling of students in simple, but majestic tribute to the memory of these gallant men.

The setting, in this proud city where

memorials to the dead in every war are silent sentinels of the affection and dedication of the citizenry, was particularly appropriate. Eleven flowering trees, in memory of 11 valiant men, form the perimeters of a grassy square that has for focus a tablet on which are enriched the names of the honored dead.

A stone path and benches complete the design in the corner of Willow Brook Park, where men, who once were boys had cheered their teams to victories and where other schoolchildren will pause now for quiet memory of their courage and their responsibility.

These are the names of the honored servicemen:

Pedro Cancel, private first class.
John Grasso, Jr., lance corporal.
Richard E. Chabot, lance corporal.
Robert L. Mlynarski, second lieutenant.
Richard W. Roy, specialist, fourth class.
Thomas S. Richards, lance corporal.
Michael Smith, lance corporal.
Richard R. Stolarun, private.
Paul Thorik, Jr., corporal.
Daniel Varela, private first class.
Stanley J. Ciesielski, specialist, fourth class.

The final blessing included a prayer for peace, that this may be the last memorial of the last war and that the roster of the dead may not expand. As I made my way back to the car, I prayed too, that "they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore."

A NEW KIND OF CONFRONTATION

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, under the headline, "A New Kind of Confrontation," the Evening Star today carried a photograph of two students at the University of Maryland in my congressional district who stood guard over the American flag while a group of demonstrators attempted to lower the flag on the campus so that it could be flown upside down.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to commend these two young men, David Simpson and Charles Blocker, for their courage and dedication. It has always been my opinion that one of the most trying problems of youth is the difficulty of disagreeing with one's peers. It is always easier to go along with the crowd rather than to stand up for individual beliefs.

Those who saw this photograph in the Star realize that these two young men were indeed taunted by their protesting colleagues and that they were outnumbered during the confrontation.

But, the most important point to remember is that these two students may have been in the minority in this particular photograph, but their point of view is definitely that of the majority

of students on the University of Maryland campus. For example, during the first day of disruption on the campus after the spring offensive here in Washington, the majority of the protesters arrested by police were nonstudents.

The news media does tend to give an undue amount of coverage to the acts of protesting crowds so it is sometimes difficult to remember that the great majority of young people on college campuses really are there to learn and not to burn.

Mr. Speaker, I commend David Simpson and Charles Blocker and the many other young people like them who so rarely receive praise for standing up for their beliefs.

**REMARKS OF COMMISSIONER
GEORGE H. HEARN, FEDERAL
MARITIME COMMISSION**

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, this year I had the honor of being a guest speaker at the annual meeting of the Freight Forwarders Institute at the Mayflower Hotel on April 28. George H. Hearn, Commissioner, Federal Maritime Commission, was also a speaker at this event. Commissioner Hearn's counsel to the maritime industry has been influential through three administrations and his expertise in both private and Government practice has been valuable to all concerned. I insert at this point in the RECORD the remarks made by Mr. Hearn at the Freight Forwarders Institute on April 28:

**REMARKS OF COMMISSIONER GEORGE H.
HEARN**

It is a great pleasure for me to be meeting with you again at your annual meeting. This is especially true as this year my Congressman, John Murphy, is also participating in this event.

When I last spoke before your annual meeting two years ago, I brought to your attention certain freight rate increases in our foreign waterborne commerce. Certain carriers, especially in our North Atlantic Trades, had imposed rate increase in our outbound, but not in our inbound, trades, creating disparities weighted against our export commerce. I expressed the concern of the Federal Maritime Commission over such actions and stated our determination to halt activity apparently detrimental to the foreign commerce of the United States.

Since then the Commission has proceeded by formal action against a number of carriers maintaining those disparities with some favorable results. One carrier has already announced its intention to reduce the outbound rates; and several other carriers have indicated that they may follow a similar course.

The Federal Maritime Commission has succeeded in other areas as well in its obligations toward the commerce of the United States. In the area of intermodalism, the Commission has promulgated rules to facilitate the utilization of intermodal rates and systems which include ocean transportation. We have also been instrumental in bringing about some intermodal rates in the United States/United Kingdom trades as a result of the favorable settlement of the long simmering dispute between Container Marine Lines

and the North Atlantic Westbound Conference.

In addition we are actively pursuing other ways to promote progress in intermodalism, and we are always open to suggestions from members of the maritime industry, such as yourselves, who participate in the workings of ocean commerce. But today there is another matter I think requires the immediate attention of all members of the maritime community.

Both protection and promotion are important aspects of the merchant marine policy of most maritime nations. In the United States it is expressed through congressional action, and while for us the two functions are procedurally separated, they are everywhere mutually dependent and equally important.

Promotion, as you know, is the responsibility mainly of the Maritime Administration; and the Federal Maritime Commission has primarily regulatory functions. In this framework the basic United States maritime policy is to advance the wellbeing of our merchant marine through some preferential treatment, but at the same time to seek to secure the viability of our merchant marine against debilitating actions directed against our carriers and against the foreign commerce of the United States. The role of the Federal Maritime Commission in this effort is to ensure not that our merchant marine always prevails, but that it never is the victim of any unfair dealing detrimental to our commerce.

This policy that a strong and modern merchant marine is vital to our country was confirmed by Congress and the President as recently as last year in the Merchant Marine Act of 1970. That Act completely revised our ship subsidy program, and set as one of its main goals the revitalization of our merchant marine through a long-range merchant ship-building program of 300 ships in the next ten years.

As laudable as are the purposes of the 1970 Act, efforts to achieve them will be in vain if the one crucial criterion is not met: enough cargo to support the modern fleet which is contemplated.

Cargo is the key to the future of our merchant marine.

There must be sufficient potential cargo to warrant investment by our operators in new ship construction.

But the percentage of cargo in our foreign ocean commerce being carried by American ships has dwindled to about 5%. And the supply of potential cargo is slowly being reduced by various means. These vary from widespread government cargo control laws and other economic schemes which reduce the supply of commercial cargo for open competition, to carrier mergers and other joint ventures which restrict competition. Compounding these difficulties is the fact that American carriers are generally not cross-traders and do not participate in the commerce between other nations. Thus both cargo controls and arrangements to restrict competition are serious matters and deserve our immediate attention.

The matter of cargo controls is one with which the United States ought to be able to contend. This country was one of the originators of overt cargo preferences, and other countries which have begun to implement their own cargo controls in many cases claim to be following our lead.

Long ago Congress determined that 100% of our military cargo and 50% of all other government impelled cargo must be carried on American ships. We have thus succeeded in preserving a valuable segment of our ocean commerce for our own carriers. If we can accomplish this by statute, we ought to be able to accomplish the same ends for other types of cargo. And steps should be taken toward considering means of doing so without delay.

One approach might be tax benefits to

American importers and exporters who use American ships. Legislation could create economic incentives through such tax relief or other similar devices.

The desired result is to create conditions which would encourage our commercial cargoes to be directed to United States-flag vessels.

Our shipping services must be of the highest quality to compete successfully in the world market. For this we must create and maintain a modern and efficient merchant fleet. But before we build such a fleet we must know that the cargo will be there for our carriers to lift and be able to test their competitiveness.

But even if we achieve these goals, there must be markets open to American carriers. It will avail us little if we attain a modern fleet and provide sufficient cargo if we find our foreign competitors have closed out our own markets to us while we were still building our ships. Not being cross-traders, our carriers must be able to retain a larger share of the cargo in our own trades for themselves.

What I have in mind is the recent trend in ocean shipping toward consolidations of various kinds among foreign steamship operators. New technologies are producing new types of ships and new shipping systems requiring large capital outlays. And carriers often find it more feasible to undertake new endeavors on a joint basis.

We at the Commission cannot, of course, impose our judgment over the carriers' managerial discretion. But we are obligated to ensure that the intent of our shipping laws is not nullified by devices which circumvent the requirements of our statutes. Certain recent events underscore this development in international ocean shipping. The Federal Maritime Commission recently approved an agreement between Hapag-Lloyd steamship company and Holland-America Line dealing with those carriers' operations in the United States South Atlantic and Gulf Coast trades with Europe. The agreement is called a joint service, but I consider it a merger of the carriers' service in those trades; and I dissent from the Commission's approval of the agreement without a thorough analysis of the type of agreement and its effects.

The first significant feature of the agreement is that the two parties will establish a LASH service in the trades on a joint basis. The LASH ship is a relatively new type of vessel and a large capital investment is required to establish a LASH service. Consequently, Hapag-Lloyd and Holland-America Line concluded it would be managerially and economically sound to enter into the venture jointly. Such a decision should not be rejected by the Federal Maritime Commission as a basis for agreements. And in fact we have approved a number of agreements of various types between carriers accomplishing similar purposes. As a result there are about ten carriers in our trades which are the product of joint efforts of other carriers desirous of establishing new and technologically advanced services. With the high cost of developing such services not likely to abate, we can probably expect even more joint arrangements or consortia of carriers.

From the point of view of the American merchant marine and the United States foreign commerce, these joint arrangements are notable for the absence of participation by American carriers. As a result, while American carriers are waging the competitive battle on an individual basis, the foreign carriers are consolidating and strengthening their competitive position.

But even if the Federal Maritime Commission found it necessary or possible, within the framework of our shipping laws, to disapprove the joint arrangements, we probably could not do so. When foreign carriers are involved, they can achieve the same re-

sult in their own countries and under their own laws, thereby circumventing the need to obtain Federal Maritime Commission approval of their agreements.

I should make very clear at this point that I am not advocating the disapproval of these joint arrangements or suggesting that they are undesirable or unnecessary. My purpose is rather to illuminate one aspect of the competitive conditions in our foreign waterborne commerce and the position of our own flag carriers.

But agreements which go only so far as to establish a new service through a joint venture are only the beginning.

There is another significant aspect of the Hapag-Lloyd/Holland-America Line agreement which goes a step further in consolidating the operations of the parties. Hapag-Lloyd and Holland-America Line have also merged their entire existing and potential service in our South Atlantic and Gulf Coast trades. Where there were two steamship lines before, there is now one. It was on this basis that I dissented from the Commission's approval of the agreement.

There was not exhibited to my satisfaction sufficient justification for so far reaching restrictions on competition. This is especially true when the only stated reason for the arrangement was the economic and managerial need for a joint venture into LASH operations.

I do not say that the agreement is bad or should be disapproved. I say only that when the competition in our foreign trades is being steadily reduced, and an agreement is submitted which is more restrictive than previous similar ones, and which seems on its face to be more anti-competitive than necessary to achieve its purpose—then the Federal Maritime Commission is obligated, on its own initiative, to ensure the approvability of that agreement.

It may well be, however, that the solution to this problem of competitive restrictions is not within the ambit of the Commission's powers. Perhaps we may be compelled to approve such agreements without more than a cursory examination despite present law, or else leave them to be accomplished abroad.

United States anti-trust policy frowns on monopolies and other restrictions on competition. It is only through exceptions to that policy that the Federal Maritime Commission and the other transportation agencies are able to approve admittedly anti-competitive activity. Other maritime countries take a different view of competition permitting a greater tolerance for restrictions on competition. Thus Congress should determine whether American carriers may thereby be at a disadvantage in seeking to improve their competitive position, because the national anti-trust policy, even in the maritime field, weighs the balance against restrictions on competition while foreign carriers are more easily able to strengthen their competitive posture.

If that is true, it may be time to re-examine our shipping laws to determine if any statutory changes are required in view of recent developments in ocean transportation. The radical changes occurring in technology and types of service indicate to me a need to scrutinize our shipping laws to see if they are suited to today's shipping world.

In cases such as that involving the Hapag-Lloyd/Holland-America Line agreement, the measure of approvability should be clarified in light of current conditions. This would accomplish two important purposes. First, it would nullify the need for extended regulatory wrangling; and, second, it would prevent the taking of regulatory actions of dubious foundation based on a desire to accommodate modern needs.

If current shipping laws do not permit the Federal Maritime Commission to act in accordance with the exigencies of modern

transportation those laws should be amended as soon as possible. But now is a particularly propitious moment to begin because the Senate Commerce Committee is about to begin Oversight Hearings on Ocean Transportation and Regulation and the Federal Maritime Commission. The House Merchant and Fisheries Committee may also wish to look into the matter.

While on the subject of re-examining our shipping laws, I wish to mention one more matter of great importance. There is a case now pending at the Federal Maritime Commission and in the federal courts which points to another area of cloudiness in the shipping statutes. That case involves the proposed merger of United States Lines and Sea-Land Service, Inc., two of our country's largest steamship companies.

In 1968 the United States Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit decided that the Federal Maritime Commission has jurisdiction over merger agreements between carriers subject to the Commission's authority. In the U.S. Lines/Sea-Land case the Justice Department is contesting that conclusion; and a preliminary decision by a federal district court judge in New Jersey upheld the Justice Department. The judge concluded that the Commission has no jurisdiction over mergers but that they are within the ambit of the anti-trust jurisdiction of the Justice Department.

I believe the Federal Maritime Commission does have jurisdiction over mergers. And ever since the enactment of the Shipping Act of 1916 it has been assumed that the Commission is vested with such jurisdiction. Accordingly all maritime merger agreements have been filed with the Commission for approval.

At the very least, therefore, it is appropriate for Congress to clarify the situation as soon as possible, one way or the other. The Interstate Commerce Commission and the Civil Aeronautics Board have explicit statutory authority over mergers and the matter ought to be similarly legislated with respect to the Federal Maritime Commission.

The best solution would be for Congress to confirm the jurisdiction of the Commission over mergers. Only the Federal Maritime Commission is highly knowledgeable about mergers of foreign-flag shipping lines and the competition they offer American-flag carriers fully within our jurisdiction. And as I said earlier, those foreign mergers can be accomplished abroad free of our shipping laws. But they are not free of our special awareness of the effect foreign mergers have on the competitive conditions in our ocean commerce. With this expertise it is appropriate that the Federal Maritime Commission should possess the same merger jurisdiction as the ICC and CAB, especially at a time when intermodalism is so important an aspect of international transportation.

The guardians of our anti-trust policy have traditionally taken a view of transportation industry mergers far more restrictive than the view adopted by the transportation agencies which possess a special expertise in the field. And this restrictive view carries with it a lack of consideration of the international aspects of ocean commerce and the competitive conditions with which American carriers must contend.

In conclusion, I believe there are three areas in which new legislation is needed to bolster the foreign waterborne commerce of the United States.

First, our importers and exporters should be given economic incentives—such as tax benefits—to encourage the carriage of our commerce on American ships.

Second, the legislative criteria for Federal Maritime Commission approval of restrictive and monopolistic agreements should be examined by the Congress to determine whether the national policy towards such

agreements should be updated, considering the conditions of modern international ocean transportation.

And, third, the Commission's jurisdiction over mergers should be codified to erase existing uncertainty and to place jurisdiction over maritime mergers in the agency best suited to deal with them.

Laws should not be permitted to become outdated; and when they no longer are suited to the changing conditions in a regulated industry, it is time to update the laws so that progress will be unimpeded.

CHAIRMAN WAGNER OF TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY EMPHASIZES IMPORTANCE OF WATER RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT—ANSWERING CRITICISMS OF ENVIRONMENTALISTS

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, Chairman Aubrey J. Wagner of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority, in a recent address in Knoxville, provided a most perceptive insight and overview of the necessity for water management.

Chairman Wagner pointed out that the system of dams and reservoirs built by TVA over the past 38 years has been a powerful force for the revitalization of the Tennessee Valley in terms of economic prosperity and human growth and development.

Chairman Wagner said further that to attempt to rewrite history and to say now that these dams and their benefits have not been the keystone of progress in the Tennessee Valley could be compared to reverting to the lonely drudgery of the scrub board, the wood burning stove, and oil lamps and—the awful devastation and terror from disastrous floods. He answered many criticisms of environmentalists who oppose progress.

Because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this most important subject, I place in the RECORD herewith the following address by Chairman Wagner:

SOME FACTS AND SOME MYTHS ABOUT WATER CONSERVATION

(By TVA Chairman A. J. Wagner)

TVA is honored that you have come to the Tennessee Valley for this week-long symposium on man-made lakes. I am sure that you have been thoroughly and formally welcomed both to the University of Tennessee and to TVA, but I am glad for this opportunity to be among you and add my personal greetings.

The Tennessee Valley Authority has broad responsibilities in the development of all resources—the land, water, forests, and minerals. It also has responsibilities for weaving together these resources in patterns of agricultural, industrial, commercial, and social growth that will bring about improved quality of life for nearly seven million people in the region. In all our efforts, water is the unifying thread that ties the whole fabric of growth together. Each water feature of our earth, in the Tennessee Valley and elsewhere, should be used in ways that best serve man's long-term needs.

We have tried to do this in the Tennessee Valley. And even in a day when some voices are being raised against more man-made lakes, the evidence of their beneficial results is overwhelmingly in their favor. As time goes on, operating changes may become necessary to accommodate to the changing needs of the people. In some cases, new structures and new impoundments may have to be created to meet long-term needs, but in other instances the preserving of a natural river will be just as important.

But whatever the accommodation necessary in the future, the system of dams and reservoirs built by TVA over the past 38 years has been a powerful force for accomplishing the regeneration of a great region. It has contributed immeasurably and undeniably to human welfare. It will continue to do so for future generations.

You may be interested to know that since TVA was created, more than 50,000 people have come to us from foreign countries to see our dams, reservoirs, fertilizer research laboratories, forest nurseries, and other installations, and to talk with TVA people about them. They have included monarchs and chiefs of state from every part of the globe—plus engineers, economists, biologists, administrators, and many others. Only a few weeks ago we had with us for a week the representatives from all four countries on the Committee for Coordination of Investigations of the Lower Mekong Basin in south-east Asia.

TVA is pleased if its experience proves useful to these many other nations as they move toward fuller and better managed use of their water and other resources to serve their peoples. In many instances, their planned developments dwarf the achievements of TVA. And so we in TVA stand back and admire the great dams and reservoirs on other great rivers—the Akosombo on the Volta, the Kariba on the Zambesi, the Pahlavi on the Dez in Iran, and many others. All are monumental in size—larger than anything we have in this Valley—and monumental in their contribution to the people of the countries in which they are located.

It is appropriate therefore that we gather together as a family, as we are doing in this symposium, to share our experience and learn from each other. Our enterprises must be made to work in the widest variety of climate, geography, and soil conditions. They will have varying impacts on our different cultures, economies, and ecologies. By comparing our experience, we can better anticipate the problems of the future and better cope with them.

I well recall the high school student who, assigned to do a brief essay on Socrates, wrote: "Socrates was a Greek. He was a philosopher. He went about giving people advice. They poisoned him."

Now I don't want to fall into Socrates' error, nor to submit to his fate.

Nevertheless, I want to say—philosophically—that river development in the pattern that you have been discussing this week must be regarded as an historic turning point in man's relationship to his environment.

Of necessity, man has always built his civilizations on the banks of rivers. Primitive societies found there a food supply, water for personal needs, the rudiments of sanitation, and the earliest means for heavy transportation. Ancient civilizations learned to pipe and channel their rivers and to harness their immense mechanical power. In later centuries, industries gathered at the shorelines to make use of this power as well as the river's water supplies and low-cost transport.

But all this was done at the mercy of the all-powerful rain god. Torrents from the skies turned into cataclysms on the river banks. Time after time the river claimed and reclaimed its flood plain and swept away in disaster the flimsy structures of man. It

was the taming of these disastrous floods that made not only the waters but the shores of our great streams safe and usable.

Now, in the twentieth century, with modern techniques of multipurpose river development, cities with their homes and industries can use the shorelines in relative security. Mechanical power has been replaced by electrical power, many times more useful. And many extra values have been built into these river control systems.

In the Tennessee Valley, for example, we have eliminated malaria primarily by fluctuating the levels of certain lakes. During the time when malaria-carrying mosquitoes are breeding we lower the level of these lakes about a foot, then raise them back again in a cycle that takes about a week. This simple operation serves to strand the mosquito larvae, which disposes of many of them, and then refloats them to become food for fishes. In the Tennessee Valley tens of thousands—perhaps hundreds of thousands—are well and working today because this by-product of dam construction has freed them from malaria's scourge. Around the world, the figure is in the millions.

Adaptations for recreation are highly varied on TVA lakes. Not only are these waters used for the customary sports such as fishing, swimming, and all kinds of boating. In addition, in the spring, when water temperatures are right for fish spawning, the levels of the lakes are held stable to cradle safely the new offspring of the year. We have found that species of fish previously unknown in the lakes of this area now thrive and grow. Striped bass have been successfully transplanted from the Atlantic Ocean. The muskellunge, a fighting sport fish, was formerly found in the area only occasionally in some Cumberland Mountain streams. It has now been restocked as a lake fish and is rather commonly caught in some of our colder reservoirs in sizes exceeding 25 pounds.

One of the exciting new sports gaining in popularity is white water canoeing, riding down a swift mountain stream, splashing between the rocks, to the quiet waters below. TVA has found it feasible to schedule its power generation at certain mountain dams, releasing enough water to provide a sufficient flow for such canoe races. The next day the stream may be smooth and sparkling, with trout fishermen casting into the quiet pools.

On the other end of the spectrum is the significant role to be played by our reservoirs in the generation of electricity from nuclear fuels. Because nuclear power plants use the heat content of their fuels less completely than fossil-fueled plants, the use of water for cooling assumes much greater importance. It also poses considerable difficulties in managing the heated water so that it causes no harm to aquatic life.

TVA is proceeding with great caution in designing its nuclear plants for this reason. We are determined that no installation of ours will degrade the usefulness of the Tennessee River. We and the people of this region have spent more than a generation repairing the damage done to our resources by those who lived before us. We do not intend to impose a similar burden on those who follow us. In association with other Federal agencies, TVA is building a research center at our Browns Ferry Nuclear Plant which will simulate some of the aspects of the aquatic habitat under a variety of temperature conditions and enable us to determine far more accurately than we now know the effects of warm water on fish, mussels and their food organisms.

But we will go further and set up a testing station to find ways of using warm water beneficially. Warm water from the plant will be used to determine whether vine-ripened tomatoes, cucumbers, and lettuce can be

grown more profitably under simulated conditions. Pipes buried beneath the soil will carry warm water to croplands to see whether a combination of heat and irrigation can lengthen the growing season and increase crop production.

A livestock feedlot and poultry house will be heated and cooled by warm water from the plant to find out whether production is improved when the animals and poultry live under controlled temperatures. We even plan to recycle waste from these facilities. By mixing these wastes with warm water we may be able to speed the production of algae and other aquatic plants which then can be harvested and processed into livestock feeds.

Whatever may come of these lines of research, it is already abundantly clear that our man-made lakes are vital sources of cooling water in thermal power generation as we meet man's ever-rising needs for electricity. This is true whether the heat is dissipated by returning water to the reservoirs or by discharge directly into the atmosphere through cooling towers.

This has been a rather sketchy and bob-tailed review of man's use of his rivers from the stone age to the atomic age, but I had a purpose in doing it. It demonstrates a simple fact which is too often forgotten in this age of environmental consciousness. That fact is that man must *always* manage his water supplies—from now to eternity. We have all the water there is or ever will be. The ever lasting cycle of rainfall cannot be increased or diminished in any significant degree. The water supply we have today must serve forever, no matter how our society changes or how society changes its use of water.

The corollary of this principle is found in the methods of modern science and engineering which have enabled us to build huge structures, manage stream-flows of immense volume, generate large amounts of electricity, stimulate new arteries of water-borne commerce, irrigate vast areas of arid land, offer boundless outlets for recreation. Few accomplishments of man can match this mastery of our river systems. Man-made lakes have stored the excesses of flood periods and used them to fill in the gaps in water needs during drought seasons. There is no other way to change this kind of disaster into a blessing.

Yet we find people whispering suggestions—perhaps out of mistaken nostalgia for a past they never knew—perhaps forgetful of devastation that comes from floods or the lonely drudgery of the scrub board and the wood burning stove—we hear suggestions that things might have been just as well if the dams hadn't been built. But the overwhelming proof is to the contrary. Multipurpose river development has proved its value beyond question.

In the light of these self-evident facts, it has surprised me that we now find some even advocating a total moratorium on dam building. Their contention is that the construction of dams in the past has been done primarily for political reasons with decisions as to what to build and where to build made on the basis of legislative logrolling. The politically desirable dams now have been built, the argument goes, so why build more? Moreover, all regions of the country are now fully settled. Rural areas are giving up their populations to the cities. Consequently, any remaining dams would have only local and therefore limited benefit. And in any case, we are told, the big push for more dams is being conducted by "vested interests" in the form of large government agencies trying to perpetuate themselves with unneeded construction projects.

These are comfortable prefabricated myths if you are building a dream castle, but they are a flimsy framework for constructing a sound public water supply policy.

The overriding fact is that most of our rivers will deteriorate in quality and usefulness unless they are managed! America's struggle to save its major rivers is widely known. What is not so widely known is the unhappy parallel on some of our remote streams. The visual evidence in many parts of Appalachia today is that too many mountain streams, once sparkling clear and abounding in fish life, have become carriers of waste and litter from those who live and play carelessly on their banks. The pressures of a changing, mobile, growing society extend from the sources of the stream to its mouth.

True, by the same token, stream development and use today is far more complex than ever before. Attention must be given not only to the needs of cities and industries for water supply and waste disposal and in some instances to electric power and irrigation, but also to the guardianship of many aspects of cultural value.

A valley may have assets of archaeological or historical importance or an appealing natural beauty. It may provide the habitat for fish and game. It may have sections possessing qualities of remoteness with the appeal of the wilderness or with unique recreation possibilities. All these and more must be taken into consideration. Obviously, it would be as absurd to build a dam at every dam site or to bottle up every creek and branch as it would be to stop building dams altogether. Each situation must be appraised in the light of its own merits and of the needs of the most people.

In the management of water resources, the techniques available are limited. We can channel water, and pipe it, and pump it, to widen its availability. And we can impound it so that when nature's abundant rainstorms fall, the water does not rush to the sea unused. Or we can preserve it in something approaching its natural state. That is about all. But these techniques can still be extremely useful in carrying out both national and regional objectives.

Let me use as an example a small tributary of the Tennessee called the Duck River, a stream most of you never heard of. Along its valley a farm-to-city migration is under way as employment in agriculture declines. The result is mounting pressures of many kinds on the small cities of this area. These towns now obtain their water supplies from the river, which has poorly sustained flows, or from springs and wells which are becoming increasingly unsatisfactory both in the quality and the quantity of the water they yield. Modest industrial growth has occurred and resulted in a more diversified manufacturing economy. But the growth prospects of existing and future new industry are limited by the present water supply.

Paradoxically, an area receiving abundant annual rainfall cannot meet the future needs of its commerce and industry for lack of water! It faces a future of economic stagnation and underemployment which then can only swell the tide of migration to America's central cities with their immense social and economic problems. Meanwhile, the demands on the Duck increase and its beauty and utility decline.

TVA proposes to build two dams on the upper segment of the Duck—small dams in comparison with those many of you have seen in the Knoxville vicinity. The dams are so located and their reservoirs so designed as to preserve by far the greater share of the stream's historical and ecological features as well as its characteristics as a float stream with its canyons, caves, and other beauty spots. In addition, the impoundments will create a whole new opportunity for water-oriented recreation, including a new wild-life refuge.

But most of all, these two dams will enable us to manage the river to protect its own waters for future generations. They will pro-

vide a base for commerce and industry that will furnish needed employment for local people. And in so doing, they will contribute materially to one of our important national objectives—to stem the tide of migration to our metropolitan areas by creating centers of prosperity and beauty in sections now considered rural.

There are other similar situations in the Tennessee Valley in which water is the key to a satisfactory human environment. In these areas further water management techniques, including dam construction, are on our drawing boards for the future—because they are necessary.

And so it must always be. Neither the needs for river development nor the techniques of its execution are static. As long as man procreates, as long as man invents and produces goods, as long as he has desires for better things and a better way of life, he will make new demands on his rivers and waters. Each generation must respond with better ways of meeting those demands.

To those of you who come from the banks of the Danube, the Rhine, and the Thames, this is not a new story. To TVA and to the United States it is an evolving story with many of the answers yet to come. To you who are entrusted with the management of the Zambezi, the Nile, and the Mekong, this story will have its greatest meaning as your economies and social systems grow and change.

We will be watching you with interest and learning from your experience. And we want you to know that we in TVA will always welcome you back to reflect upon our mistakes as well as our progress. And I expect that whenever you return you will find, as you now do, that water is the unifying thread in this multiple-purpose, multiple-resource development effort. And man-made lakes will still be the keystone in our water-use plans.

THE VOICE THAT CANNOT BE STILLED

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, it is well for us to bear in mind the fact that while we enjoy a vast spread of individual freedoms, numbers of others do not possess such privileges. One of the most continually oppressed groups of this kind is the Jewish population of the Soviet Union, groaning under a tyranny that toys with them as a cat does with a trapped mouse.

Most of the time, these people are given solely the right to die and pay taxes. More often than not, they are discriminated against in the most blatant way. They are the only minority so treated today in Russia.

Those who have courage to speak out are either banished, heaved into asylums or persecuted outright in a thousand ugly ways. Yet their courage is unflagging. Their determination to live life freely as Jews is a fire no Soviet freeze can put out. And its warmth is felt across the miles in the hearts of those who seek to feel it.

That in turn has generated a response all across America. One of its strongest echos was felt this last Sunday in Canarsie—in my own area of Brooklyn, N.Y. There a group of compassionate,

sympathetic and determined people came together last Sunday to pledge their faith to the cause of freedom for all Soviet Jews.

Those Canarsie citizens came together in the kind of meeting the Russians cannot ignore. Such gatherings, held in hundreds and thousands by innumerable ordinary Americans, raise a cry the Soviets have grudgingly heeded. Public outcries against their treatment of Soviet Jews embarrasses the Russians. They do not like it. Sunlight is our best disinfectant. Legitimate protest against these actions is the best weapon to use against such modern-day despots. And American citizens in my area of the Nation are utilizing it effectively.

Such efforts will not cease until the Jews of Russia are allowed to go free. I shall support these endeavors until that time comes, as it eventually must.

IKE FULFILLED MISSION

HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, I remember with much satisfaction the time when Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower was our President. He inherited a nation weighted with doubt and suspicion, and he so successfully calmed the diverse troubles that critics actually reproached him for running such a quiet ship—their reward to him for getting the job done selflessly and without fanfare.

I commend the attention of the Members of this body to the article by Henry J. Taylor:

IKE FULFILLED MISSION

(By Henry J. Taylor)

On May 7, 1945, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower tersely cabled the combined Chiefs of Staff in Washington: "The mission of the Allied force was fulfilled at 0241, local time." On Nov. 4, 1952, he was elected President of the United States and then reelected by the largest majority ever given. On March 28, 1969, age 78, he passed into America's history—to live there forever.

"Great men die twice," philosopher Paul Valery said, "once as men and once as great." Our nation bid Dwight D. Eisenhower a sorrowful farewell on both counts.

It was impossible not to like him. On a visit to his Abilene, Kan. boyhood home, he said one day: "I suppose we were poor, but the glory of it was that we never knew it." And even during the war, with five stars on his shoulder, he was certainly a lot more thoughtful and easier to talk with than many a second lieutenant I met one place and another.

"NO VANITY"

He had all the qualities, large and small, that induce loyalty. He had no unkindness at all; his whole nature was charitable; he had no malice in him whatever. This man, one of the most-honored men in all history, was Kipling's "If" personified. He had many occasions to walk with kings and had no illusions of grandeur; no egotism, no jealousy, no vanity.

Gen. Eisenhower lived his life. It didn't live him—and never, never in respect to honors. But a thought also occurs to me that is a wonderful thing to be able to say about any-

body in any walk of life. I have never seen, nor do I believe anybody ever saw, President Eisenhower make a decision with the slightest consideration of how he himself would come out of it.

"SHEER DUTY"

Cervantes wrote that the ambition of every Spanish general is to save his country by becoming its ruler. There is none of this among our nation's top military people as a whole and in Gen. Eisenhower's case the White House was literally thrust upon him.

Is there another case in modern politics where a feeling of sheer duty alone gave a truly reluctant "yes"?

Political life was doubly hard for President Eisenhower because he encountered so much self-serving image-making in it. He was the first TV president and, privately, he was profoundly worried about this mesmerizing tube's political potential.

It was politically advantageous for the Kennedy Administration to belittle Gen. Eisenhower as President and create a fantasy that smoke-screened the truth. This deliberately ignored, among President Eisenhower's contributions, his wise conservation of presidential authority which was so immensely valuable.

He inherited a nation loaded with doubt and suspicion. But he so successfully calmed the diverse ferment that critics actually reproached him for running such a quiet ship—their reward to him for getting the job done selflessly and without trumpets.

DEFUSED FEAR

He inherited the Cold War and achieved stability in handling it. He inherited a nation fearful of atomic holocaust and defused all that, only to leave office to a successor who cried for more missiles and for shock troops to fight guerrilla wars by helicopters.

When President Eisenhower moved he made sure he had everything in hand or he did not move at all: For example, the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines to Lebanon—more than 14,000 men. His successor staged the incredible Bay of Pigs, and persisted in walking noisily while carrying little sticks.

As if President Eisenhower and his resolute lack of romanticism were obsolete, and to register his own image, President Kennedy stated: "We have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I welcome that role!" And then when President Kennedy orated that "now the trumpets summon us again," he literally did not know what he was asking for or the fatal, irrevocable step he was taking by defying former President Eisenhower's advice and sending the first American troops into the ghastly quicksand of Vietnam.

French President Charles de Gaulle once said of aged Marshal Petain: "Old age is a shipwreck." President Eisenhower's ending was the absolute antithesis of this. Until the very last day of his life the years that had passed over his head, God bless him, left only their springtimes behind.

RUMANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 10, 1971

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, it is entirely appropriate that we in this body and in this Nation pause today to observe Rumania's Independence Day.

May 10 is to the Rumanians as July 4 is to us—the day on which a nation's

freedom is commemorated and celebrated. Unfortunately, the real meaning of freedom is known only to those Rumanians residing outside of their mother country. Therefore, in joining our Rumanian brother in the observance of their Independence Day, we, in reality, are uniting with them in the hope and trust that future such occasions will find all Rumanians a free people.

SCHLITZ FOUNDATION OFFERS NATURE TRACT TO AUDUBON SOCIETY

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 6, 1971

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, stories which tell of the pollution of our air, the fouling of our waters, the death of entire species, are commonplace these days, but good news on the environmental front is rare. Therefore it particularly pleases me to be able to call attention to the public-spirited action of the Schlitz Foundation and Mr. Robert A. Uihlein, Jr., in offering an unspoiled 185-acre tract just north of Milwaukee to the National Audubon Society for use as a nature center. While such a multimillion-dollar gift is difficult to duplicate quantitatively, I hope that it may set an example for environmentally conscious actions by others. The following article, which appeared in the Milwaukee Journal on May 2, describes the Schlitz Foundation gift offer:

NINE-MILE FARM OFFERED TO AUDUBON SOCIETY

(By Robert W. Wells)

The Nine Mile Farm in Bayside has been offered to the National Audubon Society for creation of what is predicted to be the nation's finest nature education center. A gift of \$1.3 million will be made to finance preparation of the site and operation of the center.

Robert A. Uihlein Jr., president of the Schlitz Foundation, announced Saturday that the foundation directors had voted to present the 185 acre tract to the society for what would be called the Schlitz-Audubon Nature Center.

Members of the Uihlein family are providing \$1.2 million of the \$1.3 million grant that goes with the foundation's gift, with the rest from another contributor. All of the individuals involved made the gifts anonymously.

The tract, at 8566 N. Lake Dr., has an estimated value of over \$1.5 million. It is the largest area of undeveloped land on Lake Michigan in the Milwaukee area.

"The foundation feels such a nature center would put this unspoiled tract to the best possible use, maintaining its natural beauty and wildlife population for common enjoyment," Uihlein said.

"Hundreds of thousands of people, young and old, would derive pleasure from it. In the hands of the Audubon group, we think, the Nine Mile Farm could become one of America's leading nature centers, bringing national attention to the area."

A spokesman for the Audubon Society said Saturday that a nature center there would be more diverse ecologically than any similar center elsewhere, with the added advantage of being close to a major city.

"It has wonderful possibilities," said

Charles H. Callison, executive vice-president of the national society. "If the offer is accepted by the directors, we intend to make this the very best such center in the country.

"It will be unique from the standpoint of the opportunities it will provide for education because of its convenient location and its ecological diversity."

Although the society's board has indicated it is receptive to the offer, Callison said, formal action cannot be taken until the next meeting of the 30 directors. This will be held at the society's national convention May 20-24 at the Sheraton-Schroeder Hotel here.

The society now has a 400 acre nature center at Greenwich, Conn., one of 300 acres at Sharon, Conn., and a center of less than 100 acres at Dayton, Ohio, and has assisted in the development of about 100 others operated by various public and private agencies.

PUPILS WOULD BENEFIT

A society publication has defined a nature center as "a part of wild America set aside and interpreted for the enjoyment and edification of the people of a community."

Callison explained that such a center was used principally by school classes and other groups interested in learning about the natural environment as well as enjoying it.

Access to such centers is controlled. Provision is made for the individual who wants to walk the trails, but the number of visitors is limited to avoid the over-use that could ruin the center's natural advantages.

Callison said a private, nonprofit organization like the society was in a better position to limit public access than a governmental agency would be.

PARKS' ASSETS DISAPPEAR

"In the national parks, the number of visitors is sometimes so great that they wear away the natural assets the parks were created to protect," he said. "A public agency finds it very hard to control the number because every visitor represents a vote."

Assuming that the society board accepts the gifts, Callison said, the nature center here could be opened by the summer of 1972 and operate the year around.

A visitors' center, including a meeting room or auditorium, would be built, along with parking facilities, nature trails and other facilities needed to make Nine Mile Farm into an open air laboratory for nature study.

STUDY MATERIAL PROVIDED

The staff would be headed by a director-naturalist, Callison said, and would include several other full time naturalists. Educational exhibits would be provided to serve as a kind of nature museum.

A group visiting such a center, Callison said, is met by a staff naturalist who suggests what the visitors should look for on the trails. He accompanies the group during its hike, but children are encouraged to make their own discoveries rather than simply looking where the naturalist points.

Study material is provided to teachers to prepare classes for the visit, Callison said, and additional written information is distributed for later discussion.

Special workshop sessions for teachers are held at the center to show them how to use the natural environment as a laboratory in their own communities.

The center is also designed for use by other groups, including garden clubs, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts and a variety of organizations composed of either adults or children, Callison added.

NO MASS RECREATION

"But visitation is by appointment," he said. "The center will never be operated as a mass recreation area."

Last January, a general appraisal of the Nine Mile Farm's possibilities as a nature center was made by three Audubon officials,

Joseph J. Shomon, director of the nature centers division, Duryea Morton, director of educational services, and Edward M. Brigham III, director of the northern midwest region.

"It is our considered judgment that the 185 acre farm . . . has very great potential as an Audubon center," they reported.

"No fewer than five habitats merge here: Lake Michigan, the lakeshore, midglacier flood plain, hardwood forest on the bluffs and upper lakeshore plain. These give the area attractive physical and biological diversity.

CALL LOCATION IDEAL

"The location is ideal from an educational standpoint. There are well over 180,000 students within an hour's bus ride, as well as thousands of teachers for whom workshops could be conducted. The Co-operative Educational Service Agency is a regional, locally oriented educational service ready to cooperate with the society in co-ordinating children's visits, teachers' workshops and adult education.

"None of us is aware of any existing nature center or environmental education center in a city with property located on a major lakeshore.

"This in itself makes the Nine Mile Farm unique and would give it national and even international significance."

The report indicated that an existing farmhouse could be improved and used as a caretaker's residence. Lumber salvaged in tearing down a barn and garage could be used in building a smaller replica of the existing barn to preserve the farm atmosphere, the report added.

It suggested that extra beams from the barn be used in the "interpretive building"—the visitors' center, which is expected to be built near the top of the bluff, overlooking the lake, east of the present terminus of Brown Deer Rd.

BOUGHT IN 1880'S

Nine Mile Farm—so named because it was a nine mile buggy ride from the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Co.—was purchased in the 1880's by members of the Uihlein family.

In the early years, it was used mainly for family picnics. Brewery horses were sometimes pastured there, the meadows providing relief to hooves accustomed to cobblestone streets.

Sons of several of the six Uihlein brothers who took over operations of the brewery after the death of Joseph Schlitz planted many of the trees on the property. Those seedlings have grown into trees that are now 60 or more years old.

No Uihlein ever lived there, but many family memories are associated with the property. Robert Jr., recalled Saturday that he had heard stories from his father of how as a boy Robert Sr., camped on the bluff there.

USED FOR CAMPING

"Several kids and the family tutor, Gerhard Hubert Balg, who taught them German and other languages, drove out there from the city in a pony cart," Uihlein said. "They took tents and camped for several days. That was in 1893 when my father was 10."

The property has not been farmed for many years. Most of it is entirely as nature made it.

Included in the gift are such hidden assets as a resident deer herd—one family member, who has counted them, said there are 14—along with opossums, foxes, a variety of birds and other wildlife, such wild flowers as ladyslippers, rugged glacial ravines and both woods and open meadows.

In the early 1950s, when the brewery was owned entirely by Uihlein family members, Schlitz gave the farm to the foundation. The foundation, a charitable philanthropic organization, has given to hospital, welfare, recreational and cultural causes.

VALUE HAS SOARED

In recent years, with the Nine Mile Farm growing increasingly valuable, a variety of suggestions were made on what should be done with it.

There was a division of opinion among foundation directors as to whether the acreage should be donated to some appropriate group or sold, with the money used for other charitable purposes.

The decision was reached last week after Elvis J. Stahr, president of the National Audubon Society, and Morton presented an outline of their proposal to operate the farm as a nature center at a meeting of the foundation directors.

One requirement was that enough money be available to develop and operate the center according to the high standards desired by both the society and the foundation. Part of the \$1.3 million contribution will provide an endowment fund for an annual operating budget of about \$100,000.

OFFER IS CONDITIONAL

The offer is conditional on the society's operating the farm as a nature center in accord with "standards deemed appropriate by the Schlitz Foundation." If at any time during the next 20 years such standards are not met, the property reverts to the foundation.

Detailed plans for the center have not yet been worked out, but foundation spokesmen said it was expected that the trails would include pathways that could be used by persons in wheelchairs and that a nature trail for the blind would be constructed.

Assuming Audubon board approval of the offer, representatives of the society and the foundation will probably seek a zoning variance from the Bayside Village Board to permit construction of the necessary buildings and use of the site as a nature center. The farm is now zoned for one family dwellings, according to Atty. Edwin P. Wiley, representing several of the family members.

TAXES TOTAL \$33,500

Wiley said that to obtain a tax exemption for the property, it would be necessary to get permission of the Milwaukee County Board. Last year, he said, the taxes totaled about \$33,500, including \$19,486 for schools, \$11,442 to the state, county and metropolitan sewerage district, \$1,297 for Milwaukee Area Technical College and \$1,273 to Bayside.

More than a year ago, Kurt W. Bauer, executive director of the Southeastern Wisconsin Regional Planning Commission, indicated that the commission staff hoped the farm would be preserved as an outdoor educational laboratory.

"The loss of this high quality site in one of the primary environmental corridors of the region through development for intensive urban use would be tragic indeed, not only to the people of Milwaukee County but to all of southeastern Wisconsin," he added.

Rene Dubos, internationally known bacteriologist and a Pulitzer Prize author who is serving as an ecological consultant to the Schlitz brewery, is a member of a committee representing the Schlitz Foundation in planning for the center.

SAYS LITTLE IS LEFT

"It is important to save what little is left of the beautiful lakefront," he said Saturday. "That is almost too obvious to mention."

"But it has been my observation that when land like this is released to the public but not managed, not much has been done with it. So it was necessary not only to deed over the property but to do something to make it more meaningful to people."

"Enough management is needed to make people feel at ease but, on the other hand, not so much as to lose the special quality."

Dubos said that so much of America's beautiful land had been lost that "to save some of it is very timely."

"We have to help people recapture an interest in the land," he said. "They need to see what this country used to be like and what it could be like."

"We must re-establish samples of each type of land and manage them in a way that they will retain their original natural characteristics."

GEORGIA STATE SENATE PASSES A RESOLUTION PERTAINING TO THE VIETNAM WAR

HON. DAWSON MATHIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. MATHIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, we are now in the second decade of involvement in Vietnam, and the American public very strongly desires an end to the longest war in our Nation's history.

Recognizing that almost 1,500 Georgians have lost their lives, thousands have been wounded, and at least 67 Georgia families have fathers or sons listed as prisoners of war or missing in action as a result of the war, the Georgia State Senate has adopted a resolution which I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION, GEORGIA STATE SENATE

Supporting negotiations to obtain a further withdrawal of American land forces from Vietnam in exchange for a battlefield cease-fire and return of our prisoners of war; and for other purposes.

Whereas, the war in Vietnam has affected every county, city and community in Georgia; and

Whereas, almost 1,500 Georgians have lost their lives in the war; and

Whereas, thousands of Georgians have been wounded, and at least 67 Georgia families have fathers or sons listed as prisoners of war or missing in action; and

Whereas, the United States is beginning its second decade of involvement in the longest war in our history; and

Whereas, the Vietnam War is exceeded only by World War II as the most expensive in our history; and

Whereas, the Vietnam war is exceeded only by the two world wars and the Civil War in casualties; and

Whereas, the President of the United States has stated that we do not seek a military victory in this war and has committed us to a policy of military withdrawal; and

Whereas, American men are still being killed and maimed, and Americans are still being held as prisoners of war.

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Senate that this body hereby supports negotiations to obtain a further withdrawal of American land forces from Vietnam and, if necessary, to set a date certain for such withdrawal, in exchange for a battlefield cease-fire and return of our prisoners of war.

Be it further resolved that the Secretary of the Senate is hereby authorized and directed to transmit appropriate copies of this Resolution to the President of the United States, and to each member of the United States Senate and House of Representatives from the State of Georgia.

Adopted in Senate February 23, 1971.

LESTER MADDOX,

President of the Senate.

Attest:

HAMILTON McWHORTER,

Secretary of the Senate.

OUR CROWDED HOUSEHOLD

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege for me to call the attention of my colleagues in the House to the work of a remarkable man from my district in Queens, N.Y.—Mr. Robert I. Queen of Flushing. An article written by him, titled "Our Crowded Household," has been accepted for publication in the highly prestigious Page One Awards Yearbook of the Newspaper Guild of New York, published in this 37th anniversary year of 1971. This is the 20th time that material by Mr. Queen has been so honored, truly an unusual distinction for one of the most talented writers I know.

Author, writer, public relations consultant, Bob Queen's richly varied background is a prime factor in the character and quality of his work. Many here will remember him as assistant to Congressman Alfred E. Santangelo from 1960 to 1963. He has an enviable reputation in the field of public relations, having written many books, including one, "Creative PR for Your Special Events," which has become a standard reference text at many universities. Having served the cause of broadcasting for over 30 years, he is a life member of Broadcast Pioneers. He has written for such productions as "Suspense," "The Green Hornet," "The Web," and "The Shadow," and also for the Greater New York Fund panel shows and interviews.

In addition, he has served as public relations counsel to New York State Senator John R. Dunne and has engaged in PR activities for innumerable organizations, public and private. He has also served as a volunteer placement coordinator for various press and journalism associations.

Bob Queen represents the highest type of American, and embodies those ideals of service to the community which we so badly need in these trouble times. I am glad to share with you this sample of his creative ability, marking, as it does, yet another milestone in his distinguished career:

OUR CROWDED HOUSEHOLD—CHAPTER II

(By Robert I. Queen)

Three years have gone by and by some kind of domestic inverted Parkinson's Law the space in the apartment has expanded to accommodate things. Nothing in our home can be thrown out unless accompanied by kicking and screaming—my wife screaming and our older son kicking.

The stuffed animals have not left us—they have merely moved from bed to toy chest. The beds, instead are loaded with rockets and models of lunar modules on one side of the boys' room and assorted miniature cars on the other. Every once in a while, in sheer frustration, my wife gives one of the bed spreads a yank without first unloading the objects, and artifacts fall as the gentle rain from heaven upon the floor beneath. Only our daughter keeps her bed as a place to sleep—shared only by Raggedy Ann, Raggedy Andy, (known until recently as "Boy" Raggedy Ann), and a Teddy Bear.

We are also knee deep in paper back books, the school and the Scholastic Magazine com-

pany being busily engaged in fostering the love of reading by selling low priced paper back books to children who purchase their assorted weekly magazines.

For four years now we have been accumulating See-Saw Books, Arrow Books, Weekly Reader Books, and Junior Scholastic Books at a geometrically increasing rate. Every few months the private book shelves get overloaded and the books are moved along to the next child in line, leaving the youngest, Ann Claire, the uninterested possessor of untold books about steamshovels, pickup trucks and bulldozers, when what she really likes are Cinderella and Sleeping Beauty.

When she reached three, Ann Claire had had enough. Women's Lib to the contrary, she was a girl and glad of it. Equal was okay, but the same was definitely not!

Her declaration of independence came when my wife was fitting her with the next size in raincoats that were lined up in the closet. Ann Claire took one look and announced that she did not want boy's raincoats—she wanted a girl's raincoat with flowers on it. She also demanded petticoats with lace, dresses with ruffles, and her brothers Alan and Joseph can keep their old trucks. She wants a doll with a wedding dress!

The middle child, Joseph, has now added a preoccupation with baseball to a preoccupation with words. Having announced to his mother at the age of four that from now on he was going to read to her instead of the other way around, he became a reading group of one in first grade, while his teacher worked hard to bring the other children far enough along so that he could have some buddies. After failing to challenge him with a fifth grade reader, she gave up and pretty much let him read what he wanted. Now in second grade at P.S. 21 Queens, he has just been appointed chairman of his first "community" and spent a busy afternoon on the phone assigning jobs to his fellow members, after which he could begin to think of his own contributions.

The ten year old, Alan, has his sights firmly set on science and outdoing the Collier brothers. Nothing is ever pitched at the waste paper basket in his room, only at his desk. A birthday card, carefully hidden away for his mother's birthday in December was not unearthed until the following June. To legitimate collections such as coins, stamps and baseball cards, are added old magazines, TV listings of the week from 1969, the stamp pages from the Sunday editions of the New York Times, hand drawn stamps of his own design, sculptures in various materials, articles on space, empty film boxes, the tags holding together his last three new pairs of socks, pictures he takes with his camera, slides for his microscope; ("Wait," he yelled when his mother cut herself, "let me make a slide."); a replica of the Goodyear Tire Ride at the last World's Fair in Flushing; the wheels of his Big Bruiser Truck, which he got at the age of two—but why go on . . . If he becomes a surgeon, as he now plans, he'll probably keep every appendix he ever removes and set up a museum similar to that of his ideal, Dr. Milton Helpern, the Chief Medical Examiner of New York City.

CONGRESSMAN BARING SPELLS OUT VA HOSPITAL NEEDS

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Subcommittee on Hospitals of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, of which I am

a member, began a series of hearings today on pending proposals for improvements in medical care for our Nation's veterans.

I am a cosponsor of a key measure, H.R. 6568, which would give our committee a direct say in any proposed construction, addition to or closing of VA hospitals. The bill was introduced by the full committee chairman, the Honorable OLIN E. TEAGUE of Texas.

Another measure being considered is H.R. 2157, which I introduced in January, to provide pay differentials for nurses in VA hospitals. I sponsored similar legislation in the 91st Congress and the need for action increases by the days.

At the opening session of the subcommittee today, the gentleman from Nevada (Mr. BARING), who is next in seniority ahead of me on the committee, made a very forceful presentation regarding the situation in our VA hospitals.

He pinpointed the problems with which he is most familiar, those in Nevada, but he emphasized that similar situations exist throughout the VA hospital system.

Mr. BARING—Nevada's lone Representative in Congress—is well versed in veterans' affairs, having served with distinction and dedication for many years on the committee.

Mr. Speaker, I am including with my remarks the text of the prepared statement by our colleague to the subcommittee:

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN WALTER S. BARING, NEVADA, BEFORE THE VETERANS' AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE ON HOSPITALS, MAY 11, 1971

Mr. Chairman, I have just returned from a visit to my home State of Nevada which I serve in the U.S. Congress at-large. It is timely that these hearings today on the Veterans Administration budget should come so soon because a major part of my time spent in Nevada involved the critical problem of hospital care and treatment for Nevada veterans.

The needs of Nevada veterans very likely exemplify the overall nation-wide needs of veterans in every community and state. The question is just how are these veterans to receive the aid, the comfort and benefits due them when the Veterans Administration budget for fiscal year 1972 shows only a very slight increase over fiscal year 1971 and when there are large monthly increases in the number of servicemen returning to private life as veterans who need medical care.

I do not believe that the full impact of the returning Vietnam veterans alone can be adequately estimated as to what their full needs will be today or in the future.

I do believe that the fiscal year 1972 budget must be increased and that veterans hospitals, staffs, and rehabilitation facilities along with veterans homes must find relief through an increased Veterans Administration appropriation.

HOSPITAL EXPANSION NEEDED

There are other areas of concern that this House Committee on Veterans Affairs must take into serious consideration.

But the driving and initial problem, in my opinion, is the urgent and humane necessity to provide increased medical treatment by increasing the number of veterans hospitals, enlarging those currently in operation and increasing the medical staffs for all hospitals.

Mr. Chairman, today we have the era of the returning Vietnam veteran and he is increasing the rolls of the number of overall veterans. Many will need hospital and re-

habilitative treatment and that fact is going to enlarge a problem which we already face without sufficient funds.

I will use the Reno, Nevada, veterans center as an example. This year the Reno facility is experiencing a rejection of veterans seeking admission for medical aid at a rate of over 40 percent. The center does not have the room to take these people, who I am informed, all were eligible for assistance.

These wanting veterans have to turn to other facilities today which means an airplane or lengthy and tiring road trip to another facility where again the veteran may have to apply and be placed on a waiting list.

DEMAND UP, BEDS FEWER

The number of beds at the Reno facility are decreasing. In fact, an announcement in August of last year indicated that \$70,000 would be put into the Reno veterans center for more beds. That contract was cancelled sometime within the last few months. These beds were for the Nursing Home Care Unit.

Now, effective April first of this year the Nursing Home Care Unit beds have been reduced from 45 to 27.

What happened to the \$70,000? I am informed by the Reno Veterans Center Hospital Director, Merle Allen, that the money was used to just "fix up" the rooms.

So, already the veterans hospitals of this country are over-flowing and now we are facing the high volume of the returning Vietnam veterans. What will we do with him if he needs lengthy medical attention?

In fact, the Vietnam veteran is returning to a country which is experiencing a deplorable unemployment rate . . . six percent at last count.

In Nevada, as a matter of fact, the unemployment rate is at a high, with 5.5 percent out of work. We can barely find jobs for those veterans who are able to work. This is a part of the overall problem.

DISABLED GO MILES FOR HELP

Meanwhile, that medically disabled Nevada veteran who was turned away from the Reno veterans center for lack of room has to leave the State for help. He has to go 300 miles or more for help only after he has been forced to wait due to overflows in other veterans hospitals.

Mr. Chairman, this brings me to another key issue which Nevada veterans are actively involved with today. That is the drive to establish a veterans hospital in Clark County, Nevada, for 400 beds. I have introduced a bill in Congress every year for the past several years calling for this much-needed facility.

There are 67,000 veterans who reside in Nevada and almost half of them, some 32,000, live in southern Nevada in Clark County. So, there is a veterans population concentration in Clark.

I have argued this need for several years with the various Veterans Administrators, the Bureau of the Budget, now called the Bureau of Management and Budget.

I will not relent in my efforts, and I feel that this hospital and others around the nation must be established to handle the veterans medical needs which are becoming more critical every day and every time another shipment of men comes home from Vietnam and they return to civilian life.

There is plenty of publicly owned land in Clark County which could be turned over to the Veterans Administration for a site for a hospital.

URGENT NEED FOR NEW HOSPITAL

The demand for the hospital is there, and I will have very soon, thousands of signatures I expect, from Nevadans who are petitioning for such a hospital. Right now, I am speaking in behalf of those signatures which include a majority of veterans.

Another primary factor I understand the Veterans Administration must consider is the ability to recruit professional staff. I see no problem here whatsoever that cannot be over-

come with a recruitment program which I feel certain the citizens of Clark County would possibly sponsor themselves to some, or even to a large, degree along with some assistance and direction from the Veterans Administration.

The virtues and advantages of living in state-income-tax-free Nevada along with the numerous services, recreational aspects and ideal climate of southern Nevada, need not be listed at length in order to attract medical staffs. In fact, the climate would have much bearing on the easy and comfortable recuperation veterans hospital patients would experience.

LACK MEDICAL SCHOOL

However, Clark County does not have a medical school but there is certainly the potential for one to be established with the University of Nevada at Reno well launched on this project now and the fact that there are two major hospitals in Clark County now which could be utilized along with the cooperation of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas campus. The two universities are sister campuses and are fully cooperative so that one can assist the other's needs.

I would like to take note of the fact that the above priorities which I feel meet the call for a veterans hospital in Clark County, would also go hand-in-hand with a bill I support which was sponsored by the Chairman of this Veterans Affairs Committee, Rep. Olin Teague.

That bill would permit the establishment on a pilot basis of five new medical schools to be started in conjunction with the Veterans Administration. I feel Clark County should certainly qualify for one of these pilot school projects.

I feel the potential is there for a medical school and I know the need is there for a veterans hospital.

SOME VITAL STATISTICS

Mr. Chairman, I would like to add these vital statistics. Clark County (Las Vegas) Nevada is the seventh fastest growing county in the United States. Las Vegas itself is ranked 112th in population size of all American cities which are considered major. The State of Nevada is the fastest growing state in the United States. Nevada has experienced a growth of 68 percent during the past ten years prior to the 1970 census.

The population of Clark County is 270,000; 32,000 veterans are included in that figure which I believe should rate Clark County high on the Veterans Administration list of those cities, counties, and areas at the top to qualify for a veterans hospital.

Clark County area veterans who need medical help have to drive over 350 miles to Los Angeles for treatment, 500 miles to Salt Lake City for help, 465 miles to Reno's over-flowing veterans center for aid, or 800 miles to Arizona.

I urge that the Veterans Administration appropriation for fiscal year 1972 be substantially increased so that veterans hospital centers around the nation, such as the one in Reno, Nevada, can be enlarged throughout and that a 400-bed veterans hospital be located in Clark County, Nevada near Las Vegas.

I thank the Committee for this opportunity to discuss the veterans' needs today.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—
HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE
OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 11, 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?

MAJOR STATEMENTS AND MESSAGES GIVEN AT FREEDOM DAY RALLY

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, a great deal of speculation has obviously developed over United States and Chinese relations as a result of the now famous ping-pong diplomatic move by Red China.

My concern is that we do not jump to premature judgments or wishful thinking concerning the motivation of Red China's foreign policy, and that we keep in mind the years of cooperation and effective diplomatic, economic, as well as military relations that we have enjoyed with the Nationalist Chinese Government.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I insert into the Record major statements and messages on the occasion of the January 23, 1971, Freedom Day rally in Taipei, Republic of China. One of the main participants in this program was former Congressman Donald E. Lukens of Ohio.

The following items are inserted as a continuation of my remarks:

CABLE MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY PARK CHUNG HEE, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

On the occasion of the World Freedom Day, I would like to express personally and on behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Korea warmest congratulations and best wishes to the people of the Republic of China and the free peoples of the world.

Seventeen years ago today, 22,000 Korean and Chinese prisoners of war so valiantly chose freedom in open defiance of Communism and at the risk of their lives, and demonstrated to the world how great their yearning was for freedom day by initiative of the people of the Republic of China.

Seventeen years later today, it is most heartening to witness that not only the Koreans and the Chinese but the peoples of 71 national and associated member units of the world anti-Communist league participated in the observance of this historic day.

This single fact speaks for itself how responsive humanity is towards the upsurge of freedom, which is spreading like a wildfire and is finding its path even into the Iron Curtain.

However, this is not a time for us to rest in self-complacency or to relax our guard as tendencies to appease Communists are also gaining influence.

We have already fought a long and hard war. The longer and the harder war we will have to wage in the years ahead.

However, sure victory will ultimately be ours as we continue to stand close together in unity and solidarity against our common enemy, an enemy in differing masks but with the same old intention of conquering the world.

Thus on this day, as we pay tribute to those who have so courageously fought for freedom we should renew our resolution to carry forth our common cause of freedom.

MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY NGUYEN VAN THIEU, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

On January 23rd, people everywhere remember the day when, at the end of the Korean war, 22,000 communist POWs decided not to return to their homelands in order to escape communist rule.

In its war of aggression against the Republic of Korea the Peiping Communist regime sent its troops into Korea to fight united nations forces under the guise of "Volunteers", and yet these men when given an opportunity, did not hesitate to choose freedom. This significant event sheds full light on the real meaning of the so-called "Liberation forces" organized by the Communists to camouflage their aggression, and the so-called "wars of national liberation" they wage against their neighbors.

The choice of freedom made by the 22,000 communist POWs in the Korean War, as well as the historical exodus of nearly one million North Vietnamese who chose to abandon their ancestral homes in the part of the country placed under communist domination, testifies to the irrepressible aspirations for freedom and the great sacrifices which people are willing to accept in order to obtain and maintain freedom.

On this occasion, I send my best wishes and warm greetings to all the people and civic organizations attending world freedom week and world freedom mass rally, and to freedom loving people everywhere.

MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY THANOM KITTIKACHORN, PRIME MINISTER OF THAILAND

The Thai nation has enjoyed a long tradition of freedom and independence. Through the centuries of nationhood our abiding faith in the eternal values of freedom for men and women have been manifested and proven, and it is for this reason that the World Freedom Day holds a special significance for us. We are therefore ready to join with other like-minded nations in observing the occasion and in reaffirming our dedicated resolution to uphold the rights of peoples to pursue their destinies and ways of life free from outside interference and coercion.

For their part, the Thai Government and people have endeavored to show by deeds their earnest desire to contribute constructively to regional stability, progress and prosperity, and to live in peace and harmony with their neighbors. It is all the more unfortunate, therefore, that certain authoritarian Marxist regimes in Asia show no signs of relinquishing their negative policies of denying their own people the right to live as free and normal human beings and of seeking to extend their hegemony by force of arms and subversion over other peoples. It is patently clear that these ruthless regimes have been hostile to Thailand and other small nations of Southeast Asia rather than the opposite. It is indeed the other side which is trying to undermine peace, reduce human dignity and destroy good understanding between nations and peoples. As long as they continue to cling to such outmoded policies and practices, the free world has no choice but to persist in its rightful and worthy cause.

On this auspicious occasion, the Thai Government and people extend their cordial good wishes to the Government and people of the Republic of China, as well as to all the nations here represented, for their continued success in their struggles to restore peace and maintain freedom with justice and dignity in this part of the world.

CABLE MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY KYU HAH CHOI, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF REPUBLIC OF KOREA

On behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Korea, I wish to extend

our heartfelt felicitations to you and to the great people of the Republic of China on the occasion of your Freedom Day. It is my fervent hope that the heroic struggle of the people of the Republic of China for defending freedom will be continued with great success.

MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY WALTER P. MCCONAUGHY, AMBASSADOR OF THE UNITED STATES

The struggle for human freedom expresses one of the highest aspirations of mankind. January 23 commemorates a notable chapter in the history of this struggle. Seventeen years ago, on January 23, 1954, twenty-two thousand Chinese and Korean prisoners of war chose to seek freedom abroad under the auspices of the United Nations voluntary repatriation program rather than to return to the harsh regimen of life in their native lands under Communism.

Those who were so fortunate as to choose liberty and who subsequently came to Taiwan were not disappointed. During their seventeen years of freedom they have witnessed the remarkable growth achieved by the Republic of China under the inspired leadership of President Chiang Kai-shek. They can also take great pride in the Republic of China's generous efforts to assist many younger nations throughout the Free World in the never-ending struggle to raise the level of human dignity and peoples' livelihood.

There is no greater challenge than mankind's eternal and instinctive search for freedom, justice, and equality of opportunity. The United States Government is pleased to be associated again with the commemoration of this significant event in the quest for a better world.

MESSAGE FROM MR. PRITAM SINGH, MEMBER OF WACL AND APACL INDIA CHAPTER

Let us resolve & dedicate ourselves this auspicious Day of Freedom where about 14,000 oppressed peace-loving soldiers betrayed & misled by Mao's tyrannical rule were liberated from the clutches of this blood hungry & war ravaged inflicted innocent soldiers of the Korean-war in 1953 & warmly welcomed by their compatriots in Keelung harbour last.

Today the freedom-loving people of the world should awake from the poisoning appeasement spread by the Peiping regime to show their deadly arrows & stab-back afterwards to them as they have shown & demonstrated all around the world during the intensive period of 21-days war between India itself in the later part of 1962.

All the peace-loving people of the world should determine and should form a collective security in Asia first to defend their sovereign rights against this treacherous appeasement campaign spread by the Mao's elements recently.

Asians should be urged to get rid of all traces of self-confinement neutralist line & non-alignment policy, then bring forth all of their strength in a joint endeavour for self and mutual salvation.

PRESIDENT CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S MESSAGE TO THE WORLD FREEDOM DAY MASS RALLY IN THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA, JANUARY 23, 1971

The Freedom Day Movement was initiated on January 23, 1954, by people and organizations of the Republic of China. Since then, Freedom Day has become a momentous occasion for recalling the heroism with which more than 22,000 anti-Communist fighters rejected Communism and embraced freedom. This occasion also provides proof that freedom will win the final victory over enslavement. The Freedom Day Movement has dealt heavy blows to Communist tyranny and provided immense encouragement to the free world in its struggle to maintain international justice and human dignity. The designation of the occasion as World Freedom Day by the World Anti-Communist League is further assurance that the solidarity and

strength of freedom will destroy tyrannical enslavement. This has extraordinary significance for our times.

Freedom Day of this year coincides with the 60th year of the Republic of China. I have pointed out that the Republic of China's decade of the 60s (the 1970s) will be an epoch for the realization of justice, freedom and peace. Our National Revolution calls for struggle in the cause of international justice, human freedom and world peace. Goals of the World Freedom Day Movement are identical with those of the National Revolution.

The oligarch Mao Tse-tung, who incarnates all that is evil and brutal, has been trying to "revolt against the whole world" and stir up endless troubles. He wants to turn the world into a gigantic prison resembling that on the Chinese mainland. International appeasers have nearsightedly ignored crime and barbarism and have been too bewildered to uphold justice and peace. This has helped the Chinese Communists to expand their aggressions and has brought the appeasers to the brink of self-destruction. Not only have the appeasers harmed themselves; they also have permitted the mounting of a serious threat to the security of the free world. This is the moment of darkness just before the dawn. It is a time to be firm in our convictions and not to be depressed by any difficulty or reverse, to abide by our principles so as not to be swayed by any change in the situation and to continue our struggle so as not to be intimidated by any setback. In following this course, we are certain that the morality of mankind and the legality of justice will finally prevail, that evil and tyranny ultimately will be annihilated and that humankind can surely be saved from holocaust. Freedom-seeking and anti-enslavement tides of workers, peasants, intellectuals, youths and students now suffering persecution on the mainland eventually will achieve confluence with our big army of counterattack. The huge prison of the outlaw Mao will be destroyed.

The principal task of our Movement to Safeguard the Freedom of Mankind is the further consolidation and exercise of the free world's anti-Communist strength. We shall endeavor to transform people-to-people solidarity into solidarity among governments, turn regional union into worldwide union and expand economic, cultural and political cooperation into a system of total cooperation. With our common will and the united strength of the free world, we can go on to call peoples enslaved behind the Iron Curtain to unite in their struggle against Communism and tyranny. Attacking from within and without, we shall terminate Communist rule.

In this great struggle compatriots of the Republic of China at home and abroad should close ranks with mainland compatriots who now are shut behind the enemy's lines on the mainland and suffering Mao's persecutions and violations. Thus we shall do away with the outlaw Mao, who is the source of all the evil's in Asia and a totalitarian dictator who harasses the world. We shall open up a new and promising prospect for the Republic of China's decade of the 60s and for the security of Asia, the peace of the world and the freedom of humankind.

ADDRESS BY WORLD FREEDOM DAY MASS RALLY CHAIRMAN KU CHENG-KANG

Vice President Yen, Distinguished Guests, Freedom-Fighters and Representatives:

This is the 60th year of the Republic of China. For this reason, the World Freedom Day this year obviously should be regarded as possessing a far greater and more profound historical significance than those of other years. For 60 years the Republic of China has endeavored toward modernization on the basis of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People. Important achievements have been made in the fight for the

freedom of the nation and the people. In the fight against Communist aggression and threats of enslavement, the Republic of China stands today in the Western Pacific as a mainstay for Asia's freedom and security. At the same time, it is regarded unanimously by the 700 million Chinese mainland people as the source of hope for regaining freedom.

As all of us are fully aware, the brilliant, heroic event of the Freedom Day in 1954 has taught us that freedom can be gained only through firm and gallant struggles calling for sacrifice and that joint determination and strong unity are needed if freedom is to be preserved forever. Unfortunately the mistaken words and deeds of international appeasers today are in complete contradiction to the way of victory for freedom. Faced with the serious challenges and threats of evil international Communist forces, these appeasers are stooping for monetary tranquility that they mockingly call "peace" and are willing to shrink and retreat for what they deceptively name "coexistence." Some of them have been frightened by the appalling outlook of Communists. Some others have been misguided by the Communists' smiling-face offensive. The worst type are the united front elements and fellow travellers of international Communists. Under various guises, all of them are befriending and flirting the Communists, plunging the world further into turmoil and confusion.

The international appeasers have gone to all troubles acting as helpers to the Communists of Peiping. The regime still is plagued by serious contradictions, difficulties and dangers and is headed for fiercer power struggles. But the appeasers maintain that the Peiping regime is now firm and stable. The Chinese Communists, riding high above the 700 million mainland inhabitants, have enslaved, oppressed and slaughtered a countless number of people. Their recent attempt to revise their so-called constitution has completely bared their intention to strip the people of all their rights and to commit further atrocities by means of terror, tyranny and totalitarianism. And yet, the rulers represent the wishes and interests of the Chinese people. Externally the Chinese Communists are sticking firmly to their belligerent, aggressive line under the "three-anti" and "nine-support" slogans. They want worldwide revolts and have been fanning up armed rebellions and political subversion in Asian countries. Even so, the appeasers want to establish so-called diplomatic relations with the Peiping regime and to admit it into the United Nations. They think that once the Chinese Communists are let into international society, they will turn meek and abandon their aggressive expansionist line.

By presenting this confused maze before us, history is subjecting us to a severe test. But no matter how complicated and changeable the world situation may be, history is certain to develop toward victory for freedom as the true wish and choice of mankind are inevitably for attainment of freedom. Standing now at this important crossroads of history, we all have to rise gallantly, bring forth our courage, give full play to the power of justice and overcome all the obstacles on the road to freedom. By clearing away all the barriers, we shall together strive to create a truly free era for all of mankind.

For all these reasons, we sincerely make the following calls:

First, all the free nations must fully understand that there can be no peace without freedom, that prosperity is lost if security is gone and that victory is not possible where there is no unity. In particular, it must be understood that no matter what smiling faces and peace offensive the evil international Communist forces may choose to use, their ambition to conquer the world and intention to enslave mankind will never

change. The Chinese Communists pose the greatest danger to the well-being of the world. Free nations have no reason whatsoever to help the Chinese Communists spread their evil flames, add strength and elevate their status. Instead, powerful counterblows must be delivered. Peiping's threats and dangers must be checked and nullified. Therefore, we call upon the governments and peoples of the free world to brush aside all the indulgent thoughts, wipe out appeaser views and abandon capitulationist policies. As the free world leader, the United States above all must never entertain any fallacious appeaser view toward the Communists in general and those of Peiping in particular. In view of the present world situation, the United States must even more firmly uphold its national spirit, fully bring forth its moral courage, gallantly continue to shoulder its responsibility for international justice and human freedom, positively promote the unity of world freedom forces and jointly struggle for man's freedom. With regard to Asia as a whole and Southeast Asia in particular, the United States must fully play up the positive and constructive aspects of the new Asian policy under the Nixon doctrine and work toward an early establishment of an Asian and Pacific regional security organization so that the countries in this part of the world can swiftly reach the stage of joint opposition against the Communists. At the same time, the United States must take effective steps of assistance for the anti-Communist and anti-tyranny forces behind the Iron Curtain so that all can join hands and strive for freedom. Asia belongs not only to the Asians but to the world as well. Asia's safety or danger inevitably affects the rest of the world. Asian nations should as a matter of course bring forth the spirit of self-salvation and mutual salvation as they pool their strength and act in unison for the protection of Asian freedom. At the same time, they should endeavor jointly with all the other nations of the world to protect the freedom of all human beings and the peace of the entire world.

Secondly, the masses behind the Iron Curtain must rise strongly against tyranny. Communist regimes of various countries are now shaky because of political and economic setbacks. This is therefore the right time to fight for freedom and shake off the shackles of enslavement. The anti-tyranny riots in Poland late last year caused the resignation of Wladyslaw Gomulka as the Polish Communist Party boss and forced the Red regime of that country to make concessions. This was a successful example of fight against Communist tyranny. But true freedom for Iron Curtain people does not come unless the Communist regimes are thoroughly destroyed through continuously stepped-up struggles.

The darkness and cruelty of Chinese Communist tyranny are unprecedented. But because of its stepped-up attempts at perpetrating fanatic schemes, the Peiping regime is facing a true danger of complete downfall before angry masses. For this reason, we call upon the people of Chinese mainland to oppose the convocation of a National People's Congress, object the so-called constitutional amendment, launch heroic struggles against Mao Tse-tung's totalitarian one-man autocracy and bring the anti-Communist and anti-Mao tide on the mainland to a new height. Under the banner of Anti-Mao and National Salvation United Front, the people of the mainland will then join with military and civilian forces from this national recovery bastion and together wipe out the Peiping regime through people's anti-Communist revolutionary struggles. Freedom and happiness will then be regained for all of our countrymen.

Thirdly, the free Chinese, military and civilian alike, must unite together ever more strongly in this 60th year of the Republic

and, under the great leadership of President Chiang, continue our fight on the forefront of man's struggle to safeguard freedom. With the greatest determination and utmost endeavors, we shall recover the Chinese mainland at an early date and bring about a turning point in the whole world situation. Our firm stand must be kept. Our national policy separating the evil from the just must be upheld. All the schemes to introduce Peiping into the United Nations and all the mistaken views about two Chinas must be smashed. President Chiang has said that "survival is assured when we ourselves are in control of the situation but death is certain to follow when the control is lost to others."

In line with this instruction, we must step up our overall renovation efforts in the political, economic, cultural and social fields. With our revolutionary spirits calling for self-support, self-advancement and self-salvation, we shall build our base of national revival into a strong anti-Communist bastion and swiftly complete all the necessary preparations for our mainland recovery mission. More importantly, we must positively carry out activities behind the enemy lines on the mainland and strengthen our Anti-Mao and National Salvation United Front in accordance with the President's instruction that 70 per cent of our anti-Communist efforts must be in the political field and carried out right behind the enemy. This way we shall touch off a mainland-wide anti-Communist revolution of the people and defeat the enemy from within its camp. The Peiping regime will come to its end and the decade of the 60s in the history of our Republic will be recorded as an era of victory for our mainland recovery and national reconstruction mission. After attaining our goal of freedom for the nation and the people, we shall continue our fight to bring freedom to all of mankind.

All of us must proceed in the direction I have just mentioned, for this also is the direction of our time. The iron rule of history is that tyranny is destined to fall and freedom will ultimately triumph. We must have a clear-cut view of the course of history and know how to take advantage of the turns of events. We all must step up our struggles for individual, national and worldwide freedom. Victory for freedom will then be ours and we shall be creators of a long-lasting era of freedom for mankind.

VICE PRESIDENT C. K. YEN'S ADDRESS AT THE WORLD FREEDOM DAY MASS RALLY IN THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA, JANUARY 23, 1971

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, Dear Freedom Fighters and Friends from Behind the Iron Curtain, Ladies and Gentlemen:

We come together today at this World Freedom Day mass rally to promote a movement which will safeguard the freedom of man and eradicate the Maoists' totalitarian tyranny. This is indeed a gathering of immense significance.

By nature, men treasure freedom and hate tyranny. All through the centuries, most of the world's wars have been fought for the defense of freedom as against tyranny and of justice as against abuse of power.

Because of rampant Communist scourges, man's freedom has been subjected to the most serious of challenges during the last half century. After World War II, the Communists grabbed Eastern Europe and usurped the Chinese mainland, thereby erecting huge Iron Curtains both in the West and the East, and plunging nearly half of the world's population into the dark rule of Communist tyranny. This tragic situation constitutes an unprecedented disaster in man's history.

But the more virulent the violence, the stronger the resistance to it. As the Chinese Communists become more violent, people enslaved behind the Iron Curtain steadily increase their determination to survive, to re-

gain freedom and to oppose slavery and oppression. During the Korean war two decades ago, 22,000 anti-Communist Chinese and Korean prisoners-of-war courageously elected freedom and wrote a brilliant page in the history of man's struggle for liberty. This was followed by the thousands upon thousands of enslaved people who broke through the Iron Curtain by air, sea and land. Such a continuous outflow of refugees fully reflects the turmoil and chaos behind the Iron Curtain in both the East and the West. There has been a surging tide of uprisings against Communism and tyranny on the Chinese mainland. In Eastern Europe we have seen angry fires of protest kindled by the people of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland in their fearless fight against tyranny. These heartening developments show the earnest desire of the oppressed people for freedom and democracy and also testify that Communist tyranny is on the verge of total collapse in its confrontation with the enraged masses.

The overwhelming majority of the enslaved people behind the Iron Curtain is strongly opposing Communist tyranny as a result of hunger, terror and slave labor. Heroic anti-Communist wars also are being fought by the brave people in such countries as Vietnam and Khmer on the periphery of the Iron Curtain. These people would rather die than become Communist slaves. Many trusted friends and relatives of the Communist chieftains have awakened to the dictates of human nature and, stimulated by conscience, have made wise decisions. A few years ago the eldest daughter of the late Soviet dictator, Josef Stalin, became disillusioned with Communist tyranny. She courageously rejected Communism and came over to freedom. Miss Juanita Castro of Cuba learned to hate her brother Fidel's dictatorial savagery in his role as Communist boss of her island country. Now she has hoisted the banner of freedom and taken a position on the forefront in the battle against Communism. These and many other moving stories bear witness to the fact that the Communist regimes are being deserted by their own people and that their days are numbered.

We Chinese have a saying to the effect that when we see other people drowning or starving we feel the same agony ourselves. This compassionate and brotherly feeling for one's fellow men on the part of our people strengthens our confidence and enhances our determination to liberate our enslaved compatriots behind the Iron Curtain. We uphold this noble ideal. We will continue to urge the freedom-loving people of the world to give encouragement and support to those entrapped behind the Iron Curtain. And, at the same time, we will build up our own combat readiness for national recovery in which we shall tear down the Iron Curtain and get rid of the Peiping puppet regime. Unfortunately, just as our endeavor begins to be fruitful, Peiping's infiltration and "United Front" tactics have brought about an unfavorable current of international appeasement which only benefits the forces of evil. Unless this situation is effectively checked, the flames of aggression will spread farther, the enslaved people will suffer more, the free world's anti-Communist strength will be divided and international peace will be jeopardized.

Our experience from the anti-Communist struggle of recent years has emphasized the teaching that the division of the free countries poses a far greater menace to world peace than the expansion of Communist influence. Based on this understanding, I want to take this opportunity to present the following two suggestions with regard to our anti-Communist mission.

First, the expansionist ambition to conquer the world on the part of the Communists will remain unchanged no matter what guises it may take. If the free world neglects this simple truth, tries to substitute

negotiation for confrontation and attempts to justify appeasement under the pretext of seeking peace, we fear that the greatest tragedy in history will overtake us in the next decade. The most urgent issue facing the free world, therefore, is how to arouse anti-Communist vigilance and effect spiritual rearmament for dissipation of the heavy fog of appeasement, intensification of democratic unity and the launching of a fearless fight against the Communist bloc with the totality of forces available to uphold freedom and world peace.

Second, we must point out once again that Chinese Communist internal suppression and external aggression of the last 20 years have created an unprecedented hell on the Chinese mainland and turned the Peiping regime into a source of scourges for Asia and all the world. The so-called "Constitution" recently revised and adopted by the Chinese Communist Party emphasizes anew the regime's despotic cruelty. This is why Mao Tse-tung and his followers are attempting to feign a look of amiability so as to confuse the free world and tide over internal difficulties. Political leaders of the free world must not be misled into thinking that this violent gang has abandoned its policy of aggressive expansion. No one should dream of achieving peaceful coexistence with the Maoist Communists by means of pacification and enticement. If any mistaken view of the Maoists is allowed to persist and their puppet regime is permitted to grow even stronger, the 700 million people on the Chinese mainland will never be freed from their imprisonment and neither Asia nor the world will know security and peace.

Eradication of the Chinese Communists and liberation of our mainland compatriots are among our inalienable and sacred rights. At the same time, we earnestly hope that as we struggle for national unification and uphold the freedom and peace of mankind, the rest of the free world will defend justice and, as a matter of conscience, will not appease the Chinese Communists or become accomplices in their wrongdoing. We trust, rather, that the free countries will provide us with moral and spiritual support so that our revolutionary mission against the Communists and in defense of freedom will be crowned with victory in the near future.

Since history began, all struggles of the just and benevolent against evil and tyranny have been finally victorious. No matter how noisy international appeasers may be in airing their views and no matter how fiercely the Mao group may struggle to perpetrate its evil schemes, we are confident of victory. So long as all of our countrymen continue the decisive struggle with one heart and one soul, we shall ultimately accomplish our crucial mission of turning the world tide and rebuilding justice, peace and civilization.

DECLARATION OF 1971 WORLD FREEDOM DAY RALLY, TAIPEI, TAIWAN, REPUBLIC OF CHINA, JANUARY 23, 1971

In this historically momentous 60th year of the Republic of China, we people from various circles of the nation are with great joy and high spirits gathered here at this rally to mark another World Freedom Day.

The World Freedom Day has now become a bright banner leading man's struggle to gain and safeguard freedom. It has provided the revelation that victory for freedom must be based on bolstered moral courage, strengthened struggles and a full play of the power of unity. In this revelation is the major historical significance of Freedom Day. In it also is the fundamental spirit of our time as mankind keeps marching onward for freedom.

With their indomitable spirits and heroic actions, 22,000 Chinese and Korean anti-Communist prisoners of war 17 years ago achieved honor and success under the United

Nations' firmly-maintained principle of voluntary repatriation. The examples set by them must be acutely recognized, earnestly studied and positively glorified by all the people now struggling to gain and protect freedom. By doing so, we who are now facing Communist threats of aggression and enslavement can be sure of victory for freedom.

We must bring forth our anti-Communist moral courage. Instead of shrinking in fear, we must heroically rise and fight. Instead of stooping for momentary self-preservation, we must join forces and return blows. Instead of appeasing and tolerating the wicked, we must expose and conquer them. Never shall we act as helpers to evil persons, nor shall we flinch our enemy. More importantly, we must not leave the Iron Curtain people to a miserable fate of enslavement. Furthermore, we must be fully aware of the serious contradictions, difficulties and dangers that now exist behind the Iron Curtain under Communist rule. Never shall we permit ourselves to be frightened by the Communists' false display of power.

We must strengthen our anti-Communist struggles. Now that the Communist movement is decidedly doomed, we must take advantage of the steady downfall of Communist rule and launch strong counterattacks on the ideological, political, religious, cultural, economic and social battlefronts. Peoples of all the nations must be aroused and united. We must counter the Communist organization, propaganda and actions with our own strong organization, propaganda and actions. The reverse current of appeasement must be suppressed. The evil flames of Communism must be put out completely. All the Communist acts of aggression and expansion as well as their schemes of infiltration and subversion must be checked and smashed.

We must give full play to our strength of unity against the Communists. Instead of fighting alone, we must take joint actions. Instead of individual opposition, we must effect collective defense. In view of the scourges created in Asia by the Chinese Communists, a regional security organization must be established immediately in this area. Furthermore, steps must be taken for the formation of a world anti-Communist united front. This way, we shall attain the highest strategic goal of defeating the divided Communist camp with the power of a united free world.

Let us repeat once again. If only we can fully bring forth our anti-Communist moral courage, strengthen our anti-Communist struggles and give full play to our power of unity against the Communists, we can be sure of victory over our enemy and of ultimately accomplishing our timely mission of struggle for lasting freedom. The enemy is not to be afraid of. Rather, we must beware of those free nations that are not adequately determined, not acting quite positively and not united firmly enough in their fight against the Communists. But we believe that bitter experiences and practical lessons will one day make these nations wake up, brace themselves up, abandon their mistaken paths and start marching in the correct direction of time.

For 60 years the Republic of China has not only continued its tireless struggle for the freedom of China and the Chinese but also contributed importantly to the gaining and protection of freedom for all of mankind. We stood on the forefront of struggle against international Fascist forces that threatened to enslave mankind in the past. We are now standing firmly on the forefront of battle against the international Communists' attempt to enslave mankind. Today the Peiping regime is not just the source of scourges for all of Asia. It has subjected our 700 million brethren on the mainland to slave labor and oppression. We should with greater self-awareness shoulder our epochal responsibility against Communism and enslavement.

The light of freedom shining forth from our anti-Communist bastion for national recovery—Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu—not only will provide the revolutionary force for the destruction of the Maoist tyranny, salvation of our mainland compatriots and completion of our national recovery and reconstruction mission but furthermore will furnish the spiritual drive for a turn of the whole world situation toward a global victory in the fight for freedom. Under the great leadership of President Chiang Kai-shek, we shall with our courage, unity and struggle set an example for the rest of the world. Through extending our Anti-Mao and National Salvation United Front, we will join with the anti-Communist and anti-tyranny forces on the mainland, bring a high tide of anti-Communist struggle, create a new phase of our fight against the Communists and totalitarian tyranny. We shall then build up a new China of modern age based on the Three Principles of the People and accomplish our historical mission regarding world peace and man's freedom.

MESSAGE TO HIS EXCELLENCY U THANT, U.N. SECRETARY GENERAL AND ALL MISSIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS—JANUARY 23, 1971
YOUR EXCELLENCY AND DISTINGUISHED MISSIONS:

The Freedom Day on January 23 to commemorate the heroic struggle for human freedom of the 22,000-odd Chinese and Korean Communist prisoners of the Korean War, who returned to freedom under the U.N. voluntary repatriation program, has been adopted at the World Anti-Communist League General Conference as the World Freedom Day. Many countries throughout the world hold celebrations today to mark the great occasion. In the Republic of China, a week-long celebration program is being warmly carried out in all cities throughout the country, including a mass rally in Taipei participated by representatives of various civic organizations, with the special objective to further promote our "Safeguarding Human Freedom and Destroying the Maoist Regime" movement. It is unanimously resolved at our mass rally to send to Your Excellency our message for your continued efforts in upholding the spirit of the U.N. Charter and maintaining a firm stand against admitting the Chinese Communist regime to an international organization the principal cause of which is to protect human rights. The Chinese Communist regime is the very source of all threats to human freedom and world peace and has been condemned by the U.N. as an aggressor, and to introduce it into the U.N. would certainly destroy the world organization. Your Excellency is also requested to step up positive support for all the people behind the Iron Curtain in struggle for freedom and against slavery, in order to accomplish at an early date the U.N.'s supreme aim of safeguarding human rights and further glorify the spirit of the U.N. Charter.

Respectfully yours,
KU CHENG-KANG,
General Chairman, World Freedom Day
Mass Rally of the Republic of China.

MESSAGE TO HIS EXCELLENCY RICHARD M. NIXON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—JANUARY 23, 1971

YOUR EXCELLENCY: Today, as we people from various circles of the Republic of China are gathered in Taipei and elsewhere throughout the nation for enthusiastic mass rallies to mark the World Freedom Day in an expanded way and to promote measures to safeguard freedom of mankind and destroy the Maoist Communists' totalitarian tyranny, we wish jointly to express our highest gratitude and respect for your and the American public's tremendous endeavors for and contributions to the protection of Asian nations'

independence and freedom and the safeguarding of world peace and security.

As Your Excellency is positively working for the implementation of a new Asian policy, we note stepped-up activities of North Vietnamese Communists and the stalemate of Paris peace talks. Mao Tse-tung and his Communist followers are now attempting to strip thoroughly the Chinese mainland people's basic human rights through a constitutional amendment. As they continue to shout openly and madly their strong anti-American slogans, the Communists of Peking are now more positively attempting to perpetrate their schemes along their so-called "three-anti" and "nine-support" lines, thereby dooming the 700 million Chinese mainland people forever to a dark administration and hoping to take radical steps toward their goal of world conquest. The Chinese Communists also have been pushing their smiling-face offensive in an attempt to break up the free world, isolate the United States, fan up the air of appeasement and steal into the United Nations so as to save themselves from their internal and external distress that threatens to cause their downfall once and for all.

We earnestly hope that Your Excellency will, in view of the unchanging dark scheme of the Communists in Peking and elsewhere, uphold the American spirit for the protection of man's freedom and promotion of international justice, quickly retract all the passive and unconstructive policies toward the Communists, positively strengthen the global struggle for freedom, work for an early establishment of an Asian and Pacific regional security organization, prevent all attempts to introduce Peking into the United Nations and foil the Communist bloc's scheme to bury the world body. At the same time, we hope that in view of the long-standing Sino-American friendly relations, the United States will continue to work with us for the protection of Asia's peace and security and provide support to the Republic of China's all-out effort to free the 700 million Chinese mainland people and let them regain their freedom and happiness.

With our sincere wishes for victory,
Very truly yours,

KU CHENG-KANG,
General Chairman, World Freedom Day
Mass Rally of the Republic of China.

MESSAGE TO GENERAL CREIGHTON W. ABRAMS,
COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF ALLIED FORCES IN
VIETNAM, AND TO ALL OFFICERS AND ENLISTED
MEN OF ALLIED COMBAT TROOPS IN VIETNAM,
JANUARY 23, 1971

GENERAL ABRAMS AND ALL OFFICERS AND
ENLISTED MEN OF ALLIED COMBAT TROOPS IN
VIETNAM:

We, representatives of all walks of life in the Republic of China, meet today in Taipei for celebrating the World Freedom Day and promoting the movement for human freedom and against the Maoist totalitarian tyranny. We salute your gallant fight in Vietnam which has written down a brilliant page in the history of free peoples' struggle against Communist aggression.

As Allied Forces are modifying their strategic array in Vietnam, it gives to the North Vietnamese Communists a good opportunity to exploit for further gains. We, therefore, unanimously resolved at our meeting to convey to you and all officers and enlisted men under your command our highest respects for your continued efforts in punishing the Communists for their aggressive crimes and laying a firm foundation for the independence and freedom of the Republic of Vietnam and for the peace and security of Asia and the whole world.

Respectfully yours,

KU CHENG-KANG,
General Chairman, World Freedom Day
Mass Rally of the Republic of China.

TWO VETS WITH MEDALS, ONE WITH
SILVER SPOON AND SPEECHWRITERS
AND THE PRESS

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, concurrent with the "veterans lobby" to end the war, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held hearings on antiwar legislation.

These hearings generated a great deal of public exposure for an antiwar Navy lieutenant from Massachusetts, one John F. Kerry.

Not widely noted was the testimony of another Navy lieutenant from my congressional district in California, one Melville L. Stephens.

Both of these young men experienced somewhat similar service in Vietnam.

One is prompted to wonder, therefore, why their views were not given equal treatment by those covering these hearings.

An article in the Detroit News sheds some light on the subject. More members and citizens should be aware of the techniques of this committee, the background of the witnesses, and their connections with those who manage the reports and develop the news.

Mr. Speaker, in fairness to Lieutenant Stephens, whom I have the honor to represent in the Congress, I include the article, "Two Vets With Medals, One With Silver Spoon" in the RECORD. I wish to compliment Mr. J. F. Ter Horst, Washington Bureau Chief of the Detroit News for his perceptive article.

The article follows:

TWO VETS WITH MEDALS, ONE WITH SILVER
SPOON

(By J. F. Ter Horst)

WASHINGTON.—This is the tale of two Vietnam veterans who came to Washington to lobby for an end to the war.

One is John F. Kerry, 27, of Waltham, Mass. The other is Melville L. Stephens, 26, of Hanford, Calif.

Both are former Navy lieutenants and saw combat as river patrol boat commanders in Vietnam. Both hold the Silver Star, the Bronze Star and the Purple Heart.

Both wear their hair long. Both profess a kinship with all the other war-weary young men who came here with their medals of valor and peace symbols. But the resemblance stops there.

Kerry is wealthy, a product of the best Eastern schools. Stephens grew up in Akron, Ohio and is out of work.

Kerry had the help of a well-known Kennedy speech writer in preparing those phrases which rang so eloquently over television when he testified before Senator J. William Fulbright.

Stephens wrote his own statement for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—and never made TV.

Kerry emerged as the recognized leader of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), a very dramatic figure by day during the demonstrations. But, after dark, Kerry did the Washington social scene and slept in a clean bed at one of Georgetown's most fashionable addresses.

Stephens spent every night on the damp ground of the Mall, risking arrest along with

the other Vietnam brothers who came to protest the war.

Hardly anybody has heard of Stephens, but Kerry has become one of the hottest young political prospects on the anti-war scene. His oratorical flair, good looks and Kennedy-esque manners have marked him as a man to keep an eye on.

Indeed, he already is considering running for public office in Massachusetts, according to word passed to friends by his wife, the former Julia Stimson Thorne, daughter of a socially prominent Long Island family.

Kerry is not so upright about Vietnam as to be militant or radical. He calls himself "an angry young man" but he neither tossed his medals over the Capitol fence nor stayed around for the disruptive demonstrations of recent days.

A week ago Saturday night, when the big Capitol demonstration of 200,000 dwindled to a folk-rock concert at the Washington Monument, Kerry chose another scene.

Clad in guerrilla togs, he attended a posh black-tie dinner party at the "Federal City Club" put on by the "Five-ers," a quintet of Washington's top socialites.

One of them was Mrs. Robert Charles, better known as Oatsie Leiter, at whose home the Kerrys stayed during the Vietnam veterans' encampment on the Mall.

The high point of Kerry's week in Washington took place before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on April 22, when he delivered an impassioned plea for ending the war.

As the TV cameras zeroed in on him, the thrice-wounded Vietnam veteran asked the senators: "How do you ask a man to be the last to die in Vietnam? How do you ask a man to be the last to die for a mistake?"

Reached in New York, where he is now dividing his time between law practice and speech-writing, former Robert F. Kennedy staffer Adam Walinsky acknowledged he had helped Kerry put together his eloquent presentation.

Walinsky said Kerry, the 1966 Yale class orator, was "pretty darn good" with words all by himself but added that he had a hand in drafting those parts of the Kerry address "which were on TV."

That kind of expert wordsmithing was not available to Stephens, who made his pitch to the same committee a few days ago.

Speaking just after a group of radicals had berated the senators, Stephens conceded his views "are not very popular these days." But drawing on more than 30 months experience in the Vietnam theater—many times that of Kerry—Stephens argued that the United States could not morally pull out so fast as to endanger the lives of those thousands of South Vietnamese who had trusted the American promise to deliverance from the Communist enemy.

Stephens made no defense of the allegedly corrupt members of the Thieu-Ky regime ("frankly, I am sure that they will take care of themselves"). Nor did he buy President Nixon's argument that the United States should not be made to look like a "pitiful helpless giant."

Rather, argued Stephens, a wounded veteran and former aide to Adm. Elmo Zumwalt, Naval operations chief, the U.S. should arrange to quit the war so that peace will help the loyal South Vietnamese.

"Peace for us must not come at the cost of their lives," Stephens said.

Stephens' testimony might have escaped public attention altogether had not Senator Hugh Scott, of Pennsylvania, Republican floor leader, complained that the TV networks had ignored it.

Kerry quit Vietnam in March, 1968, as was his right as a three-time wounded serviceman. He also became an admiral's aide—in New York. Then he left the Navy to run for Congress but withdrew from the race in favor

of the Rev. Robert F. Drinan, a Catholic anti-war priest who was elected last November.

Friends who talked to Kerry said he was not visibly upset about Vietnam when he first began thinking of running for office.

"I thought of him as a rather normal vet," one said, "glad to be out but not terribly uptight over the war."

Another to whom Kerry talked about running for office described him as "a very charismatic fellow looking for a good issue."

Kerry, with his connections, financial resources and a set of initials that read JFK, may be one of the brightest young political properties to emerge from New England in a long time.

One of those who'll be watching will be Stephens, who is slated to enter Cornell University Law School this fall.

VALUE OF PERSONAL SERVICES TO BE TREATED AS A CHARITABLE CONTRIBUTION

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced an amendment to the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 which would permit the value of personal services to be taken into account in determining the amount deductible for charitable contributions.

The main thrust of my proposal is to permit people who offer their talent for charitable purposes to place a fair market value on their contributions and treat it as a charitable deduction in determining their Federal income tax obligation.

My proposal is designed to encourage "volunteerism" in America. It will encourage people with special talents to contribute their services to worthy causes and treat such a contribution as a valid tax deduction.

This proposal seems perfectly logical to me. We see members of the performing arts giving their time and talent to charitable fundraising activities with no remuneration while those who make a cash contribution to view the performance can deduct such a contribution from their gross annual income as a charitable contribution.

I believe my proposal would encourage people to participate more in charitable work. Let me give you just a few examples:

We are faced with the problem of getting more doctors to offer their services to the needy. I believe if a doctor could treat his contribution of time and talent to a not-for-profit neighborhood health clinic as a charitable contribution and place a fair value on such a contribution for tax purposes, we would see the doctor shortage among the needy substantially abated.

Lawyers could offer their services to a neighborhood legal clinic and if indeed the Internal Revenue Service found the clinic to qualify as a not-for-profit institution, the lawyer could likewise place a fair market value on his services and treat them as a charitable contribution.

Teachers could offer their services as tutors to needy students and treat the

fair market value of such services as a charitable contribution.

Mr. Speaker, the entire concept of treating contributions of personal services to charitable causes as charitable contributions for fixing purposes was suggested by Mr. Irv Kupcunet, well-known columnist for the Chicago Sun-Times during a meeting with Harry Belafonte; Danny Thomas; Miss Phyllis Diller; Connie Francis; Jack Carter, and a host of others.

I am pleased to introduce this amendment today because I believe it will encourage talented Americans to offer their service to charity.

The record will show that America's artists have been extremely generous in giving their time and talent to worthwhile causes. I believe the time has come when we should permit them to treat their contribution of time and talent in the same manner that those who make cash contributions treat them for fixing purposes.

I am confident the IRS can work out adequate safeguards against abuses and place the same limitations that now exist on all charitable contributions. The amendment clearly provides that the IRS must verify the validity of the charitable cause and the fair market value of the contribution.

I further believe the loss of revenue would be more than offset by the growth of "voluntarism" in America. We will never be able to buy the services we need to solve so many of our social problems and needs. I believe the proposal I have offered here today could provide the stimulus for more people becoming voluntarily involved in charitable work.

I do hope this proposal will receive favorable consideration.

The amendment follows:

A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to permit the value of personal services to be taken into account in determining the amount deductible for charitable contributions

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 170(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (allowance of deduction for charitable, etc., contributions and gifts) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(4) VALUE OF PERSONAL SERVICES.—For purposes of this section, in the case of an individual the contribution of his personal service to an organization shall be treated as a contribution of money to the organization in an amount equal to the fair value (as determined and verified under regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate) of the contributed service."

Sec. 2. The amendment made by the first section of this Act shall apply with respect to taxable years beginning after the date of the enactment of this Act.

EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS PLEDGE HELP FOR AMERICAN POW'S

HON. ELWOOD HILLIS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1971

Mr. HILLIS. Mr. Speaker, Congressman ROGER ZION has just returned from

Europe where he met with parliamentary leaders of four nations in an effort to gain assistance from those nations in obtaining humanitarian treatment for American prisoners of war. The Congressman's trip, financed at his own expense, may produce real dividends for our young men, rotting in the prison camps of Southeast Asia.

Congressman ZION has reported the results of his trip to his district and I commend this report to my colleagues as an example of what positive initiative by one Member of this body can accomplish:

EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS PLEDGE HELP FOR AMERICAN POW'S

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Members of the parliaments of four European countries are developing plans to assist in easing the plight of American POW's in Southeast Asia, it was reported today by Indiana Congressman Roger Zion upon his return from Europe. Zion had spent the past week conferring with legislators in West Germany, The Netherlands, Belgium and Great Britain. He remarked that he "could not have been more pleased" with the response he received in the European community.

"In each of the four countries, legislators gave their pledges of unqualified support to my request for help in putting pressure on the North Vietnamese, the Viet Cong and the Pathet Lao to comply with the Geneva Convention," Zion reported. Each group of parliamentarians has organized a committee to draft resolutions or letters and are studying the best approach to the Communist leaders. Each has expressed a willingness to send personal delegations to Paris.

Zion said that one group of five members of Parliament, in Great Britain, is making application for visas to North Vietnam so they can carry the appeal directly to Hanoi.

"This is the only way we can convince the Communists that they do not enjoy worldwide support for their barbaric treatment of prisoners," Zion stated.

Zion said that his "best selling point" in approaching the legislators of the four European countries was a quote from the Swiss jurist, Jan Pictet, who is a recognized authority on the Geneva accords.

The Pictet Commentary reads ". . . in the event of a Power failing to fulfill its obligations, each of the other Contracting Parties (neutral, allied or enemy) should endeavor to bring it back to an attitude of respect for the Convention. . . the application of the Convention does not depend on whether the conflict is just or unjust. Whether or not it is a war of aggression, prisoners of war belonging to either party are entitled to the protection afforded by the Convention."

These European statesmen are accepting this obligation and will keep him informed of their progress, Zion reported.

INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS INEFFECTIVENESS

Zion said that he had met last Friday in Geneva, Switzerland, with officials of the International Red Cross, including their Asian representative who had recently returned from Cambodia. Zion reported that "it is apparent that to date they have been unable to help. Red Cross packages which are sent for POWs are returned," he said. North Vietnamese Red Cross people say they only care for civilians and have no contact at all with the military of either side.

It was also pointed out to him in Geneva, Zion said, that Communist countries traditionally ignore treaties and commitments. In this respect, Red Cross officials cited Russia, North Korea, and North Vietnam as examples of countries, in war, that have refused to permit inspection of POW camps or comply with any other internationally accepted standards of conduct.

FALSE HOPES FEARED

Zion said that recent statements by Communist sympathizers and would-be Presidential candidates have been either deliberately misleading or the results of wishful thinking.

"Statements attributed to Ambassador Bruce and Vietnam representatives in Paris to the effect that POWs will be released if we set a date for withdrawal are patently false, Zion said. He added that he had transcripts of these discussions and that "in no instance is this statement made."

"To imply this," he said, "in order to discredit the President's Vietnamization program is the epitome of reckless and irresponsible conduct. . . . The only purpose served by these statements is to give Hanoi more fuel for its propaganda machine. Our prisoners are given daily broadcasts of statements by American protestors. Nothing could bring them more discouragement, nor could be more helpful in urging the enemy to hang on until American public opinion forces us to surrender in Southeast Asia."

Zion continued: "Wives of men who are prisoners and missing in Southeast Asia have asked me if capitulation in Southeast Asia would guarantee the return of their husbands. I must answer in all honesty that nothing could be further from the truth."

WORLD OPINION ONLY WEAPON

Shortly after Zion delivered a strong letter of protest from the American Congress to the North Vietnamese in Paris last August, the amount of mail from POWs increased significantly. After the "National Week of Concern for POWs/MIA" last March, the flow of mail increased again and letters contained more information. In some instances the letters indicated that better treatment was being given, Zion said.

The Indiana congressman also pointed out

that Communist propaganda recently indicates concern over the POW question, pointing out that "quotes" have been broadcast from the men indicating they are being treated well. He said that they have sent out a few pictures showing prisoners in good health. "It is apparent," Zion said, "that there is concern in Hanoi over world opinion."

Zion said that discussions about whether or not we should bomb, whether we should invade Communist sanctuaries, whether we should set a date for withdrawal are of questionable value at best, and when pursued by demonstrators are counterproductive. "They serve only Hanoi," he said.

The only issue in which there should be no disagreement is that concerning our prisoners of war and men missing in action, Zion pointed out.

"If all of the civilized people of the world continue to insist on the provisions of the Geneva Convention and press the Communists to accept them, perhaps we can take the most important step that will lead to peace."

J. EDGAR HOOVER

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 10, 1971

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, it takes little investigation to become aware of the incredible record of J. Edgar Hoover. In this country, we have had such efficiency, yet cautious and considerate service by the FBI for so long that most

Americans have taken it for granted. We ought to consider the possible types of bureaus and conduct we could have had in the area of intelligence. Mr. Hoover was faced with the task of providing security in this country—a gargantuan task in itself. But in a democracy, he was charged with protecting citizen's rights as well. Many techniques could have been applied. We need only look at national police forces in Germany and Russia to see the potential power and threat of a "protective" organization.

Mr. Speaker, not only has Mr. Hoover made the FBI an organization which has continually thwarted attacks against our Nation, but he has initiated an ideal for all law enforcement agencies to follow. In the 47 years of Mr. Hoover's direction, not one agent has been charged with a crime. The FBI force is itself a monument to the talents and decency of J. Edgar Hoover. No other man in the history of this Nation has served America so effectively, so conscientiously, so constantly, and with such a minimum of criticism. It has been an honor for Presidents of both political parties, conservative and liberal, from all parts of the country to ask Mr. Hoover to serve as director of the FBI. He has been recognized—and more importantly trusted and revered—not only by officials, but by the grassroots citizens of our Nation. Such widespread, continuous applause is not token. It is a sign of the deep appreciation which Americans have held and will continue to hold for the legendary gentleman, J. Edgar Hoover.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Wednesday, May 12, 1971

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.
The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Send out Thy light and Thy truth: Let them lead me—Psalm 43: 3.

Eternal Spirit of Life, in the glowing beauty of springtime and the blossoming glory of an awakening earth, we turn to Thee praying that the beauty of Thy presence may be upon us as we pause in prayer before Thee. Thou hast called us to live our lives and to play our part in these frustrating yet fruitful years. Amid all the tumult of these troubled times grant unto us the calm of those whose minds are stayed on Thee.

At this altar of prayer steady us with the truth that back of all the tensions that try us and the disturbances that distress us there is an abiding good in which we can believe and to which we must be loyal if we are to walk with steady feet leading our Nation in the paths of peace at home and abroad.

In all the experiences of this day grant us the healing of Thy hand, the peace of Thy presence, and the security of Thy love. In the spirit of Christ we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Without objection, the Journal stands approved.

There was no objection.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed bills and a joint resolution of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested.

S. 932. An act to amend title 13, United States Code, to provide for a revision in the cotton ginning report dates;

S. 1131. An act to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 to provide that review committee members may be appointed from any county within a State;

S. 1806. An act to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 to provide for insured operating and other type loans, and for other purposes; and

S.J. Res. 92. Joint resolution to direct the National Railroad Passenger Corporation to make a study with respect to expanding the basic national rail passenger system.

ADMINISTRATION HARD ON CAPITALISM

(Mr. JACOBS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, after careful investigation I have concluded that the current administration has not been

soft on communism. However, it has been hard on capitalism.

PERSONAL ANNOUNCEMENT

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, May 10 I unavoidably missed a rollcall vote on the District of Columbia firemen's bill because I was attending a meeting away from the Hill on official committee business.

H.R. 5638 is an excellent bill and I most certainly would have voted for it if I had been able to be present. The bill would provide a penalty of \$5,000 fine or 5 years in jail, or both, for interfering with or assaulting a District of Columbia fireman in the course of his duties.

This is becoming an increasing problem in this era of civil unrest and I emphatically believe that our firemen, who do so much to protect our lives and property, must themselves be protected from unwarranted assaults.

VA TO AID NEW MEDICAL SCHOOLS

(Mr. DORN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, today I have joined my distinguished chairman, "TIGER" TEAGUE, in introducing legislation that would authorize the Veterans' Administration to help pay for the es-